

Reviews

Archaeology

FASH, BARBARA W. *The Copan Sculpture Museum: ancient Maya artistry in stucco and stone*. viii, 207 pp., maps, figs, plates, illus., bibliogr. London, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2011. £25.95 (paper)

The ancient Maya city of Copan, Honduras, was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1980 and welcomes more than 150,000 visitors each year. Copan is perhaps best known for its ornate stone sculpture carved from local tuff, a volcanic stone that is soft and porous when freshly cut yet hard and durable once exposed to the elements. The ancient Copan Maya recognized the potential of tuff for architecture and sculpture, transforming this stone into a high-relief art form all their own. Today, the restored buildings in Copan's Main Centre and surrounding residential urban zones, elaborate sculptural façades, and evocative tropical setting enthrall the public. Yet, as curious fingers touch weathered stone, adventurous feet explore worn stairways, and tropical downpours renew the lush forest, the artistic and architectural creations of the Maya are slowly deteriorating – a problem many archaeological sites face. Researchers here have produced a model for its solution, presented in the 2011 volume *The Copan Sculpture Museum: ancient Maya artistry in stucco and stone* by Barbara W. Fash.

The volume serves as both a Museum exhibition guidebook and an informal, personalized chronicle of the Copan Sculpture Museum's creation. The Copan Sculpture Museum was created through the collaboration of President Rafael Leonardo Callejas and

subsequently President Carlos Roberto Reina of the Republic of Honduras, the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, the Asociación Copàn, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The author describes how the Museum was planned in 1990, designed and built from 1993 to 1996, and opened on 3 August 1996.

Angela Stassano, the Museum's talented Honduran architect, produced a brilliantly effective, low profile on-site design, which does not visually overwhelm neighbouring ruins. The Museum's floors are designed to reflect the three levels of the Maya cosmos. Visitors enter a stylized serpent mouth gateway, walking through a serpentine, humid, earthy, softly illuminated tunnel that opens dramatically onto the central exhibit, a complete reconstruction of the Rosalila Temple, whose photograph by Ben Fash (the author's son) graces the book's cover. This first floor symbolically represents the underworld. Visitors ascend a ramp with stunning stylized skyband railings, progressing to the second floor, representing the Maya middle world, and then to the third floor, the celestial realm. The Museum is orientated to the cardinal points representing the Maya's worldview of the sun's yearly progression. This theme is emphasized by the use of natural lighting from skylights and a central compluvium so that light moves with the sun's path over the sculptures, constantly changing their illumination. The effect is stunning, and the book's descriptions capture it vividly.

The book's introduction to the Museum is followed by a chapter on the history of archaeological investigation at Copan, with a strong emphasis on those projects that most contributed to the Museum's exhibits. The text is

designed for visitors to read as they enjoy the Museum, and the author employs a casual, conversational, and compelling narrative. It does not read as an academic volume, nor does it contain the citations expected of more rigorous scholarship. The volume has a small format of 9 × 7 inches, facilitating its use by visitors, but is produced on high-gloss paper; thus, the relatively small-sized photographs are rendered in high quality.

Chapters are organized around the current Museum exhibits. Chapters 3–11 follow exhibits 1–58, each contributing valuable descriptive information on the sculptural exhibit's excavation and reconstruction, often personalized by the author's informal narrative. Exhibits begin with 'Honoring the founder', focused on the stunning Rosalila Temple (excavated by Ricardo Agurcia) and Altar Q, which depicts sixteen of Copan's rulers (named by Alfred Maudslay in 1886). The book then covers 'Stelae' (Stela P, 2, and A are on exhibit); 'Underworld symbolism', including the Motmot floor marker, Copan's oldest *in situ* dated monument; 'Masterpieces of Copan sculpture', highlighting the most outstanding examples of the craftsman's art; 'Warfare and ritual', presenting the captivating Structure 26 Temple Masks; 'Fertility and cosmology', with excellent examples from the ballcourt façades; 'Scribes and sculptors', documenting Groups 9N-8 and 9M-146, followed by 'Nobles and residences', displaying Group 10L-2's sculpture, and regional sculptural motifs from Rio Amarillo and Rastrojón. The last chapter, 'Museum and community', outlines the impact that designing and building the Museum had on the local population.

Barbara Fash laudably chronicles the creation of an important museum and entertainingly describes its current exhibits for readers, preserving and making available to the public the ancient Copan sculptor's craft, an invaluable gift to future generations.

ANNCORINNE FRETER *Ohio University*

SCARRE, CHRIS. *Landscapes of Neolithic Brittany*. xv, 326 pp., maps, figs, tables, illus., bibliogr. Oxford: Univ. Press, 2011. £75.00 (cloth)

Landscapes of Neolithic Brittany is an important resource for anglophone archaeologists wishing to learn about current research and new approaches to the Neolithic of Brittany. Brittany is well known for its rich megalithic landscape and boasts some of Europe's oldest and largest monuments, such as the Grand Menhir Brisé,

the stone rows at Carnac, and the Tumulus de Saint-Michel. Scarre is well positioned to introduce readers to this archaeology, given his career-long research on the prehistory of west-central France. In the book, Scarre discusses the chronology, sequence, and interrelationships of megalithic construction. He considers the origins of monument-building in the Mesolithic, the first standing stones and long mounds of the Early Neolithic, the passage graves and stone rows of the Middle Neolithic, and the *allées couvertes* and lateral entrance tombs of the Late Neolithic. Domestic structures, such as the long houses of the Late Neolithic, are also woven into his narrative. Throughout, Scarre situates the cultural phenomena of Neolithic Brittany in a European context, sometimes because certain evidence does not survive well in Brittany (such as skeletal remains, because of the soil's acidity), and sometimes to help us understand regional interactions. Above all, the book applies contemporary Anglo-Saxon theory – emphasizing landscape and materiality – to the Neolithic record of Brittany. Scarre situates megaliths and domestic structures in their landscape through multiple lenses, including geographic information systems (GIS), paleoecology, geology, phenomenology, and symbolism. He also explores the materiality of monuments – their colour, form, iconography, visibility, sourcing, and recycling – and how their raw materials (stone slabs, rubble, clays) mirrored and transformed landscapes.

In chapter 1, Scarre reviews the geography and history of scholarly interest in the Neolithic of Brittany. He discusses the ongoing tension between research that views ancient Brittany as a recipient of cultural practices and as an innovator. He revisits this debate in chapter 10. In chapter 2, Scarre considers the landscape of Brittany from a historical perspective; he assesses the significance of contemporary distributions of megaliths and the relative paucity of Neolithic settlements in terms of demography (both ancient and modern). He suggests that the abundance of megaliths in Brittany may be more a reflection of the region's economic underdevelopment than an indicator of prehistoric economic success. Many factors have shaped their distribution, including rising sea levels, agriculture, and their systematic destruction by the early Christian church. Chapter 3 reviews the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition and devotes particular attention to the Mesolithic burials at Tévéc and Hoedic, which, as collective burials using stone slabs in their architecture, foreshadow later Neolithic practices. In chapter 4,

Scarre examines the earliest Neolithic standing stones and low burial mounds or *tertres*. He demonstrates that menhirs, some of which evoke axes and humans in their form, were not opportunistically erected from loose blocks, but extracted from bedrock. As in much of Europe, these standing stones were regularly reused in passage graves and later tombs. Chapter 5 focuses on the Carnac landscape and the fascinating refitting work of Emmanuel Mens that showed that all ten lines of stones of the Kermario alignments were built at once, with construction proceeding westward. Chapter 6 focuses on passage graves and explores the meaning of the stones from which they were constructed and the landscapes in which they are found. Chapter 7 attempts to understand Breton funerary practices, relying heavily on better-preserved sites to the east and south. Chapter 8 focuses on three cases of stone settings and explores how materials and landscapes were differently engaged at these sites. In Chapter 9, Scarre develops the argument that the Late Neolithic longhouses were modelled after lateral entrance tombs and *allées couvertes*. Chapter 10 summarizes the book's main themes. Here, Scarre notes that while the earliest standing stones are found in Iberia, the earliest chambered tombs along the Atlantic façade are in Brittany. Given other evidence for Iberian-Breton interactions (variscite, crook-motifs), it is possible that Brittany was both innovator and recipient of Neolithic cultural features.

At times, it seems the book is written for someone already familiar with the geography and archaeology of Brittany. Many place names cannot be located on maps, certain object types (i.e. stone rings) are not illustrated or explained, and some photographs of monuments are lacking in scale (human or otherwise).

None the less, *Landscapes of Neolithic Brittany* is readable and engaging. It refocuses archaeological attention on history and place, and to the histories of places. It should be of interest to European prehistorians as well as scholars seeking insights into the landscape and materiality of the ancient world.

KATINA T. LILLIOS *University of Iowa*

SCHIFFER, MICHAEL BRIAN. *Behavioral archaeology: principles and practice*. x, 220 pp., figs, tables, bibliogr. London, Oakville: Equinox, 2010. \$150.00 (cloth), \$45.00 (paper)

Michael B. Schiffer is perhaps best known in British archaeological circles for his development

of a theory of site formation processes (SFPs), based on the taphonomic understanding of explicit cultural and environmental processes which affect the archaeological record. The aim of this volume is to set SFPs within the larger context of behavioural archaeology (BA), and to draw all Schiffer's writings on BA together in one volume. The intended audiences are graduate students and 'curious' professional archaeologists. The results are interesting, but perhaps not for the reasons that the author anticipated.

The text is divided into four main sections: 'Introduction'; 'Inference and formation processes'; 'Technology'; and finally 'New directions'. A glance at the table of contents reveals that the latter section is only partly Schiffer's work, and three additional authors assist him in trying to construct a 'new' BA, one that, the reader is informed, can respond to its postprocessual critics by engaging in themes such as ritual and religion, landscapes, and social power. The 'Introduction' lays out the Binfordian legacy of BA – it's an agnostic toolbox for grappling with the relationships between people and artefacts, divorced from any specific social theory. Positivist in outlook, embracing both ancient and modern material culture, through empirical generalizations and experiments it seeks to establish 'laws' which can be applied to archaeological data of any age to help reconstruct behaviours. Schiffer does not like the rote application of fashionable social theories to artefacts, believing that they actually prevent the emergence of a science of human-artefact behaviours.

'Inference and formation processes' deals with some familiar concepts such as life-histories of artefacts, behavioural chains of processes, and the notions of cultural and natural SFPs which can distort the archaeological record. Despite the emphasis on the technological and utilitarian aspects of material culture in the chosen examples, and the absence of social or ritual considerations (which Schiffer acknowledges), there must be many European archaeologists who have applied these tools, concerned not so much with general 'laws' of behaviour, but to understand better the specific objects and archaeological deposits they uncovered.

'Technology' is an autobiographical section where we learn about what could be described as the author's 'electrical turn'. Stemming from his collection of portable radios Schiffer grew increasingly interested during the 1990s in historical studies of technological change, and the performance characteristics of competing

technologies such as lighthouses, and early gasoline and electric automobiles. Utilizing a 'performance matrix' to compare uses of gasoline and electric cars, Schiffer claimed that the demise of electric cars at the start of the twentieth century in the United States was because gasoline-fuelled cars were more suitable for macho touring in the countryside. Despite some colleague's 'gentle hints' that he was in danger of losing his identity as an archaeologist, Schiffer pursued his investigation of more recent technologies, writing papers on technology inventions and transfers, maintaining that his 'technology-transfer framework' was as applicable to Middle Palaeolithic stone tools as it was to industrial printing.

'New directions' reveals the subsequent shock and surprise Schiffer felt at the rise of an extremely relativistic postprocessualism and the perceived attack on the scientific underpinnings of BA. By the mid-1990s, he argues, BA had to develop new theories for addressing symbolic phenomena if it was to have any chance of appealing to a younger generation of archaeologists. The final section of the book therefore has the whiff of reincarnation about it. BA is reborn as a toolkit that can isolate ceremonial trash, feasting bowls, and sacrificial deposits. Some of its tools, such as life-history models and performance characteristic tables, can be given new life to fashion explanations of symbols, social power, and landscapes.

The scientific foundations of BA ensure that Schiffer and the associated authors attempt to ensnare all manner of human activities within particular descriptors – for instance, a *correlon* is an instance of relational knowledge – and the plethora of these throughout the book does not make for an easy read. Nevertheless, Schiffer is to be commended for condensing a career's work between two covers. Site formation processes, *sensu strictu*, will remain of fundamental assistance to archaeological interpretation. For this reviewer, however, the kaleidoscopic socialities of human beings are largely absent from this book, and the attempt to grasp the tow-bar of the postprocessual juggernaut smacks of desperation.

This book is perhaps most interesting for offering an autobiographical insight into one of America's prominent archaeologists, and for highlighting the discrepant philosophical approaches to understanding or creating the past on either side of the Atlantic.

JOHN MANLEY *University of Sussex*

Anthropology of architecture and space

SCHEFOLD, REIMAR, PETER J.M. NAS, GAUDENZ DOMENIG & ROBERT WESSING (eds). *Indonesian houses (vol. 2): survey of vernacular architecture in western Indonesia*. vi, 716 pp., maps, figs, tables, illus., bibliogr. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008. €39.50 (paper)

Indonesian houses (volume 2) is the second publication of a long-term research project sponsored by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences. While the first volume (2003) was concerned with the relationship between continuity and change in Indonesian vernacular architecture, volume 2 sets out to produce 'a systematic survey of all relevant traditions and developments of western Indonesian architecture'. The volume provides an impressive and encyclopaedic summary of the research conducted into western Indonesian vernacular house forms across the region. It draws on the expertise of over twenty scholars, and is rich in architectural detail and technical description.

Readers unfamiliar with Indonesian architecture may have encountered similar dwellings in Roxana Waterson's *The living house* (1990). Striking features include almost all building materials being taken from wood and other plants, the majority use of stilted buildings, and an impressive variety of gable roofs. Karo dwelling roofs are sometimes topped with miniature houses, giving the impression of a house upon a house. Minangkabau houses from western Sumatra are perhaps the most famous for their concave saddleback roof ridges, often crowned with multiple spires. Ornamentation includes a variety of wooden carvings, such as on Kerinci longhouses, and bull- or horn-shaped gable finials on Karo and Kanekes houses.

This is an immense subject with huge potential, but the range and impressive nature of these houses present the authors with some problems, as does the question of how to balance the relationship between an architectural and an anthropological approach to this subject. The requirement for each author to provide a morphological description for each house form, prioritizing built structure at the expense of inhabitation, is entirely necessary for an architectural volume, but detracts from the potential for 'lived' accounts of these dwellings. Contradictions also arise through each author developing his or her own personal analysis without any overarching theoretical or regional

contextualization, resulting in some contradictory accounts.

What is very clear is that the majority of the dwellings discussed were built at least seventy years ago, often earlier, and that over the period the authors conducted their research, major changes have taken place. In some chapters, the ethnography is largely drawn from secondary sources, and described in a generalizing way in an apparent search for the original 'traditional' house of the region – 'the Aceh house', 'the urban Betawi house', or 'the ground-level Rejang house'. At times, buildings are conflated with people, one author seeking out the 'missing links' through which to ascertain the 'genetic relationship between houses', for example. Conversely, the tendency of locals to conflate people and kin with their dwellings through practices such as naming of homes, collective building practices, use of space, and ritual maintenance by shamans, as described by Scheffold among the Mentawai, also provides a fascinating reverse reflection of the European academic approach to the subject.

Despite its few shortcomings, the volume is an extremely valuable document of Indonesian housing over a period of dramatic change. As an architectural document it is superb, especially valuable given the deterioration and neglect of older buildings, their recent destruction by the *tsunami* and earthquakes, and the transformations of inhabitants' lives through global practices such as migration and tourism. Vellinga, who addresses the impact of some of these events in his wonderful account of Minangkabau architecture, reveals how aggressive promotion of the most visually imposing of local houses in this region, through tourism and as status symbols of identity for the new regionally powerful, result in a fossilization of local architectural practices. There is the paradox that new houses are built to a 'classic traditional' form for the wealthy, albeit to 'modern standards', yet less prosperous, extended kin groups now live separately in concrete houses, while their former vernacular communal dwellings, deemed unhygienic and not modern, have become empty, purposeless, and dilapidated. At the same time, other regional dwellings which do not conform to the classical style are ignored, even abandoned, so that regional diversity and architectural and cultural dynamism are being erased.

Some authors' research into secondary sources provides fascinating detail. Domenig, for example, describes ceremonies from a century ago through which the living trees used to

construct Karo dwellings had their 'tree-life' removed, and their wood dedicated to the spirit of the house, bringing it into the realm of human action. He also cites how orientation of the root end and the crown end of a tree were critical to both construction and use of social space, both examples providing insights into the link between local human-environment relations and building and dwelling practices.

Through all the accounts that make up this volume, one overriding concern is the ongoing dilapidation and destruction of this architecture and its impact on local societies. This is not an exercise in salvage ethnography, but a bleak summing up of events. One author cites how it would cost a local ten years' wages to build a house today in vernacular form, as they contend with wood shortages and expensive traditional materials. Other impacts derive from changing values linked to modernity, the growth of the nuclear family and individualism, increased migration, deforestation, illegal logging, other effects of globalization, along with flooding and earthquakes. Much of the research in the volume covers the period between 1970 and the 1990s and there are few post-*tsunami* accounts, despite this being one of the worst-affected regions. Viaro notes how houses in Nias were very seriously damaged. He regrets how cheap shelters replace old houses, while decorated debris from buildings damaged by the *tsunami* are being sold off to dealers or for tourists, commenting, 'After a few years very little will remain to remember this old civilization'. This raises serious and poignant questions which are difficult to answer, but the volume provides an excellent source to begin to do so.

STEPHANIE BUNN *University of St Andrews*

SNEAD, JAMES E., CLARK L. ERICKSON & J. ANDREW DARLING (eds). *Landscapes of movement: trails, paths, and roads in anthropological perspective*. xviii, 364 pp., maps, figs, tables, illus., bibliogr. Philadelphia: Univ. Pennsylvania Press, 2009. £42.50 (cloth)

The theme of roads and movement has long interested archaeologists and anthropologists, and publication of this volume, the first in a series resulting from conference proceedings organized by Penn Museum, confirms that this theme is fundamental in these disciplines and requires their thoughtful attention.

The book's contributors share the premise that 'trails, paths, and roads are the manifestation of human movement through the

landscape and are central to an understanding of that movement at multiple scales' (p. xv). They also had the collective goal of 'developing a better understanding of infrastructure, social, political, and economic organization, cultural expressions of patterned movement, and the ways that trails, paths, and roads materialize traditional knowledge and engineering, world view, memory, and identity' (p. xv).

The volume reveals the meanings of movement along paths, trails, and roads in many accounts and represents an interesting collection of articles ranging from spatial understanding and economic significance of roads to linguistic and oral analysis of geographical routes.

The opening chapter, 'Making human space: the archaeology of trails, paths, and roads', by the editors of the volume, James Snead, Clark Erickson, and Andrew Darling, sets the tone of the volume and is presented as an overview of studies on the topic with specific focus on archaeology.

The volume presents several case studies on research of ancestral knowledge and use of trails and paths. T.J. Ferguson, G. Lennis Berlin, and Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma offer us a case study of the Hopi and the cultural value attributed to ancestral trails and work on identifying these trails, and James S. Snead takes us to the precolumbian Pajarito Plateau to reveal its social construction.

A fascinating cluster of research has been proposed in the juxtaposition of archaeology and language. In chapter 4, Andrew Darling reveals how social space is created through songs containing geographical routes in central and southern Arizona. Catherine Fowler presents projects and ethnographic work on reconstruction of trails in Southern Nevada and California (chap. 5). We are also offered an intriguing case study considering various meanings of the word 'road' in Maya language and thought by Angela Keller in chapter 7 and a chapter on narratives about journeys and remembering along the Missouri River (María Nieves Zedeño, Kacy Hollenbach, and Calvin Grinnell, chap. 6).

Several chapters focus on paths and movement along them in ancient societies: Costa Rica (chap. 8, by Payson Sheets) and early Bronze Age Northern Mesopotamia (chap. 9, by Jason Ur). The significance of roads for everyday life, as well as their agrarian and residential aspects among the Bolivian Amazon, are examined by Clarke L. Erickson (chap. 10) and by Erickson and John L. Walker (chap. 11).

The volume presents a genuinely collective labour and is the commendable result of a grand endeavour. On the down side, I fear that for readers in the UK, the content suggested by the title of the book, *Landscapes of movement: trails, paths, and roads in anthropological perspective*, with its emphasis on anthropology, might be slightly misleading in that archaeology and anthropology are separate disciplines in Britain. In addition, the wide range of contributors, unfortunately, does not translate into a broad geographical scope, with only one case study leading beyond the Americas. It once again makes the title somewhat misleading, as the geographical range of this book has not been reflected in its title. It would also have been useful to have slightly expanded information on contributors at the end of the book, in the form of short but more informative biographical notes.

Despite these minor criticisms, I would nevertheless wholeheartedly recommend this book to scholars who focus their work on movement along roads, trails, paths, and multiple aspects related to such movement. It is an appropriate book to be used for teaching students in archaeology, geography, and anthropology, and represents the right road on which these disciplines may move forward.

TANYA ARGOUNOVA-LOW *University of Aberdeen*

VAN DER HOORN, MÉLANIE. *Indispensable eyesores: an anthropology of undesired buildings*. xii, 266 pp., illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2009. £45.00 (cloth)

'How do people affect undesired architecture, and how does undesired architecture affect them?' This is the guiding question for Mélanie van der Hoorn's ambitious and novel examination of the complex, often contradictory relations that people cultivate with derelict or rejected buildings that populate their landscapes. The subject formed the kernel of van der Hoorn's MA thesis and she further developed and expanded her geographical coverage during doctoral studies in cultural anthropology at Utrecht University. Financial support allowed her to make field visits to all of the 'eyesores' discussed in the book in order to document the sites, consult archives, meet various stakeholders, and conduct interviews.

The book is divided into eleven chapters, the first two forming a combined introduction to the topic and to the theoretical framework. The next six chapters each present a case study of a

European site, visiting in succession the gigantic, never-completed nineteen-storey carcass of a mega-hotel in West Germany that sat derelict for over two decades; a badly damaged newspaper building in war-torn Sarajevo; a completed, but never-commissioned, nuclear power plant on the Dutch-German border; a prefabricated apartment block in former East Berlin; the foreboding Viennese Flaktürme (anti-aircraft towers constructed during the Nazi occupation); and the abandoned grand Kulturhaus on the Baltic island of Usedom. Each of the selected sites displays a different degree of material intervention, and the studies move progressively from complete elimination in the case of the German mega-hotel, through various forms of alteration and recuperation in the following four cases, and finally to sheer abandonment in the example of the Kulturhaus.

Van der Hoorn maintains that buildings necessarily have both a utilitarian function and representational quality, so 'the rejection of a building always oscillates between pragmatic clearance and pure iconoclasm'. Intervention of any kind therefore spawns the taking up of positions among users, ordinary citizens, and decision-makers and throws into relief the relations of power within a community. This, van der Hoorn conveys, is what makes rejected buildings important sites for anthropological research, and it is their ability to render abstract tensions tangible that makes them 'indispensable'. The buildings presented throughout the book are deemed 'harmful' by local communities, not only because some have become structurally unstable through years of dereliction, but perhaps more importantly because the memories and narratives associated with them have strong psychological and emotional resonance. Narratives empower people to engage with, explore, and, in a sense, enter into buildings and spaces that are fenced-off, boarded-up, and inaccessible, but yet remain part of their daily existence.

The recurring idea that rejected buildings possess biographies (Appadurai) and agency (Gell) is further explored in chapters 9 and 10, where van der Hoorn investigates the ways that people either ritualistically exorcize remains or rehabilitate eliminated eyesores through reconstitution, replacement, or the creation of contemporary references. People engage in such activities ultimately to derive a greater sense of control and mediation over memory and personal experience connected with the buildings and their (often menacing) histories. These two chapters feature buildings in

postsocialist locations including a four-and-a-half kilometer-long National Socialist resort that scars the Baltic island of Rügen and several architectural cases in Budapest. In the final epilogue, the author revisits her arguments for the 'thing-ly influence' (distinguished from 'thing-ly determinism') that buildings have on us, this time calling upon Bruno Latour's actor-network theory and illustrating with the example of an eclectic and ever-transforming 'Eco-Cathedral' in the Netherlands.

The book is published in Berghahn's 'Remapping Cultural History' series, promoting studies on aspects of culture that are underrepresented in scholarly research and that challenge conventional thinking. *Indispensable Eyesores* undeniably fulfils these criteria. It invites the anthropology of space, place, and architecture to broaden its remit to include rejected sites and to consider the impact these have on social relations, memory-making, and cultural identity. But the book's categorization as a work of anthropology is somewhat contentious. Van der Hoorn's case studies lack ethnographic depth, and the voices of individual users, witnesses, and public officials from the (too) many locations are sprinkled sparsely through the chapters. As a result, her analyses are steered more by the adopted theory than the data, and there is considerable repetition of themes and ideas. To my mind, the book would have benefited from the inclusion of fewer, more penetrating studies accompanied by a greater number of photographic illustrations, maps, and building plans. It also would have profited from reduced length and a more rigorously conceived structure.

Despite these shortcomings, van der Hoorn's study makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the complex and lasting relations we have with those things we reject.

TREVOR H.J. MARCHAND *School of Oriental and African Studies*

Biological and forensic anthropology

LARSEN, CLARK SPENCER (ed.). *A companion to biological anthropology*. xxv, 572 pp., maps, figs, tables, illus., bibliogr. Oxford, Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. £110.00 (cloth)

This volume, the seventh of the 'Blackwell Companions to Anthropology', fits well within

the book series, and is interesting and well written, yet in its own right it is somewhat unusual within the field. The goal of the Blackwell Companion series is to provide a survey of the disciplines, and in this it has offered a relatively unique volume in biological anthropology.

A companion to biological anthropology has thirty-one chapters, each written by a different author (or authors), and every chapter addresses a particular element of the field of biological (or physical) anthropology. The range of topics is admirably comprehensive, ranging across such subjects as bone biology, nutrition, brain evolution, ageing and development, early hominin evolution, primatology, skull and tooth biomechanics, and genetics. All of the authors are well-established researchers in the field, including several pre-eminent scholars.

This is not an introductory textbook, as the articles employ sophisticated language and assume a level of knowledge for the reader. There are few illustrations and no marginalia explaining scientific terms. Yet these chapters also are clearly not written for other specialists, as they are broad overviews of the topics, and neither contain any specific investigations nor test any hypotheses. Rather, each chapter provides a summary of the state of the art within each of the many elements of biological anthropology, frequently framing the debates and providing a brief but informative historical context. The level of detail is generally impressive, particularly given the chapter length of 8,000–12,000 words, and is achieved by, almost without exception, concise writing that avoids meandering digression or vigorous pursuit of a favoured position.

The writers themselves are admirably restrained in their discussion of contentious debates, and authors well known to support vigorously one position or another provide broader perspectives than they have been known to offer previously. Given the strong personalities of some of the writers, this shows the hallmark of a well-edited volume. This does not mean that all of the essays are perfectly balanced, and in several cases non-consensus positions receive perhaps more emphasis than might be warranted in an objective summary, but this is generally rare, and always subtle.

The first chapter, by Michael Little and Robert Sussman, offers a very useful (if necessarily brief) history of the discipline of biological anthropology. In many ways this is the most

important contribution of the volume. Biological anthropology has perhaps a more ethically chequered past than almost any other scientific discipline, and the hangover from this past still informs the relationship between biological anthropologists and the other subdisciplines within broader anthropology. Although Little and Sussman do not pull any punches when describing the morally repugnant elements of the past, they very usefully frame these elements within the broader goals of scientific inquiry into human variation and evolutionary history. Biological anthropology has only become a mature scientific discipline within the last fifty years, and in many ways this is the most relevant period for understanding the current discipline. It would be a very useful exercise for anthropological researchers outside the biological sub-discipline to read this section, in particular.

The remaining chapters are grouped into conceptual categories (e.g. 'The present and the living', 'The past and the dead', etc.), and these chapters tend to be more technical, yet never outside the scope of the casual student of physical anthropology. Early chapters cover broad introductory topics (evolution, systematics and taxonomy, human genetics), while the latter chapters tend to become more narrow, and this is one reason why the book might be usefully read from start to finish by an informed non-specialist.

One interesting element of these essays is the extent to which they include important historical information about the topic addressed. Frequently, students learn about the current state of a field without understanding why particular issues are subject to such intense debate. This type of information can be hard for a student to access in a summary form, but explication of how different research groups arrived at their positions, and the history of debates, is one of the strong advantages of having writers who are long established and have watched many of these debates unfold during their careers.

This is an ideal volume for the library of any department of anthropology, as well as a useful reference for the informed non-specialist. For an undergraduate looking for a clear description of a single aspect of biological anthropology, or a graduate student trying to decide an area of focus, or anyone looking for a good source of references in a field new to them, this volume would be invaluable.

BRIAN VILLMOARE *University College London*

TURNBULL, PAUL & MICHAEL PICKERING (eds). *The long way home: the meaning and values of repatriation*. vii, 207 pp., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2010. £16.50 (paper)

The repatriation of any aspect of a culture is an emotive subject, whether it relates to artefacts or the remains of its people. Whilst the sins of the father need not be borne by the son, there is a moral and ethical responsibility to address restitution. It may take generations to resolve and the path may be painful and complex, but the rights of indigenous peoples for the return of their stolen culture demands the attention of modern society.

This fourteen-chapter text arose from the 'Meanings and Values of Repatriation' conference held in Canberra in 2005. As an edited text originating from a conference, it is inevitable that there will be variability in style and perhaps an anticipated degree of discontinuity. However, this is not overtly apparent as it is branded honestly as a 'collection of essays that has its origins in conversations'. The level of informality in some papers makes them refreshing reading. The book is divided into five sections: 'Ancestors, not specimens', 'Repatriation in law and police', 'The ethics and cultural implications of repatriation', 'Repatriation and the history of scientific collection of indigenous remains', and 'Museums, indigenous peoples and repatriation'.

All of the chapters are highly informative and well written, with balanced perspectives and a genuine intention to educate and inform without assigning undue blame. Being a forensic anthropologist, I will admit freely that I found the sections on skeletal repatriation more interesting and relevant, but my conscience was pricked to remember that to attempt to view corporeal remains, isolated from their holistic spiritual and cultural associations, is tantamount to a theoretical mirroring of the activities of my predecessors. It raised emotions of collective guilt as a Brit, a scientist, and a physical anthropologist for a past in which I played no part and it challenged my views on my own cultural heritage. There is a palpable sadness for the many cultures, perhaps my own included, where there is no strong voice prepared to fight for the rights of its ancient dead, and this raises the viable questions of when do we recognize that a culture is finally lost and there is no one left to care, and how do we

know we have got it right when it comes to repatriation? Scientific training replays the word 'provenance' in my head and serves to remind that if science does not address rigorous criteria, then perhaps we also run the risk of inappropriate and incorrect repatriation. The scientific validation of provenancing is missing from this text and that is a shame – it is one of the few ways that science can repay its debt.

There is no lone voice in this text that even remotely attempts to justify the original events, and this is not surprising, but if we were to return to the time, then that voice might have cited the lofty goals of scientific investigation. While perhaps there is no doubt that the world of biological anthropology came to understand some aspects of human variation through this plunder, the academic return for the betterment of the indigenous communities has been meagre in the extreme. The current justification for retention of skeletal remains in museums echoes these original cries and we ignore them at our peril. We run with the argument that with advances in science, and genetic research in particular, we can only imagine what we will be able to elucidate from the very core of our long-dead cells. But genetic research serves only to tell us about physicality and misses the important fact that culture, heritage, and belonging are not about DNA but concern the most fundamental core of human society – community. The split between cultural and physical anthropology is briefly discussed and the wilderness years of the latter are perhaps somewhat simplistically explained through the shame of past behaviour, but the study of physical and biological anthropology continues to be viewed with distrust in some communities. A concern expressed is whether, if a person is found to have less than half of his or her genetic material expressed as being indigenous, this negates them from fully belonging to the culture and being recognized and accepted as a part of it. Of course, in terms of cultural anthropology, we would say no, but the fear surrounding the outcome of physical anthropology is that science can be difficult to refute, especially when it closely mirrors legislative ideals. The fear and distrust appear not to have disappeared but to have evolved. The physical, spiritual, and moral responsibilities of repatriation are immense.

SUE BLACK *University of Dundee*

Development and aid

CORNWALL, ANDREA (ed.). *The participation reader*. xx, 443 pp., figs, tables, bibliogr. London, New York: Zed Books, 2011. £18.99 (paper)

Over the last couple of decades, the volume of scholarly engagement with, and critique of, 'participation' has increased exponentially. To the newcomer in particular (but to older hands as well), navigating a way through the vastness of the literature can be a bewildering and daunting task. Andrea Cornwall's new reader thus represents a godsend.

Cornwall has drawn together some of the most influential, inspiring, and, occasionally, challenging writing on the principles and practice of participation in development research and action. The volume is arranged in five sections. In the first, 'What is participation?' the reader is introduced to key definitions and frameworks for thinking about meanings and practices of 'participatory development'. We begin with Sherry Arnstein's seminal paper, first published in 1969, on 'Ladders of participation'; a concept that has remained central (with various modifications) in the subsequent literature on participatory research. Two chapters in this section in particular (Sarah White's classic paper and Pablo Alejandro Leals's more recent piece) provide very important critiques, challenging our understandings of participation and questioning the ways in which the concept has become diluted and thus depoliticized through co-option into mainstream development discourses.

The second section offers the reader a taste of the great variety of participatory approaches and methods that have been applied in different contexts. Many of the chapters in this section are short, based on extracts rather than full papers, which is helpful in allowing a greater range of examples to be brought to the table. Sections three and four focus respectively on participatory development in relation to community participation and governance, providing a range of fascinating examples.

Whereas both these sections deal essentially with externally initiated and facilitated 'participation', the final part of the book explores examples of locally initiated mobilization, insurgency, and political struggle. This is, perhaps, the most exciting and inspiring part of the volume. By taking a far more radical and politicized view of notions like democracy

than is currently fashionable in neoliberal circles, these chapters force the reader to confront and question some of the principles that lie at the heart of global power relations and the politics of representation. By re-focusing on (de)politicization, and drawing on theories of subaltern actors and counter-publics, Johnston (and others in this section) oblige us to move beyond the comfort zone of participation as a cuddly 'motherhood and apple pie' notion. Resisting co-option is a key theme of several papers in this final section, and Evelina Dagnino's contribution, which charts the 'perverse confluence' of constructions of citizenship in both radical democratic and neoliberal discourses, makes a fittingly challenging conclusion to the volume. Cornwall offers no final discussion, attempting to summarize the key points and debates that emerge from this set of papers. In some respects, this might be seen as a missed opportunity to draw together such an important and eclectic collection. However, in other respects it is a strength: in keeping with the principles of participation, readers are not spoon-fed a ready-made set of conclusions, but are invited to navigate their own way through the material and make sense of it for themselves.

In her preface, Cornwall remarks on the difficulty of choosing which articles to include and which to leave out; an unenviable position in many ways. On the whole, the choices she has made are appropriate ones in my view. The papers range from early classics and cornerstones (such as those by Arnstein, Orlando Fals Borda, and Robert Chambers) to some brilliant contemporary examples, including lesser-known work. The one omission I would question is an extract from Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari's *Participation: the new tyranny?* (2001). While some of the arguments made in that book are taken up and developed in the papers that Cornwall has included, it seems odd to leave out a text that has provoked such reaction and debate for both practitioners and those studying participatory development.

That one omission notwithstanding, I wholeheartedly applaud Cornwall's work in putting together this wonderful volume. I have no doubt that it will be of enduring value to scholars, students, and practitioners of development for many years to come. I hope that it will also be accessible to some of those at the other end: those who 'participate' in 'development' in various ways, including subversion and resistance, as well as 'softer' forms of participation. This reader represents

both an important 'marker' of the key participatory discourses and practices over the past four decades, and a forward-looking take on the possibilities of popular action for contesting global political hegemonies. Everyone with an interest in global power relations, inequalities, and development in the twenty-first century should read it.

KATE HAMPSHIRE *Durham University*

HAGBERG, STEN & CHARLOTTA WIDMARK (eds). *Ethnographic practice and public aid: methods and meanings in development cooperation*. 305 pp., figs, bibliogr. Uppsala: Univ. Press, 2009. \$77.50 (paper)

This book makes the case for the involvement of anthropologists in aid. The contributors offer a tour of the institutions prominent in the industry – aid-giving and -receiving governments, NGOs, and even large companies – as well as various locations in Europe, South America, South Asia, and Africa. Most of the authors have some connection to Swedish International Development Co-operation (Sida), a donor that employed anthropologists as staff or consultants earlier than most.

Olivier de Sardan conveys the value of giving enough time to the study of development before rushing to judge. He gives us a taste of some of his findings in West Africa: the pervasive corruption and disdain for users by civil servants has been partly caused by the donors by-passing the state. To change the professional cultures found in state agencies, reform is needed from the inside rather than from top down imposed by donors. In support of reformers within the system, we should expose the everyday implicit 'practical norms' that govern corruption, whether commissions for illicit services or string-pulling, as well as the culture of impunity. I found de Sardan's argument utterly convincing.

David Lewis makes a broader argument about the need for a historical perspective. He is not the first to make it, but it is still worth reminding development scholars and practitioners until they take some notice. Whether gathering life histories of organizations, or tracing the reasons for changing fashions, the ideology and practices of development can be better understood through history. Marcus Hedlund provides an example of this: as many aid professionals have plunged into time-wasting managerialism and bureaucracy, social movements have been transformed into NGOs

while facilitation has become technicalized and instrumental rather than the empowerment goal it was twenty years ago. Eva Tobisson reminds of the importance of taking account of the local context over time in describing how people experience poverty. It cannot be understood in Zanzibar unless you consider increases in the price of land, introduction of seaweed farming, the rise and fall of tourism, and so on, which in my view casts doubt on the value of the UNDP-assisted one-day consultation process to develop Zanzibar's first Poverty Reduction Plan (p. 145).

Reflexivity and the ethical position of anthropologists is another strand of this volume. Rosalind Eyben's position is revealing – having moved from civil servant to researcher at the Institute for Development Studies – as she brings into stark relief how anthropologists are as socialized as any other social actors. Her liminality is disconcerting for former colleagues, especially when she underscores her outsider position during a particular encounter by being more reflective than insiders are supposed to be (p. 91).

Jan Ovesen tells the most controversial story. In his assessment, a dam in Laos reduces poverty (pp. 276-8), and he defends the conclusions he made during the 1990s that resettling some of the local population was worth it. But the consequences of his reports remain open to question. As he points out, short-term consultants have very little influence over large agencies, and in this case none of his recommendations made a mark (pp. 266-8). Strangely, he does not see this as a compromise. This provides a contrast to Charlotta Widmark, who implies in her article on shortcuts that anthropologists are blocked in explaining change in holistic and participatory ways because aid is organized to map and count results against intentions absurdly quickly. To accept a role as anthropological broker, then, you have to decide whether you share enough of the ethical assumptions and the politics of your employers and whether the practical constraints are bearable for you or harmful for others.

The arguments for more anthropological research of development are made clear by this collection: to enrich both development co-operation by shaking its certainties and anthropology in its exploration of politics, governance, and public space. This volume reminds us that good ethnographic research relies on probing in sufficient depth to explain complex connections in an intensely political

industry, rather than helping planners to compile wish-lists and reduce the social to technical variables. What remains mysterious is what role anthropologists should have in aid, but that is, in my view, as it should be.

When anthropologists make it sound easy to participate in international development – or, worse, offer checklists, typologies, grids, and tools – that is when I feel uneasy. This book is, on the whole, reassuringly critical, questioning, and uncertain in its conclusions on anthropologists working in aid and development.

EMMA CREWE *School of Oriental and African Studies*

SRIDHAR, DEVI. *The battle against hunger: choice, circumstance, and the World Bank*. xix, 229 pp., figs, tables, bibliogr. Oxford: Univ. Press, 2008. £40.00 (cloth)

Three important questions lie at the heart of this book: (i) 'How much should policy-makers consider social structure when designing policy?'; (ii) 'Why do policy-makers in the World Bank in particular persist with discredited models of intervention?'; and (iii) 'How does the World Bank understand and address mal- and under-nutrition – and, by implication, how should we, the readers?' Answering such questions requires knowledge of the social aetiology of nutrition, the arts and crafts of policy formulation and evaluation, and the entrails of the World Bank (WB). Though anthropologists have made valuable contributions to each of these fields, Devi Sridhar is one of very few with competences in all three. To bring the symbolic and epistemological systems of disciplines together has profound implications for methods. The answers to her questions require the sacrifice of the long-term participant observation associated with anthropology to an eclectic combination of analyses of discourse, of survey material, and of multi-sited 'ethnographic interviews' (p. 195). The empirical focus is on nutrition (marginalized in both public health and social science, while under-nutrition is a long-running scandal in India); the policy in question is the WB's nutrition programme; its original site is Tamil Nadu, India; and the era is the late 1970s to the present.

Having framed her project in chapter 1, Sridhar then introduces us in the following chapter to the histories of food and nutrition interventions in India and Tamil Nadu, to caste

and party politics in Tamil Nadu, to the methods for – and controversies over – policy evaluation, and to the evolution of nutrition inside the WB. The novelty of this chapter lies in its emphasis on individual agency in policy processes. In chapter 3, in a fine deconstruction of 'hunger' as a development problem, Sridhar exposes the civil war between depoliticized bio-medical approaches to nutrition, on the one hand, and social sciences, dominated by the politics of cost-benefit calculations and economics, on the other. Chapter 4, which explores how nutrition differs from other expert sectors inside the WB, can be read to argue not that its special problems are due to being dominated by economists or operating with a policy template (for both are commonplace), but rather that nutrition is both interstitial and marginal to the power centres of policy-making.

Chapter 5, the empirical core of the book, moves to the Tamil Nadu Integrated Nutrition Programme (aka TNIP), the embodiment of a narrow, technicist, sectoralized subfield of nutrition championed by the WB. It surveys the role of TNIP in village life and the roles of women as agents of change in the 'community'. The communities in question are four castes and three hamlets north of Chennai. Examining TNIP's policy menu, Sridhar reveals serious failings in nutrition counselling and growth monitoring, mediocre nutritional outcomes since food supplements are not targeted, and the possibility of inappropriate assumptions lying behind the project, such as women being ignorant in matters of child feeding. The WB ignores the roles of class and gender discrimination as major forces shaping nutritional outcomes and, despite their agency, the project exacerbates the marginalization of people at the intersection of nutrition, patriarchy, and caste. Sridhar then turns to 'What works?' and in a critical review of secondary literature scopes the alternatives of 'economic growth', sanitation infrastructure, and health-care access, emphasizing the scant attention paid in all the policy texts to the structure of rural society, especially expenditure-poverty, gender discrimination, and infectious disease. She shows that the elements of the WB model – nutrition monitoring, supplementary feeding, and nutrition counselling – are poorly effective, and that the WB has had this evidence for ages but that it persists in advocating this model, first, because in oversimplified evaluations it appears to be cost-effective, and, second, because the WB is stuck in a path-dependent rut. She concludes

that cash-transfers to women's groups would be a more effective and empowering policy for poor (low-caste) women than is the TNIP, but also that a given policy may be overwhelmed by the social structures in which it is implemented.

There is much to discuss in this book, and I can raise just five points here. First, while a multi-disciplinary project necessarily requires an engagement with eclectic terms of art, the reasons for weaving between 'structure' and 'agency', and the subtitle's 'circumstance' (which may include contingency as well as structure) and 'choice' (more elastic than the agentic choices of village women, even including the choices of the WB), are never clarified. Structures and circumstances are not stabilized in the narrative: caste, class, and patriarchy emerge but the structures of the institutions through which policy is implemented are opaque; the structure of work is alluded to but indirectly; and community is a strategically fuzzy concept. Second, while there are spirited swipes at bio-medical theory and rational choice, the reader has to work hard here to uncover theories of the causes of poor nutrition: 'poverty, colonial heritage, deforestation and gender inequality' (p. 15); community sickness, 'social disharmony, conflict and disintegration' (p. 15); inappropriate child care (p. 46); poor mothering and ignorance (p. 50). This matters because we need to know why caste and not class or income poverty was used as the prime stratifier in the empirical chapter. Tamil politics is represented as caste politics but not related to the politics of party or caste in the villages. Third, while Sridhar is a good ambassador to anthropology for the field of health, her ambassadorial handling of the quantitative evidence for qualitatively trained scholars of anthropology leaves much to be desired. The sample of 300 households is non-randomly selected (p. 111) with a varying sampling fraction (p. 112), yet statistical tests are applied and conclusions made as though the data were random and representative; and some conclusions – for example, that there are no significant caste and gender differences in nutritional status (p. 117) – refer only to the non-random data, while the evidence tabulated certainly suggests complex differences in both. Fourth, many key texts in Sridhar's fields are not referred to, which leads her into a tendency to reinvent the wheel. Her conclusion that many women feel that 'alcohol abuse [is] the single most important problem for women in India' (p. 151) is based on her village voices, plus just a single reference in what appears to be a

newsletter – while India's alcohol/addiction studies are voluminous and contested. Fifth, Sridhar's text has been astonishingly poorly served by Oxford University Press's copy-editors: it includes shoddy referencing, typos, repeated text, and tables without sources.

But the essence is that Sridhar does deliver answers to the three big questions framing this book, ones that are both useful and provocative. And the book is also well written and readable.

BARBARA HARRISS-WHITE *Wolfson College,
Oxford University*

Education, learning, and childhood

BROCKLISS, LAURENCE & HEATHER

MONTGOMERY (eds). *Childhood and violence in the Western tradition*. xvi, 336 pp., tables, illus., bibliogr. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010. £40.00 (cloth)

The subject matter of this book is the violence endured by children at the hands of parents and those acting *in loco parentis* – or, as the publisher's blurb puts it, 'the covert ferocity at the heart of adult/child relationships'. The underlying aim is to historicize our understanding of abusive parenting by highlighting changes in what was considered acceptable behaviour over the last three millennia. The definition of abuse is a broad one, involving violence, neglect, and exploitation, so that the book covers child labour and child poverty as well as physical cruelty. The editors note that society in the early twenty-first century is obsessed with child abuse, if the media and various government agencies are anything to go by. They hope to clarify matters by distinguishing enduring beliefs in European civilization about improper parenting (such as invariably condemning infanticide) from more recent constructs (notably rejecting the corporal punishment of children). The assumption is that in all periods there were boundaries between what was considered the legitimate and the illegitimate use of physical force. The editors suggest, perhaps optimistically, that this should reassure child-care professionals, given that however cruel certain parental practices in the past appear to us, there never was a period of 'anything goes'.

The editors are surely right to claim that violence and neglect are an 'under-studied' area

in the history of childhood. It is also beyond doubt that their approach to editing is highly unusual. Instead of producing a discrete set of essays, they have chosen to divide the material into six themes, with substantial commentary of their own linking the contributions from specialists: perhaps a quarter of the work was written by the editors. The risk of a collection from thirty-four contributors is that it appears a random assembly of detailed monographs. Can we accept that the editors have overcome this challenge by producing a 'pointillist survey, a series of period specific vignettes written by experts and knitted together a coherent narrative by the two editors, a historian and an anthropologist' (p. x)? This reviewer was persuaded. Besides the quality of the essays, the input from the editors is consistently lively and well informed. The reader can follow a wide-ranging survey as it meanders across the centuries, from antiquity to contemporary Britain. Of the thirty-four contributors, half are historians, and only one an anthropologist (Heather Montgomery) – but as joint editor the latter ends up with a pervasive influence over the content.

The introduction covers some basics such as the inevitable 'what is a child?' and recent historiography in the area. The six themes covered are: child sacrifice; infanticide, abandonment and abortion; physical cruelty and socialization; child exploitation; violent children, youth enforcers, and juvenile delinquents; and, finally, coping strategies and exit routes. Much of this will be familiar to specialists in the study of childhood, though it is useful to have the research findings of leading scholars in one place. One might cite, for example, abandonment (Sally Crawford and Alysa Levene), child labour (Jane Humphries) and juvenile delinquency (Heather Shore). The book has plenty of material of interest to social scientists as well as historians, notably child sacrifice in the ancient world (Francesca Stavrakopoulou), children as carers (Saul Becker), and self-harm (Rosemary Peacocke). It is up to date in depicting children as actors in their own right as well as victims of adult power. They might suffer beatings from parents, schoolteachers, and employers, but they can dish it out themselves as school prefects, or, as Laurence Brockliss reveals, as rioters in Jesuit schools in seventeenth-century France. They might find themselves sacrificed by parents as soldiers in the First World War (Adrian Gregory), but in the middle of war zones they are also eager to play war games among themselves.

Nick Stargardt notes the bizarre tendency of children on the losing side coping with their feelings of powerlessness and envy by vying to play the winners: Jewish children in the Warsaw ghetto becoming Germans; Berlin children becoming Russian soldiers in 1945. The overall effect of reading the book is sobering, in discovering what some children suffered in the past. What does one make of poor Hans Philip Schuh, aged 13, and given forty-six strokes and then a further seventy-seven strokes in 1628 in Würzburg to beat a confession out of him on charges of witchcraft (Lyndal Roper)? It is also salutary to be reminded that child poverty, suicide, and self-harming remain with us.

COLIN HEYWOOD *University of Nottingham*

KIPNIS, ANDREW B. *Governing educational desire: culture, politics, and schooling in China*. xi, 205 pp., maps, tables, illus., bibliogr. London, Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 2011. £18.00 (paper)

Following the rapid surge of Chinese international students, especially in the US and Europe, Chinese parents' and youths' craving for education has become a topic of global interest among scholars, journalists, educationists, and 'national' students. Andrew Kipnis's timely book goes a long way to identify and explain courses of what he poignantly describes as 'educational desire' in China and beyond. Building on long-term anthropological field research in schools at different levels in Zouping county of Shandong province, Kipnis introduces to the reader the world of education in one of China's most highly educated rural regions. He approaches the study of Chinese educational history and contemporary practices through the Foucauldian perspective of governmentality, and convincingly refutes the common assumption that practices of subjectification, discipline, and conduct of conduct essentially emerged from Western industrialized contexts and spread to the East during the eras of colonialization and globalization. Educational desires in China have roots, Kipnis argues, in governing practices of imperial China, with the examination system as one of the most obvious examples of a governing technology that has a history going back to premodern times, and one that was clearly not adopted from Western practices.

However, Kipnis does not limit his study to the cultural specificities of governing through education in the context of Zouping, or even

China. The 'local' is a starting-point in the book for broader theoretical discussions of the intersection between three major concepts in the social sciences: culture, governing, and emplacement. Therefore, the book is systematically organized into four interconnected chapters moving 'outwards' from the local, to the national, the East Asian, and finally the universalizable aspects of educational desires.

First, chapter 2 establishes Zouping county as a place of intense educational desires, reflected as much in educational policies and practices as in private investments and popular engagement in the education of children. Kipnis rightly points out that although Zouping is not representative of all of contemporary China, it does provide an example of a *type* of educational intensity that may be found in varying degrees in many Chinese contexts (p. 56).

In chapter 3, Kipnis shows how local governing practices in Zouping are encompassed in the wider context of China's national policies. While there are considerable variations in local educational policy implementations in China, a common feature is the fact that policies do not necessarily produce the results that policy-makers envision. This becomes particularly evident in the descriptions of the government's various attempts to manipulate or direct popular educational desires in certain directions: for instance, trying to convince more people to aim at a vocational rather than academic track.

Expanding the perspective on educational desires further, chapter 4 moves from the national to the East Asian historical context. The chapter discusses, for instance, how key aspects of governing across East Asia during imperial times manifest themselves in contemporary educational practices, ranging from (the ideal of) exam-based meritocracy to memorizations of Confucian classics and nurturing personal 'quality' by means of practising handwriting. This leads to the final chapter, which firmly places Chinese and East Asian educational desires in the context of globalized means of governing, demonstrating that there are indeed universalizable aspects of the educational desires identified in the local case of Zouping. Kipnis suggests – and convincingly so – that because of its exceptional long and broad experiences of governing by means of examination, assessment, and evaluation, not merely in education but also in other realms of society, for instance the bureaucracy, China is actually in some respects on the cutting edge of globally changing patterns of governing.

The focus of the book is on the diverse local, national, regional, and global sources of intense educational desires, and the complex means by which they are governed. However, in the final conclusion, Kipnis also briefly deliberates over possible effects of these desires in the context of China, foreseeing, for instance, that structural constraints which are generated by the high levels of educational desires will prevent any substantial change of especially the much-debated examcentric aspect of the education system.

Governing educational desire is an important book which contributes significantly to the anthropology of education, as well as the anthropology of governing. Providing a wealth of vividly described empirical data, which are very well integrated into complex theoretical discussions about culture and governmentality, the book deserves to be read by scholars, students, and anybody else interested in Chinese education, society, or governmentality in general.

METTE HALSKOV HANSEN *University of Oslo*

History and politics

BABIDGE, SALLY. *Aboriginal family and the state: the conditions of history*. xxi, 269 pp., maps, figs, tables, illus., bibliogr. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2010. £60.00 (cloth)

In the last twenty years, a number of monographs by Australian anthropologists have described the development of Aboriginal sociality, politics, and identity in relation to the encompassing Australian nation-state and its own changing political culture. Among the most frequently cited of these are, for example, Francesca Merlan's *Caging the rainbow* (1998), Barry Morris's *Domesticating resistance* (1989), and David Trigger's *Whitfella comin'* (1992). (I can only mention here the dozens of unpublished Masters and doctoral theses that have been submitted on the same topic at Australian universities.) Sally Babidge's book is an account of one group of Aboriginal families, those who identify as Gudjälä, the language of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of Charters Towers, a small town in north Queensland near Townsville.

All of these works perforce advocate an anthropology in which historical analysis has to play a major role ethnographically. Babidge's

subtitle, *The conditions of history*, is never explicitly glossed in the monograph itself. But it is clear that history, in terms of both the objective account of Settler-Aboriginal contact in north Queensland, and the Aboriginal people's own historicity, their sense of their own survival and transformation through time in the highly asymmetrical field of Aboriginal-White relations, is the ground against which she is setting her anthropological analysis of the current forms of Aboriginal family and its social actions in north Queensland.

Central to Babidge's ethnography is the effect of the organizational and actional demands that have been placed on rural Aboriginal families since Settlement. Her history begins with frontier violence and the dispersal of Aboriginal local groups in the early years of Settlement, and continues through the period whereby Aboriginal people were subject to pronounced regulation and later to the pressures of a state-sponsored policy of assimilation around the 1950s. This was followed, starting in the 1970s, by the advent of policies that granted more autonomy to Aboriginal citizens and the provision of political tools dedicated to the goal of Aboriginal 'self-determination'.

All this is a familiar story in Aboriginal historical ethnography by now. Babidge's contribution is her focus on the way in which specific forms of Aboriginal family and family statuses in the Charters Towers area were engendered and elicited by the development of various state and federal policies in Queensland and Australia. Her work is an ethnographic contribution to the description of the now commonly referred to Aboriginal 'surnamed family group', which has become a unit of both domestic economy and reproduction in the classic sense, as well as a political unit of Aboriginal interaction with the state within a variety of statutory realms. This twofold domestic and political function distinguishes the extended Aboriginal family from most non-Aboriginal families in Australia.

The primary political function of this family that Babidge focuses on stems from the demands of the Native Title Act (1993), which has afforded an avenue for Aboriginal communities to apply for the recognition of rights and interests in their traditional lands. Because of the severe dislocation wrought on the Aboriginal populations in places such as north Queensland, the relations between the current inhabitants of the area and their ancestors who were alive at the time of first

European contact is very poorly recorded and often impossible to confirm. Coupled with the state's policies of hostility to Aboriginal cultural and social activity in the early colonial period and a later twentieth century of assimilation, Aboriginal families have experienced profound alteration in the cultural dimensions of their lived experience in the last 150 years. Yet the Native Title Act demands that Aboriginal applicants demonstrate a continuity of connection both to these putative ancestors and to their traditional laws and customs, demands that in this part of Australia cannot be easily met. The extended Aboriginal family group, often identified in terms of its dominant surname, has become the identifiable mode of Aboriginal organizational response to this statutory form of engagement with the state.

Babidge engages effectively with the main theoretical frameworks that have emerged from the previous ethnographic accounts of Aboriginal-White interaction mentioned earlier and examines and assesses each one fairly and competently, so that the monograph will prove valuable for teaching purposes. Her own position is that formal engagements with the state in the form of various structured meetings (which formed a large part of her ethnographic field sites) 'are so well known by the parties involved that they are an integral element of the production of culture relevant to the state and Aboriginal people' (p. 191). Babidge's insight is to see those occasions in which both state and Aboriginal cultural formations equally elicit their own forms of recognition out of engagement with each other.

In sum, this is a richly detailed and astutely analysed piece of research into the current forms of Aboriginal cultural and social action in rural Australia.

JAMES F. WEINER *Australian National University*

KIPNIS, ANDREW. *China and postsocialist anthropology: theorizing power and society after Communism*. vi, 256 pp., bibliogr. Norwalk, Conn.: EastBridge, 2008. \$29.95 (paper)

Many anthropologists working in places which previously had regimes that described themselves as 'socialist' have used the notion of 'postsocialism' as a general periodization of the societies they study. While China's historical trajectory is different from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in various ways, here as well 'postsocialism' has been used frequently to

characterize the era which in Chinese official discourse started with the policies of 'reform and opening'. It is commonly assumed that 'postsocialism' refers to the transition from a planned economy towards marketization. But only few anthropologists and other social scientists have tried to further engage 'postsocialism' on a critical and theoretical level. One main reason for this lack of reflection is that many social scientists, intentionally or inadvertently, maintain political and theoretical convictions similar to those that were at the core of socialist governance, in particular a holistic conception of society and an unconditional appraisal of politicization.

That is, slightly overstated, the gist of Andrew Kipnis's book *China and postsocialist anthropology*. Drawing on an extensive critique of the consequences of Marxism in theory and practice, Kipnis outlines an anthropological appraisal of 'postsocialism'. Most substantive chapters have been published previously in journals; revised and supplied with an introduction and a conclusion, this book is a testimony to Kipnis's sustained effort to make the anthropology of China and the anthropology of postsocialism relevant for general debates in anthropology and neighbouring disciplines.

In the introduction, Kipnis gives a broad summary verdict on Marxism as a political movement in the twentieth century, including a death count, and emphasizes the parallels and conjunctions of socialist governance and Marxist theorizing. The chapter sets the tone and the task of the book: a critique of (post)socialism and (post-)Marxism and their consequences in theory and in political reality. This critique is based not on the standard denunciation of economistic and materialistic one-sidedness (which is, however, also summoned), but on the tendency of Marxism and socialism towards societal holism and politicization. In Kipnis's argument, academic Marxism and real-existing socialism share the same tendency to subsume human difference under social wholes ('class', 'the masses', 'capitalist society', etc.) and to imagine the world as a struggle between friends and foes. In the first part of the book, Kipnis discusses the consequences of these tendencies in intellectual discussions and power relations under (post)socialism.

Chapter 2 discusses five ethnographies of China written in the 1980s and 1990s which deal with post-Maoist power (two of them, by Judith Farquhar and Robert Weller, not so explicitly). All five anthropologists had to confront Maoism 'as

a theoretical discourse that simultaneously governed Chinese society, influenced Anthropology, and structured their own political imagination'. On this basis, they developed sophisticated conceptualizations of power, which Kipnis argues can be also made useful for general anthropological debates on power.

Chapters 3 and 4 offer commentaries on postsocialist and post-Marxian intellectual debates, including the stand-off between 'new liberals' and 'new leftists' in the PRC and the works of several post-Marxian theorists (Gibson-Graham, Laclau and Mouffe, and Chakrabarty). Both in Chinese and English debates, Kipnis finds particular flaws which show that intellectuals have not learned from the errors of Maoism: according to him, a logic of friend and foe, a general orientation towards social wholes, and an attitude of anti-empiricism characterize these debates.

In the second part of the book, Kipnis formulates alternative theoretical approaches. Chapter 5 proposes 'good faith communicative reason' instead of 'politicized communicative reason', while chapter 6 advocates 'ethnography of political potentials' instead of 'over-politicization'. Reflecting on male banqueting and female church-going in his fieldwork site in Zouping (Shandong), Kipnis interprets local Christianity as a 'potential gendered critique', a critique which is a mere potential and yet not realized. The next chapter proposes a 'neo-Durkheimian theory of political economy' which rests on the distinction between the dynamics of mechanic and organic solidarity, and the different kinds of conflict which ensue. Kipnis claims that such a theory can avoid the pitfalls of Marxism and neoliberalism, offering examples such as the conflicts between 'experts' (= organic solidarity) and 'reds' (= mechanic solidarity) in Maoist China. The last substantive chapter is about global citizenship, which remains a blind spot in Marxian critiques of neoliberalism, according to Kipnis. His 'neo-Durkheimian perspective', in contrast, explicitly focuses on (non-utopian and non-holistic) politicization and also offers the possibility of measured political advocacy.

Defenders of a continuing engagement with Marxist theory might argue that Kipnis does not address the intricacies of Marxian dialectics, but instead the vulgar Marxism of Lenin and Mao. Kipnis, indeed, does not entertain the notion that some pure version of Marxist theory could be detached from the political consequences of what Lenin and Mao made of Marxist thought. In fact, he argues throughout that the flaws of

over-politicization and societal holism apply not only equally to both Marxism and Maoism, but also to a lot of post-Marxian social theory.

Kipnis's alternative proposals certainly do not represent a grand and seamless theoretical edifice comparable to some in the Marxist tradition. Instead he offers medium-range theoretical propositions which are closely related to empirical research and which refrain from taking fast and radical political positions. This book provides a stimulating example of what ethnographically based theories of postsocialism could look like.

HANS STEINMÜLLER *London School of Economics and Political Science*

KNÖRR, JACQUELINE & WILSON TRAJANO FILHO (eds). *The powerful presence of the past: integration and conflict along the Upper Guinea coast*. xiv, 375 pp., maps, bibliogr. Leiden: Brill, 2010. €75.00 (paper)

Five countries of the Upper Guinea coast (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, and Senegal) have experienced rebellions since the 1980s. The region has attracted international attention on account of this apparent propensity for revolt. Historical evidence suggests this is nothing new. Insurrections were on average twice as likely on slave ships from the upper West African coast as on those from regions such as the Niger Delta and Angola. What does anthropology contribute to the analysis of this apparent regional propensity for war? The present volume sets out to examine the issue by posing contextual questions about modalities of conflict and social integration within Upper West African coastal societies. The chapters (by anthropologists David Berliner, James Fairhead, Christian Højbjerg, William Murphy, Krijn Peters, Ramon Sarró, Susan Shepler, and Elizabeth Tonkin, and historians Stephen Ellis, Bruce Mouser, Peter Mark, and Jodi Tomàs, plus the editors) are individually strong. Important new insights are frequent. Among the highlights on the anthropological side is a splendid essay by Ramon Sarró showing that identity among the Baga of the coast of Guinea is at any one point in time the product of temporally and spatially variable processes of social incorporation and exclusion. This should be mandatory reading for any manipulator of a 'large *N*' conflict data set inclined to code 'ethnicity' as a single variable.

Excellent contributions by the historians include an especially significant chapter by Stephen Ellis on Liberian politics, since it

expands and modifies his widely discussed earlier arguments about violence and the occult. Space excludes further discussion of admirable contributions by Wilson Trajano Filho, Bruce Mouser, Krijn Peters, and others, but it is safe to say that no anthropologist or historian interested in modern Africa or armed conflict and violence will want to be without this collection.

So why do I have a feeling that the sum is less than the (highly valuable) parts? The hoped-for regional contextualization stubbornly refuses to take shape. In part, this is because the editors run up a blind alley in pursuit of a dubious distinction. The opening overview claims that previous literature on conflicts in the region has over-emphasized societal at the expense of cultural factors. No theorization of the relations between 'society' and 'culture' is offered, nor do the editors substantiate their assertion that the 'societal' work their volume seeks to transcend is 'monocausal' in its focus on the state. Only one of the contributors (Christian Højbjerg, acknowledged for his advice on the editorial overview) seems inclined to embrace this point of view; the others go their own way, and one (James Fairhead) offers what amounts to a robust critique of the editorial reading of previous literature. As a result, editorial ambition and actual content appear to be somewhat at variance.

A second problem is that the editors have given insufficient thought to the regionalization they adopt. The book covers two major ecotypes (savanna and forest). According to the editors, commonalities among the societies of the Upper Guinea coastal region arise from two long-term cultural processes: the spread of Mande trade networks from the interior Upper Niger basin towards the coast; and the spread of European trade (and colonial ambition) along the littoral. They fail to pay due attention, however, to a third important factor – the variable challenge of forest conversion. Much of the history of the savanna section of the Upper Guinean coast region centres on the lower reaches of rivers draining the highlands of Futa Jalon. Here, open terrain has supported open (i.e. highly interconnected) Islamic societies. But the coastal zone from Sierra Leone to Côte d'Ivoire is backed by humid tropical rainforest, within which communities are much more localized and enclosed (not least by a politics of secrecy). The forest was much less easily traversed and settled, and posed a specific set of challenges to those groups who attempted to tap its resources. The technological and institutional means of forest conversion (including technologies and

institutions of security) are a central theme in anthropological work on this portion of the Upper Guinea coast. Warren d'Azevedo saw the linguistically diverse communities on either side of a great boundary wilderness (the Gola Forest) as constituting a Central West Atlantic region, marked by possession of two sets of institutions adapted to colonization of the forest frontier: conical clans and secret societies. This characterization has stood the test of time, as attested by the fine paper by William Murphy (offered in d'Azevedo's honour). But it means that for a fully satisfactory analysis of security issues, forest-specific technological factors, institutional dynamics, and cognitive aspects require interconnection.

It is perhaps significant that Murphy is the only contributor to cite (and build on) a key paper by d'Azevedo in which the institutional dynamics of the conical clan in interaction with the secret society are worked out in sociological detail. By all means bring in regional cultural and linguistic influences, but this book, editorially at least, risks throwing away the comparative advantage of anthropology in the analysis of informal institutions. The recent forest wars in the region were about more than identity and discourse. The social organization and political economy of forest frontier society are inescapable issues for an anthropology of conflict in Upper West Africa.

PAUL RICHARDS *Wageningen University and Research Centre*

LITTLE, WALTER E. & TIMOTHY SMITH (eds). *Mayas in postwar Guatemala: harvest of violence revisited*. vii, 219 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. Tuscaloosa: Univ. Alabama Press, 2009. \$26.95 (paper)

Postwar Guatemala since the Peace Accords in 1996 is a very different country than Guatemala during the 1980s when *Harvest of violence* (1988) was first published. The Guatemalan civil war and genocide perpetrated against the Mayan Indians are no longer the focal points of discussion. The Guatemala of today is a place with pressing socio-economic issues, and rife with crime such as 'kidnapping rings, drug trafficking, and youth gangs' (p. 2). Politically, it is a confusing time, with support being garnered by ex-dictators such as General Efraín Ríos Montt, a man responsible for some of the worst atrocities and massacres during the civil war era; the involvement of the Guatemalan army in civil patrols against crime; and the advent of vigilante lynching mobs. It is

a time which may be characterized as trying to grasp the results of the 'Truth Commission', as implementing the Peace Accords, as turning to non-governmental agencies for socio-economic development, and as integrating insurgents and counterinsurgents into the political system (p. 183).

Little and Smith's collection presents a plethora of essays on contemporary Guatemala and may be regarded as the most current anthropological depiction of a variety of complex topics regarding the country. It features discussions on: indigenous mobilization in Sololá; the controversy of traditional religious practices in Verapaz; evangelical resistance to the peace process; Guatemalan vendors and crime; women in unsafe neighbourhoods in Guatemala City; bilingual and bicultural education; intergenerational conflict and gangs in postwar Guatemala; the economy of humanitarianism in the country; everyday politics in a K'iche' village; redefining development and ethnicity in Totonicapán; neoliberal violence; and Guatemalan scholarship from 1988 to 2008. By examining the economic, political, and social, this book expands our knowledge about the Mayas of Guatemala in this postwar period by providing ontological insights about controversies and issues as only anthropologists can: through long-term fieldwork.

There are noteworthy chapters about religion, such as Abigail Adams's discussion of spirit mediums among the Q'eqchi' Mayas and the spiritual re-encounter revivalist movement. In her chapter, Adams explains how the murder of the spirit medium Pop Caal in 2002 must be considered in relation to the controversy and intolerance evoked among other Mayas in relation to spiritualist recovery in Alta Verapaz. Likewise, J. Jailey Philpot-Munson's chapter about the evangelicals of Nebaj demonstrates how attitudes towards the civil war are not in congruence with the findings of the Catholic Church's Truth Commission and the United Nations in regard to the mass executions, disappearances, and numerous human rights abuses. According to Philpot-Munson, Nebaj evangelicals preach forgiveness for war crimes and are mostly opposed to the exhumation of mass secret graves. What these two chapters explore are the tensions religion embodies for many Mayas, whether the controversy of worshipping traditional mountain-valley spirits or Pentecostalism in opposition to a human rights perception of the civil war.

Another interesting chapter is by Jennifer Burrell explaining gangs or *maras* in Todos

Santos. As Burrell explains, *mareros* (gang members) in rural areas come from middle- to upper-income families who may be characterized by hanging out on the street until late at night, drinking to excess, possibly taking drugs, and wearing their hair long. Gang activities in Todos Santos have led to strong reactions, including 'the imposition of curfews, attempted lynchings, the (re)activation of security committees that closely resemble in both character and range of powers the civil patrols of the war years, and, ultimately, murder' (p. 101). Burrell underscores the murder of a gang member by exploring the activities of gangs in Todos Santos and people's reactions to them, while demonstrating the new violence of repression in post-accord Guatemala and the lack of opportunities for young people. A similar chapter is by Peter Benson and Edward Fischer, who elaborate on post-accord violence in the town of Tecpán, where Kaqchikel Mayas predominate. Benson and Fischer discuss the rumours about gangs and how a particular protest against the town's mayor became violent, as well as social suffering and social insecurity associated with neoliberalism and the structural conditions of violence.

Lastly, I would like to highlight the chapter by David Stoll, in which he demonstrates how the army versus the people paradigm may be misguided, given Mayan views against guerrilla insurgents, the political popularity of the flagrant human rights violator General Efraín Ríos Montt, and the uncanny support for ex-civil defence patrollers (*patrullas de auto-defensa civil*, PACs).

As a whole, the book portrays the social intricacies of contemporary Guatemala as a tapestry of crime, political violence, and the dilemmas of ethnic development. It demonstrates the impact of the past on the present, connecting the violence of the civil war period to aspects of contemporary violence. *Mayas in postwar Guatemala* is a major contribution to the anthropology of the country.

J.P. LINSTROTH *Independent scholar*

OCHS, JULIANA. *Security and suspicion: an ethnography of everyday life in Israel*. ix, 204 pp., illus., bibliogr. Philadelphia: Univ. Pennsylvania Press, 2011. £31.00 (cloth)

Juliana Ochs's *Security and suspicion* is a critical ethnography of Jewish Israeli citizens' everyday experiences of national security. The book provides an intimate portrait of how her informants internalize national discourses of

security and reproduce them through levels of bodily practice, through their anxiety and fears associated with the Palestinian population, and through fantasies of threat and protection. Ochs shows how everyday practices perpetuate a normalization of the conflict and state securitization. Where previous ethnographies of Israel have focused on the militarization of Israeli society through conscription and other official forms of civil participation, this shows security 'as a politics that is often intangible and fleeting, inconsistent and intimate, taking form in impressions and senses' (p. 3).

The opening chapters argue that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has disciplined Israeli Jews to be a panoptical population, where security is everybody's national responsibility. Chapter 2 introduces how Jewish Israelis have well-articulated notions of security through constant exposure to security measures, security lapses, or security threats. Through Ochs's case study on the rebuilding of Café Hillel in Jerusalem following a suicide attack, she examines how security works through symbols and aesthetics. The speed with which the detritus of the bombing is swept up and the café rebuilt comes to symbolize the perseverance of the Jewish Israeli people and the normalization of conflict. Ochs argues that the state and its imaginaries of safety and security become locally enacted through such rebuilding practices.

In chapter 3, Ochs examines how Israeli discourses of fear become privately negotiated through the body. She describes a corporeal politics that becomes not only a mode of attachment to the state but also a constantly negotiated form of connection to the family. This intimate relationship with fear as a continuously circulating entity fuels the perception of the Palestinian enemy other and the acceptance of security measures.

Suspicion as a technology of security is explored in chapter 4. Israeli Jews' suspicion is described as going beyond a self-protective strategy to become a code of Israeli social knowledge that delineates particular notions of 'threat' and Palestinians. Developing the idea of a panoptical population, Ochs describes her experience of the almost 'diagnostic system' her informants appeared to use to 'identify' terrorists whilst carrying out participant observation with the Israeli Civil Guard. Ochs argues that this 'system' was actually gut instinct that reflected the internalization of state discourses of suspicion, reifying the perceived threat of aberrant Palestinians. One wonders how unique this is to Israelis and Israeli state discourse when

one considers the fear and suspicion that circulated around the London Underground after the bombings in July 2005.

Unfortunately, Ochs does not reflect on how she negotiated any such tension of embodying security. Because security guards and barriers populate so much of the urban landscape, one cannot avoid being conscious of it and indeed 'projecting security in the city', to use the title of chapter 5. Greater self-reflection and further examination of her confrontation with security would have been welcome. This also might have mitigated her slightly neurotic portrayal of Jewish Israelis and their orientation towards security in this chapter.

A politics of normalization is a theme throughout the book. In chapter 6, both state directives and the domestication of military life are seen to make the conflict appear sustainable. The home is presented as an opportunity to distance oneself mentally from the violent realities of the conflict. Ochs argues that 'hypernormal interiors, seemingly well-intended parental protection, and self-protective pursuits of comfort' are not productive ways of confronting the conflict as presented by her informants, but in fact a means to 'ignore it in a way that enables a resignation to it' (p. 137).

The Separation Wall is a physical symbol of how the Israeli state has attempted to dislocate Palestinians and violence in the Occupied Territories from the Israeli consciousness. The final chapter links tours of the Separation Wall to the Israeli national tradition of connecting with the land and Jewish historical narratives through hiking. Tours of the Wall are about experiencing and understanding security. Fantasies of the state can be tangibly experienced as bounded, safe, coherent and controlled, by bearing witness to the Separation Wall. This final chapter nicely brings together the intersubjective relationship between observable national security discourses and the internalized Jewish Israeli orientation towards security.

Security and suspicion makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the cultural and social life of security and politics in the twenty-first century. Through a rich and nuanced ethnography, Ochs captures the very real fears and anxieties of Jewish Israelis living in conflict. The book provides a profound record of how Jewish Israelis have internalized the binaries of 'us' and 'them' that have come about as a result of state projects of securitization and their intimate exposure to violence.

ANDREW GEE *Defence Science and Technology Laboratory*

Legal anthropology

HEALD, SUZETTE. *Law and war in rural Kenya*. DVD/PAL, colour, 64 minutes. London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 2010. £50.00

Suzette Heald's *Law and war in rural Kenya* examines the role of the Iritongo in the Bukira East region of Kenya. The Iritongo is a traditional type of communal meeting found in many countries in East Africa whereby individuals come together to self-police and handle communal disturbances. In the mid-1990s, the increase of cattle-raiding and the increasing violence of these raids rattled Bukira East, and to help solve the problem, citizens banded together and reinstated the Iritongo as a means of organizing citizens, shaping public will, and sanctioning vigilante, non-state violence against cattle-raiders. In the film, we see community members recount how they, in the words of one person, 'brought it [the Iritongo] up to date' by increasing transparency, keeping meeting minutes, and making it more accessible for those who are not ritual elders to play a role. The same character parallels this change to a shift in roofing: just as people now roof their houses with iron rather than grass to make them stronger, so, too, people changed the Iritongo to make it a viable means of solving their problems. The filmmaker and people in the film credit the revival of the Iritongo with playing a crucial role in the diminishment of the violence, a necessary precursor to economic development in the town.

The film, after presenting this background, proceeds to investigate the state of events ten years after the resurgence of the Iritongo. Violence has returned to the area, with an increase in gun crime and violent theft. These problems are more acute in parts of Bukira East where the Iritongo no longer meets. Just as significantly, where the Iritongo still functions, we hear criticism of it from individuals who claim that it has become corrupt. One man, the father of men the Iritongo considers thieves, claims that the Iritongo took his cattle and burned his house, threatening further violence until he paid them. Others highlight its inefficiency. In one example, suspected thieves escaped Iritongo-imposed captivity simply because the man in charge watching them was drunk.

Unlike other documentaries which follow a traditional narrative arc, using a conflict and its

ultimate resolution to drive the narrative, this film is more observational. It presents us with a situation, but we leave without knowing the resolution of the upturn in violence and the Iritongo's effectiveness in meeting this new challenge. This approach to the material proves effective. By resisting the compulsion falsely to conflate a conflict for cinematic purposes, the film seems more realistic and natural.

Although this film adopts an observational style, it depicts a number of important social processes, making it a valuable tool for classroom educators seeking to find a creative way to depict these issues. It raises issues about the acceptability of violence and the ways in which violence becomes sanctioned. One character explains that 'the Iritongo was the government. It was the authority in the community'. In the absence of a strong central government in a nation-state still under fifty years old, various forms of non-state policing undoubtedly will flourish, and this film provides a close examination of this phenomenon. Similarly, it provides interesting examples of legal pluralism and how citizens create non-state institutions when the state seems unable to solve a pressing problem. Furthermore, while it is not the focus, it depicts the changing role of kinship in an area where the technical rationalities of bureaucratic governance are becoming more popular. For example, in highlighting the changes made to the Iritongo, one character asserts that 'in this committee we ignored kinship. We didn't say, "This is my son" '.

Although an engaging, educational film, it could have used a little more data about the practical details of the Iritongo. It is not until twenty-two minutes in that we see an Iritongo in practice, and even by the end of the film, it is unclear precisely what distinguishes the Iritongo from alternative meeting forms. Moreover, the film also seems to lose focus towards the end. The last fifteen minutes are centred on the Inchama, an alternative to the Iritongo and a meeting of tribal elders that is less transparent, but the differences between these two forms are never fully elucidated. Even with these flaws, however, the film does an excellent job of portraying one way in which residents of Bukira East tried to solve the problems of violence and theft, and it would be an excellent tool for scholars teaching classes on Kenya, violence, kinship, and non-state institutions.

NOAM OSBAND *University of Pennsylvania*

NIEZEN, RONALD. *Public justice and the anthropology of law*. xiv, 254 pp., bibliogr. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 2010. £45.00 (cloth), £16.99 (paper)

This fascinating and unusual book carries ethnographic unboundedness to extremes because its subjects, 'the public' and 'public opinion', are intangible entities existing 'largely in the imagination' (p. 26) of those seeking to appeal to them. When campaigning activists from the James Bay Cree, Kalahari Bushmen, or Samburu seek to garner sympathy and support from these 'unknown consumers of information' (p. 28), their intended audiences are therefore every bit as ineffable as the deities propitiated through the religious rituals that their staged cultural performances often invoke.

Niezen's analysis is broad in scope, and not all the important issues he raises can be pursued here. He traces the recognition of public opinion – as mass empowerment or popular tyranny – back to eighteenth-century Britain, while in revolutionary France it became the ultimate source of moral, judicial, and political guidance. It was, however, slower to emerge in international contexts. There was 'no grass roots lobbying to the fledgling League of Nations' (p. 10) (not *entirely* true; see the efforts of Chrystal Macmillan's International Congress of Women), and only after the Second World War did public opinion gain purchase. Global 'publics' were first made possible by the printing press, railway, and telegraph, and greatly facilitated by later advances in transport and electronic communication. (Niezen does not engage fully with the latter; he mentions use of the Internet and video, but the index has only one entry under 'blog' and none for 'Twitter'.)

Publics, Niezen memorably declares, 'have the qualities of a typical ... teenager' (p. 50). They are persuadable and credulous (hence the power of corporate media); self-interested even when altruistic (compare Didier Fassin's argument on the hierarchical nature of humanitarianism); hypocritical in focusing on faraway causes rather than their own doorsteps; curious, yet with short attention spans ('compassion fatigue'); emotionally responsive; indignant about perceived unfairness; prone to form '-isms' linked to identity (*feminism*, p. 49); and evangelically fervent about universal ideals.

But how do public understandings of and attitudes towards the complexities of international law actually arise? '[W]hat implicit ideas about culture ... are motivating public judgments' (p. 13)? Given the adolescent

character of public opinion and its preference for the photogenic, it is no surprise that *chronic* aspects of social exclusion – the dependency of refugees and asylum-seekers after the initial catastrophe of displacement – risk being overlooked. More fundamentally, the processual notions of culture held by social scientists contrast starkly with the essentialized models deployed by cultural lobbyists, NGOs, and UN agencies. Their ‘applied legal sociology’ (p. 21) has politico-legal rather than scholarly motives, of course, which is why it draws upon publicly shaped concepts rather than paradigms from academia. Even so, it is surprising, given his frequent references to one such concept, ‘indigenous peoples’, that Niezen does not mention the intense debates sparked off within anthropology by Adam Kuper’s critique (‘The return of the native’, *Current Anthropology* 44, 2003, 389–402.)

UN agencies, too, need public opinion to legitimize their aims and activities. Indeed, ‘[p]art of the explanation of the near-universal legitimacy of human rights follows from the importance of public appeal as a mechanism of rights compliance’ (p. 7). Niezen coins the term ‘conceptual diplomacy’ for the processes whereby, after the exposure of gross civil wrongs or the conclusions of civil wars, a kind of ‘intellectual disarmament’ (p. 18) is achieved prior to the desired (re-)creation of positively valued identities and senses of self. Hence those synecdoches of contemporary life, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, which require states not only to acknowledge publicly their own guilt but also, by theatrical, quasi-legal means, to actively reshape the opinions of their citizens ‘in line with the moral universals of human rights’ (p. 180). Consequently, the growing influence of ‘victims’ and ‘indigenous peoples’ does not signal a decline in the significance of the state; rather, states become ‘the principal moral entities answerable to human rights standards’ (p. 23), albeit that their admissions of their own past failings, by means of symbolic ‘apologies’, are ‘often performed reluctantly, through clenched teeth’ (p. 24).

Despite this final caveat and his insistence upon the limitations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission paradigm, Niezen’s portrayal of states’ roles in these matters seems relatively optimistic. Others, approaching the question from different angles, are less sanguine. For example, John and Jean Comaroff argue that the rights, interests, and identities with which Niezen is concerned may even risk being criminalized in contexts where security has

become ‘the state function *par excellence*’ (F. von Benda-Beckman, K. von Benda-Beckmann & J. Eckert (eds), *Rules of law and laws of ruling: on the governance of law*, 2009, p. 54, original emphasis). It seems that attempts to secure and maintain public legitimacy on the part of contemporary ships of state are constantly at risk of foundering in the choppy waters at the confluence of these two political currents.

ANTHONY GOOD *University of Edinburgh*

Medical anthropology

ANDERSSON TROVALLA, ULRIKA. *Medicine for uncertain futures: a Nigerian city in the wake of a crisis*. 214 pp., illus., bibliogr. Uppsala: Uppsala Univ., 2011. SEK 240 (paper)

This is a truly fascinating thesis (yes, it is a thesis – it passed in May 2011 and has no index). It is also a picaresque ‘novel’ centring on the movements, intermittently over a period of some ten years, of ‘Jibril’ through the very troubled town of Jos in northern Nigeria. ‘Jibril’ is seen by many as a spirit (*iska*, but not a *dan iska*, a common pejorative term Dr Andersson Trovala does not mention), but he is usually depicted here walking through the streets in the author’s company. He presents himself as a ‘healer’, but conspicuously is unable either to heal himself or to avoid travails in his dealings with ‘his’ union, the Nigerian Union of Medical Herbal Practitioners (Plateau State branch). We actually learn very little about him (not even his real name) or indeed about those around him: even ‘the professor’ at the University of Jos, despite an important role in the ‘novel’, remains anonymous. (Why? To protect whom?) There is a sustained air of unreality: such mundane data as finances or indeed the contents of Jibril’s medicaments (if they exist?) are absent; some of the things that are surely just ‘lies’, but stay unexamined. Fantasy, photos/photocopies, and paranoia intermingle.

In short, as an ethnography of checkable, scientific ‘fact’, the thesis has its limitations, but as an insight into the magical realism of those on the street in perhaps the most mixed-up of Nigerian towns, it is a rewarding read – not dissimilar to Philip de Boeck’s account of Kinshasa or Achille Mbembe’s ‘post-colony’. It is a far cry from the lives of, say, Nigerian peasant farmers or conventional Muslims in the big Hausa cities; it is the sort of messy syncretist’s

world that Boko Haram despise, and would discipline if they could. But it is exactly the extra-exotic scene that many an anthropologist now loves to depict for a Euro-American readership. It is becoming a genre given weight (as befits a thesis) by such old names as John Dewey, G.H. Mead, and C.S. Peirce, yet also enlivened by modernist landscape theorists like Tim Ingold and Chris Tilley. Thus, once more, 'natives' are explained by our 'Northern' models. And we are not even allowed to seek out these individual 'natives' to listen to them ourselves because they have to be 'protected' (p. 7) by pseudonyms. But because they all asked to be 'recognized', the author none the less lists their real names (but not, apparently, the 'professor's').

It is an excellent idea to pick out one group of ordinary people – not a single street or town quarter but a small, distinct trade union – in order to carry out a tightly focused urban ethnography. With 'urban' sites in Nigeria now holding 50 per cent of the population and growing on average at 4 per cent a year, and with so high a percentage of urban migrants being jobless and under-educated, these new townscapes are of serious significance. Jos, as currently the key hotspot for Christian versus Muslim conflict, has been the object of a number of recent theses, both by scholars within Nigeria and by outsiders. This study stands out from others I have read this past year by *not* being about vengeful violence or the changing economies of Jos or even the politics that exacerbate conflicts, but by being about the effects on some poor entrepreneurs of living in the midst of flux and uncertainty, in a state of permanent 'emergency'.

I am not sure how 'true' it all is (how often, for example, was Dr Andersson Trovalla's leg being 'pulled' by her friends?), or indeed how far any social scientist, Nigerian or foreign, will be able to use the impressions offered here. Self-proclaimed 'healers' are professional con-men/women – to be successful, they have to believe their own 'lies' (or half-lies), but, in my limited experience, only up to a point. Dr Andersson Trovalla, despite her focus on healers, does not really explore this as a 'professional deformation'. I am not suggesting that we need more words on the 'placebo effect', but it would have been good to have a sense of how other Jasawa, Berom, Igbo, and Yoruba saw all these distressed healers who were seeking to sell others something as elusive as well-being. But as it is, this text has the makings of a great Nollywood script. For example, in recent weeks,

even the old trope of victims' flesh being sold as fresh meat on the streets of Jos has come up again (colonial rules forbade meat sold without the skin attached). Thus Jos is an ongoing horror story, from which Dr Andersson Trovalla has cleverly excerpted a valuable tale.

MURRAY LAST *University College London*

EDWARDS, JEANETTE, PENNY HARVEY & PETER WADE (eds). *Technologized images, technologized bodies*. viii, 262 pp., illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2010. £55.00 (cloth)

This edited volume examines the relevance of ethnography to the 'interconnections between technologized bodies and technologized images'. This positioning is reflected in the chapters that follow – exploring how images of the body are rendered in specific ways by different professional discourses, not entirely owned by the 'scientist', 'engineer' or 'psychiatrist' that produces them, but incorporated into the person's sense of self as 'subjects', 'patients', and 'research participants'.

Technological images of bodies can, at times, provide stability to shifting, chaotic, and changing identities. The collection is particularly attentive to the types of 'gaze' that emerge with science, medicine, and technological developments. The introduction provides a comprehensive history of 'scopic regimes', switching from art to photography to the influence of biological sciences as transformative visualization practices. The editors (Jeanette Edwards, Penny Harvey, and Peter Wade) explain their intentions with the volume, in which they set out to

explore the relationship between cultural apprehensions of the body, and the ways in which the body is mediated, imaged and imagined, at a time when visualization and communications technologies have combined to provoke new awareness of the body and of the self, new regimes of power and knowledge, new possibilities for the enhancement of human life, and new fears for its degradation and destruction (p. 2).

This intellectual treatment and complex narration are further enhanced by the ways in which the editors follow the mobility of scopic concepts exploring regimes of power, identity, and the self.

In some ways, the introduction felt disconnected from the specific ethnographic cases that followed, yet this made sense in light of the ambition of the work (this is an innovative anthropological project) as theories of vision and the body are grounded within ethnography.

The chapter by Simon Cohn beautifully illustrates the complexities of image, vision, body, and science in the practices of psychiatry. Here Cohn explores how brain-scan information is viewed, approached, and utilized differently by scientists and patients. Cohn's argument opposes the 'standard critique of medical science' as a process of seeing medical science as a practice of conflict between patients and medical practitioners whose research and practices inevitably objectify patients and their illnesses. Instead, Cohn reports how brain-scans (given to psychiatric patients for volunteering for a medical study) allow for an inversion of the standard critique.

Moreover, Ana Viseu and Lucy Suchman's thought-provoking chapter on wearable technologies shows the problems of fixing their domain of study, as the researchers with whom they interact are also in the process of having to define and frame their practices. For example, there is still debate about what exactly constitutes a wearable computer. Should the area include or exclude technologies such as mobile phones or personal digital assistants (PDAs)? This problem of finding a footing is not an aside, but crucial to the way in which the researchers are able to promote a viable 'unique area of scientific research' (p. 163). Wearable computers are 'intimately tied to the body, autonomously functioning and perfectly interconnected', which the authors claim 'materialize and make visible values characteristic of contemporary Western societies since the mid-twentieth century, including a desire for mobility, combined with continuous connectivity, personalization and control' (p. 163). Viseu and Suchman examine the underlying assumptions that motivate computer scientists to develop wearable computer devices. For them, the body is itself imagined as incomplete. Moreover, the aim is to be 'connected' to multiple surfaces, not as an operator (pressing buttons or calling up information via a screen). Wearable devices offer the prospect of a device-human-integrated body, where flesh and machine are merged. Moreover, experts in this field believe that wearable devices will be able to predict the actions of the user, and therefore they are presented as a 'technological companion', 'an extension of the

self', or a 'second skin' (p. 164). These, then, are technologies that are not merely interacted with, but which could potentially anticipate or predict the person's intentions – a kind of marketing wearable device.

The sense that visuals of the body are more than mere objectified representations is illustrated in Michal Nahman's chapter, 'Embryos are our baby'. Here we have a different kind of chapter, exploring ova and embryos in a private IVF clinic in Israel. This chapter explores the desire to procreate amongst Jews, noting that the desire to reproduce as a woman (with or without a partner) should be considered in the context of the historical and cultural complexities that percolate with individual experiences – processes between clinicians, technologies, and women are dependent on images that are a specific kind of 'Jewish visualizing of Messianic time' (p. 191).

Anthropologically, this is a timely, challenging, and important collection of essays for anyone interested in technologies of vision and bodies and provides novel material for study in the anthropology of science, technology, and medicine.

KATHLEEN RICHARDSON *University College London*

ZIGON, JARRETT. *HIV is God's blessing: rehabilitating morality in neoliberal Russia*. viii, 258 pp., bibliogr. London, Berkeley: Univ. California Press, 2011. £16.95 (paper)

Jarrett Zigon has used the experience of former drug-users in Russia to examine the process by which a person can create anew his or her moral personhood, the way of becoming a good and healthy person and reconnecting with one's social world. His informants are the staff, volunteers, and past and present residents at the Mill, an Orthodox Church-run retreat on the outskirts of St Petersburg. Zigon describes and analyses the process through which the residents arrive at, live through, and follow their time at the Mill, as well as the ideologies and influences that have contributed to the programme taking its current form. In so doing, he has in effect provided a detailed illustration of how identity is built, or rebuilt, with both the active and passive acquiescence of its subjects.

Zigon undertakes a thorough examination of all the potential influences on the creation of the moral self, considering, for example, Western therapeutic, Soviet and Orthodox Christian practices of working on the self in sufficient but not distracting detail. He shows that the Mill's

programme of self-building draws not only on concepts but also on specific practices from each. The book contains a good balance between theoretical explorations and detailed, sympathetic ethnographic evidence of the lives of the people living the processes that he seeks to dissect.

The striking title is perhaps a little misleading, on two counts. Although many of Zigon's informants are HIV positive, in practice the work barely touches on this aspect of their experience, and when it does so it is only in relation to their drug-use. The focus of the book, the Mill (the rehabilitation programme) and the Orthodox Church (which runs the programme, and from whence the quotation originates), is foremost on the participants as users and hence sinners. Second, the Mill's staff – at least in Zigon's telling – are far from being as harsh or as de-sensitized as this slightly sensational phrase suggests. But it does point to the jolt required to bring heroin addicts to start the necessary 'work on themselves' that is the material for Zigon's well-argued examination of the (re-)creation of moral persons.

Zigon insists that, through creating 'responsibilized subjects' in this way, the Orthodox Church unintentionally enables former users to negotiate and successfully function within the structures of neoliberal governance, 'the very sociopolitical regime [it is] intended to limit'. It is taken as read that the socio-political system of early twenty-first-century Russia is neoliberal and hence generalizable, and one that Orthodoxy seeks to limit. The evidence feels a little stretched. But, admirably, Zigon touches but does not linger on the post-Soviet nature of this society; this is not a work that relies on the well-trodden path of anthropological reflection on a socio-political and economic structure that collapsed twenty years ago. He shows how Soviet concepts form one of many influences on the Mill's therapeutic approach, but leaves the Soviet Union in its appropriately contextualized and relative place as but one aspect of the lives of the Mill's inhabitants.

The author's position is, like that of many anthropologists, ambiguous: he is not a former drug user and hence resident, but neither is he staff. He is therefore able to access otherwise restricted spaces, and participate in the informal conversations with residents which become stilted in the presence of staff. This access enables him to highlight that rehabilitation occurs as much in the unstructured, 'normal' informal interactions between residents – smoking cigarettes, looking at photos – as in the

more directed processes through which the Mill structures its residents' lives. It is clear, however, that there are limits to the extent to which his drug-user informants share their thoughts with him, recognizing his outsider status. It is therefore impressive that Zigon's work is carefully balanced between the Orthodox Church's approach to changing persons, and those persons' perspectives on the processes through which they are consciously and unconsciously remaking their selves and their worlds as healthy, and social, individuals.

KATHRYN TOMLINSON *Independent scholar*

Music and performance

CONDY, IAN. *Hip-hop Japan: rap and the paths of cultural globalization*. x, 249 pp., figs, illus., bibliogr. London, Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2007. £14.99 (paper)

From New York to Rio, from Nairobi to Tokyo, hip-hop, more than any other musical genre or youth culture, has permeated nations, cultures, and languages worldwide. Essential to the contributions by anthropologists and hip-hop scholars on the globalization of hip-hop is Ian Condy's *Hip-hop Japan: rap and the paths of cultural globalization*. In this depiction of how Japanese youth nationalize the American hip-hop import, Condy questions disciplinary dichotomies such as global/local within a unique contemporary ethnographic approach that seeks to place 'performance' as a key actor in the construction of culture.

Condy demonstrates alternative 'paths' towards globalization reminiscent of Arjun Appadurai's global 'flows' (*Modernity at large*, 1996). However, instead of focusing on top-down flows such as major media corporations (financescapes or mediascapes) alongside bottom-up currents (ethnoscapes and ideoscapes), he presents globalization and localization through the interaction of 'paths' that network culture industries, media corporations, active fans, and hip-hop artists. Condy's paths are organized into themes presented as a successive chronological series of chapters: (1) racial mimicking and authenticity; (2) battling artists who generate a local history; (3) performances that take place through live concerts and recording studios; (4) fandom and consumerism; (5) language and linguistic politics; (6) gender representation; and (7) the

marketing of hip-hop. Although Condry assesses the four-element model of hip-hop inclusive of break dance, aerosol art, and turntablism, he focuses on rap because of its explicit relationship to language and cultural identity; it also happens to be the most marketed element of hip-hop. These two factors bring to light Condry's strongest analyses about the act of rapping itself, the performance of rhymes and the dichotomy between English and Japanese repertoire that determine an artist's audience as a site for the construction and critique of Japanese-ness.

Condry's analysis of how American hip-hop is appropriated and reproduced within a localized Japanese context, yielding 'blackface' audiences for 'yellow b-boy' performers (pp. 35-41), alongside a historical overview of nationalized Japanese hip-hop history from 1984 to 2000 (pp. 67-9, 82-4), provides ethnographic gems for hip-hop historians. Anthropologically, the greatest contribution of *Hip-hop Japan* is Condry's concept of 'genba globalization'. Theorized as a response to Roland Robertson's *glocalization* ('Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity', in *Global modernities* (eds) M. Featherstone, S. Lash & R. Robertson, 25-44, 1995) and George Ritzer's *globalization* (*The globalization of nothing*, 2004) combined with Louisa Schein's analysis of modernity and performance ('Performing modernity', *Cultural Anthropology* 14, 1999, 361-95), 'genba globalization' is the 'actualization of a global Japan'. Condry's focus is not the 'culture of a people' or the 'culture of a place'; rather, it is 'culture as it is performed' (p. 18). *Genba* as a 'place where something actually happens, appears, or is made' seems anthropologically most significant because the term originates from within the culture itself (pp. 89, 94). Condry's dissection of this term demonstrates the assessment of his subject's own interpretation while attending to his own scholarly responsibility to interrogate it.

Condry separates *genba* performances into two distinct types that take place in specific locations. These consist of live performances at nightclubs and enacted performances manifested in the recording studio. Although Condry's presentation of *genba* globalization is the strong point of his ethnography and offers an enlightening analysis of the anthropology of performance, it lacks depth in distinguishing between these performance sites. Condry insists that bottom-up actors such as fans (consumers) and top-down participants such as record labels (investors) intertwine with artists to produce

Japanese identity contained by the act of performing. However, the reader is left desiring a deeper distinction with regard to the creation, ownership, sale, distribution, and motivational forces of the intellectual property that is a musical performance. Condry's focus on performance at the nightclub and the recording studio as one and the same skews the fact that these are two very distinct types of recitals. Where one site yields a service (live concert), the other constructs a product (album or single).

The chapters where Condry appears less conclusive are those dedicated to fandom, women, and market agents. Fans are viewed as consumers, a position which, in my view, is too static. Although Condry presents us with character profiles of hip-hop fans such as *otaku*, defined as the 'fanatic fan' (pp. 124-6), he leaves little room for alternative roles fans may play, such as promoters or even anti-consumers when pirating artists' repertoires. He presents women as the oddity or novelty in hip-hop, which coincides with their representation on a global scale. However, Condry limits himself to description rather than analysis as to why this is the case, thereby nearly removing women from his *genba* globalization process altogether. He does, however, question how women are confined to a role of 'approachable intimacy' that he terms 'cutismo' – a phrase meaning childlike, innocent, gentle, simple, and weak (p. 170). Therefore feminine power depends on weakness reminiscent of the Hello Kitty cartoon character's mouth-less passivity. The stigma that requires Japanese female rappers to radiate childish innocence and vulnerability, and furthermore idealizes such an image for female observers, is strikingly opposite to the historical development of women in American hip-hop, where most female rappers enter the 'scene', or American version of *genba*, as tomboys, only later to become hyper-sexualized. Lastly, Condry demonstrates how, unlike record companies' obsession with profit motives, many hip-hop artists are motivated by concerns of maintaining artistic integrity. He proposes that 'keeping it real' has had greater influence in the globalization/localization of hip-hop in Japan than mere marketability (p. 187). Condry's extensive analysis of market agents, however, seems unbalanced. While diligently mapping the role of the record labels' investments and distribution of recorded units, he omits any discussion of profitability from live performances.

As much as *Hip-hop Japan* presents a unique method of studying globalization as a series of

distinct 'paths', it alludes to some important issues that remain unexplored. Yet Condry's willingness to remain inconclusive merits recognition, and by acknowledging that the concept of *genba* globalization may not provide an alternative for the study of oppositional forces in globalization, he allows for greater disciplinary applicability (pp. 217-19). He does, however, certainly offer insight into the anthropology of performance – after all the *genba* is where all the action is.

MELISA RIVIERE *University of Minnesota*

GOODMAN, JANE E. *Berber culture on the world stage: from village to video*. xiii, 239 pp., illus., bibliogr. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2006. \$65.00 (cloth), \$23.95 (paper)

Since Bourdieu's ethnographic participant observation among the Kabyles, only a few male anthropologists have been able to venture into Kabyle society and provide first-hand anthropological and sociological accounts on the region. Jane Goodman has defied this trend not only by breaking the dominant male tradition of colonial ethnological and postcolonial ethnographic works, but also, as a female anthropologist, by providing original ethnographic data on present-day Kabyle Berber communities in Algeria and France. In *Berber culture on the world stage*, Goodman displays a deep grasp of the historical dynamics and local, national, as well as global political and social transformations of Kabyle culture and music. She also shows a unique understanding of Kabyle society, language, and music. Goodman's theoretical contribution to the anthropology of North Africa in general and Berbers in particular is reflected in the way she describes and analyses the dynamics between local and global factors that influence the production and circulation of Kabyle culture. Accordingly, she travels back and forth between Kabyle villages and French stages to show how Kabyle music is created and circulated locally and globally in 'circuits', 'texts', and 'performances'.

Using a reflexive anthropological approach, Goodman frames her study through Jean-Loup Amselle's *branchements* (branching interconnections) to show how Kabyle songs become part of dynamic global networks of textual exchanges that are difficult to censor and contain. The branching interconnections turn traditional texts and artefacts into novel circuits through the 'accelerative force' and 'accelerative moments' of an emerging global Berber cultural

movement. One of the powerful moments of the book is when Goodman shows the historical dynamics of this movement going back to the early days of Algerian nationalism. This historicity of cultural change is clearly shown through the numerous branching interconnections of Kabyle musical production that are traced back to traditional social contexts such as Berber weddings in Kabyle villages and reproduced and interpreted in different forms in other local Algerian and global international contexts where Goodman herself takes part as a musician. Using a number of examples to demonstrate these interconnections, Goodman focuses largely on musical texts produced by the poet Ben Mohamed and appropriated by the singer Idir. She analyses their themes and images and demonstrates how they get transformed into new 'ideological spheres' and 'vehicles for cultural critique'.

Berber culture on the world stage is divided into an introduction and three main sections titled 'Circuits', 'Texts', and 'Performances'. The introduction gives a historical background to the Berber culture and contextualizes the social and political environment in which Berber identity is produced, in a period ranging between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Goodman positions the ethnographic work in the context of the ideological competition between Islamic movement and Berber cultural movement, without ignoring the colonial vulgate (Berber/Kabyle myth). By highlighting these local and global historical trajectories, Goodman ascertains that Kabyle culture is gaining international meanings through new artistic forms of production on the global stages of music. 'Circuits' revolves around Idir's song 'A vava inouva' (Oh my father), which, via accelerated force, has been turned into a globally known Kabyle cultural artefact. 'Texts' looks at how the traditional cultural artefact is appropriated and entextualized for a different audience and stage. Goodman raises the question of author and intellectual property as the cultural text moves back and forth between local and global stages. Accordingly she points out the different discourses, ideologies, and practices linked to traditional and modern, secular and religious, Berber and Arab/Islamist practices of branching interconnections. 'Performances', the final section, is about Kabyles' attitudes towards the theatrical performances of their culture both in Algeria and in France. In addition it discusses women's voices and roles in this production and staging of Kabyle music. Goodman notes this role is

ambivalent because although men like Idir and others acknowledge women's authorship of Berber texts, they fail to add their names to their intellectual property, thereby erasing their names as equal authors of Kabyle culture.

Goodman argues that songs like Idir's are forms of cultural memory that have enabled Kabyles to engage in reflexive self-assessment through an 'internal gaze' on local and global contexts, stages, and musical markets. As an ethnographic study of Kabyle culture and music, *Berber culture on the world stage* is unique in its analysis of cultural texts framed in historical and sociological contexts. As a subject, performer, and ethnographer, Goodman shows complex anthropological attributes where she is engaged in the interpretation and reproduction of these texts through recording and singing. *Berber culture on the world stage* is a valuable source for students and scholars of anthropology, North African studies, and ethnomusicology. It is as important to understanding Kabyle society as Bourdieu's *The Algerians* (1962). Undergraduate and graduate students will find it accessible and clear. North African specialists will engage with Goodman's argument about Berber culture and music in its local and global production, especially as Berber communities in North Africa are affected daily by the waves of political changes that have swept these countries in the last year.

AOMAR BOUM *University of Arizona*

JANKOWSKY, RICHARD C. *Stambeli: music, trance, and alterity in Tunisia*. xiv, 237 pp., map, figs, tables, illus., bibliogr., CD. London, Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 2011. £18.00 (paper)

Stambeli, Richard C. Jankowsky's ethnographic and historiographic study of this Tunisian musical tradition, is a welcome contribution to the scholarship on a North African country that is infrequently the subject of such nuanced and extended treatment. Jankowsky's ethnographic research is situated amongst a network of musicians linked to the Dābār Bārñū household in central Tunis and was conducted over the course of nearly two years beginning in 2001, with brief periods of follow-up research completed in 2005 and 2009. Drawing broadly on historical, ethnomusicological, and anthropological sources, Jankowsky has composed a study that offers not only meticulous analysis of the components of this

distinctive musical genre and trance healing tradition, but also a sophisticated theoretical engagement with the socio-historical context that fostered its emergence.

Jankowsky tracks the advent of *stambēli* to the early eighteenth century, when the trans-Saharan slave trade deposited sub-Saharan Africans into Tunisian fields, households, and Husaynid palaces. In a process that Jankowsky describes as leading 'from displacement to placelessness to emplacement', *stambēli* provided therapeutic catharsis for African slaves as they were simultaneously integrated into Tunisian society and marginalized in a network of communal houses that fomented around a complex aggregation of musical practices, spiritual beliefs, religious rituals, and aesthetic possibilities. Over the course of approximately three centuries, this performative matrix has provided a venue for healing, belonging, and meaning for practitioners as well as for various marginalized populations in Tunisia, including slave descendants, Jews, and women.

Of central concern to Jankowsky is the position of the Dār Bārñū household and the *stambēli* tradition at the start of the twenty-first century. Assuming the dual role of ethnographer and musical apprentice of the tradition, Jankowsky strives to engage with *stambēli* 'on its own terms', seeking within the music the questions that animate his research and analyses. This 'domain of encounter' is one of three that structure the book, each orientated to key oppositions: historically, between African slaves and Tunisian denizens; cosmologically, between humans and spirits; and, ethnographically, between researcher and musicians. Undergirding each of these oppositions are the scalar reiterations of an emic/etic dichotomy, whether articulated through linguistic components (foreign vs non-foreign), an analysis of the diverse machinations of the cosmological pantheon (North African vs sub-Saharan entities), or, in terms of the politics of performance (local vs global markets). While this provides a productive heuristic for analysis, Jankowsky only marginally succeeds in demonstrating the extent to which such structural concerns are central to the musicians and practitioners themselves, whose voices, with the exception of master musician Bābā Majīd, are rarely present in the text.

One of the book's stronger offerings lies in its potential to contribute to debates concerning the transcontinental dimensions of African cultural history. *Stambēli* as a cultural form extends an instructive lesson on how circulations

of people, knowledge, and practice need not involve a colonial metropole for activation. And if it is from within the musical form itself that the *ṣṭambēli* tradition is most effectively understood, then the provision of an audio CD serves this conversation well. The CD features six tracks and provides a sampling of the musical aesthetics of Dār Bārnū *ṣṭambēli*, while an associated website offers images, videos, and scholarly articles detailing the ‘hybridity’ of these aesthetics. The open accessibility of the website could further invigorate the transcontinental conversation that the *ṣṭambēli* tradition exemplifies, while also assisting those readers who find Jankowsky’s analysis of musical aesthetics to be too technical. Even with the provision of these supplements, some readers may wish for additional instruction.

Given the emergent significance of Tunisia as a bellwether for the region, readers may turn to this book for relevant socio-political and geo-cultural indicators. Although these readers may find insight into the current configuration of the Tunisian public sphere, Jankowsky’s research and writing predate the onset of events leading to the Arab Spring. To what degree minority populations such as the practitioners of *ṣṭambēli* might find greater performative and expressive potential in the political landscape of the ‘New Tunisia’ remains to be seen; an outcome which, in combination with an account of how that potential was qualified under the Ben ‘Ali regime, could provide Jankowsky with the material for a substantive epilogue. Nevertheless, the book should serve as a valuable resource to scholars of ethnomusicology in Africa, the Middle East, and beyond. Ultimately, anyone with an interest in this fascinating country shall benefit from Jankowsky’s rigorous attention to the dynamics of alterity (e.g. racial, theological) as expressed through the spirits, saints, and practitioners of the *ṣṭambēli* ritual music tradition.

RODNEY COLLINS *Georgetown University*

Religion

DAY, ABBY. *Believing in belonging: belief and social identity in the modern world*. vi, 230 pp., table, bibliogr. Oxford: Univ. Press, 2011. £55.00 (cloth)

‘I believe in One God ...’, traditional anglophone Christians are taught to declare in the Creed –

normally in unison as a congregation. ‘We believe ...’ was the original fourth-century version, but the first-person singular *credo* came to be accepted as stressing the individual’s relationship to the transcendent. Since assertions about belief are unverifiable, social scientists have tended to treat it in a gingerly fashion, preferring to focus on doctrine, representations, and behaviour, including ritual. In an ingenious move to resolve the dilemma, Abby Day, a Canadian by birth now working in the anthropology department at the University of Sussex, has developed ideas from Durkheim, J.L. Austin, and others to formulate the term ‘performative belief’, which is ‘not pre-formed but a lived, embodied performance, brought into being through action and where the object of worship is not an entity such as a god or a “society”, but the experience of belonging’ (p. 194). She challenges current theories that new forms of spirituality are growing that are ‘subjective and experiential’ (p. 197).

After an introductory overview of the past treatment of ‘belief’ in anthropology and sociology, Day introduces us to her field study in 2003-4 of some seventy people aged between 14 and 83 living in towns and villages in northern England. Much of the book consists of commentary on transcripts of interviews with these (pseudonymized) interlocutors, which she intentionally conducted without introducing the topic of religion directly. She presents the interviewees as representing the ‘mainstream’ of a society where churchgoing has declined steeply but beliefs in fate and ghosts seem to be widespread. These passages are interspersed with reflections on the results of the 2001 United Kingdom census, which included a question on religion, and with brief citations of ethnographic findings from other regions.

Day is persuasive when she analyses what she calls ‘performative belief rituals’ (p. 126) à la Goffman, and when she underlines the importance of family and friends, including loved ones who are dead, as the basis for most of her English interlocutors’ sense of transcendence. The good news for social cohesion is that, to judge from her sample, young people in England have a strong feeling of moral obligation towards their circles of kin and friends. The bad news is that this personal commitment does not extend much outside the immediate circle. English Christianity seems to be becoming to some extent an ethnonational label among working-class whites, especially with regard to the supposed threat of Islam to an inherited and essentialized Christian ‘culture’.

This tendency, with its disturbing political implications, is offset by the willingness of her younger interviewees to profess respect for other people's beliefs, whereas open racism is more common among the older ones.

I confess to some doubt about the method of inquiry adopted by Day. Beginning every interview, as she did, with the question 'What do you believe in?' seems a tactic to put the interviewee off-guard rather than to inspire trust. It is no doubt true that the Siberians described by Piers Vitebsky (cited by Day, p. 103) say that they experience the presence of deceased relatives collectively rather than individually; but the Englishman's belief, like his home, is his castle. Personal religious beliefs are not quite as sensitive a topic as sexuality, but are surely best approached in a more oblique way. Another interviewer might have elicited very different 'belief narratives'. Day's sample of interlocutors gives no hint of the widespread support given in Britain to Christian charities, or of the continued prevalence of religious funerals in an otherwise widely de-churched nation, or of commitment to secular forms of associative life that can arguably be seen as surrogates for religion. And it is odd to read an avowed exercise in comparative anthropology, taking northern England as a case study, which includes only one Muslim in its sample of interlocutors.

Yet the test of such a book's success must be whether it leaves a mark in the reader's mind. Day's diagnosis of a residual Christian identity in present-day mainstream Britain – given little close attention by other scholars – is certainly striking. I am not sure that she has been successful in her bold project to reinstate 'belief' (*contra* Rodney Needham and Malcolm Ruel) as a key 'etic' term in anthropology. It may well be that stronger intellectual progress will be made by holding words such as 'belief' at arm's length, as what Michael Jackson (in *The palm at the end of the mind*, 2009) calls 'shop-worn terms'. However, Abby Day's tightly organized interpretative model will provoke fruitful debate.

JONATHAN BENTHALL *University College London*

FALLER, HELEN M. *Nation, language, Islam: Tatarstan's sovereignty movement*. xiv, 333 pp., maps, tables, illus., bibliogr. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2011. £40.00 (cloth)

The break-up of the Soviet Union led to the emergence of many new or not so new nations and various struggles for sovereignty. The variety in the experience of being a Soviet citizen was

for years overlooked owing to the political and ideological controversies of the Cold War. Since the 1990s, research has brought to the surface this diversity, shedding light on the differences and similarities in the application of the Soviet Nationality Policy. Faller contributes to this tradition, drawing attention to Tatarstan and the role of language in the sovereignty movement (1990-2000). Her work is the result of a good knowledge of Russian and Tatar languages, a long period of fieldwork in Kazan and other field sites in Tatarstan and in Russia, and a combination of research methods (including participant observation at schools, newspapers' archives, interviews, and surveys).

The book examines the ways in which language in the hands of nation-builders (intellectuals, educators, teachers, activists), combined with a struggle for Tatarstan's sovereignty, becomes a central instrument in nation-building. The innovation in Faller's case is that the latter is considered in a context where bilingualism was well established. Language is studied through the ideological presuppositions of textbooks, and its use by different groups of people defined in terms of gender, age, and class and in various public and private settings. Use of language in the media and its cultural production – in Mong songs, for example (Tatarstan's national musical genre) – are also discussed. What Faller's work offers is a clear illustration that the role of language in nation-building is not as homogeneous as many Western theorists, focusing mainly on a bourgeois, male, Western public, have implied.

Faller makes clear that the history of Tatarstan (chap. 1) since the fifteenth century contributed to the ways in which language in modern Tatarstan became an indication of ethnic identities that had been marginalized in the Soviet years in rural areas, whereas urban centres had been dominated by the Russian language. Perestroika started to legitimize the Tatar language in the public sphere as a medium of the spirit of change (chap. 2). The connection of language to ethnicity and culture was not new: it stemmed from a long Enlightenment tradition and the cultural evolutionism of Marxist-Leninist ideology. These traditions are clearly illustrated in the choice of scripts in different periods of Tatarstan's history (chap. 3), which always reflected ideological agendas.

The denial of sovereignty to Tatarstan by Putin since the 2000s left its nation-builders with a poignant question: how do you form a nation in the absence of statehood (chap. 4)? Faller's ethnography shows how, in Tatarstan's case,

cultural categories (like family and gender roles, social networks, religion) and their expression in Tatar language were used to undermine marginalization of Tatar-speakers and promote their emergence in the public sphere, which, as Fallers argues, gradually became domesticated.

To this end, Fallers believes that from the 1990s, Tatar nation-builders and ideologues tried to repossess Kazan (chap. 5), the capital of the nation, through ambitious plans for beautification. But the repossession also took place in terms of language, by using Tatar in places considered throughout the Soviet years as public and, thus, forbidden to Tatar-speakers. This exclusion, strengthened by Soviet racial stereotypes, started to be overcome in the post-Soviet years by the development of a feeling of intimacy that stemmed from the uninhibited practice of the Tatar language (chap. 6). One of the places within which national intimacy is expressed is through Mong songs, which, as Fallers shows in what is perhaps the most ethnographically orientated chapter (chap. 7), are understood in different ways depending on the personal and social profile of each listener. At the same time, they are also considered as a symbol of Tatarstan's common legacy.

In her final chapter (chap. 8), Fallers discusses how, after the fall of the Soviet Union, the publics through which the experience of being a Tatar is lived, perceived, and expressed, not always in congruous ways, were multiplied. Language for years played a dividing role between the Soviet citizens of Tatarstan (Russian/Tatar-speakers/publics). Nowadays, apart from language, an additional category has also been introduced to play this role. Although not new, its public expression turned Islam into one of the most prominent differentiating categories, and this in turn created new possibilities for the experience of being a Tatar. The future will show how both language and religion could become vehicles of Tatar nationalism and how they will affect Russia's multiculturalism.

ELENI SIDERI *University of Thessaly*

MARSHALL, RUTH. *Political spiritualities: the Pentecostal revolution in Nigeria*. x, 349 pp., bibliogr. London, Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 2009. £45.00 (cloth), £16.50 (paper)

Political spiritualities reflects Ruth Marshall's long-standing engagement with Pentecostal Christianity in Nigeria over more than fifteen years. Her work coincides with the growing

popularity of Born-Again Christianity, particularly in southern Nigeria, as well as with changes in the Born-Again movement itself – from the first, anti-materialist churches of the 1980s to the second-wave prosperity churches of the 1990s. She relates these changes and the Born-Again expansion to the history of Christianity in Nigeria and situates them within the present-day political economy. While the concept of Born-Again underscores the importance of natality, of a new beginning and break with the compromised politics of illicit wealth, violence, and inequality associated with the contemporary Nigerian state, Marshall examines how 'the Born-Again project both questions this history and participates in its ongoing elaboration'. She shows how the moral disorder and economic difficulties facing ordinary Nigerians in the wake of the oil boom years of the 1970s led some to seek an alternative religious-political order during the first wave of the Pentecostal Movement in southwestern Nigeria. Born-Again leaders questioned orthodox Christian churches' association with the reigning political elite and traditional, albeit reformed, religious practices. Born-Again church members were treated in kind as many were expelled from mainline churches, thus confirming their conviction of the righteousness of the Born-Again movement. Marshall also astutely makes a connection between Born-Again's discontent with the failures of development and its association of progress (or *olaju*, as discussed by J.D.Y. Peel [*'Olaju: a Yoruba concept of development'*, *Journal of Development Studies* 14, 1978, 139-65]), Christian mission conversion, and Western education. They do not reject this trajectory – indeed, first-wave Born-Again's concern with being public and egalitarian echoes earlier missionary concerns with the Bible being open to all, unlike the secret, hidden quality of Yoruba religious knowledge. Rather, they see their efforts as underscoring the need for new, non-secular, ways of ordering society so as to reap development's benefits.

In the six chapters, conclusion, and appendix which constitute this volume, the author exhaustively discusses the meaning and political context of Pentecostal practice – past and present – in Nigeria in theoretically rich and ethnographically informed ways. Marshall examines the ruptures which have characterized Christianity in Nigeria's past and present as well as how postcolonial political disorder, economic decline, and an associated moral disarray have contributed to Born-Again converts' sense of contributing to social renewal. None the less,

the theological solution to these problems has changed, with an 'economy of miracles' represented by the faith and prosperity doctrine prevailing by the mid-1990s. This shift reflects the connection of Nigerian Born-Again leaders with Pentecostal Christianity in the US and its practitioners' use of media technologies, which emphasize a blurring of local and global spaces. These connections also stress the importance of individual prayer, the witnessing of miracles, and signs of divine grace, which enables Born-Again converts legitimately to free themselves from constraining social obligations – from family, friends, and neighbours. Yet despite these personal transformations and associated critiques of the prevailing political economic order, belief in the possibility of occult powers of unknown others has contributed to uncertainty and violence. Thus 'Born-Again' Christianity as presently practised in Nigeria is deeply ambivalent about the miraculous wealth which is both admired and suspected as having occult origins, which is paralleled in members' views of the problematic behaviour of Nigerian politicians and, at times, of Born-Again church leaders.

Finally, Marshall considers how the expansion of Born-Again churches in the south corresponds to the establishment of the Islamic reformist groups in north Nigeria, which has contributed to increasing tensions between Christians and Muslims. Despite the violence that these tensions have generated and the glaring contrast between the ostentatious prosperity of some Born-Again church leaders and the extreme poverty of many Nigerian church members, Marshall concludes that Born-Again Christianity offers hope of justice and transformation in contemporary Nigeria.

Magisterial is the term that comes to mind when summarizing the scope and depth of this volume, yet it is not flawless. While Marshall is not exceptional in her use of language, sentences such as 'Without the old external supports, evangelicalism had to be self-referentially veridical' (p. 55) make one long for George Orwell's five rules of writing. However, another aspect of the author's arguments is more seriously troubling. Marshall begins the book by airing her dissatisfaction with social-scientific analysis of religion: 'The first and most challenging question is thus how to clear an analytical space in which we might be able to understand practices and forms of life that are otherwise impossible to recognize from the standpoint of the secular vocabularies instituted in public debates and underwriting social scientific knowledge' (p. 3). This dismissal of

secular social-scientific analysis undermines the study of religion, which, as others have shown, may include an empathetic ear for religion as well as a critical anthropological approach. It leads to Marshall's disclaimer, preceding the moving testimony of Grace Ihere presented in the volume's appendix, that 'I have intentionally refused to make any analysis of this testimony, preferring to let her speak for herself: its radical excess of meaning defies all reduction'. Fortunately, this refusal of social analysis has not been applied to the body of her text.

ELISHA P. RENNE *University of Michigan*

Sex and gender

INHORN, MARCIA C., TINE TJØRNHØJ-THOMSEN, HELENE GOLDBERG & MARUSKA LA COUR MOSEGAARD (eds). *Reconceiving the second sex: men, masculinity, and reproduction*. vi, 392 pp., illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2009. £47.50 (cloth), £19.95 (paper)

Existing anthropological theory treats reproduction as the source of women's power and also, at the same time, as an obstacle to their advancement in public life. Such literature, perhaps inadvertently, portrays men as the 'second sex' in reproduction. Whilst anthropologists acknowledge men's sexuality, we tend to view men as disengaged from reproduction, and to see their power as lying elsewhere in social life. This exceptionally well-edited collection of fourteen stimulating essays attempts to redress this imbalance, by analysing men's complex, varied, and ever-changing reproductive lives. The ethnographic focus is on Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, and to a lesser extent also Asia. Unfortunately none of the essays address African experiences.

The collection is divided into four logically structured sections, with the first examining broader theoretical developments. All four chapters in this section transcend the stereotypical association of men with promiscuous sexuality and uncontrolled fertility, and instead portray men as 'multifaceted reproductive subjects'. Gutman outlines the analytical challenge as discerning when and how men combine sexuality and reproduction. Here he points to shortcomings in scholarly understandings, such as the conspicuous absence of love, and women's influence on

men's reproductive behaviour. Moore discusses the iconography of sperm in reproductive sciences, showing how technologies have rendered sperm more predictable. She notes that concerns about a global decline in sperm counts mirror cultural anxieties about masculinity. Two chapters by Dudgeon and Inhorn present a detailed overview of existing literature, showing how international policies and programmes have begun to focus on men's reproductive health and on men's influence on maternal and child health. For example, men's desires for fatherhood militate against fertility limitation, and in most countries men ratify abortion laws. Unfortunately these two chapters are reproduced from earlier articles and ignore some of the most recent literature. Moreover, they stop short of considering how more abstract anthropological theories of gender confront masculinity.

The second section examines men's role as conceptors and family planners, and how men seek to influence reproductive decision-making processes. Oaks contemplates social factors involved in future technologies, with reference to a fictive marketing campaign of the 'male pill'. His discussion highlights the perception that masculine bodies are more difficult to medicalize. Hanh discusses the coexistence of high contraceptive prevalence in Vietnam with one of the highest abortion rates in the world. He sees this situation as an outcome of the state's two-child policy and of conflict between older ideas of patrilineal descent and newer discourses of women's rights. Despite men's intention to have smaller families, they are reluctant to use condoms or to undergo vasectomies. Yen draws on participant observation in Southwest China, where men also prioritize their own reproductive development over that of young women. Elderly men readily integrate birth cadres, tasked with transforming the reproductive practices of minorities, into the top of village hierarchies.

The third section explores men's experiences of infertility and assisted reproduction. According to Goldberg, Israeli men conflate infertility with impotence. Tjørnhøj-Thomsen examines men's responses to childlessness in Denmark, showing that fatherhood does not necessarily involve genetic connection with offspring. Inhorn highlights the eagerness of Egyptian and Lebanese men to use new reproductive technologies. In cases of infertility, men share in the suffering of their wives, and readily use procedures such as testicular biopsies, which have only limited success.

The final section considers fatherhood and men's participation in childbirth. According to Ivry, Israeli men regularly attend childbirth education courses. They compare the childbirth experiences of their wives with their own physical injuries as soldiers, and encourage women to adopt medicalized forms of childbirth. Popular discourses in the United States also promote the centrality of fathers in the lives of their children. Han claims that men bond with the expected child in important ways, and also engage in 'belly talk'. A similar trend is apparent among Rarámuri Indians in Mexico, where men's involvement in birth and child-rearing has strengthened spousal bonds. Mosegaard explores Danish gay men's roles as 'primary parents', 'donor dads', 'day fathers', and 'part-time caregivers'. She suggests that these experiences both challenge and reproduce older ideas of masculinity.

Reconceiving the second sex points to the limitations of interventions in the field of reproduction that target only women and opens new anthropological vistas. However, it places the collection sacrifices ethnographic depth. Yet there are only limited attempts at comparative generalization, and the book could have benefited from a concluding chapter, drawing together different insights. Many chapters also paint a somewhat over-optimistic picture, ignoring men's engagement in domestic violence and child abandonment. Despite these shortcomings, the collection offers an excellent starting-point for a potentially rewarding intellectual endeavour.

ISAK NIEHAUS *Brunel University*

TENGAN, TY P. KĀWIKĀ. *Native men remade: gender and nation in contemporary Hawai'i*. xvi, 277 pp., illus., bibliogr. London, Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2009. £50.00 (cloth), £12.99 (paper)

The four men on the cover of this important book – handsome, proud, engaged in manly activities – look like they have stepped out of a picture of Hawai'i by John Webber drawn during Captain Cook's final voyage (1776-80). They are not, however, a survival from those distant times. They are a re-creation and a self-creation, and this account – a Work of the Gods in the contemporary Pacific – tells of how the search for cultural identity, spiritual guidance, and political sovereignty and the reconnecting with other Polynesian and indigenous peoples with shared histories unified Hawai'i's lost *kanaka maoli* (men of the land)

and gave them back their *mana*. Theory and practice, history and ethnography have rarely been integrated as well as they are in Tengan's work. The central project of *Native men remade* is 'to describe and theorize the ways in which individuals create meaningful identities in relation to larger political forces, and how these identities are themselves productive of new social practices and relations', with a particular interest in the formations of masculine and indigenous subjectivities as they develop within a historical context in which race, class, gender, colonial domination, and the commodifications of global tourism have played major roles. As regards the latter, it is now a commonplace to say that tourism 'feminized' the Hawaiian image through the tourist icon of the hula girl, but until now, no one has substantially addressed the concomitant problem – the image of the Hawaiian man, or rather the lack thereof. To look at the Hawaiian drawings of Webber is to see a masculine warrior society – how did these men become invisible? And what can be done to deal with the consequences of cultural invisibility – a feeling of disconnection, disempowerment, and sometimes emasculation among indigenous Hawaiian men? But here lurks another challenge, for in Hawai'i's multicultural present, what is 'the' indigenous Hawaiian man, and how are island men to be brought together to generate new identities? What is needed, according to Tengan, is a reintroduction of ritual and memory that integrate present with past, provide a sense of continuity and integration, and draw on the Durkheimian dynamic of religious practice as productive of collective representations in order to weld self and society, and to restore and remake Hawaiian identity and masculinity.

An instrument of the process and the focus of Tengan's work is a group called the *Hale Mua*, or the Men's House, a grass-roots cultural organization for men, dedicated to the teaching, learning, and practising of Hawaiian traditions and histories along with public performances and re-enactments based on the island of Maui, one of numerous groups now active throughout the islands. Tengan describes the way in which those who enter the *Hale Mua* embark on a journey of social rebirth and re-embodiment in which material culture production, ritual space-making, and physical training, including exercise, dance, and the martial arts, become modes of remaking masculinity and identity, facilitating self-transformation and rebuilding community. Through chanting and historical re-enactments, the past is remade and experienced on the participants' terms, not

through the veil that for so long separated the Hawaiian people from their history. Throughout the work, masculine voices so long unheard speak eloquently and movingly of the lack of self-knowledge and esteem that comes with the loss of traditional cultural practices, of a profound sense of dispossession in neo-colonial Hawai'i, and of the hurt caused by bitterness, grievances, and enmities that have arisen in the Hawaiian community over two hundred years, but which remained unresolved. But this is no unrelieved lament of loss, for Tengan shows how the *Hale Mua* and groups like it, by restoring knowledge of the past and reviving traditional practice in a modern setting, have helped to heal the rifts in the Hawaiian community, have provided a cultural platform for new sorts of social and political action connected to Hawaiian rights and sovereignty, have reasserted cultural nationalism, and have restored Hawaiian men to island life, confounding the dominant colonial narrative of the disappearing/ed native.

Tengan's beautifully observed and written ethnography gives a compelling sense of 'being there' and passing through the *Hale Mua*, and the ethnographic narrative is set within the wider context of Hawaiian and colonial history and the associated academic debates around these complex subjects, which he presents with exceptional clarity. This excellent study more than achieves its objective of seeking to 'create a space in which various theories and methodologies of indigeneity and anthropology articulate new forms of knowledge and understanding of sociocultural process'. Tengan describes himself as an 'O'iwi' or indigenous anthropologist, which he is, but I would say that he is the kind of anthropologist we all need to be now. After ceremonies and speeches connected with Hawaiian men's groups, it is customary to call for a clapping of the hands to honour the talk. This fine book deserves the same accolade – *Pa'i ka lima!*

KAORI O'CONNOR *University College London*

Social anthropology

FRIEDSON, STEVEN M. *Remains of ritual: northern gods in a southern land*. xvi, 254 pp., illus., musical notation, figs, bibliogr. London, Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 2009. £38.00 (cloth), £15.00 (paper)

Every good ethnographer has Ancient Mariner moments: after a transformative experience in a

faraway place, the urge to grab an unsuspecting passer-by and say, 'You gotta listen to my field notes!' Friedson tells his tale in exalted prose that verges on poetry. Among the coastal Ewe of southeastern Ghana, adepts of the Brekete version of Vodou are possessed by northern 'kola' gods. For southern Ghanaians in general, the north is an exotic, backward area whose inhabitants nevertheless possess paranormal ritual powers; northern Muslims have been supplying talismans to the south for centuries. Northerners reciprocate, buying in Accra 'masks' and 'fetishes' produced abundantly for sale to tourists and hotels and taking them home to make shrines of them. In the Upper West region where the founder of Brekete acquired his pantheon of gods, he did not choose to do so but, according to legend, was chosen by them to carry them south. Once enshrined in the south, however, these northern gods were thoroughly Ewe-ized and are no more northern than Peruvian shamanism remains Peruvian in Connecticut.

The physical form of the kola gods is that of fetishes, consisting of 'plants and medicines made thick with the blood of animals' (p. 88), housed in a covering made from a large wild tuber. Friedson insists on their thingness: they are of the earth, not symbols or representations of, or means of access to, spirits or meanings located elsewhere. In the outpouring of sacrifice and libation, they become sites of gods in 'a fourfold mirror-play of earth, sky, mortals and divinities'. To explain this, Friedson resorts to Heidegger's *Dasein*, 'being-there'. He rejects all sociological and psychological determinisms that explain human behaviour by explaining it away, substituting an alien opinion for the experience, for 'being-there', in constant tension with 'being-away', being possessed by a 'divine horseman', constant leave-taking, 'every arrival a departure' (p. 187). The gods are not just memories, 'they *are* there in the telling of what was left behind, the remains of ritual carried forward in this book' (original emphasis). Reader, you would have to have been there.

Not long ago, purists were insisting that 'participant observation' could be one or the other but not both. For Friedson, participation is the only true observation, and he dwells on its physicality. He describes his own painful reactions to sacrifice, which in Brekete practice is deliberately 'personal', making special use of the head, eyes, tongue, and lungs as well as copious amounts of the blood of animals, including cats. In Brekete, the gods are realized in music and dance, when the rhythm is just right, although,

as in other branches of Vodou, not all adepts are possessed; those who are become capable of extraordinary exertions, although they neither know what is happening nor remember it afterwards. Friedson, a musicologist and drummer, emphasizes his difficulties in getting it right. In all this, he makes it clear that the Ewe experience of the body, of life and death, and of the gods, though approachable, is different from yours and mine. Although we are all globalized now, we all have cell phones and watch CNN, cultural differences are real and are experienced physically.

This is an important point, though Friedson makes too much of it. Teetering on the edge of a familiar dichotomy, he cites Senghor on dance and Tempels on *force vitale* in opposition to European analytical minds (we are offered glimpses of Hegel and Descartes) on the way to asserting that 'trance dancing privileges the body as the site of a gathering of mortals and the divine' (p. 11). No doubt, but sociology may also add to our understanding of Vodou, which is a practice of the marginal, especially of women. Those who know and participate in Brekete include the old woman fishmonger, the elderly night watchman, the kindergarten teacher, and the onion-seller, but not 'the new manager at the local Agricultural Development Bank' (pp. 2-3). The real trouble, surely, is that nobody's way of being-in-the-world can be fully captured by psychology, sociology, or any other 'scientific' approach; that's why we have novelists and poets. The great merit of this book is that it expresses beautifully and graphically the being-there and being-away of ethnographic experience, as well as giving us vivid glimpses of Ewe life. Pictures in full colour add greatly to our own experience.

WYATT MACGAFFEY *Haverford College*

KAWANO, SATSUKI. *Nature's embrace: Japan's aging urbanites and new death rites*. ix, 220 pp., illus., bibliogr. Honolulu: Univ. Hawai'i Press, 2010. £47.00 (cloth)

Recent years have seen a burgeoning of academic interest in the diversification of death rites in Japan, and in particular in deviations from the perceived social norm of maintaining a family grave which is inherited by the successor of a household (*ie*), and which contains the cremated remains of all the ancestors of that household. Again according to perceived social norms, the duty of care for those ancestors (also venerated within the home in a Buddhist altar)

falls on the successor to the household and his wife. Funerary practices and the care of the ancestors in Japan have thus been seen as intimately linked to the household system. In this context, new funerary practices have attracted much academic attention: some examples are the eternal memorial graves provided by a number of temples throughout Japan in which remains are memorialized on an individual basis for a period of up to thirty-three years, after which they are transferred to a collective grave for which memorial services continue to be provided by the temple (M. Rowe, 'Grave changes: scattering ashes in contemporary Japan', 2003; 'Stickers for nails: the ongoing transformation of roles, rites, and symbols in Japanese funerals', 2004 – both in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*); tree burial (Rowe 2003; S. Boret, *Tree burial in Japan: cultural innovation, environment and death*, forthcoming); and ash-scattering, which is discussed by Kawano in the volume reviewed here, and also by Rowe (2003).

One recurring theme in many of these discussions is the argument that recent innovations in funerary practice offering alternatives to the household grave system reflect transformations in family structure, and in the relations of individuals and households in Japan, with a trend towards individualization and the de-centring of social bonds based on the household. Kawano's book takes up this debate with reference to the case of ash-scattering, in particular as practised by the grave-free promotion society.

In a departure from previous writing on the topic, Kawano argues that the new funerary practices are not necessarily evidence of a move away from a household-based kinship system, but may be better interpreted as a response to a particular set of demographic challenges faced by what she terms the 'transitional cohorts' in Japan. She points out that the generation who reached old age around the 1990s, when alternative funerary arrangements began to gain popularity, were born at a time when the birth rate in Japan was high, and therefore tended to have many siblings. In the context of the household system in Japan, where only one child can succeed to a household (and to the household grave), that meant that there was a proliferation of new households, headed by non-inheriting children. However, this generational cohort themselves tended to have few children, leading to a situation where they faced a potential succession problem: a family with only daughters, for example, could have a

problem finding a successor, given the preference for a successor to be an eldest son. Although it has been fairly common in the past for a daughter's husband to be adopted as successor to a household, these adopted son-in-laws were generally younger sons in their native household – and in the context of falling birth rates there are few of these available.

The importance of this for changing funerary practices is that household graves are inherited by the successor to the household. Those who are not successors in the current generation of the elderly must therefore establish their own household grave, or make alternative arrangements. To acquire a new household grave site in an established cemetery involves considerable expense (if it is possible at all, given the shortage of space in cemeteries) and also the ability to demonstrate that there will be a successor to care for it – which may in itself be problematic.

Kawano argues that this particular set of circumstances has created special pressures on this transitional cohort to find alternative arrangements to the household-based kinship and mortuary system, but that these exist alongside the persistence of the household based system, and, paradoxically, can be seen as supporting evidence for the continuing importance of the household system which allocates grave rights to only one successor. She supports this with survey material from her fieldwork showing that if a household grave and a successor exist, the likelihood is that the grave will be maintained and that the deceased's remains will be interred there. This in turn raises some important questions: how are these new funerary practices likely to change in the future, as Japan's demographic profile continues to change? And what are the broader implications for debates concerning the importance of the household in contemporary Japan?

Kawano does not suggest that demographic factors provide a total explanation for innovations in death rites: she also argues for alternative 'scripts' concerning death in contemporary Japan, and insists on the importance of the agency and varied motivations of those making choices concerning funerary arrangements. Space does not permit a full consideration of the arguments she presents, but, overall, this book provides a complex and nuanced examination of the interaction between demographic change, individual choice, and the development of alternative discourses for understanding and negotiating the relationship between the dead and the living in

contemporary Japan, supported by some very rich ethnography. It is a valuable contribution to our understanding of funerary practices in Japan and of the changing role of the household in Japanese society, and I would recommend it highly to anyone with an interest in these areas, or in the anthropological study of death more generally.

LOUELLA MATSUNAGA *Oxford Brookes University*

KJÆRULFF, JENS. *Internet and change: an anthropology of knowledge and flexible work*. 199 pp., bibliogr. Højbjerg: Intervention Press, 2010. €30.50 (paper)

Working from home is a practice familiar to many anthropologists. Several aspects of our work can be conducted as easily from home as they can from an office, often saving time and resources. The Internet makes this an ever more viable option, not just for anthropologists but for a constantly widening circle of professions. *Internet and change* examines some of the effects of this Internet-facilitated teleworking. In doing so, it has feet in two camps: one regarding the Internet and its cultural impact (on some aspects of some societies at least), the other regarding the anthropology of the workplace in general.

Kjærulff views work 'in the sense of a cultural domain with a particular history' (p. 84) as a 'tradition of knowledge' as per Frederik Barth, and he self-consciously acknowledges that Barth is the dominant theorist drawn upon in the book. In this, Kjærulff does not focus so much on specific occupations, but on employment itself as a facet of Danish (and, more widely, European) cultural practice and a tradition commensurable with the traditions of knowledge considered by Fredrik Barth (*Balinese worlds*, 1993). Part of chapter 4 ('Unfolding events, knowledge and traditions') and much of chapter 5 ('Work as a tradition of knowledge') are given over to a digest of Barth's later work, supplemented with discussions of Cato Wadel, Berger and Luckmann, Otto and Pedersen, as well as Goffman and others.

From the ethnographic side, Kjærulff conducted fieldwork from 1999-2000 based in the Danish village of Fibsted which featured a small community of teleworkers who, while working in isolation from each other for much of the time, came together once a week as the 'Wednesday Lunch Group'. The bulk of the field data presented concerns these weekly gatherings and extended interviews with three particular members of the group, alongside a

questionnaire-led survey administered across the whole village, and focus groups at an IT company.

There is an irony in the book regarding the Internet and space/place. Kjærulff rightly points out that Daniel Miller and Don Slater's *The Internet: an ethnographic approach* (2000) – while a landmark study – is limited to using 'place' (i.e. Trinidad) as the key point of reference for its study of Internet use, whereas 'people' might be more appropriate or fruitful for the diasporic imagined communities which the Internet can facilitate. Nevertheless, Kjærulff had to physically base himself in a place (Fibsted) in order to carry out his study. While much of the telework carried out in the village was 'informal' – that is, not built into employment contracts as such – one of Kjærulff's main informants worked for an IT company with a culture of formal teleworking. The informant in question eventually reverted to more 'normal' working as he was unable to manage the tensions between his working contract, Danish employment law (with strictures regarding weekly working hours), his own professionalism, and, not least, life at home. He cites the ambient nature of the Internet, the intrusion of work-related correspondence into personal time, and the habit of some other teleworkers of sending emails late in the evening to 'prove' how much they were working (perhaps this could be labelled 'tele-presenteeism') as reasons why that culture of full-time teleworking became unsuitable for him. Here, email is analysed as a 'medium of representation' but one which is weak and constrained by company policy which appears to discourage individuality in emails, limiting them just to 'facts' and a rather cold objectification of their recipients.

In attending meetings of the Wednesday Lunch Group, Kjærulff was struck by how little of the conversation concerned work (p. 36). This did not surprise me, as these meetings – although defined by work – were about a break from work. Whilst many features of the study can legitimately be generalized to other European teleworking communities, others are more narrowly Danish (e.g. those involving employment law) and in some ways even tightly specific to the village studied – the village straddled two administrative districts, one of which had a progressive policy of supplying residents with better Internet connections.

As well as providing a useful ethnography of an interesting and rapidly changing period in history, *Internet and change* will be of most

interest to those working in the anthropology of the workplace, although those whose work involves computer-mediated communication will find insights too. It touches on aspects of politics/social policy in places, but anyone with an interest in Barth might find food for thought in Kjaerulff's applications.

NICK SWANN *University of Wales, Newport*

SEKINE, YASUMASA. *Pollution, untouchability and Harijans*. xxvi, 390 pp., map, tables, figs, illus., bibliogr. Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2011. Rs 995 (cloth)

Both consensus and disjunction theories of the caste system offer an inadequate account of the values of the 'ex-untouchables', according to Sekine. In this book he does much more than argue that these castes hold contradictory attitudes simultaneously. He appreciates the disjunctionists for their recognition of the weight of power but dismisses any suggestion of a separate culture at the bottom of Indian society. Such an idea can only be a product of the observer's disapproval of the high castes. Worse still, in Sekine's view, are consensus theorists like Dumont and Moffatt. Their emphasis on the uniqueness of a holistic Indian cultural system based on the shared values of purity and impurity undermines any claims anthropology may make to universalism.

Sekine considers that the central value shared by all castes, in his 1980s non-Brahman Tamil village near Madurai, was not purity/impurity but the ideology of pollution, often wrongly equated with impurity. Impurity is always negative. Pollution is ambiguous, replete with 'the menace of death' yet generative of life. It is not the opposite of purity and has no antonym. For the villagers, the power of pollution was particularly strongly located at the boundary among the 'ex-Untouchable' or Dalit castes (surprisingly, Sekine still refers to them as Harijans). The Tamil word *tittu* is normally only ever used for pollution though the author admits that some local terms (e.g. *cuttam*) can be used contextually, either for pollution or impurity. Pollution is a liminal, egalitarian intrusion of other-worldly threat to the conventional social order and is hot with power. It is an incident rather than an innate attribute. Acceptance of pollution is a sacrificial act, as seen in female puberty rituals, where the girl is polluted yet auspicious. Menstruation, too, is a sacrificial process for re-creation of life. Impurity, by contrast, is never auspicious. Faeces and urine

are impure not polluting, for they were never alive and offer no potential for life.

All the villagers struggle to mediate these two contrasting ideologies of purity/impurity and pollution, expressed in the struggle of Sanskritized gods to stabilize the productive power generated by bloodthirsty goddesses. Like most Indian villages, Kinnimangalam is not dominated by Brahmins, or other 'twice-born' castes, hence not by their value systems. The signs are that pollution ideology is gradually losing out as Brahmanical ideas become a pan-Indian idiom for respectability. 'Ex-untouchables' are increasingly despised as impure, rather than dreaded as polluted.

Consensus theorists like Moffatt have argued that replication of high-caste patterns indicates that Dalits share Brahmanical values of purity and impurity. Sekine argues, on the contrary, that, viewed 'from below', much of what appears to be replication is often purely prudent or strategic. Failure to be activist egalitarians does not mean that Scheduled Castes share upper-caste values. They are simply normal human beings seeking 'self-aggrandisement', not merely self-esteem, but the 'productive' enhancement of the self. Any group based on the margins of society would behave similarly. Much of their cultural difference is the product of discrimination or the result of a realistic awareness of the sources of power. Paraiyars rank the dominant, but non-twice-born, caste of Kallars higher than the Sanskritized castes in the village. On occasion, they observe vegetarianism as an outward idiom of respect, but this does not imply any inward belief that meat-eating makes them impure. Their practice of endogamy is similarly not a mere replication of upper-caste hierarchical purity concerns. Women are the productive 'flower' of the lineage and hence to be retained within the group. Hypergamy is no more acceptable than hypogamy.

Sekine struggles to walk the tightrope of a middle path that is sensitive to interpretations from 'the boundary' yet which avoids the superiority of a 'transcendent' viewpoint. We are all in a 'dirty position', he says. To represent others can also be a form of violence. He regards his location as a Japanese anthropologist as homologous with that of the non-dominant middle castes in a South Indian village. They are complicit in oppression. How can he avoid being complicit in (Western) objectification of others?

This book is filled with detail, and its arguments are densely complex. In my view, some pruning would have made it easier to read. It would be sad if this means it does not

receive the international attention it deserves, for it wrestles with a whole range of important issues. It is meticulously, exhaustively ethnographic and deeply engaged.

MARY SEARLE-CHATTERJEE *Centre for Applied South Asian Studies*

Social theory

LAMBEK, MICHAEL (ed.). *Ordinary ethics: anthropology, language, and action*. xvii, 458 pp., figs, bibliogr. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 2010. £29.95 (paper)

This important and timely reader emerges from the growing community of interest which is further developing the conversation between anthropology and philosophy. This project has been likened to a bridge being built simultaneously from both sides of a river. In his introduction, Michael Lambek refers to philosopher J.L. Austin's request for 'fieldwork in philosophy'. Webb Keane further highlights the unique mandate enjoyed by anthropology, which is 'to encounter people in the midst of things'. This provides a unique opportunity to think about ethical experience as an irreducible component of the politics and pragmatics of everyday life. Hence the title, *Ordinary ethics*.

The twenty papers contained within offer a series of reflections on the place of ethics in human life and the ways in which attention to the ethical can enrich anthropological theory and deepen ethnographic analyses. The papers are grouped around seven broad themes: 'Theoretical frameworks'; 'The ethics of speaking'; 'Responsibility and agency'; 'Punishment and personal dignity'; 'Ethics and formability'; 'Ethical subjects – character and practice'; and 'Ethical life – encounters with history, religion and the political'.

Major threads that persist throughout include: the close relation between ritual and ethics; the central importance of language, not simply in specifically framing the ethical, but in the way that it creates the common mental world we inhabit; the distinction between ethics and morals; issues of obligation, responsibility, and intentionality; and how, in the crucible of the everyday contemporary world, individuals, families, and communities establish ethical positions, resolve ethical dilemmas, and create themselves as ethical subjects.

Key theorists past, recent, and contemporary are referenced. Aristotle has primacy. He locates

ethics as a dimension of action rather than an aspect of thought. In doing so, he legitimates, as it were, the project under consideration. He is explicit: the virtues that are the dispositional ground of ethical agency do not reside in human beings by nature but can and must be cultivated only in, and through, practice. He recognizes that doing the right thing is not easy, even assuming one knows what the right thing is. Specific readings highlight this to be a pressing present reality: for example, businesspeople striving to be just as well as successful in Sri Lanka; or families coming to terms with marriage across the Hindu/Muslim sectarian divide in present-day Delhi.

Hannah Arendt has focused attention on the role of judgement in both public and private behaviour and upon the notion of personal responsibility that depends on a particular kind of thinking and critical subject who is able to attend to a problematic situation and make a personal judgement about it. This is explored to powerful effect in a paper by Steven V. Caton examining the outrages carried out against Iraqi prisoners by US forces behind the walls of Abu Ghraib.

Foucault is pointedly referenced in a number of papers which explore his thought beyond the *History of sexuality vol. 2 (The use of pleasure)*, where resistance to power has become an emergent possibility. Within the imaginary that is opened up, the opportunity, indeed the necessity, of transgression is highlighted. Inside this theme, powerful ethnographic detail from, variously, studies of the neuro-diversity autism movement in the US (Paul Antze), the dilemmas faced by sex industry workers in London (Sophie Day), and the nascent queer community in India (Naisargi N. Dave) is used to explore aspects of the ethical challenges facing outsider communities, drawing upon such concepts as Nussbaum's 'empathy', and Levinas's call for radical openness 'to the alterity of the Other'.

Building the bridge from the anthropological theory side of the river, James Laidlaw cites Evans-Pritchard's classic ethnographies of the Zande and the Nuer as offering opposing examples of ethical approaches to the production and distribution of agency. His paper 'Agency and responsibility: perhaps you can have too much of a good thing', offers a wide-ranging survey that starts with a contrast between 'practice theory' and Actor Network Theory, and culminates, via a rumination on distributed responsibility as exemplified by the self-imposed withdrawal of Stanley Kubrick's

film *A Clockwork Orange*, in a reflection on the recent rise of injuries, faults, and accountabilities that can only be disclosed (and hence experienced) through the deployment of statistical analysis.

Ordinary ethics is an important and welcome addition to the growing literature building the bridge between anthropology and philosophy. The ethnographic sweep is considerable in both range and detail. The theoretical ground covered is extensive. The syntheses attempted and achieved are worthwhile and should prove durable.

DOMINIC MARTIN *University of Cambridge*

LATOUR, BRUNO & VINCENT ANTONIN

LÉPINAY. *The science of passionate interests: an introduction to Gabriel Tarde's Economic anthropology*. 100 pp., Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2010. £9.00 (paper)

Gabriel Tarde was an unflinching adept of what Everett Hughes has termed 'theoretical fantasy' ('Tarde's *Psychologie économique*: an unknown classic by a forgotten sociologist', *The American Journal of Sociology* 66, 1961, 553-9). In the fourth chapter of his massive opus *Psychologie économique* (1902, 26-9), Tarde pauses briefly to consider quite seriously the potential long-term trends in international political economy ... if the earth were flat! His surprising conclusions I leave to the interested reader. In *The science of passionate interests*, Bruno Latour and Vincent Antonin Lépinay consider a slightly less implausible counterfactual: what if Tarde's *Psychologie économique* had been taken up by practical and theoretical followers and had shaped the history of political economy, while Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* fell into oblivion, only to be rediscovered today by sceptical or amazed readers? This 'little essay in historical fiction' (p. 1) gives an inkling of how Tarde's forgotten opus might be read today if – as has in fact happened with *Das Kapital* – it had benefited from generations of admiring commentators to smooth out its rough edges, extend its concepts through new theoretical language, and retrospectively highlight its prescience. In the process, Latour and Lépinay have succeeded in that most anthropological of tasks, namely to make strange what we thought we knew: about 'political economy', first of all, and more generally about 'everything that has happened to us in the past two hundred years and that we have far too hastily summarized under the name of "capitalism"' (p. 5).

This orientation explains why, while the book offers a thought-provoking introduction to the substance and concerns of the century-old treatise in economic sociology, its aim is not primarily to give a critical contextualization of the book or of Tarde's work more generally. While the authors contrast Tarde to Polanyi, Bourdieu, Marx, or Adam Smith, and connect him to Darwin, Leibniz, Sahlins, or Deleuze, their introduction is not seeking to 'situate' and thereby tame the majestic weirdness of Tarde's *Psychologie économique*, but, on the contrary, to highlight the 'strangeness of a book which will allow [the reader] to gain a new grasp on economics' (p. 67).

And Tarde's 'economic psychology' certainly proves to be productively strange. Part I of Latour and Lépinay's book, entitled 'It is because the economy is subjective that it is quantifiable', outlines the Tardean challenge to the economic science of his day, and in particular his heretical proposal to decouple quantification from objectivity and distance. Tarde sees economic notions of value as metonymic of the more general phenomenon of 'interpsychological' give and take of 'passionate interests' (pp. 7-13, 24). In this respect, the authors argue, Tarde went much further than later attempts to 'embed' the economy in the social, or to add 'extra-economic' factors as modifiers upon the rational, calculating individual: *everything* in Tarde's economy is 'extra-economic' (p. 24), passionate, irrational, (inter-)subjective. And economics must, paradoxically, become more quantitative and more scientific by getting closer to, not further away from, these passionate interests (pp. 20-32).

Having disposed of the 'discipline' (p. 32) of economics, the second part of the book traces Tarde's substantive re-theorization of the economy itself. In elucidating his counterintuitive account of capital and labour (for Tarde, 'conversation' is an essential production factor, and the essence of capital lies in the 'inventions' of which material objects are but an auxiliary, albeit useful, outcome – pp. 46-56), the authors show convincingly that what looks like a strange 'idealism' when read through the old dichotomy of infrastructure and superstructure seems strikingly prescient in the redistributed material-semiotic world of hardware and software, biotechnology and viral marketing. The authors trace Tarde's similarly counterintuitive way of 'naturalizing' the economy while 'socializing' nature (pp. 42-6): in Tarde's political economy as in his version of

Darwinism, the immanent hope of symbiosis replaces the transcendent law of improvement through 'vital conflict'.

This theme forms the centrepiece of the third part of the book, 'Economics without providence', in which the authors contrast Tarde's approach to political economy with the provincialism inherent in both liberal 'laissez faire' – with its crypto-religious belief in the Invisible Hand (pp. 71-4) – and the all-too-visible hand of state socialism (pp. 74-9). By contrast to both of these beliefs in a transcendent harmonization, Tarde is presented here as an 'agnostic' (pp. 5, 81). Not a postmodern apostle of chaos, but a cautious proponent of the immanent powers of harmonization present in every entity's artifices and interventions. The book's final sentence sums up the simultaneously methodological, ontological, and ethical/political import of Tarde's economic anthropology, as rendered by Latour and Lépinay: '[I]t is from the free play of passionate interests that [Tarde] expects more quantification, which is to say more social connections, to "card chaos into a world" ' (p. 87).

The formulation also gives a sense of how much the Tarde we encounter today owes to the current of thought characterized as Actor Network Theory – just as anthropology students in the 1990s encountered Marx through practice theory. 'No one seems to have chosen Tarde as his sociological ancestor', wrote Everett Hughes in the 1961 article cited at the start of this review, adding, 'I recommend him as at least an uncle who is generous with his ideas'. Four decades later, Bruno Latour claimed Tarde as the grandfather of ANT ('Gabriel Tarde and the end of the social', in *The social in question: new bearings in history and the social sciences* (ed.) P. Joyce, 117-32, 2002). It will fall to readers to decide, in the light of this captivating and provocative little book, whether the real, spherical world would have been a better place, and political economy a better science, had Tarde's unbroken lineage, rather than Marx's, presided over the twentieth century. Either way, the great merit of Latour and Lépinay's introduction is to give us a glimpse of that conceptual generosity, at a time when anthropology and the social sciences more generally are greatly in need of new 'theoretical fantasies' to help unsettle the vocabulary of contemporary political economy, from 'global capitalism' through to 'neoliberalism'.

MATEI CANDEA *Durham University*

Urban anthropology

BIRON, REBECCA E. (ed.). *City/art: the urban scene in Latin America*. x, 274 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. London, Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2009. £59.00 (cloth), £14.99 (paper)

This edited collection gathers an eclectic, multidisciplinary range of scholars and practitioners (cultural and literary critics, anthropologists, an architect, a philosopher) to contemplate dimensions of contemporary urban life in Latin America. The book adds to the surge of recent literature on urbanism inspired partly by intensifying urbanization and the emergence of megacities. Its authors examine huge, sprawling metropolises such as Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, and São Paulo, and other urban centres (Brasília, Santiago de Chile, Montevideo, Havana – even Miami) that define in various ways the dense, dynamic cultural texture of 'Latin America' today.

Analysing cities through a single urban planning or social science lens might limit recognition of vital yet less obvious forces shaping the city as it is lived and experienced by its inhabitants. Contrasting such approaches, the essays aim – as editor Rebecca Biron states – to present the cities foremost as 'sites of creativity' (p. 2), thereby allowing an 'affective understanding of the lived city' (p. 3). As such, the book investigates diverse 'arts', from official and commercial modes of expression (urban plans, formally staged performances, shopping malls) to more popular ones (performance art, graffiti) reckoned to reflect but also inform the 'urban scene' in today's Latin America. The refrain running through the collection is the tension contained within the region's primary cities between the city as a real, concrete, physical entity and the abstract city as imagined, fictionalized, or idealized.

Moving across Latin America, the collection situates the reader right in the heart (and, arguably, in the soul) of the various cities explored. The book is divided into three parts, each of which encompasses a small cluster of essays grouped thematically. In part I, 'Urban designs', cultural studies guru Nestor García Canclini critiques basic definitions of a city that have been used in urban studies, privileging instead how Mexico City residents perceive and experience their city. Adrián Gorelik teases out the contradictions within *porteños'* views of Buenos Aires, and their ambivalence about being (Latin) Americans. James Holston contributes

another of his well-known commentaries on the modernist apotheosis Brasília, the country's capital, a concrete manifestation of nationalist ideology whose designers believed it possible actually to mould the social order through urban organization and architecture. Holston explains how city residents defy this official map through their inscription within the city of alternative paths of movement and meaning.

Part II, 'Street signs', begins with a compelling essay by Nelly Richard, who examines the performance art – street paintings, performances, videos – of Lotty Rosenfeld, whose work cracks open official stories of history and the functioning body politic to expose its underside of disorder and violence. Marcy Schwartz juxtaposes New York City subway graffiti with a short story by Julio Cortázar in a reflection on how both expressive forms combine urban space, writing, and visual art. José Quiroga authors another fruitful aesthetic comparison, this time of Joan Didion's essay on the Cuna exile community in Miami and Brian De Palma's well-known film *Scarface*, underlining Miami's place as a critical urban 'Latin American' centre whose essence can be understood with reference to alternating themes of foreignness and belonging. Anna Kaminsky also draws from a range of contemporary literary texts to offer her observations on the meaning of Jewishness in Buenos Aires as this identity is informed by migration flows and networks.

Movements of people, goods, and images are also the focus of part III, 'Traffic', which examines the interaction of flows and exchanges of capital and culture in the region. Hugo Achugar looks at the quite surreal transformation of a Montevideo prison into a downtown mall to make a point about erasures of memories of material violence and their replacement by other kinds of consumptive violence. Rio de Janeiro is the centre of George Yúdice's comparison of two projects for urban revitalization, one a top-down plan for a Guggenheim museum, and another the popular movement of Grupo Cultural Afro-Reggae, which Yúdice argues is more effective in addressing chronic ills of racism and social and economic disparities. The final essay of the collection is a proposal written by Nelson Brissac Peixoto, who enlists plastic Deleuzian metaphors to look at the broader implications of the phenomenon of the Latin American megacity.

This is a fascinating, if rather fragmented, book. This fragmentedness is intentional, and is due in part to the multidisciplinary, open-ended orientation of the collection. Essays are written in

the typical 'post-' language of current aesthetic/cultural criticism. This may make the book hard going for readers unfamiliar with such modes of analysis or interpretation. Yet for these and other readers, the book challenges us to approach and understand the complexity of 'Latin American' cities in new, productive, and inspiring ways.

KRISTIN NORGET *McGill University*

DÜRR, EVELINE & RIVKE JAFFE (eds). *Urban pollution: cultural meanings, social practices*. viii, 209 pp., figs, illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2010. £40.00 (cloth)

Pollution, almost by definition, is difficult to handle, literally and conceptually. The boundaries between its forms, states, and scales are often blurred; from litter, to smog or protozoa in drinking water, pollution can be encountered at the scale of a kilometre or down to the level of a micron. As the proportion of the world's population living in cities increases, so does the impact of pollution on the urban environment, making public policy the focus for work on environmental degradation, 'risk', and the management of scarce resources. Yet as Jaffe and Dürr observe in the introduction to this volume, attention to the perception of the environment and pollution in cities has been slight, even as anxieties about pollution subtly shape the everyday lives of most city-dwellers.

This edited volume of eight ethnographic papers takes Mary Douglas's work on pollution and concepts of purity and order as its starting-point. Cultural notions of pollution bring into focus the forms of discrimination, segregation, and social hierarchy that structure urban space. The papers vary in style, length, and ethnographic context, from New Zealand and Fiji to Central Europe and India. In Dürr's and Lüthi's chapters, material pollution seems to threaten the status of people at the top of the social hierarchy. Lüthi offers a detailed if conventional account of the constant daily work in upper-caste houses in South India done against the constant ingress of dirt and lower-caste/class people. Dürr shows how the complexity of postcolonial nation-building in recently multicultural New Zealand is expressed through narratives about 'tidy Kivis' and 'dirty Asians', as Victorian racialized discourses on sanitation are refigured in contemporary discussion of the environment. These themes reappear in Trnka's account of Indo-Fijians in

Fiji's capital, Suva. Even as the city struggles with political instability and economic crises, Suva is figured by its residents as a 'clean' space of urban modernity in opposition to the wild, 'backward', dirty 'jungle'.

Mixing with 'other' lower-class people in the public spaces of Cairo is no less fraught for the upper-middle-class women in Anouk De Koning's richly ethnographic account. Their inability to control the symbolically polluting gaze of lower-class male 'others' makes for spatially segregated lives, where elite forms of dress and distinction can be maintained. Similar forms of distinction are played out in Treiber's account of the clientele of 'clean' and 'dirty' bars in Amsara.

In the final three papers, framings of pollution in public policy are contested through activism. Kerényi describes how in Budapest, environmentalism, once one of the few spaces for possible opposition to Hungary's Communist government, is now fragmented around different issues. Rolshoven provides an overview rather than ethnography of the increasingly tightly controlled nature of Europe's public spaces, where people are more likely to be removed than rubbish in an attempt to maintain notions of order, safety, and cleanliness. Similarly, in Scott, Shaw, and Bava's account of regeneration in New Zealand, 'liveability' is debated by residents and authorities through differently classed, professionalized, and gendered discourses around cleanliness and order.

Together these papers represent a wide-ranging account of social relations in urban settings, framed by the people living them in terms of pollution. In this respect, they remain true to the principle of Mary Douglas's work, but do not really extend it. Consequently, as Davison notes in the afterword, many 'chapters handle the semiotic subtlety with greater dexterity than they do material subtlety' (p. 199), an imbalance curiously also identified in the introduction. The introduction itself tantalizingly hints at ethnographic accounts of the relational materiality of pollution to come, referring via Law's and Latour's work to the techniques through which entities become polluted or polluting, raising the possibility of the 'agency' of pollution itself. As Davison notes in the afterword, 'Urban pollution [is] shot through with powerful physical agencies, such as the reproductive vigour of *E. coli*, the toxic persistence of mercury or the warmth of a blanket of carbon dioxide' (p. 199). These theoretical approaches have been productively embraced by geographers, but, despite being

flagged, are barely addressed in these ethnographic contributions. Similarly, while this volume contributes usefully to environmental anthropology by addressing the urban environment (which has been largely rural-, forestry-, and fisher-focused), it would have been useful to know more about what the authors considered to be specifically urban about their environments.

Despite these criticisms, this volume offers a range of useful accounts of cultural construction of pollution, deployed as an idiom in the ordering and negotiating of social relations in a range of urban settings. The illustration of how assertions of pollution are racialized, gendered, and classed, and the range of debates in which pollution is deployed as a discursive as well as material form, usefully broaden the frame of urban and environmental anthropology.

CRESSIDA JERVIS READ *University College London*

MATHEWS, GORDON. *Ghetto at the center of the world: Chungking Mansions, Hong Kong*. xi, 241 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. London, Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 2011. £12.50 (paper)

Gordon Mathews describes Chungking Mansions as 'perhaps the most globalized building in the world' (p. 7). The ramshackle tower block, a dilapidated seventeen storeys of cut-price businesses and cheap guest-houses in Kowloon, in the heart of Hong Kong's tourist district, 'is the haunt of South Asian merchants, African entrepreneurs, Indian temporary workers, African and South Asian asylum seekers, and penurious travellers from across the globe' (p. 2). This place, and the markets in Kolkata, Lagos, and Dar es Salaam with which it is tightly linked, provides the ethnographic context for *Ghetto at the center of the world*, an innovative exploration of the lived realities of globalizing markets and transnational economic networks.

Chungking Mansions matters, Mathews suggests, because it provides an example of globalization as it is experienced by the majority of the world's people. Mathews labels this 'low-end globalization': 'the transnational flow of people and goods involving relatively small amounts of capital and informal, sometimes semi-legal or illegal, transactions commonly associated with "the developing world"' (pp. 19-20). This is not the careful branding, high-rise offices, or corporate lawyers of companies like Sony, Coca Cola, and McDonald's. Instead, Mathews follows a Nigerian trader as he buys a suitcase full of second-hand mobile phones from

an Indian shop-owner in Chungking Mansions, aware at every moment that an exchange rate fluctuation or a capricious customs official could render his trip an economic disaster. In this ethnographically rich account, the author insightfully reveals the complex motivations of those who travel to Chungking Mansions, describing the calculations made by a Kenyan trader as she chooses fabric for shirts to be made in China and sold in East Africa, and outlining how an asylum-seeking Nepalese man learns to negotiate the bureaucratic complexities of the Hong Kong office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Ghetto at the center of the world is an important book, for a number of reasons. Firstly, Mathews's account stands in contrast to much of the existing anthropological literature on the lived realities of globalization, which focuses on the impact of global economic networks on very particular people in very particular places. In contrast, Mathews examines a site of global interconnection, demonstrating that this place of fluid populations and fleeting interactions is not, to borrow Marc Augé's terminology, a non-place (*Non-places: introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity*, 1995), but a node of complex international entanglements.

Secondly, an examination of Chungking Mansions allows for a nuanced account of the complexities of the relationship between 'developed' and 'developing' worlds. Mathews describes Chungking Mansions as

a building of the periphery within a city of the core, a city located between the developing world's manufacturing hub and its poorest nether regions. It is a ghetto of middle-class striving within a city of wealthier middle-class striving, viewing its denizens with fear and scorn yet letting business as usual be the law of the day (p. 215).

The book challenges much theorizing concerning global capitalism, particularly the idea that capital moves from the core to the periphery, where cheap labour allows cheaper factories. In Chungking Mansions, Mathews suggests, 'we see the opposite trend: not producers moving from the core to the semi-periphery, but traders moving from the extreme periphery to the semi-periphery to buy cast-off, knock-off, or copy goods from the core' (p. 209).

An additional strength of the book is Mathews's elegant juxtaposition of the universal and the particular. The author makes clear, on the one hand, that this story, of global markets, inflexible borders, and radical divides between the very rich and the very poor, is not merely the story of Chungking Mansions. He suggests that similar accounts could be recorded in places such as Yuexiu district, Guangzhou, or in Brixton, London, or Flushing, New York. Yet, on the other hand, important particularities are never downplayed: for example, Mathews skilfully traces the consequences of Hong Kong's unusual immigration laws and examines the after-effects of colonialism, the limited impact of the 1997 transfer of power, and the growing importance of the Chinese mainland as a manufacturing hub.

This book will appeal to a broad audience and will be excellent for undergraduate teaching: the accounts Mathews provides are captivating, his argument is sophisticated and provocative but never unnecessarily complex, and, while the book is clearly in conversation with existing anthropological literature, this engagement is subtle. In summary, this book provides a fascinating account of a particular place and makes a significant contribution to the ongoing anthropological discussion on the lived experiences of globalization.

RUTH E. TOULSON *University of Wyoming*