



## Book Reviews

**Questioning Secularism: Islam, Sovereignty, and the Rule of Law in Modern Egypt.** *Hussein Ali Agrama.* Chicago Studies in Practices of Meaning. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. xiii + 281 pp.

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This book explores the relation between Islam and secularism through a nuanced examination of law and its practices in Egypt. More specifically, Hussein Ali Agrama explains how the modernizing project in Egypt, initiated in the 19th century, has transformed the Sharia and how secularism, as part and parcel of that project, reordered the domain of politics and, in his own words, “draws the line between religion and politics” (p. 27).

This major point is (especially) illustrated through a specific legal case known as the case of Abu Zayd (which refers to an entire legal process called *hisba*), mounted against an Egyptian professor accused of apostasy (and consequently divorced from his wife) because of his academic writing on Islam. *Hisba*, even though known in Islamic traditions, was only introduced to personal status code by the opponents of Abu Zayd. To show how this concept, rooted in the Sharia, was integrated and significantly changed within the personal status code, Agrama gives the history of the judiciary system since the 19th century and shows how gradually the Sharia courts were subsumed by the national court system in 1955. The Sharia courts then became known as the personal status division of the national court system. Within the Sharia, the author argues, *hisba* was, “a disciplined practice of moral criticism intended to produce proper Muslim selves” (p. 64), and as such linked to the rights of God, the purpose of which is the preservation of the Muslim community. However, with the case of Abu Zayd, Agrama further argues, the state turned *hisba* into a secular principle, part of an entire set of secular concepts and categories, especially the private–privation distinction. The state makes the distinction between the public and the private central to it, Agrama tells us, and the state not only maintains this crucially important distinction but also delineates the private (which is the domain of religion) from the public (which is the domain of politics). This is what Agrama calls the active principle of secularism. In his view, secularism is “a questioning power” (p. 105) and not just a power that imposes norms and rules. He then

argues that the connection of religion and politics, with the principle of secularism and the public order, brings in an indeterminacy that blurs the lines between religion and politics and constantly redefines the public versus private distinctions themselves.

Agrama also studies ethnographically the court system itself and, more specifically, what one would call today its affect economy. Observing both the personal courts and the Fatwa Council, Agrama not only shows how these two state institutions function but also how each in its own way absorbs liberal tenets, and each creates (or, rather, re-creates) the Sharia: the first by what Agrama calls indeterminacy and the second by constant interpretation. But he examines the authority of both. Although both rely on the Sharia, Agrama observes, each is looked at entirely differently by people. Thus, he noticed that the court system is the object of intense suspicion (from the public, the judges, and the prosecutors); the Fatwa Council, by contrast, is subject to so little suspicion. Even though it is bereft of the forceful mechanisms of implementation, it has greater authority on the people who usually willingly seek and accept the fatwas of the council. And as state institutions, each participates in the management of the population: the court by making people comply with the rules (liberal even when relying on the Sharia that the state liberalizes if not secularizes), and the Fatwa Council becomes a mechanism by which a Muslim self is created and cultivated. From this comparison, based on ethnography and history, Agrama draws a larger conclusion on the rule of law. Suspicion, which is a feature of modern law, has a cunning effect. On the one hand, it creates a distrust of the law and, on the other hand, it helps to entrench the law through additional legislation. Suspicion, Agrama argues, brings vigilance against the abuse of power. Thus, by appropriating the *hisba* the state extended its power, the author concludes, and became legally capable of intruding into the private domain.

The reader of this book will find a brilliant discussion of an entire range of sensibilities pertaining to the law, including the authority of the Sharia, the demeanor of the judge and the prosecutors, and the attitude of the plaintiffs and defendants. The book’s last chapter is more descriptive, however, not as thickly as one might have expected in a text of this caliber. Nevertheless, the chapter is informative. It tells the story of the ordeal of lawyers involved in defending Islamists. Agrama not only describes the work of an

Islamist, a friend and an informant of his, taking part in the fight for justice of other Islamists but also shows that these Islamists are well aware of the discourse of human rights, accepting its principles. However, they deemed them too abstract and impossible to implement because of their emphasis on the concept of the human. In everyday life, these lawyers deal with concrete people they know and usually people sharing their own ideological convictions.

The book was published in the context of the Egyptian revolution of January 25, 2011. The author deemed it necessary to address this important event. In the epilogue, he depicts a rather apocalyptic scenario of what might have happened in case Islamists were to win the then-upcoming elections (of 2012 that they actually won):

One can easily conjure up terrifying images of such an event, Women forced to veil. ... Copts in droves, abandoned churches converted to mosques, famous authors banned, or condemned to prison or even worse, intransigent dogmatism and unbridled intolerance reigning everywhere, in the midst of financial ruin and economic poverty. And on top all this, strident calls against the West and Israel. [p. 234]

The point of citing this is not to show that he was wrong in his prediction (actually no one predicted what indeed happened). But the point is to demonstrate that this statement in itself expresses a very high (secular) suspicion toward the “religious,” not toward the secular itself (in this case a military state, which I would have liked to have seen unmasked in this book). This may make one ponder the status of the anthropological intervention itself and its positionality vis-à-vis its object of study—be it the secular or the “religious” or the dynamics between the two.

Nevertheless, this highly innovative book is a real feast for the mind. A tour de force in the anthropology of Islam, it will be of great value to students of religion and secularism as well as to legal studies beyond Egypt and even beyond the Middle East.

**Thin Description: Ethnography and the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem.** John Jackson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013. 394 pp.

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In sociocultural anthropology, there are five methodological approaches that essentially define our discipline: cultural relativism, participant-observation, our code of ethics, reflexivity, and thick description. The first three have their critics. For example, some argue that there are ethical

universals that transcend culture and that participant-observation is an oxymoron. There are also a rare few who believe that a discipline that, at its core, demands trust between researcher and interlocutor is actually compatible with the Human Terrain System. John Jackson's magisterial new book *Thin Description* is the first to, in Jackson's words, reconsider “contemporary investments in thick description” (p. 13). In the process, Jackson brings a fresh new perspective to reflexivity at a time when our interlocutors are often as invested as we are in how we represent them.

Rather than dismiss the value of participant-observation, or enmeshing ourselves in a culture such that the logic of cock fighting, funeral pyres, or a Moroccan *suq* makes sense, Jackson questions the degree to which we can know the other or even ourselves. As many anthropologists would argue, cultures form the basis of our decision making and emotional responses to being in the world. To have such power, culture theory assumes some level of agreement about values and meaning. But Jackson's interlocutors are often as divided by geography as they are by ideology.

Jackson's primary subjects are followers of Ben Ammi, the leader of a distinct Black Hebrew faith. Most consider the city of Dimona in Israel home, although many continue to work in the United States and travel between the two countries. Some were born into the faith, but the majority are converts. Since the founding of African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem (AHIJ) in the 1960s, converts have struggled to adapt to cultural inventions and innovations that are as revitalizing as they are destabilizing. In fact, the entire ethos of AHIJ is built on upending common sense such that “deadlines” are renamed “lifelines,” and “diets” “live-its” (p. 7). Most, but not all, members of Dimona treat the entire migratory story of modern Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews as wrong. Black people, they argue, are from vastly different tribes. African Americans were Israelites sold into slavery by African Pagans and Arab Muslims. And even as they hold themselves up as the true Ethiopian Hebrews, “religion, AHIJ saints argue, is the problem” (p. 131). Other Black Hebrew groups have different exegetical readings of the Bible and different understandings of race.

With contested ontological commitments and contradictory religious objectives, what culture exists that is open for anthropological interpretation? Signifying practices in this case are often disembedded from material culture and the types of cultural feedback loops that in the Geertzian sense turn our empirical sense making into ideology and religion. But is Jackson's approach so distinct from Geertz's? In the process of trying to highlight thin description, Jackson leaves out Geertz's self-conscious struggle to articulate exactly what anthropologists do. Geertz explicitly writes against attempts at interpreting whole societies:

Cultural analysis is (or should be) guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses, not discovering the Continent of Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape.

So there are three characteristics of ethnographic description: it is interpretive; what it is interpretive of is the flow of social discourse; and the interpreting involved consists in trying to rescue the “said” of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms. [Geertz 1973:20]

Throughout *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz emphasizes the limits of anthropological interpretation. He reminds his readers that people do not study a village. Rather, they study in a village (Geertz 1973:22).

However, at the same time that Geertz attempts to demonstrate the elusiveness of culture, he recovers the import of culture with respect to our psychology and our identities. And this is where the differences between Jackson and Geertz are most stark. Jackson refuses any culture and personality thesis save Anthony Wallace’s characterization of revitalization movements as cultural reimaginings. Instead, Jackson extends his earlier theoretical work on sincerity, racial and otherwise. In particular, Jackson argues against the idea that cultural authenticity exists:

No matter how sophisticated our authenticity tests, no matter how elaborate our analytical strategies, the slippage between what we see and what we can trust, between what is obvious or self-evident and what must be taken on faith about other people (based on partial and ever-changing shreds of evidence), always remains. [p. 211]

Given this, Ben Ammi’s narrative of his anointment—his vivid account of a visit by the angel Gabriel in Chicago—dares the ethnographer to doubt his authenticity but not his sincerity.

Jackson identifies *sincerity* as the performance or display of a constellation of signifiers used to try to control how one is interpreted. This is as true for our interlocutors as for ourselves as ethnographers. Audiences get to decide who is or is not “authentic,” not the performer, just as our readers get to decide whether we captured cultural facticity, not us. We display our research sincerity on our sleeves, so to speak, while simultaneously omitting vast amounts of data to make our stories make sense and appear real. To do this, we often hide the fact that we may have had little to no control over how or what we represented. This is particularly true in the age of social media where anthropologists can be indirectly enlisted as public relations tools for the groups they study. And we cannot forget that some

interlocutors refuse to share secrets, some lie, and some say what they think a researcher wants to hear. Jackson concedes that we may never know what differentiates a cultural wink from a twitch or a nod. Rather than representing deep, or thick truths, cultural sincerity is often superficial, performative, and inchoate.

Jackson simply gives ethnographers far less interpretive agency than Geertz. Jackson also considers some of the ways anthropologists dissociate themselves from the eye (and I) framing their evidence. He argues that this dissociative ellipsis is not dissimilar from “body-snatching, soul-stealing and spirit possession” (p. 15). This critique is not new, but rather than calling for a revival of postmodern reflexivity, Jackson insists that these slippages are simply facts in themselves that cannot be addressed by more navel-gazing. In Jackson’s analysis the navel-gazing itself is as suspect (performative and culturally sincere) as the ethnographic encounter.

In many ways, Jackson and Geertz highlight similar doubts with the science of anthropology. In that sense, rather than identify *Thin Description* as a critique of Geertz, it would be better to characterize it as an analysis of the other side of the cultural coin. Jackson highlights the things people do and say that do not add up, and that offer little for anthropologists to theorize with. For example, Jackson could have emphasized the shared racial history that shaped the types of doubt that drew people to AHJ. Instead, Jackson focuses on the cultural myths at play, shifting language ideologies, and changing notions of ethnicity and race. Jackson is fascinated by the unwoven webs of signification; the complicated and unsuccessful attempts to turn partial knowledge, novel ideas, and global signifiers into Lévi-Straussian bricolage.

What we see in the many stories of conversion, migration, belief, commitment, dissent, and rumor (the book is organized into 45 short chapters) is a complicated story of a group of African Americans struggling to make sense of who they are. Their struggles are mirrored by Jackson’s own, in particular his sincere representation of his own difficulties with anthropological sense-making. The book’s underlying humor, coupled with the author’s playful prose, reminiscent of Geertz, makes the book difficult to put down. Overall, Jackson has written a seminal text that gives anthropologists permission to admit that their observations range from thin to thick. Sometimes all we know is what our interlocutors want us to know. In the end, no theory or analysis helps us penetrate the impenetrable.

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**Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra: Five Musical Years in Ghana.** Steven Feld. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 311 pp.

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Steven Feld starts his book with the following: “I’m here to tell stories about encounters with jazz cosmopolitanism in Accra” (p. 2). Feld wants to tell stories of his time with musicians and other individuals in Accra, Ghana, to convey musical intimacy and reveal genealogies of power related to race, spirituality, and cosmopolitanism. The stories are frequently personal with Feld providing his own thoughts and perspectives in a memoir fashion. Layered in and around these personal narratives are details about the lives of artists, language use, Ghanaian history and cultural practices, and sound. Sound, in fact, is a key facet of the book and correlates to Feld’s notion of “acoustemology,” or a way of knowing the world through sound.

*Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra* is divided into seven chapters. The bulk of the book discusses the lives of three musicians: Guy Warren/Ghanaba, Nii Noi Nortey, and Nii Otoo Annan. Each chapter focuses partially on the background of these artists but more directly on each artist’s perspectives of and relations to jazz, popular artists and songs, and historical events in Ghana, the United States, and, to a lesser extent, parts of Europe. Feld is interested in using personal stories about his interactions with these artists to illustrate the ways “histories of global entanglement” shape the lives of contemporary artists (p. 7). To that end, there are frequent discussions of international music, musicians, and composers, such as John Coltrane and Louis Armstrong, along with local ways of relating to these artists and art forms. Cosmopolitanism, for Feld, is a means to grapple with the “unsettling ironies of uneven experience” (p. 231). Through detailing “off-the-radar lives of people,” Feld creates a means to represent the politics and poetics of cosmopolitanism from the point of view of artists in Accra.

The first person that Feld focuses on is Guy Warren, or Ghanaba. Warren, who has a number of other works written about him, including a recent chapter in *Africa Speaks, America Answers* by Robin Kelley (2012), was a contemporary of Charlie Parker, Max Roach, and Thelonious Monk during the 1950s. Despite some success in the United States, Warren believed that many Americans, including other musicians, were racist in their exoticization of Africans. According to Warren, this racism prevented him from achieving success or performing legitimately in the United States. Returning to Ghana, Warren eventually changed his name to Ghanaba, which means “born of Ghana,” and moved on to other projects, including a recording of Handel’s “Hallelujah Chorus,” which is documented in Feld’s book and on DVD (there are 14 musical and video recordings made by

Feld that correlate with the content of his book, including one on Ghanaba’s “Hallelujah Chorus”).

In presenting his life, Feld places Ghanaba’s sentiments at the center of the text. There are several passages that provide room for Ghanaba to express his view on a range of issues, such as racism, criticisms or support of other musicians, or attacks on those that try to make “evil pretty” through the contemporary preservation of slave castles in Ghana. In addition, the open presentation of many of these dialogues allows Feld’s doubts and concerns about some of Ghanaba’s comments to permeate alongside his obvious appreciation and respect for Ghanaba. It is a more intimate portrait of Ghanaba than appears elsewhere. And, it is an intimate portrait of Feld as well that allows the reader, in the course of the book, to learn about the author, his relationship with Accra musicians, and his approach to fieldwork.

For those interested in acoustemology, the chapter on Nii Otoo Annan may be the most rewarding. Relating issues of class within a broader framework of personal struggle to achieve success as an artist, Feld details Nii Otoo’s relationship to musical works, spirituality, and local ecology. In one example, Feld plays for Nii Otoo his recordings of *Bufo regularis*, a common toad whose croaks emanate from some Accra sewers. Removing the headphones, Nii Otoo responds that the crickets on the recording are the bell players and the toads the master drummers “making many rhythms that cross on top and sit below” (p. 133). Feld then discusses Nii Otoo’s terminology and, ultimately, his way of hearing local ecology. This becomes transformed into the recording *Bufo Variations*, in which Nii Otoo records a series of songs based on his listening to the “audio toadscapes” (Annan and Feld 2008:134) that Feld created.

The chapter that may contribute the most to Ghanaian studies—in terms of discussing a rarely written about topic—is Feld’s work with *por* music. Centered on Accra’s La Drivers Union, where La is the name of one of the regions in the city, *por* music is a means of using squeeze-bulb horns to perform memorial music for driver funerals. Feld documents various elements of the La Drivers Union including the historical background of using horns to scare off dangerous animals while pumping punctured tires, the role of music in funerals, connections to various elements of material culture related to *por* and the drivers, and the creation and use of nicknames among the drivers. The chapter illustrates a vivid use of story and sound to present a community of drivers and their music.

While Feld notes that there is a lack of conventional theory in the book, he argues that stories provide a means to relate encounters, memory, and intimacy that reveal local subjectivities. For those interested in more information on the way Feld frames his ideas, there are extensive end notes that provide a wealth of additional information and resources for the reader. However, it may be, for many

readers, the stories that have the most resonance and that encourage careful consideration. Vignettes ranging from inequality at airport security to hustling for survival have a way of sticking with the reader long after putting down the book. This may be the ultimate goal for Feld who asks readers to listen to “how stories reveal Accra’s” cosmopolitanism (p. 10).

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**Dark Trophies: Hunting and the Enemy Body in Modern War.** *Simon Harrison*. New York: Berghahn, 2012. viii + 233 pp., illustrations.

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About 30 minutes into the film *Restrepo* (2010), documenting a platoon of U.S. Marines deployed in the Korengal Valley of Afghanistan, the audience hears a brief conversation between two Marines. As one is busy adjusting a heavy gauge machine gun peering out over the valley, he takes a call from one of his fellow soldiers asking how things went on a recent leave back home. When the Marine says it was good to visit family back on their ranch and his friend asks “What kind of ranch?” the following exchange ensues,

“It’s just like a ranch with land and gates and stuff and trucks and what not. Some guns. Some wildlife, you know, that you shoot at.”

“Just a whole bunch of land that they kill stuff on.”

“Yeah, kind a like this.”

“Yeah, but we’re not hunting animals. We’re hunting people.”

<pause> “Hearts and minds.”

“Yeah. We’ll take their hearts and we’ll take their minds.”

I open this review of Simon Harrison’s remarkable book with an example of military banter from the war in Afghanistan to say that one does not have to look far in the myriad reports from today’s battlefields to find evidence for his argument that “cultural models connected with the

hunting of animals are projected or transferred into the context of warfare” (p. 8).

As the title metaphor implies, *Dark Trophies: Hunting and the Enemy Body in Modern War* is concerned with a very specific practice—the practice of taking body parts of enemies as “trophies,” much like trophy taking in hunting expeditions. Although Harrison makes comparative reference to many of the more well-known cases of headhunting traditions in the ethnological literature (Amazonian, Ilongot, and Asmat), his analysis focuses on “modern warfare.” He draws his data principally from the militaries of the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Australia, and South Africa.

*Dark Trophies* offers a highly original and broad-ranging analysis of these collecting practices across military cultures from the 18th century to the present. In the process, Harrison contextualizes battlefield practices in relation to other areas in which human remains are gathered and displayed, such as natural history specimens or the remains of executed criminals. Seeing commonalities across contexts, he wants us to understand these practices as markers of the edges of the human social order, symbolizing “domination over the order of ‘nature’ ” (p. 188) and, along the way, racialized others.

Somewhat analogous to incest, wartime trophy taking in Western militaries is both universally proscribed in official norms and widely practiced. The result is a set of moral tensions and contradictions Harrison calls “interstitial practices”: proscribed practices that nonetheless exhibit highly regular forms across cultures and historical eras. Harrison argues that these practices are not simply random acts of deviance or excess but, rather, “provide important clues to the way cultural knowledge is structured and stored in the minds of social actors” (p. 19). Interestingly, one of the bits of evidence that supports his argument is the systematic forgetting that typically ensues in postwar memory making. Despite their frequency, the trophies collected generally disappear from public remembrances of war. Harrison interprets this as further evidence for the function of “interstitial practices” as boundary crossing or breaching enactments that don’t “fit” public constructions of postwar memory that, rather, seek to normalize wartime killing.

Several parts of this book have been published previously in article form, specifically Harrison’s studies of scientific collecting in the British Victorian military, and of trophy taking in the Pacific War and the U.S. Civil War. But the book goes beyond these individual case studies to offer a more comprehensive theory that weaves together a more ambitious explanatory account on the basis of models and metaphors of hunting applied to warfare. After showing that hunting–collecting schemas have “deep roots in European history” (p. 21), he goes on to explore these roots in human nature and culture (mostly the latter). Harrison’s thesis is that similarities across time and space “arise because

the same or similar cultural metaphors can occur in different times and places” (p. 194). He is quick to add that the social and moral significance of those metaphors will vary according to the extent to which they can be normatively expressed.

Harrison’s turn to metaphor as an explanatory framework for the convergences in the case material may sound like a culturalist at work, but in fact he goes to considerable effort to push further into the origins of metaphor in experience, specifically direct or indirect experiences with hunting animals. He devotes the first chapter of the book to presenting a summary of George Lakoff’s experiential theory of metaphor. Although sounding at times like an introductory lecture on linguistic anthropology, this chapter makes the important point that metaphor and taboo are in an intriguing mirrored relationship such that metaphors make connections across domains while taboos keep them separate.

One of the convincing accomplishments of the book is its demonstration that trophy taking in modern warfare is almost always a form of racialized violence. In Harrison’s words, “the history of this practice [of trophy taking] has been linked inseparably with the history of racism” (p. 4). Many of the examples derive from colonial wars and conflicts that have been heavily racialized. In contexts in which the enemy can more easily be conceptualized as outside the human–animal binary, hunting metaphors and practices are more likely to be applied.

The cases presented provide a panoply of ways in which trophy-taking practices express and instantiate cultural concepts of person and related constructions of humanity and inhumanity. The chapter on trophy taking in the U.S. military during the Pacific War pursues its analysis against the striking observation that the extensive and brutal trophy taking in the Pacific was virtually absent in the U.S. military in the European theater. Whereas authors such as John Dower in his classic work *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (1986) have long noted these disparities, Simon Harrison places them in a larger theoretical and historical frame that will give this book lasting value.

There is an enormous amount of material here, both theory and historical ethnography, that ought to find its way into classrooms of anthropology and the social science of war and aggression. Whereas the Berghahn text is suitable for graduate readers, one wishes that the text could have been written for a general readership. It deserves a wide hearing.

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**On the Doorstep of Europe: Asylum and Citizenship in Greece.** Heath Cabot. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. 257 pp.

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While over the last five years the eyes of the world have focused on Greece’s fiscal collapse, another economic, political, and moral crisis has consumed Greeks: the management of migrants and asylum seekers. In her vivid and important ethnography, *On the Doorstep of Europe: Asylum and Citizenship in Greece*, Cabot depicts the intricacies of Greece’s asylum system: a conglomeration of policy makers, social workers, lawyers, government officials, interpreters, and administrators who engage locally with asylum seekers to solve a global disorder. Migrants from countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, and Somalia arrive in Greece by land or sea in search of safety, security, and legitimacy. As the book’s title intimates, most travel to Greece as a stopping point to other European countries.

Conditions of reception, including ad hoc decisions and arbitrary rules, institutional politics, and bureaucratic inefficiencies leave asylum seekers vulnerable to exploitation and neglect. Well-intentioned, albeit frustrated, case workers and attorneys struggle to serve displaced individuals and families within the constraints that law, the state, and the Athens Refugee Service (ARS), an Athens-based NGO, impose. Meanwhile, the debt crisis in Greece has led to increasingly exclusionary forms of citizenship. Ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and racism, spearheaded by the far-right political party, Golden Dawn, subject migrants to violent, often fatal attacks. Even as migrants without claim to Greek ancestry demand entitlements from a nation-state with diminishing resources, internationally sparked, antiracism movements are also on the rise.

Cabot conducted primary, long-term field research (2006–08) principally in the legal department of the ARS, the country’s capital and bureaucratic center of citizenship policies and practices against which the needs of asylum seekers are assessed and judged. As a participant-observer, Cabot processed asylum claims, a role that earned her credibility as an insider, and access to the agency’s other personnel, clients, and policies. She was privy as much to aid encounters that took place at the agency as she was to debriefings with the staff and to personal narratives by clients in “legal limbo” (p. 41) at other sites of “crisis” in the city (p. 3). In her ethnographic material, she includes content in such cultural artifacts as application forms, case folders, and legal documents; she highlights the “pink card,” indicative of asylum seekers’ identity and life during the asylum process (pp. 45–56). Mindful that Greek practices are also shaped by European law and routines, Cabot traces

the actors and their activities to the borders of Greece and Turkey, the European Parliament, and Italy. Through her multisited ethnographic lens, she notes the influence of European governance on the management of migration and asylum in Greece, a marginal member-state on the geopolitical periphery of the European Union.

Cabot structures her monograph as a “tragedy” in three acts: Governance, Judgment, and Citizenship (p. 73). Within each act she depicts the asylum process as “tragic” to denote the complexity in which asylum seekers and aid workers struggle and are more likely to improvise encounters than to follow a script. In rich, lucid detail, Cabot shows that institutional inefficiency and contingency sabotaged aid workers’ attempts to grant legal and humanitarian rights to asylum seekers. Particularly troublesome was service providers’ efforts to decipher the criteria and meanings of categories and hierarchies of aid seekers. We meet emotionally charged claimants, caseworkers, and administrators who operate in perpetual indeterminacy, a state in which subjectivity to the decisions of others is the norm, and where “radical uncertainty” of procedures and outcomes reigns supreme (p. 9). Cabot portrays asylum seekers and aid workers engaged in agonizing, often humorous, sometimes joyful, but always captivating, dialogues and aesthetic performances (p. 111) through which they seek, and attempt to practice, social justice, respectively. She demonstrates that “tragedy” embodies constraint and too often failure to know and to serve, but it also provides opportunities for ethical and affective labor among all asylum actors who work together thoughtfully and creatively to manage the asylum process.

Characteristic of aid encounters, Cabot demonstrates, is “mythopoesis” (pp. 9, 206), an exchange of stories that clients and service providers share with each other to manage a taxing enterprise, while the former argue their case and the latter support a claim amid ambiguities, inconsistencies, and contradictions. Her dramaturgical approach reveals that intrinsic to asylum is also the psychological, moral, and ideological awakenings of the men and women who struggle to assist individuals and families to navigate systemic, structural violence. Tragedy, Cabot argues convincingly, generates forms of sociality among asylum seekers and service providers that transform the lives of ARS workers, and the ARS cultures of resistance. The “clients” of Greece’s asylum system assert “circumscribed agency” (p. 112); that is, not necessarily political or proactive responses but a search for recognition and protection through narratives, negotiations, and tactical maneuverings. Through their presence, moral dispositions, and words, asylum seekers shape aid encounters and influence others’ interpretations of them and their predicament. Face-to-face meetings among aid workers and asylum seekers lead to a mutually enlightened, transformative experience—behavioral, ideological, and ethical.

Cabot’s analysis of this social drama exposes her readers to a human calamity of discouraging but meaningful outcomes for all participants. She juxtaposes formal European governance with the realities of asylum seekers and service providers that constitute, and are constituted by, the institutional culture of Greece’s asylum regime. Her critical and nuanced attention to actors’ moral, sentimental, intellectual, political, and aesthetic performances humanizes her fieldwork and heightens her interpretation of paths to securing human rights, in general, and citizenship, in particular. Cabot’s ethnography is artful, sensitive, and engaging; however, direct narratives by asylum actors would enhance the reader’s appreciation of their lived experience as asylum seekers and providers, and strengthen an already notable and timely study. *On the Doorstep of Europe* is emotionally and intellectually gripping. It will appeal to scholars and students of globalization, European anthropology, and particularly researchers of urban problems, processes, and populations of a Greece in transition.

**Conscientious Objectors in Israel: Citizenship, Sacrifice, Trials of Fealty.** Erica Weiss. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. 204 pp.

**NEHEMIA STERN**

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On September 12, 2014, 43 reservists of an elite Israeli military intelligence unit published a letter declaring their refusal to participate in what they characterized as unethical activities related to Israel’s military occupation of the West Bank. Immediately afterward, the letter caused a storm of comment and controversy throughout Israel, as other reservists wrote rebuttals and as officials openly criticized their patriotism, even their loyalty to the Jewish people. Primary among the many stakes involved rests the traditional role of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in forging an Israeli national identity in a Jewish State.

The IDF has long been seen as a melting pot for Israel’s diverse Jewish population and, to a lesser extent, its various non-Jewish minorities. The State of Israel enacts a mandatory military draft of all Jewish Israelis. On reaching the age of 18, Jewish men are obligated to serve for three years, while women serve for 21 months. Israeli ethnic minorities also serve in the military. Druze citizens are drafted into service, while Bedouins and Arab Israelis may volunteer. At the same time, large numbers of ultraorthodox Jewish men and most religious women claim exemptions from service on religious grounds. Erica Weiss’s ethnography addresses the portion of the Jewish Israeli society who object to military service on the basis of personal consciences that are steeped in a political and ethical context that is both secular and strongly critical of Israeli nationalism and military force.

Weiss places the biblical tale of the Binding of Isaac (Genesis 22) at the center of her theoretical analysis. In the bible, Abraham's faith in God is tested as he is called on to sacrifice his son Isaac. At the final moment before the fatal strike, God orders Abraham to sacrifice a nearby ram in the place of his son. Weiss uses this tale of sacrifice and substitution to engage with concepts of military service, sacrifice, state power, and the political affects that surround these issues in an ethnographically comprehensive and sensitive manner. She posits that military service is a particular kind of sacrificial act that works to bind individual agency to state goals and power.

Weiss argues for an "economy of sacrifice," by which she refers to "the ways that sacrifice is exchanged for honor and authority in society" (p. 20). Within Judaism (and, indeed, all three major monotheistic faiths), human sacrifice is never consummated. In its place rests the principle of substitution. An item of value is substituted for the life of the individual. Sacrifice then becomes an ethical transaction, in that this substitution is life giving (or preserving). The IDF serves as the primary model of sacrifice within Israel. In this substitution there is oftentimes an expectation of return in social status. During their service, soldiers give of themselves and, in return, become fully participating members in an Israeli polity. The military, however, removes the elements of substitution from the economy of sacrifice. It demands (if only potentially), the life of the sacrificer. The various chapters of the text revolve around the ethnographic ambivalences, the personal dilemmas, and the bureaucratic negotiations that occur when individuals question and negate this economy of military sacrifice.

The story of the Binding of Isaac has deeply impacted Jewish textual and cultural lore. Weiss cites various modern poems, jokes, and popular legends that refer to the sacrificial nature of military service. Curiously, however, she does not reference the rich religious interpretive history of the text. Although Weiss places Genesis 22 at the center of her analysis, she argues against treating textual sources as determining social phenomena (p. 21).

Although texts do not determine the social, they do often constitute the hermeneutic context against which the social dynamics of everyday life play themselves out (Seeman 2010). Indeed, anthropologists who work within text-based societies can often benefit from a thicker attention to the theological-interpretive history of key religious texts. For example, Weiss argues that the lack of substitution within a military system that privileges Ashkenazi male Jews (pp. 37, 154) is an aberration within the sacrificial economy. At the same time, there is a history of Ashkenazi textual interpretations of Genesis 22 from the medieval era onward that lack a substitution for human sacrifice (Goldin 1997). Through this interpretive context martyrdom and self-sacrifice has become an important ideal within Ashkenazi interpretations of Jewish law and life. With this in mind,

the lack of substitution within the military's sacrificial economy may actually be an essential part of a hermeneutic and social context that privileges Ashkenazi males. In this way, a substantive engagement with the Jewish textual-interpretive history of Genesis 22 may have revealed another layer of complexity in the Ashkenazi ideal of sacrifice through military service in its Israeli context.

Throughout her account, Weiss analyzes the various ways in which interpretations of agency and sincerity surrounding conscientious objection and sacrifice are caught up in the everyday lives of her informants. To be released from military service, objectors are required to prove their pacifism in front of military officials. Some of her most interesting and evocative insights emerged as she mined the ways in which applicants for deferment struggle with their own political beliefs and desires set against what they know governmental officials expect to hear.

The study would have greatly benefited from a more serious engagement with the governmental and bureaucratic contexts of conscientious objection. Although at several points within the text Weiss was actually able to speak with former or current members of military deferment committees, the data presented were too limited to be analytically useful. For example, Weiss argues that "pragmatism and concerns of sovereign power, rather than ethical concerns are often at the base of decisions to deploy military force ... collective punishments ... were policies based on power and material considerations [as opposed to ethics]. No one claimed otherwise" (p. 164). Although the argument may be true, readers are not given details about whom she spoke to who may have "claimed otherwise."

Moreover, one wonders if the competition between state pragmatism and ethics is truly as stark as Weiss claims. Indeed, the difference between "ethical" and "pragmatic" considerations would seem to be the core of an ethnographic account of conscience set against state military power. Can ethical concerns be so easily divorced from pragmatic political considerations? A more detailed and evocative ethnographic accounting of ethics in the daily lives of her informants may have been helpful in clarifying this point.

Weiss's arguments regarding the nature of sacrifice and state power are truly groundbreaking. Anthropologists do not often so directly relate their ethnographic data to larger hermeneutic and religious themes. The results here are truly refreshing. *Conscientious Objectors in Israel* has a great deal to offer those interested in how governmental policies intersect with traditional myths to underwrite hegemonic state loyalties. Weiss offers a multifaceted ethnographic account of how state policies intersect with personal and ethical desires. Her monograph breaks new ground in its depictions and analyses of conscience and desire in both its cultural as well as political contexts.



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### **Outlawed: Between Security and Rights in a Bolivian City.**

*Daniel M. Goldstein.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 328 pp.

#### **ELLEN MOODIE**

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In the post-9/11 world, nostalgia for iron-fist authoritarianism in the name of security echoes across the globe, whether in Cape Town, Moscow, or San Salvador. Many poor, urban Bolivians share this idea—embedded in common temporal ideology of a better, safer yesterday, when kids heeded their elders and crime did not pay—as Daniel Goldstein shows us vividly in *Outlawed*. Their sense of their present, he writes, contrasts with a mythical harmonious past. Today, “insecurity colors [these Bolivians’] entire worldview” (p. 6). With this ambitious book Goldstein explores this way of seeing, its context, and its repercussions. As such he answers his own call for “a critical anthropology of security,” fulfilling promises made in a series of influential articles over the past decade (2005, 2010).

Goldstein explores the contradictory practices of and discourses on security and rights, especially as manifested in understandings of Bolivia’s constitutionally enshrined concept of community justice, and the vernacularization of international human-rights law. He focuses largely on residents of Loma Pampa, a remote, poor barrio in the southern zone of the city of Cochabamba, and their interactions with (and, yet, exclusion from) the state.

Much of the material in *Outlawed* emerges from several innovative projects Goldstein started in and around this marginal neighborhood, sparked by his desire to combine anthropology with social justice work. The book’s second chapter could be read on its own for its critical analysis of theories and practices of engaged and activist anthropology. He describes how he worked extensively with a local research team in “Proyecto Rutgers,” in which “fieldnotes were especially collaborative” (p. 48). Members did more than interview, observe, and take notes in relation to security issues: in the spirit of reciprocity, they held workshops, including knitting clubs for women and martial-arts classes for children.

Eventually, Goldstein helped find funds to form a “real” NGO, the (pseudonymous) Center for Justice and Rights (“The Center”). As he notes, “since 9/11, security has become extraordinarily attractive to funders” (p. 24). The NGO

defined justice to include not only state law and legal services but also equality, rights, and security. The Center not only continued Proyecto Rutgers’ work in Loma Pampa but also more formally aided poor and indigenous people’s access to legal advice and violence-reduction services (among other activities). Goldstein offers vulnerable, thoughtful reflections on his experience with this venture. He eventually quit The Center, frustrated with infighting as well as the “tendency toward elitism and hierarchicalization of which activist scholars have warned” (p. 63). He puts a more positive spin on the outcomes of a related project he also launched, international service learning, which brought students to do volunteer work in the barrio. He suggests it succeeded in small but significant ways, challenging students’ perspectives.

One of the most compelling threads in *Outlawed* follows the absent presence of the state. Goldstein shows us that while residents of Loma Pampa feel abandoned by the state, it haunts their lives. Indeed, it often causes, rather than curtails, their insecurity. A less rigorous scholar might reduce the sense of everyday instability and political exclusion in the barrio to the now clichéd “bare life.” Not Goldstein. In a powerful demonstration of his skills as an ethnographer and analyst, he methodically reveals the odd ways the state works in the barrio by tracing a single incident in detail, in which an uninsured, unlicensed taxi driver hit and killed a seven-year-old boy crossing the highway to sell frozen popsicles. The taxi driver and his syndicate immediately mobilized to help the family with the funeral expenses—after the boy’s father agreed to take a cash payment and not report the accident to the traffic police. Then the syndicate also arranged the legal processes (body inspection, death certificate, certificate for burial) that allowed the funeral they also paid for. No police were ever involved, yet their very absence shaped everyone’s experience.

The core of the book is the conflict so many Bolivians sense between security and rights. This tension is especially apparent in the way they think about human rights. While human rights may represent “the language of progressive politics” globally, Goldstein writes, in many places, especially sites of urban insecurity, such discourses fuel a simultaneous “violent reactionary politics” (p. 204). Loma Pampa residents, like many people living in insecure sites across Latin America, wonder why human-rights advocates seem to focus on the state as the principle source of violations (as in the right to due process for the accused), while they see their own rights—to security (and they usually mean physical security)—constantly violated by criminals.

This sentiment manifests most dramatically through the practice of lynching. Here, Goldstein expands on his previous monograph (2004), which ends with an examination of lynching as communicative performance. In *Outlawed*, he draws on the detailed observations and comments of members of his research team who observed

one incident in particular (and interviewed residents about other incidents). His description of the event discloses the ambivalence and uncertainty of participants in lynchings—and reveals the contradictions in their expressions and actions. Ultimately, Goldstein suggests that what is happening in Bolivia, as elsewhere, is a “vernacularization” of human-rights discourses, in which transnational concepts translate into local contexts. In insecure places like Loma Pampa, he writes, “discourses of security and rights are not merely oppositional but are being reworked . . . into a single hybrid discourse that accounts for and perpetuates violent practice” (p. 238). Still, he points to spaces of creative, hopeful responses to insecurity in the barrios, especially when they have gifted local leaders.

While Goldstein was likely still analyzing the material that became his manuscript for *Outlawed*, in 2009, Bolivians approved a new constitution. One key element was the recognition of *justicia comunitaria* (community justice), in which local authorities (in rural, autonomous, indigenous areas) have the right to resolve conflicts. The provision is in many ways “heroic,” countering more than five hundred years of racial domination (p. 3). But it has many problems: it ignores the fact that “vast numbers of indigenous peoples live on the margins of Bolivia’s cities without protection” (p. 3). Neither community nor (nonindigenous) state law effectively operates to protect them; and Bolivian ideas of community justice exhibit a familiar temporal ideology of an imagined harmonious past that never quite existed—indeed, Goldstein suggests, the anthropological imagination played a role in the invention of this idealized community justice (p. 181).

*Outlawed* will undoubtedly inspire important debates on the place of “engaged anthropology” in our discipline, while inadvertently showing that our scholarly production is often not as collaborative as our activism. Goldstein describes in detail the teamwork involved in collecting the material for his book (as in the “especially collaborative” field notes [p. 48] he mentions), but his text does not follow through with “engagement” in the way I expected. I had hoped for some form of plurality in presentation, a textual echo of the collaboration that made the book possible. Instead, Goldstein speaks in a sole authorial voice that could be seen to belie his “desire for equality” (p. 61). The book ends with a chapter called “An Uncertain Anthropology,” but Goldstein does not seem uncertain in his style. Still, that confidence—growing out of impressive ethnographic depth and acute analytic insight—makes a powerful case for what we might now call a Goldsteinian “critical anthropology of security.”

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**Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present.** *Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, and Simon Teuscher, eds.* New York: Berghahn, 2013. 357 pp.

## ELLEN BLOCK

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This edited volume, the fourth in a series on the history of kinship in Europe, offers a “radically historical” and interdisciplinary intercession into the so-called new kinship studies in anthropology by focusing on blood and its varying connections with kinship from Ancient Rome to the present. The authors are primarily historians but also hail from language and literature, sociology, and anthropology. The goal of this volume, according to the succinct and useful introduction by David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, is to combat the ahistorical exploration of kinship, and to question the assumptions that anthropologists have held, especially about their own societies. As Teofilo Ruiz notes, discourses and understandings of blood are not reinvented anew with every generation; instead, older meanings and uses become part of the story of blood and necessitate historicization. Anthropology’s common-sense assumption that Europe’s cognatic kinship systems were endorsed by a vernacular biology wherein blood flows equally to the maternal and paternal lines is “simply false” (p. 3). Kinship as practice or concept and blood as ideology varied much more than is commonly assumed. This volume uses various forms of evidence, from ancient legal and religious documents to contemporary ethnographic data to show the multiple pathways and meanings of blood and their intersection with kinship over time. As a cultural anthropologist interested in kinship, I am in no position to comment, for example, on the lively debate among 15th-century historians as to the meaning of blood as shed blood (*cruor*) or internal blood (*sanguis*) (Delille, p. 126). I imagine that many of the readers of this journal are in a similar position. Instead, I will summarize some recurring themes throughout these chapters that are of great importance and interest to anthropologists and that reinforce the need for a historicized and interdisciplinary approach to the study of blood and kinship.

Most obviously, this volume shows that blood is important, both as symbol and substance. The reader gets the sense that the “exceptionality of blood” (Carsten, p. 282) exists both in the minds of scholars and in the minds of

people throughout history. This is because blood “awakens associations with ancient ideas” (Sabeian and Teuscher, p. 2). Yet precisely because blood is “a ubiquitous and overdetermined cultural idiom” (Franklin, p. 292), it will come as no surprise that discourses and understandings about blood and its relation to kinship have changed drastically over time. For example, Teuscher examines ancient family trees used in courts from the 13th to 15th century to rule on cases of possible incest to show that blood was not the main substance of connection between kin. Anita Guerreau-Jalabert examines medieval language usage over time to show how concepts of “flesh” and “blood” are both complex and mutable. Racialized discourse about blood, which was caught up with ideas about “nation,” “purity,” and “religion” emerged in different places and times, such as mid-15th-century Spain (Ruiz), between 17th- and 19th-century France, (Aubert, p. 175; Johnson, p. 196), and, of course, 20th-century Germany on the question of “Jewish blood” (Essner, p. 227).

What these diverse examples show is that kinship is processual and flexible. Yet this flexibility has been masked, at least in Europe, by an overemphasis on canon law, which presents kinship in its most rigid and idealized form. This volume goes to great lengths to combat a naturalization of blood and kinship, in which biological or biomedical “truths” are posited as natural. One of the most powerful ways to combat naturalization is, paradoxically, by drawing attention to the many ways that Europeans, over the course of history, have drawn on nature in different ways to justify a connection between blood and kinship. For example, Gérard Delille shows us how a naturalistic explanation of blood emerged in the 15th century at a time when people knew nothing about modern biology. Unlike more flexible understandings of blood, Sabeian’s chapter on alliance and descent in 17th-century France shows the power of blood through agnatic lines precisely because of its naturalization—it was not subject to “negotiation, choice or contract” (p. 162). Guerreau-Jalabert warns that we cannot think of blood as a more suitable substance for connecting kin based on its fluid nature because, for centuries, flesh was thought of as the shared substance of choice.

Sociocultural anthropologists—Kath Weston, Janet Carsten, and Sarah Franklin—supply the last three chapters, making contributions that are important to the discipline. Weston looks at efforts to produce synthesized blood in the context of the history of blood donation, resulting in the biosecuritization of bodies. She points to a preoccupation with biocapital, biosecurity, and the view of a body as composed of many parts that can be separated, so that blood, in this case “no longer synthesizes kinship” (p. 259). She compares the alienation of blood through these processes to the financial markets where there are so many transactions that people can no longer distinguish the parties involved. Carsten and Franklin, in their

two chapters, consider blood in its two modern forms, biomedical and social. Carsten draws on work in Malaysia and the United Kingdom to show “the many pathways along which blood may travel and the permeability of boundaries between kinship and biomedicine” (p. 282) with a focus on knowledge in these different domains. Franklin applies a kinship lens to new genetic technologies to show how biomedical knowledge has not narrowed our understanding of blood and genes but, instead, “their revealed partiality actually increases their plasticity in social contexts” (p. 302).

*Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present* accomplishes two important goals: it brings kinship into history and brings history to kinship, both of which are lacking. It forces kinship scholars to think about how interdisciplinary engagement and critical attention to history can enrich our understanding of contemporary conceptions of blood and kinship. While many anthropologists reading this volume (with the exception of the introduction and the last three chapters) may not have the tools or knowledge to assess the strength of the historical arguments, taken as a whole these works provoke us to think about the complexity, mutability, and continuity of blood as both a physical and symbolic substance of importance.

**(Mis)managing Migration: Guestworkers’ Experiences with North American Labor Markets.** David Griffith, ed. Santa Fe, NM: School of Advanced Research Press, 2014. 274 pp.

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As immigration reform stalls in the U.S. Congress, guest worker programs become a legal alternative to the use of undocumented workers and human trafficking. *(Mis)managing Migration* describes the emergence of guest worker programs, the experiences of participants, employers’ expectations, and changing government policies. Using historical and ethnographic research, the authors focus on the increasing use of guest workers in the U.S. and Canadian sectors of agriculture, food processing, fishing, and shipbuilding. The penetration of global processes in local settings is an important theme of the book. The reduction of government regulations goes together with the proliferation of larger companies and the move from government to private recruitment. As David Griffith points out in the introduction, employers can rely on workers who can be mobilized on short notice and remain without work for months.

Guest worker programs are part of a long history of modern labor migration in the United States and Canada,

which is the theme of the first part of the collection. Cindy Hahamovitch provides a chapter on Jamaican migration under the H-2 program during World War II. These workers experienced a welcoming environment in the Northeast and Midwest, but they had to confront the harsh realities of the South's Jim Crow laws. Jamaican officials could not reprimand employers, who could replace workers with other Caribbean immigrants. Philip Martin examines the development of the Bracero Program, H-2 visas, and their future under immigration reform. The federal government has a contradictory policy of allowing guest workers to keep wages low while providing aid to farmworkers to remedy their poverty. Josephine Smart outlines how the Pilot, a guest worker program in Canada, reflects the new trends of privatizing government services. New changes will facilitate hiring by reducing the waiting period for requests to be approved and by decreasing wages by 15 percent. Smart suggests that these transformations could deepen hostility against immigrants.

In the second part of the collection, the authors focus on the current status of guest worker programs. Kerry Preibisch argues that, in Canada, access to migrant workers across different industries and regions from a diverse range of countries, along with deregulation, has resulted in the worsening of wages and living conditions among immigrant and Canadian workers. Labor unions are using the courts, organizing workers in sending countries, creating support centers, and lobbying international organizations to resist the global politics of food. Diane Austin explores the H-2B visa program in the shipbuilding industry in the Gulf of Mexico. Despite federal subsidies, the U.S. shipbuilding industry is declining because international competition led to contracting low-wage guest workers and to outsourcing jobs. Workloads, schedules, harsh work environments, and overspecialization blamed on regulations and labor organizing create labor shortages. Companies use their housing to surveil workers. In some cases, companies have detained employees in their labor camps to hand them to immigration authorities.

The diverse effects of guest worker programs is the theme for the third section of the book. David Griffith and Ricardo Contreras examine how a transnational field emerged in which women working in food processing from Sinaloa, Mexico, migrate to the same types of jobs in North Carolina. Women send money for their children's education so they could aspire to a life out of the penuries of guest work. Women find the support of their communities in Sinaloa and in North Carolina to work despite being undocumented. Christine Hughes analyzes the influence of social remittances (ideas and practices) on gender relations among Guatemalan Mayan women, emphasizing that the structured and isolated environment of Canadian workplaces encourages continuity of gender practices rather than social change. When

women go back to Guatemala, they are going back to normalcy.

Managing migration through a guest worker program can be a notably successful enterprise for employers. Micah N. Bump, Elżbieta Goździak, and B. Lindsay Lowell study the apple industry in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia as a case of enlightened management of labor migration. The institutionalization of growers into the Frederick County Fruit Growers Association and the pressure to remain competitive in a globalized industry forced the growers represented by the FGA to use the H-2A program effectively and maintain appropriate conditions in the camp for guest workers. The use of Jamaican workers facilitates a labor pool without any local networks and discourages their permanent settlement.

Community formation and the unintended consequences of guest worker programs are the subjects of the concluding chapters. Juvencio Rocha Peralta tells the story of how his activism among Mexican guest workers and undocumented immigrants was integral to the settling and emergence of a Latino community in North Carolina. Griffith discusses how stories of abuse come to light offering chances to denounce the exploitation and emotional toll experienced by guest workers. New technologies, such as the cell phone, can document employers' illegal practices.

This volume only theorizes managed migration as part of the construction of labor forces. It neglects the relationship between migration and concepts of citizenship and state formation. Puerto Rican workers, for example are sometimes recognized by the authors in this collection as U.S. citizens and other times they conflate them with guest workers. These distinctions between "citizen" and "foreigner" are important to understanding the construction of guest work. Last, the authors do not differentiate between programs that emerged during the New Deal era versus the ones from contemporary neoliberalism. Guest worker programs are only one form of managed migration. Programs and policies of migration from colonial territories to metropolitan countries and within the nation-state are closely linked to the emergence and administration of guest worker programs.

*(Mis)managing Migration* is a contribution to the study of workplace practices, the formation of labor forces in late capitalism, and the role of managed immigration. It outlines the connection of guest worker programs to local, regional, and global processes of capitalism and the regulative and legal framework that make them possible. The requirements of having a flexible and disposable labor force, facilitated by the globalization of capital and neoliberalism, present a challenge to labor unions, community organizations, and human rights activists. Scholars of the anthropologies of migration, labor, and political economy will find this volume a well-written description of guest worker programs.

**African Art and Agency in the Workshop.** *Sidney Littlefield Kasfir and Till Förster, eds.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013. 410 pp.

**JOANNA GRABSKI**

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*African Art and Agency in the Workshop* offers a robust and nuanced analysis of the workshop as a central institution in producing and mediating African artistic and cultural forms. The book brings together case studies exploring not only where cultural production happens but also how and why it happens. Specifically, it addresses the conditions, practices, and dynamics that orient the making of cultural propositions. In the book's lucidly written introduction, coeditors Sidney Littlefield Kasfir and Till Förster conceptualize workshops as economic institutions as well as spaces for social interaction and the transmission of cultural knowledge. To this end, a range of themes interlace the book's 14 chapters including the internal organization of workshops; how cooperation and collaboration inform learning; the possibilities for creativity and innovation; and the relationship of workshops to the economic, cultural, and social fields in which they are situated. The introduction further elaborates on the many models and analytical dimensions indicated by the idea of the workshop.

Written by anthropologists and art historians, the book's 14 chapters are diverse in methodological and thematic orientation as well as geographical and temporal scope. The first of the book's four sections collects chapters dealing with the themes of production, education, and learning. These contributions explore the transmission of technical and aesthetic knowledge in a range of sites, from mission-led workshops to the master-apprentice model and the experimental environment of contemporary artists' international workshops. Elizabeth Morton's first chapter, focusing on the Grace Dieu Mission in South Africa, opens up a bundle of issues about the development of individual and collective styles in the context of the workshop. She addresses the longevity of this mission-led workshop while tracing the careers of well-known modern artists to their affiliation with or separation from the workshop. Drawing on the author's apprenticeship, Nicolas Argenti's chapter explores with great sensitivity the embodiment of carving practice and ideologies of power in Oku, a Cameroon Grassfields kingdom. He situates carving as a practice of transformation contingent on the workshop's spatial location in the forest. Silvia Forni's chapter, also based on research in Cameroon, examines the complex relationship among shifting apprenticeship models, economic possibilities afforded by the Presbyterian Pottery Project, and global marketing strategies. Her analysis highlights that workshops are central to mediating the past and imaging the present. Namubiru Rose Kirumira, a practicing artist, and Sidney

Littlefield Kasfir offer a coauthored chapter about two international workshops for contemporary artists. They shed light on the experimental character of such workshops while elaborating on the indicators for a workshop's success.

The contributions in the second section of *African Art and Agency in the Workshop* focus on the workshop in mediating exchange between producers and consumers. These chapters explore the explicit and implicit responsiveness of workshops to the economic and sociocultural fields in which they are embedded. Brenda Schmahmann's study on workshops for disadvantaged women in southern Africa centers both workshop objectives and the dynamics by which they engage their audiences. In his chapter on the Oshogbo workshop in the early 1960s, Chika Okeke-Agulu complicates familiar narratives about hierarchies and teacher-student interactions. He argues that exchange played across a much wider range of genres than previously considered and that strategies for creativity were multidimensional. Christine Scherer's chapter offers a sophisticated analysis of communication and creativity at the Tengenenge workshop in Zimbabwe, where production is too often flatly associated with a demand driven tourist market. The relationship between career building and social interaction is explored further in Jessica Gerschultz's chapter on artists' workshops in Nairobi. She interprets the city's many workshops as constitutive of networks enabling artists' professionalization.

The third section of the book offers a cluster of case studies analyzing themes of patronage and domination in workshops. In a study that adds historical and political dimension to the book, Karen Milbourne addresses the patronage of Lozi King Lewanika in creating a style that mediated between his kingdom and Europe. Alexander Bortolot's chapter continues the analysis of workshop artists as agents of social and political transformation. He examines the socialist liberation movement in Mozambique, collective artistic production, and the emergence of a distinct socialist style and iconography. Shifts in carving practices in relation to consuming practices locally and beyond are the focal issues in Norma Wolff's analysis of a Yoruba family workshop. Morton's second contribution to the book examines the duality inherent in the well-known Rhodesian Workshop School. By examining the tensions between autonomy and authority, she argues for the complexity of relationships between workshop patron and artists. As with the contribution by Okeke-Agulu, Morton's chapter offers a significant revision to essentializing narratives about the power attributed to workshop patrons who acted as cultural brokers.

The book's final section includes chapters by both coeditors. Förster's juxtaposition of a rural sculpting workshop in Côte d'Ivoire with a painting workshop in urban Cameroon offers rich insights about cooperative

learning, artists' communication about their work, and the emergence of individual styles within collective workspace. This chapter's comparative framework further highlights the implications for a workshop's location on production and consumption. In the book's final chapter, Kasfir draws on a varied set of examples to examine how artists acquire styles and how patronage contributes to stylistic change. As an apt synthesis of the book's central issues, the coda assesses two decades of artistic practice in and out of the workshop while raising questions for future research.

*African Art and Agency in the Workshop* offers a valuable contribution to scholarship in anthropology and art history dealing especially with African cultural production. Its particular strengths are its conceptualization, the scope of its subject and depth of analysis, and its emphasis on empirical research. The book's deep engagement with the perspectives of workshop participants expands readers' understanding of how individuals create within collective platforms. While the book's focus is geographically specific, its analysis of cultural production, creativity, and power will resonate for those of us concerned with these issues in Africa and beyond.

**Romancing the Wild: Cultural Dimensions of Ecotourism.**

Robert Fletcher. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. x + 248 pp., illustrations.

**LAURIE KROSHUS MEDINA**

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In *Romancing the Wild*, Fletcher offers an analysis of ecotourism as a cultural process “embodying a particular constellation of beliefs, norms, and values that inform the activity's practice” (p. 3). While much of the literature on ecotourism focuses on ecotourism as a material social process, approaching ecotourism from the supply side, Fletcher offers a demand-side analysis that positions the ecotourist at its center. Exploring the construction of the archetypal ecotourism experience, Fletcher asks “Why exactly are these particular types of experiences so valued by ecotourists? Why are they valued by the specific type of people who seek them? Why these people and not others?” (p. 14). Building on prior work in the field of tourism studies, Fletcher argues that ecotourism is about much more than just tourism. Thus, he explores how the ecotourist might be understood as the “quintessential postmodern subject, providing valuable insight into contemporary postindustrial social dynamics” (p. 15).

The book is oriented by a conceptual framework that integrates insights from three theoretical traditions: critical political economy, poststructuralism, and psychoanalysis. Fletcher's synthesis of these bodies of literature is facilitated by his focus on the body as an object of analysis shared

across the three traditions. In addition to these theoretical literatures, the work also engages in some depth the literature on tourism and studies of class in the contemporary global North. Indeed, the work is primarily based on such secondary sources. Although the author uses vignettes to illuminate some key arguments in several chapters, relatively little ethnographic material is presented.

Fletcher acknowledges and discusses the range of definitions that different scholars and activists have advanced to shape what could or should count as ecotourism, and the book begins with the briefest and least stringent of these, defining ecotourism as “tourism selling an encounter with a ‘natural’ landscape” (p. 3). Later chapters engage the more rigorous definition that requires ecotourism to provide benefits to local environments and communities. Overall, however, the focus of the book is on a subset of ecotourism or nature-tourism practices that are adventure focused—white-water rafting, rock climbing, and similar kinds of physically challenging activities—and on the tourists who pursue and collect these kinds of experiences.

For example, in chapter 1, Fletcher outlines how the ideal ecotourism experience is “structured as an archetypal ‘adventure,’ ” a fantasy based on romanticized distortions of the historical experiences—principally colonialism—on which it is based (p. 25). In chapters 2 and 3, Fletcher examines how an ecotourist identity is constructed and performed through the practice of ecotourism. He locates the holders of the constellation of beliefs and values that shape ecotourism as white, upper-middle-class, politically liberal members of postindustrial Western societies. This group has been conditioned to embody a particular habitus, and ecotourism, Fletcher argues, provide a means for members of this group to both escape and perform the cultural identity shaped by this habitus (p. 3).

Middle-class habitus, in short, compels ascetic denial of material indulgence and deferral of immediate gratification in pursuit of self-actualization through a process of continuous personal development demanding self-discipline, self-reliance, and emotional control, with the goal of accumulating and displaying pleasurable experiences that signal, to oneself and others, all of these various qualities. [p. 69]

Ecotourism, Fletcher argues, embodies these same attributes. Thus, although ecotourism is understood and pursued by white, straight, upper-middle-class men as a means to escape the “anxiety, alienation, and dissatisfaction commonly experienced in everyday work routines,” the actual practice of ecotourism “enacts the very same mainstream work values they claim to be escaping: performing disciplined labor, embracing hardship, and deferring gratification in pursuit of progressive goals” (p. 4). Ecotourism “thus collapses conventional distinctions between work

and leisure, production and consumption" (p. 4). It is "valued for its capacity to simultaneously fulfill and escape the imperatives of a culturally specific habitus" (p. 26).

Fletcher devotes chapter 4 to charting the changing nature of outdoor adventure tourism across time, and in chapter 5 he considers the implications of the contemporary pursuit of "wilderness" in relation to "the widespread sense of alienation produced by twin divisions" (p. 26) associated with capitalist development: the "external" rupture between humans and nonhumans and the "internal" tension consequent to the requirement to control one's own "nature" to succeed in "'civilized' society" (p. 26).

In chapters 6 and 7, Fletcher explores the implications of his analysis for the deployment of ecotourism as a conservation and development strategy. He pays particular attention to the difficulty of integrating rural communities into ecotourism, when its successful practice must be able to engage the gaze of white upper-middle-class men from the global North.

Finally, drawing on psychoanalytic literature, Fletcher concludes that, although its practitioners pursue ecotourism to "replace anxiety and discontent with feelings of peace, happiness, excitement, and even euphoria" (p. 6), ecotourism is unable to deliver on this fantasy. As a result, ecotourism may amplify the very desire it seeks to satisfy and provoke a quest for further experience in pursuit of satisfaction (p. 6). In this way, ecotourism "facilitates a process of ceaseless capital accumulation via the body by selling an experience that withholds final fulfillment and thus leaves tourists constantly wanting more" (p. 6).

This book makes an important contribution to tourism studies. Further, by situating the ecotourist as the quintessential postmodern subject, Fletcher offers an analysis that will be of interest to a much broader audience, linking contemporary work to leisure and contemporary production to consumption.

**Muslim Rap, Halal Soaps, and Revolutionary Theater: Artistic Developments in the Muslim World.** *Karin van Nieuwkerk*, ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011. vi + 291 pp., illustrations.

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If you know where to look, the Internet is filled with fascinating bits of expressive culture that offer glimpses into an Islamic cultural sphere emerging as Muslims around the world grapple with the affordances and constraints of new technologies, global flows, Islamic piety, and local social, economic, and political situations. Rap songs celebrating Bosnian Muslim fighters who have "died for God." Soap operas in which women playing wives will not touch, or even look in the eyes, of the

men playing their husbands. Television programs in which angels walk the streets of modern Istanbul, aiding desperate families dealing with very contemporary problems. Persian pop music videos produced in Los Angeles. Middle Eastern metalheads.

The authors of this exciting new book know where to look, not only on the Internet but also in the studios, bars, television screens, and homes of performers, producers, and consumers throughout the world; they offer readers a useful set of descriptions of telling texts, agents, and movements that seek to use artistic performance to comment on, engage with, and resist powerful institutions—secular and religious—within the Muslim world. The book is divided into three parts built around three key themes. Part 1, "The Power of Performativity" concerns the importance of aesthetic expression in Islamic cultural politics. It features chapters on Islamic rappers in Turkey and a chapter on their antitheses, Turkish metalheads, then finishes off with Iranian musicians in Los Angeles producing music in forms and genres forbidden by the Iranian clerical state.

The subversive potential of such productions is the theme of part 2, "Motivations," which includes chapters on Hizbullah's efforts to introduce pious programming to resist the "secular" television that dominates Lebanese media and a description of the "clean cinema" movement in Egypt. The highlight is a carefully theorized chapter on the uses of silence in music by artists who want to challenge the hegemony of the religious authorities who dominate Canadian expressions of Muslim identity.

Bodies—particularly gendered bodies—play a role in most of the chapters but are highlighted in part 3, "Staging the Body and the World Stage." How to represent the invisible and miraculous in Turkish religious television serials is the first topic. This is followed by a historical account of the emergence of "Islamic dance" in Iran, despite consistent prohibitions against dance as a practice that incites evil. Finally, there is an account of how the Islamic resurgence has combined with the global-Western "War on Terror" to transform the ways Sufi music is produced in Syria.

The common theme running through all of this is the notion that these are all parts of an emerging global Islamic cultural sphere, defined by the editor as "the debates and contestations by different actors within the public sphere regarding cultural expressions" (p. 4). Indeed, the greatest strength of the book lies in its nuanced approaches to the concept of art as resistance to power. Focusing on power as something that is continually established, resisted, negated, and reestablished, these chapters focus on aesthetic interventions into power while avoiding simplistic dichotomies of resistance versus conformity. Performance can thus be an expression of Muslim identities, resistance against the state, a challenge to the government of a diasporic homeland, embracing new forms of piety, and pushing back against religious authorities who would claim authority over the

legitimate boundaries of Muslim artistic expression, depending on multiple, different, and changing contexts.

Geographically, the text could be a bit more diverse. The “Muslim World” of the title is intended to encompass all the public cultural spaces inhabited by Muslims, but the chapters fall into the classic East–West dichotomy, featuring accounts of artistic developments in the Middle East (Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt, Iran, and Syria) and North America (United States and Canada). India, Indonesia, Malaysia—certainly important parts of the Muslim world where important cultural performances are happening—are noticeably absent, as is sub-Saharan Africa and Europe (to be fair, one chapter discusses Turkish rap in Germany as well as in Turkey itself). Edited volumes are, of course, limited to the responses that invitations and calls for papers solicit, but it remains unfortunate that we are unable to see examples of how these themes play outside of these two, often contrasted regions.

All edited volumes run the risk of unevenness, and these chapters are unevenly theorized, lacking even in many cases a common vocabulary for exploring their shared themes. Yet this is more than made up for by the empirical richness of their description, and by the sustained attention across chapters to issues of empowerment, resistance, embodiment, gender, aesthetics, and performativity.

The search for a “cool Islam” in expressive culture that can counter the dull monolith of representations of Islam that dominate the Western media is not limited to young Muslims in France, Canada, and the United States, or cosmopolitan Muslims in the Middle East and Asia resisting the efforts by conservative religious authorities to determine what represents “authentic” Islam. It is also a project carried out by university professors in North America and Europe looking for materials to confound the simplistic stereotypes students carry into the classroom and to broaden and deepen their understandings of what “Islam” and “being Muslim” can mean. This book, and the fascinating texts to which it refers, should certainly become a useful new part of that toolkit.

**Conceiving Cuba: Reproduction, Women, and the State in the Post-Soviet Era.** *Elise Andaya.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2014. 169 pp.

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In *Conceiving Cuba: Reproduction, Women, and the State in the Post-Soviet Era*, Elise Andaya deftly moves between historical and political realms to describe how the shifting economic situation in Cuba has shaped gender roles and decisions about reproduction and, ultimately, transformed the relationship between the socialist state and its citizens.

She turns to household economies and social stratification, gendered differences with respect to productive and reproductive labor, and Cuba–U.S. migration and kinship networks to examine how reproductive decisions and allocation of resources (e.g., mothers foregoing food to nourish their children and “breadwinners”) take form. Andaya is less interested with the struggle to facilitate or curtail biological fertility—arguing that this has not been Cuba’s aim—than with the problems of nurturing and providing for children given strained familial and national economies.

Andaya’s work is a multilevel conceptualization structured as concentric circles that move outward both temporally and spatially, and her story not only points to the reproduction of children as family members but also to the reproduction of the socialist state through the emergence of the socialist “new man” and “new woman.” Thus, her work traces the multivalent meanings and practices of reproduction and the effects these have on family politics and public policies. In her words, her multilevel analysis “provides a unique ethnographic and theoretical lens for perceiving the connections and tensions between local practices of providing for children and households and the reproduction of the revolution and its ideals in a new political-economic global order” (p. 6).

The author performed her research from 2000 to 2009, including an extended 13-month research period from 2004 to 2005. Thus, her work takes place after the Special Period in Peacetime—a near-complete economic collapse that resulted in the Cuban government’s failure to fulfill its earlier promises of full provision for all citizens. Prior to the Special Period, the Soviet Union provided subsidies that bolstered Cuba’s sugar economy and inspired Cuba’s political ideals and commitment to socialism; however, the fall of the Soviet Union led to Cuba’s economic crisis and caused Cuban citizens to question the true effects of the revolution on their everyday lives. The government was forced to open tourism, remittance, and entrepreneurial markets, leading to a dual economy founded on the Cuban peso and the U.S. dollar, which, in turn, resulted in the reemergence of social stratification and economic inequality, and profoundly threatened socialist ideals and egalitarian society.

Pointing to the intensive management of reproductive health indices, the book explicitly links reproduction statistics to Cuba’s claims to a superior socialist morality in a new local and global order. Women’s reproductive practices and outcomes (the survival and well-being of pregnant women and infants) have become an important source of symbolic capital for the socialist state. Cuba’s government uses these “gendered signifiers” to demonstrate its socialist morality and nurturance on a global stage, thus making claims about where Cuba fits in the global hierarchy. The symbolic value of Cuba’s superb reproductive health statistics and state efforts to maintain them are intensified by the financial



blockade of the United States, World Bank, and IMF, which Andaya asserts is clearly intended to undermine the socialist state's ability to reproduce itself both materially and ideologically. Thus, politics surrounding reproduction are not only about the birth of children but also about the reproduction of citizens, the socialist revolution, and the legacy of socialism in the 21st century.

Andaya's household-level analysis, however, shows that although the state makes claims to moral modernity through a variety of paternalistic efforts to sustain its population, many men and women struggle to provide for their households in a context of chronic shortages and astronomical costs. According to Andaya, moments of tension with regard to biological and household production are also key moments in which people make judgments about the value of the state and its policies. Cuban couples use their embodied knowledge of low fertility and high abortion rates to contest the state's representations of socialist nurturance. Andaya's argument is attentive to the gaps between policy and practice—she describes the dialectical relationship between ground-level practices that shape the strategies of state governance and state efforts to regulate the population that are ignored or manipulated by agentive subjects.

One of the book's many strengths is its detailed analysis of gender. Andaya explains how the Cuban state developed a new ideal of female socialist citizenship just as it attempted to eradicate the household and family as an economic unit. The focus on gender was to shift the responsibility for nurturance from women and families to the paternalist state, thereby demonstrating socialism's superior morality and modernity to capitalist society. In contrast to oppressed women under capitalism, new female subjects under socialism were to represent modernity from their position as educated, enlightened participants in public life and equal partners in the domestic sphere. In reality, while Cuban women are highly skilled and educated in comparison to other countries, they have the lowest overall workforce participation in Latin America. Also, the economic crisis returned the responsibility for nurturance back to the family, with the majority of the burden falling on women's shoulders.

Despite such acute critique, Andaya's book is not an indictment of the entire socialist project; indeed, she resists polarizing rhetoric to examine the complexity of socialist achievements in the 21st century as well as disappointments among citizens who have had to reimagine their life trajectories. As such, *Conceiving Cuba* contributes greatly to the fields of sociocultural and medical anthropology by linking recent work on reproduction to ongoing political projects and proposing novel ways of thinking about citizenship. The book is accessible and can be used in introductory anthropology courses, but its theoretical acuity would greatly benefit graduate students, instructors, and

researchers interested in political economy, transnationalism, reproduction, gender, and citizenship.

**Enchanted Calvinism: Labor Migration, Afflicting Spirits, and Christian Therapy in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.** Adam Mohr. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013. 234 pp.

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Adam Mohr's *Enchanted Calvinism* is a bold undertaking, focusing on the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and its subsequent international expansion. In the process, the book provides a unique rethinking of Weber's theory of the Protestant origins of capitalism and, in its equal attention to history, local culture, and the international domain, it is a testimony to the fruits of interdisciplinary scholarship. Mohr asks: Why did Ghanaian Presbyterian communities become more enchanted the more they integrated into capitalist forms of production? The question is set against Weber's intuitively cogent idea that capitalism, along with science and rationality, leads to religious disenchantment, or the decline in supernatural thinking, a central feature of modernity. By combining material from historical archives, oral testimonies, and ethnography in a West African case study, Mohr undermines the capitalist-disenchantment paradigm by tracing how Ghanaian Presbyterians protest early missionaries' exclusive commitment to biomedical methods of healing.

In part 1, Mohr identifies the 1960s as the time of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana's enchantment, when the church embraced healing through faith, and not through biomedicines alone. The church was responding to the success of Charismatic churches at satisfying a growing anxiety felt by Ghanaians. The widespread anxiety is traceable to three crises occurring in 1918: As World War I came to a close, British colonizers expelled German Basel missionaries from the colony, where they had been laying the foundations for Presbyterianism for 90 years; an influenza pandemic infected nearly every Ghanaian village, taking 100-thousand lives; and cocoa production plummeted, greatly affecting Basel Christians "who were leaders in the burgeoning cocoa industry" (p. 194). The church, as it continued under the leadership of Scottish missionaries and Ghanaian Christians, penalized congregants who sought spiritual remedies for their maladies. The church's response proved ironic, because the first generations of Basel missionaries embraced faith healing; it was also miscalculated, as many Ghanaian Christians, feeling they were being bewitched for their success in cocoa production, secretly consulted faith healers or left the Basel Church altogether in favor of healing churches.

In part 2, Mohr traces the enchantment of Ghanaian Presbyterians in North America, with an emphasis on believers in the northeastern part of the United States. In search of economic opportunities, the Ghanaian Presbyterians began migrating to North America in the early 1980s, when structural adjustment left many Ghanaians without social security; Nigeria expelled thousands of Ghanaians from working in its economy; and U.S. migration laws turned inviting to non-Europeans. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana in the United States committed to enchantment through prayer healing for similar reasons as in Ghana in the 1960s: pressure to compete with the success of other Ghanaian churches (such as the Pentecostal Church) in catering to Ghanaian migrants suffering from spiritual affliction and a realization that many of its younger members valued such healing practices. Through a series of annual deliverance workshops led by a catechist from Ghana, Ebenezer Abboah-Offei, in New York City in the mid-2000s, prayer teams from far-flung Ghanaian Presbyterian Churches such as Houston and Toronto learned how to use Christian prayer to deliver believers from the grips of satanic forces. What Weber would see as a highly rationalized region of the world proved fertile ground for religious enchantment.

To understand why, Mohr starts by recovering the precolonial ecology of healing practices for the Akan of southern Ghana, where the first Basel missionaries built their proto-Presbyterian churches and converted cocoa planters later established their crops. After showing that the Akan had a rich tradition of diagnosing and curing spiritual afflictions, Mohr effectively analyzes how Ghanaian contact with the respective biomedical regimes of early colonial actors and contemporary North American society led not to the dissolution of traditional healing practices but to their reformulation as appropriate Christian responses to spiritually induced ailments. Ghanaian Presbyterian migrants faced a problem that their counterparts from Europe and North America did not viscerally understand: how to handle spiritual attacks from kin, jealous of new wealth disparity linked to the cocoa boom of the early 1900s and to educational and employment opportunities in North America today. In both cases, when enough evidence—including the failure of biomedicine treatment—convinced converts of the spiritual origin of illness, they readily turned to experts in faith healing. If capitalism brought rationality, Mohr insinuates, it also brought inequality, prompting spiritual attacks and necessitating spiritual remedies.

In addition to bringing Ghana deeper into Africanist conversations related to colonialism and Christianity, witchcraft and capitalism, and the modernity of religious practice, *Enchanted Calvinism* also enriches understandings of religion in the African Diaspora by adding “Africa-born Christian communities” (p. 114) to the likes of Candomble, Santeria, and Vodou as legitimate subjects of

study in the Americas. Further, the book effectively uses the lens of gender to index the difference between the religious experiences of the earlier cocoa migrants and today’s Ghanaian migrants to North America. Whereas in the first case women tended to be spirit-possessed and men their healers, in the second case women and men are more equally both. The reason is that the relatively equitable levels of education, employment, and income among female and male Ghanaian Presbyterians in North America democratizes susceptibility to spiritual affliction and expertise at curing it across gender lines. More nuanced discussion of other variables, such as specific ages, backgrounds, and motivations of Ghanaian migrants, in addition to drawing plainer conclusions about the role of capitalist inequality in their church’s enchantment, would have further strengthened what is a powerful contribution to Africanist scholarship.

**An Anthropology of Architecture.** Victor Buchli. London: Bloomsbury, 2013. 212 pp.

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In *An Anthropology of Architecture*, Victor Buchli outlines in historical fashion how to understand the materiality of the built form and how architecture shapes people and society. Architecture not only shapes social lives but also provides means of organization and even governance, particularly in the modern global environment.

To demonstrate how architecture functions in the aforementioned ways, Buchli begins by elucidating the 19th-century European preoccupation with the function of architectural forms and with the efforts of scholars such as Edward Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan, to discover universals and evolutionary transformations. In so doing, he compares the ideal of the “primitive hut” with that of the overt modernity expressed by the “crystal palace” of the mid-19th century.

After a brief discussion of archaeological treatments of architecture, Buchli points out—by means of a number of case studies—the central contribution of Claude Lévi-Strauss in demonstrating the importance of illuminating native categories for how people think about houses; how these notions have provided numerous opportunities for cross-cultural studies; and, most importantly, how the house serves as an “illusory objectification.”

Using Lévi-Strauss for inspiration, Buchli moves beyond domestic architecture and into larger contexts of neighborhoods, villages, and cities, drawing on the works of Karl Marx and Michel Foucault to argue that buildings shape social life and shape power relationships within society. Once again relying on a number of case studies, the

chapter explores the aforementioned concepts of power and social life along with notions of urban planning as a form of governance, as expressed in early-20th-century French colonial activities. He then discusses resistance to these practices by means of material flows. Finally, Buchli turns to a discussion of the effects of digitization on modern urban environments, finding that buildings are becoming increasingly irrelevant as the digital age connects people and ideas in new ways.

The focus then moves to consumption-oriented approaches as, once again, derived from Marxist writings and the feminist critiques of the 1980s. Here, the discussion shifts from houses to the contents of houses, and Buchli suggests that the built form around the developed world has become all but co-opted by larger modernist political and socioeconomic forces, resulting in a shift in importance from the space itself to the use of that space. Arguing that modernity attempts to detach people from “hominess” by depersonalizing the home and by connecting to larger socialist ideals, Buchli suggests that individual personhood is maintained through resisting these trends by means of new and personalized uses of space. For example, drawing on the growing literature from queer studies, he argues that messiness, randomness, and thrown-togetherness equate to a resistance to the forces of modernity. By focusing on increasing globalization, he further suggests that the banality of modern houses and their universal look reflects and enables an increasingly mobile global population, regardless of traditional cultural barriers. Finally, turning to gender relationships, he suggests that with these global shifts, traditional gender identities derived from the house, housework, and maintenance suggest that personhood may no longer be synonymous with a dwelling as it has traditionally been in many societies.

Buchli next tackles the relationship between the body and the built form. Once again harkening back to feminist critiques of the 1980s, and more recent phenomenological approaches to the body, he suggests that body obsession and architectural metaphor is a reaction to modernity, capitalism, and colonialism. Here, he delves into the writings of Pierre Bourdieu and his concept of “habitus,” which is followed by a number of interesting case studies that suggest that gender roles and power relationships can be changed by things like the development of sedentism in many formerly mobile societies. The chapter closes by once again reiterating the importance of flows of material things in the modern capitalist world and how these have replaced the dwelling for marking tradition, personhood, and family.

Buchli then analyzes what happens to buildings when they are allowed to decay or are destroyed. Opening with the example of the World Trade Center attacks of 2001, Buchli suggests that the built form can serve as more than an “anthropomorphic representation of human life” (p. 157) but in some cases as that life itself in a collective sense. Even

without a significant destructive event, he suggests that the simple decay of an architectural form can serve as a reminder of the natural world and its resistance to human process. For many people, ruin equates to time and change, reminding us of our own collective and individual identity by serving as a link to tradition or even past states of socioeconomic status. Buchli reminds us that the destruction of buildings lies in contrast to the sustaining processes (e.g., housework) that we use to not only maintain a structure but also to reinforce and maintain gender and power relationships. He closes the chapter with a number of examples of how destructive acts can be productive, can have unexpected consequences, and can also create conflict or produce new investments in materiality. Here, he specifically refers to the destruction of the Berlin wall and the preservation of four sections of the wall, describing how each section has resulted in different relationships among various social groups.

Overall, Buchli’s work is an important and timely study of the relationship between humans and their dwellings. Any scholar of anthropology and architecture will find a wealth of information and relevant case studies. It is not an overstatement to suggest that the main contribution of this work is to point out that the anthropology of architecture is in many ways the history of anthropological discourse. Given this, it is difficult to imagine how anthropology could have progressed as a discipline without being firmly grounded in the study of the materiality of space and use of the built form in its many expressions.

**Borders of Belonging: Experiencing History, War and Nation at a Danish Heritage Site.** Vol. 5: Museums and Collections. *Mads Daugbjerg*. New York: Berghahn, 2014. 202 pp.

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Since the 1990s, scholars of public history as conveyed in television, at museums, or at memorial sites have argued about whether it is appropriate to encourage audiences to identify with historical figures or otherwise place themselves in the historical through their own emotional subjectivities. Some have dismissed such efforts as crass catering to entertainment. Others have asserted that affective experience is the best way to make the past palpable. Mads Daugbjerg has enriched this debate with his research on the Danish heritage site Dybbøl. This site—where the Prussians defeated the Danish army in 1864, resulting in significant border changes—has been ranked by the Danish Ministry of Education as among the 28 most important sites and events for understanding Danish history. As a result, money, expertise, and busloads of school groups have flowed into the site.

For his part, Daugbjerg is less interested in the official rhetoric about Dybbøl than in the actual social practices that heritage sites provide and their perception by the visitors. Following the methodological approaches introduced by Richard Handler and Eric Gable (1997) and Sharon MacDonald (2002) in recent years, Daugbjerg conducted field research with participant-observations of guided tours, “thick descriptions” of exhibition settings, and interviews with the museum staff and the visitors. As a new empirical tool, he used eye-tracking technology (“video spectacles” for visitors with a tiny built-in camera and a microphone) to learn more about what visitors actually look at in the exhibition. This approach is innovative and reflects recent attempts in visitor studies by cognitive psychology but is—judged by its results—not yet really compelling.

Moreover, it is a slight contradiction of Daugbjerg’s aim to analyze the museum not primarily as an institution of looking but, rather, as a place of synesthetic experience with the whole body. For the author, the primacy of the gaze is an ideology of Enlightenment philosophy. Instead, he proposes to pay more attention to the less visible but equally important aspects of the museum experience (smelling, listening, feeling, etc.). Unfortunately, these dimensions rarely become available with the empirical toolbox. Nevertheless, with his enlarged perspective, Daugbjerg joins recent attempts to reconfigure our understanding of the museum experience reflected in phenomenological buzzwords such as *atmosphere*, *stimmung* (mood), *presence*, and *actor-network-theory*.

Apart from its methodological innovations, Daugbjerg’s study is an important contribution for museum research with Dybbøl as an intriguing place. This heritage site consists of two institutions that represent different modes of displaying history: the Sønderborg Castle Museum (founded in 1908 during German rule) and the Dybbøl Battlefield Centre that opened in 1992. Whereas the museum depicts history with items from its collections and refrains from naturalistic recreations of the Battle of 1864, the heritage center perceives itself as a kind of “counter-museum.” Whereas the curators of the museum “trusted in the innate qualities of the ‘silent landscape,’” the center reconstructed a Danish military redoubt, worked with multimedia displays, hands-on options, and reenactment activities (such as a sandbox where children could play soldiers). Because this experience-driven approach was labeled “participatory learning” (an approach that was fairly innovative in the early 1990s), the center obtained government funding.

Daugbjerg follows the historical traces of this familiar division between what he calls a “constructivist” approach, on the one hand—which keeps history at a distance and relies nearly exclusively on staging original relics—and the more experience-driven approach, on the other hand, which trusts in empathetic immersion in history. But he

goes beyond the established understanding of two contradicting modes by suggesting that at Dybbøl both approaches intersect each other. Thanks to his empirical material, he clearly outlines that the fragile division between legitimate “demonstration” of war history by means of entertainment and emotional involvement (which lead to “participatory learning”) and illegitimate “play” (which is mere amusement) depends on sociocultural contexts. At this point it is significant that the German visitors critique the experiential approach of the center much more than their Danish neighbors as inappropriate. Unlike the author, who interprets this difference mainly with regard to Enlightenment and romantic philosophy, to me this difference seems to be a result of the reeducation of Germans after World War II and a reaction toward the abuse of emotional history teaching in the Third Reich (characterized by terms like *Geschichtsgefühl* (sense of history) or *Geschichtsbegehren* (desire for history)).

Daugbjerg’s research connects the analysis of different shapes of history in museums with the question “how categories such as ‘heritage’ and ‘nation’ obtain meaning . . . through everyday life that surround sites such as Dybbøl” (p. 2). Therefore, he adapts the concept of “banal nationalism” (cf. Billig 1995) to inquire about the simple and almost invisible rhetorical and expository speech acts that foster national identity within the exhibitions and guided tours at Dybbøl. This part of the book is the most convincing. It is based on the assumption that museums and heritage sites tend to be spaces of banal nationalism by nature because their objects and compelling scenographies authenticate and accredit the history they depict. Hence, this kind of historical narrative is less dialogic than authoritative. In this perspective, “museum,” “heritage,” and “nation” build an inseparable complex of “mimetic realism” (Handler and Gable 1997:223): a construction of history that is scarcely questioned by visitors but appears—because of its reified evidence—so veracious that it is perceived as being “true.” As Daugbjerg shows, the capacity of the center to make history was in the service of different attitudes: it has changed during the last 20 years (when the Sønderborg museum took control of the center) from a narrative of “defensive Danishness . . . with a distinct anti-Germanness” (p. 2) to a less nationalistic but more conciliatory educational approach, so that “this swaying between romantic nationalism and an alleged cosmopolitanism recurs in the heritage practice of the center today” (p. 40). According to Daugbjerg, the structural disposition to support identity work derives not primarily from the intention of the curators but corresponds with a widespread desire of the visitors for orientation and master narratives.

Daugbjerg’s investigation of Dybbøl is an empirically dense and philosophically well-informed, in-depth study of the formation and reconfiguration of a heritage site. Its findings expose what has become paradigmatic at such

sites: for “the fate of the nation” narratives and displays have been replaced, by cosmopolitan narratives, which are conveyed via “experiential, multisensory and participatory approaches” (p. 156). These points deserve further investigation and should be connected with the ongoing debate in Germany (especially at memorial sites) and France about the ethnical constraints of depicting contested history.

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**Borderland Lives in Northern South Asia.** *David Gellner*, ed. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. 310 pp.

### SARAH BESKY

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Scholars of the state in South Asia tend to focus on the relationship between urban centers and agricultural heartlands, yet state power has often manifested itself most acutely in the region’s northern borderlands. The contributors to this volume take us to the militarized zones where India meets Pakistan and Bangladesh, as well as to the mountain passes where migrants cross back and forth among Nepal, Bhutan, India, and Tibet. Although most of the authors analyze a particular international borderland, they attend closely to the construction of ethnic, religious, economic, and political divisions within these spaces.

Borders, no matter how precisely delineated on a map, are inherently porous, as David Gellner explains in the introduction. “The challenge ... is to be as critical ... about national and internal borders as anthropologists have learned to be about ethnic and other social boundaries” (p. 6). This challenge invites a cross-pollination of anthropology and geography, as well as of South Asian studies and scholarship from elsewhere, particularly the U.S.–Mexico border, where issues of migration, displacement, and militarization have long been at the center of inquiry. Gellner provides an accessible background to the region, and his introduction culminates in a “four-part model of state-people relations at the border” (p. 17). By focusing on everyday experiences of difference and conciliation, each contributor then extends the work of Willem van Schendel and James Scott on “Zomia”—that large and mountainous region of Asia where modern states either failed or never attempted to govern.

For Anastasia Piliavsky, borders within nation-states are as important as on their margins because these markers serve as “structuring mechanisms” of the state (p. 40). Her chapter is the geographical outlier in the volume, focused on patronage relationships between Kanjars (a caste that practices burglary) and the local police in Rajasthan, in India’s heartland. Radhika Gupta’s contribution, on the Kargil district of India’s state of Jammu and Kashmir, also avoids a limited geographical framing of borders. The 1999 war with Pakistan drastically reshaped Kargili relations across the international border, but Gupta also documents Kargilis’ growing discontent with the fact that, despite their strategic location on the Line of Control, they have received less direct attention from NGOs and state development agencies than residents of Leh, further away.

While the India–Pakistan border is thoroughly political, the Himalayas often seem like a “natural” divider between India and Nepal. Working in Uttarakhand, Nayanika Mathur analyzes the “technologies of the imagination” that reinforce this naturalness, including the mountains themselves; the maps adorning the walls of schools and government buildings; “Indian” (i.e., Hindu) “custom and tradition” (particularly myths about the sacredness of the mountains); smuggling networks; and narratives of the Himalayas as empty and “backward.” Although a borderland, the Himalayas sit at the center of contemporary national consciousness.

Sondra Hausner and Jeevan Sharma engage the Himalayan interface in their chapter on Nepali labor migrants along the “open border” between Nepal and India. They examine how women’s “risk” of being victimized by human traffickers is evaluated by an NGO that subjects women and men to elaborate scrutiny. Migrants are asked to provide documentary evidence of their domestic lives in Nepal to cross the “open” border to India. Also highlighting the paradoxes of migration in Nepal, Rosalind Evans’s chapter provides ethnographic insights from refugee camps that house Nepali-speaking Bhutanese refugees expelled from Bhutan. They sat for decades at the center of these Himalayan borders and are currently traversing yet another one into third-country resettlement.

Three chapters take readers to Northeast India. Deepak Mishra focuses on economic development in Arunachal Pradesh, site of several border disputes between India and China. As in Kargil, Arunachal’s strategic positioning has caused it to receive an outsized amount of state development aid, most of which has been directed at infrastructure. Working adjacent to Arunachal Pradesh, Vibha Joshi describes controversies over the formation of a “greater Nagaland,” or Nagalim—a territorial unit that would unite Nagas across India and Burma. Looking at two towns on either side of the India–Burma border (a border that also demarcates South and Southeast Asia in academic area studies), Nicholas Farrelley develops the concept of “nodes of

control,” sites where states concentrate their governance efforts. By structuring local practice in areas where little other economic activity occurs, nodes of control reshape the dynamics of what van Schendel and Scott call “Zomia”—those seemingly out-of-the-way places beyond government control or concern (p. 208). Scholarly border making also creates “epistemological nodes of control” that turn South and Southeast Asia into seemingly discrete areas (p. 211).

Two chapters about the India–Bangladesh border conclude the volume. Jason Cons discusses the “enclaves” (*chhitmahals*), rooted in precolonial land arrangements that form a unique archipelago whereby over two hundred pieces of each nation-state sit within the other. The post-Partition construction of corridors between one such enclave, Dahagram, and mainland Bangladesh has shaped how residents there assert political belonging within Bangladesh through the articulation of the possession and loss of their material belongings. Annu Jalais examines the Zomia-like space of the Sundarbans, an archipelago in the more strict sense—an island landscape spanning India and Bangladesh. People in these islands feel marginal not only to their nation-states but also to dominant ideas of Bengality itself. Jalais illustrates this tension through the story of Haripada, who moves between the worlds of island fishing and a more stereotypically Bengali life of poetry. Accounts of partition in the Sundarbans are partial and patchy. They do not fit the dominant, overarching narrative of loss told by Bengali elites in cities (pp. 262–263). Looking at generational differences in these narratives, Jalais highlights how the meaning of Bengali identity is changing from one of literary and poetic knowledge to one of religious normativity.

In his afterword, Willem van Schendel argues that Northern South Asian states demonstrate an “apprehensive territoriality” (p. 268). Apprehensive territoriality leads to “sensitive” borders, which could be understood in terms of foreign policy or political science, but this volume calls attention to the local experience of such sensitivity. Readers from a variety of theoretical and geographical orientations will appreciate its challenge to nation- and state-centric theorizing about borders. In this, the volume offers a most welcome addition to the literature on life where political and scholarly “areas” meet.

**Theorizing NGOs: States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism.**  
Victoria Bernal and Inderpal Grewal, eds. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. 379 pp.

**CRYSTAL BIRUK**  
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This timely, edited volume collates diverse perspectives that reflect on feminist agendas for social change amid states

and neoliberal frameworks that are often, but not always, in opposition to such agendas. Taken together, the contributors argue that NGOs play a central role in representing and producing “women” as a category, and in making new kinds of women (e.g., “grassroots” and “trafficked”). The authors critically engage the claim that the NGO form necessarily smuggles in neoliberal notions of personhood and saps radical feminist projects. A major strength of the volume is the productive dissonance that arises from its contributors’ comparative perspectives.

Following an introduction by the editors that provides a concise review of the arc of feminist NGO studies since the late 1980s, the book is organized into three sections that reflect on aspects of feminist mobilization and NGOs, each of which challenges many of the “givens” that characterize critical study of not only feminist NGOs but also all NGOs.

In the first section, titled “NGOs beyond Success or Failure,” Elissa Helms, Lauren Leve, and Aradhana Sharma illuminate the diverse and unexpected effects that arise when NGOs and feminism intersect. Their findings urge us to reflect on how dominant analytics of NGO success or failure might presume universal—and exclusionary—definitions of *activism*, *politics*, and *empowerment*. Helms argues that NGOization of postwar women’s organizing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, rather than sapping the potential of “thriving, organic, pre-NGO” women’s movements, resulted in what she calls the “movementization of NGOs” (p. 22). In considering the complicated relationship between development and rural insurrection in Nepal, Leve shows how NGOs implementing literacy and other development programs may have inadvertently produced a revolutionary consciousness that helps explain the high participation rates of rural women in Maoist movements. However, rather than counting this as a “success” or “failure,” Leve foregrounds local perceptions of freedom and agency to disrupt “presumptions about subaltern subjectivity embedded in all empowerment theories” (p. 65). Sharma adds force to this argument, suggesting that “empowerment ... is a moving target whose meaning is constantly redefined through women’s struggles” (p. 110). In analyzing the effects of a rural women’s empowerment program staged by a Government Organized NGO (GONGO) in India, she draws on ethnographic data to query our discomfort with state-feminist collaborations and shows how governance might have empowering effects. Like others in the volume, she nicely captures how women draw on statist symbols and practices to enact authority, ensure compliance, or emphasize status distinctions in the workplace and between rural and urban women (p. 99).

In the second section, “Postcolonial Neoliberalisms and the NGO Form,” the authors argue that NGOs help reproduce social divisions that are given new meanings and value in the transnational context of NGO operations. Even as Julie Hemment illustrates how international templates

and tools for combating violence against women produce Russian women as “victims,” she captures how women find ways to make imported forms such as the crisis center meet needs that preceded the arrival of Western funding and projects. Kathleen O’Reilly, in her study of gendered politics as they play out in everyday NGO workspaces in North India, takes seriously her informants’ accusations that the NGO marginalizes its female employees, even as they are expected to facilitate women’s participation and empowerment. She usefully encourages us to focus not only on the women targeted by interventions but also to consider NGOs themselves as contested ground where gendered politics play out as intensely as they do in rural settings. LeeRay M. Costa pays close attention to the fault lines that fracture the category of “Thai women” as they go about their activist efforts. We see how “culture” becomes a site of contestation between rural and urban Thai women who seek to respectively preserve it or to modernize it (p. 173). Her astute readings of the depoliticizing role played by workshops that seduce rural women into “modern” spaces with air conditioning and snacks (p. 183) will be familiar to readers who work with NGOs across contexts. Finally, Lamia Karim challenges rosy accounts of microcredit’s “successes.” Examining some of the stories that escape audit culture or monitoring, she illustrates how “preexisting coercive norms . . . have become institutionalized as part of the NGO technologies of loan recovery” (p. 208). We see firsthand how neoliberalism weaves itself into local Bangladeshi moral economies, with pernicious consequences for microcredit’s intended beneficiaries: women.

The last section, “Feminist Social Movements and NGOs,” foregrounds the pitfalls and possibilities at the intersection of feminisms and NGOs. Sabine Lang demonstrates how the NGO form has “institutionally depoliticized” advocacy (p. 283), while Laura Grünberg, a long-time activist in postcommunist Romania, traces the evolution of buzzwords and bureaucratization that one NGO has lived through (p. 258). She emphasizes, however, the importance of continuing to work within the imperfect NGO form (p. 264). Sonia E. Alvarez theorizes feminist possibilities in the wake of what she calls the “Latin American feminist NGO boom” of the 1990s, and she argues against assuming a necessary correlation between the NGO form and the kinds of feminism it enables (p. 299). Although the volume largely takes the “NGOization of feminism”—a traveling package of professionalization, technical expertise, hierarchization, and donor-driven agendas—as a given or starting point, Saida Hodžić’s chapter helpfully decenters this paradigm as the only possible organizing structure for feminist analyses of NGOs. Using a metareading of a large body of scholarly rhetoric on NGOs, she challenges the “stability and impermeability of the NGOization paradigm” (p. 223). She shows how the words we use to theorize and discuss NGOs (e.g., as impersonal

machines) work to valorize humanist notions of political agency, and marginalize the experience of some women’s movements that get things done by working with, not against, the state (p. 233). As Victoria Bernal and Inderpal Grewal point out in the concluding chapter, feminism comes in many forms, including and, perhaps, especially in the NGO form (p. 310).

*Theorizing NGOs* lives up to its ambitious title, and is impressive in its balanced inclusion of diverse perspectives from multiple geographical and authorial positions (although it includes only one chapter on Africa). Yet, considering the volume’s interest in gendered politics and new political subjectivities incubated in the NGO form, it is unfortunate that there was no meaningful reflection on how this form works with and advocates for LGBT, and particularly trans\* communities. Nonetheless, the collection as a whole helps us reevaluate our received lexicon for theorizing feminism, empowerment, and development.

**When I Wear My Alligator Boots: Narco-Culture in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands.** *Shaylih Muehlmann*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014. xiv + 226 pp.

**DEBORAH A. BOEHM**

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In this engaging ethnography, Shaylih Muehlmann shows the wide reach of the drug trade and the pervasiveness of “narco-culture” throughout the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. Strong evidence that this is indeed the case: Muehlmann did not originally go to the field intending to study the “drug war”—instead, the topic came to her while she was researching environmental degradation in small Mexican fishing villages. By showing the impact of the drug economy in everyday lives, Muehlmann complicates the lines that supposedly delineate those who are “in” and those who are “out” (p. 182), exposing the reality that people along the border live with everyday: there is no escaping the grasp of the drug trade.

The book starts out exploring the marginality of “ordinary people” (p. 7) who get caught up in the drug economy. Muehlmann writes of primary players who may not initially seem to be so: sellers, stashes, smugglers, addicts, and others. Although the introduction is titled “Life at the Edges of the War on Drugs,” we soon learn that people are not actually on the margins of this war—rather, they repeatedly find themselves at the center of the conflict. Indeed, “the drug trade does not exist separately from society” (p. 18), and the book reveals the messy details of this reality.

Muehlmann considers the ways that ties to the drug economy are specifically gendered. She writes of women and their connections to the trade, especially through their relationships with men. After witnessing the “travails and

triumphs” (p. 30) of the mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and girlfriends of those on the front lines, Muehlmann outlines the limited social roles available to women. She posits that women’s identities are often defined through men, such as the stereotyped narco-wife or devoted suffering mother: women who are expected to stand by and support men in the trade at all costs. Such women often experience “indelible loss” (p. 39)—as loved ones are imprisoned or killed—but also opportunities, specifically by gaining resources and status through the men in their lives.

Muehlmann also looks at the social cache of the *narcotraficante*, a persona that is uniquely available to men. Alligator boots, and other markers of one’s ties to the drug trade, serve as ways to identify a “real narco” (p. 72). Focusing on one young man, Andrés, and his pursuit of narco-authenticity, Muehlmann shows how work in the drug trade can be empowering, serving as an “alternative to social and economic marginalization” (p. 62). While Muehlmann presents persuasive arguments about women’s suffering and male power, extended discussion of gender’s complexity—about, for example, the plurality of masculinity or how both men and women make sacrifices for their family’s well-being—could further flesh out how the drug trade transcends gender even as it is specifically shaped by it.

Next, Muehlmann turns her analysis to a significant cultural form: the narco-*corrido*, or “drug ballad.” She underscores another contradictory element of the drug economy: despite “widespread destruction and suffering, the figure of the narcotraficante often constitutes a positive symbolic resource for ordinary people” (p. 86). Narcos are feared and revered; through corridos, a narco may be transformed into a “subversive figure with tremendous agency and countercultural allure” (p. 93). As Muehlmann argues, expressive culture is one of the few spheres within which people feel powerful and capable.

Another compelling line of inquiry considers how the drug trade is embodied, as people throughout the region experience the physicality of the drug economy. We see how drug addiction is the material effect “of both poverty and prohibition” (p. 26). Although not typically acknowledged in public debates, Mexico has been devastated by drug trafficking but also drug addiction—perhaps disproportionately so given the demand for drugs that comes from north of the border. Because U.S. prohibition policies have resulted in the “highest incarceration rate in the world” and “highest number of drug users in history” (p. 111), Muehlmann advocates for the need to “treat drug addiction as a public health problem rather than a security issue” (p. 132), especially in a transnational context.

The theme of embodiment continues with a focus on *burreros*, or those who smuggle cash hidden on their bodies. Muehlmann shows how finance and money are “profoundly material,” rather than “abstract and disembodied”

(p. 143), and demonstrates how the free market and illicit economies are intertwined. Problematizing dichotomies of “legal/illegal” and “formal/informal” (p. 148), the author maintains that misguided policy is actually increasing illegal trade. In chapter 6, Muehlmann teases out the calculations of moral and economic risk that direct the extent of an individual’s connection to the trade. People get involved in the drug market “because it is far riskier *not to*” (p. 165) or they may be “already positioned in the drug trade regardless of whether they ‘choose’ ” (p. 166) to be part of it. From chefs and drivers to money launderers and lookouts, nearly everyone has some tie to the cartels, including family members of all ages who depend on such income for subsistence.

Muehlmann concludes the book by speculating about future prospects for those whose lives have been deeply damaged by the “war on drugs.” In fact, this is a war waged against the poor and disenfranchised. It is a story of barely getting by, evidenced by devotion to Saint Jude, “the saint you appeal to when you have no other options” (p. 60). Through thick description, Muehlmann illustrates how current policies transfer risks and suffering—violence, poverty, incarceration, addiction, and death—to Mexico. We learn that people’s search for authenticity, whether through narco-corridos or alligator boots or work that provides a living wage is, above all, the search for security. In this milieu, “the truth” is painfully clear. The fact that the devastation of the drug trade is “outsourced” to Mexico (p. 15) is not a story that most policy makers want to hear or tell, but in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, those on the ground know that the suffering is real and that survival is the best one can hope for.

**Biological Relatives: IVF, Stem Cells, and the Future of Kinship.** Sarah Franklin. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. 364 pp.

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This review is written from the perspective of an anthropologist (Craven) and a sociologist (Tierney) who team teach a course entitled “Globalizing Health,” which focuses on the ethical and moral dilemmas that emerge at the intersection of biomedicine, technology, and globalization, as well as inequities that have developed (or intensified) as a result of neoliberalism. *Biological Relatives* fits well within this framework, exploring how in vitro fertilization (IVF), despite its widespread normalization, has become “curiouser and curiouser” as a technology through which we have ultimately come to see ourselves (p. 1). This review considers



*Biological Relatives* with an eye to its use in the undergraduate classroom.

Sarah Franklin's newest book is an ambitious case study of IVF that links a wide range of theoretical perspectives, including Marxist historical materialism, Foucauldian biopolitics, and Donna Haraway's cyborg subjectivities, with understudied feminist interpretations of reproductive science and technology, including "classics" by authors such as Gena Corea, Shulamith Firestone, and Marilyn Strathern, and insights from ethnographic accounts by Marguerite Sandelowski, Marcia Inhorn, Sandra Gonzalez-Santos, and Heather Paxson. While Karl Marx and Michel Foucault are useful in charting the emergence of IVF (as Franklin accomplishes in her initial chapters), Franklin argues that feminist theory is crucial to understanding how gender norms and kinship relations are being reinforced, remade, and contested by reproductive technologies and the practices through which they are propagated. Franklin's fluency with both theoretical and ethnographic work is particularly effective in situating IVF as an ideal "looking glass" for understanding the identities that are being invented and reproduced through the application of these techniques.

As a teaching tool, the dense theoretical tapestry Franklin lays out in her introduction may be daunting for some readers, but the remaining chapters (including those that detail the history of feminist thought on IVF) are written as a series of more accessible texts, some of which trace the origins of IVF and others that explore how IVF is "lived" and understood by scientists, clinicians, and those who seek IVF. Although the chapters build on each other, they can also be read nonsequentially to focus on specific aspects of the frontiers of IVF and the human journeys that accompany the technologies.

In the initial chapters, *Biological Relatives* weaves a rich history of reproductive technologies, from 19th-century livestock breeding practices to early-20th-century research on contraceptives to the current debates on stem cell research, cloning, and regenerative medicine. Drawing on Marx and Friedrich Engels, Franklin introduces a provocative parallel between the Industrial Revolution and the emerging frontiers of reproductive technology and masterfully intersperses these key historical moments with engaging anecdotes from her participant-observation at the Guy's Hospital Assisted Conception Unit, visits to science museums, art exhibits, and political rallies against embryo research. Her presentation of IVF as a "living tool"—a set of intertwined technologies and identities that are continually modified through human intervention—demonstrates Haraway's understanding of science as a series of contingent, yet related, analogies. In particular, the analogy of the frontier serves Franklin well to situate IVF as a technology that has at once become commonplace and common sense, as well as perpetually curious and contentious.

Perhaps most ethnographically interesting is Franklin's focus in the later chapters on living IVF and being after IVF, which explores how kinship is continually remade and reimagined. These chapters provide an eclectic mix of reflection on science, art, and the moral and ethical debates over IVF. She argues that IVF has become a successful conjugal technology despite its high rate of failure—over 50 percent—to produce "take-home babies" (p. 153) precisely because it encourages parents, especially intended mothers, to center their lives (quite normatively) around reproduction. The moral significance of the IVF journey can involve satisfying the expectations of grandparents, creating a sense of belonging with friends, and demonstrating devotion to a partner or spouse (p. 233) and, therefore, plays a key role in the identity formation process whether or not the IVF results in biological offspring. Thus, IVF has become a potent signifier not only of the promise of reproductive technology but also the unification of scientific research, high-tech laboratory apparatus, biological substance, and new (or renewed) kinds of kinship (p. 247). In the context of Gina Glover's "frontier bioart" (p. 260) exhibit *The Art of A.R.T.*, Franklin argues that the time has passed for arguing that IVF should not exist—in fact, it has already become "not only normal but normative" (p. 271).

In her discussion of living IVF, Franklin's focus is on "IVF consumers," those seeking IVF services in Britain and in countries that have been able to capitalize on the advances of biomedical technologies. Consequently, there is little discussion of the effects of globalization on those "living" IVF as surrogates, donors, vendors, and reproductive brokers. Although the work Franklin does to emphasize previously neglected feminist insights on women's experience seeking and using new reproductive technologies is vital and essential in the male-dominated field of science and technology studies, the work of scholars (often feminist scholars of color) who have addressed the complex politics of race, class, and nation as they relate to stratified access to these technologies (as well as the quickly growing market for gametes and surrogacy across borders) remains unexamined. We can envision a fruitful pairing of this book with a resource that addresses the global flow of reproductive tissues and services, such as *Google Baby*, an award-winning documentary by Israeli filmmaker Zippi Brand Frank (2009) that follows the intersecting lives of women and men in the United States, Israel, and India as they traverse the emotional, commercial, and ethical frontiers of the transnational market for egg donation, IVF, and surrogacy.

Franklin's *Biological Relatives* extends her enduring work (beginning with *Embodied Progress* in 1997) on the cultural manifestations of IVF within and beyond the laboratory. It marks a valuable contribution to our understanding of advanced reproductive techniques that have become increasingly normalized and stimulates new questions about technologies that remain unremittably

“curious” in their implications for gender, kinship, and the futures of reproduction.

In addition to interdisciplinary courses like our own, *Biological Relatives* would fit well in advanced undergraduate courses in medical anthropology and sociology, gender and reproduction, feminist theory, and social theories of technology. It will also be invaluable in graduate coursework across a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, feminist studies, and science and technology studies, as well as for researchers and clinicians who work at the perpetually unstable frontiers of reproduction, bioinnovation, and kinship.

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**The Scattered Family: Parenting, African Migrants, and Global Inequality.** Cati Coe. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. viii + 244 pp.

### PAMELA FELDMAN-SAVELSBERG

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From their experiences as border crossers, anthropologists know that it is never easy to live with your heart in two places at once. Transnational emotions are even harder for international migrants whose separations from children, partners, or parents are undergirded by distance, money, and legal bureaucracies. Cati Coe's *The Scattered Family: Parenting, African Migrants, and Global Inequality* sensitively and intelligently queries what happens to people and communities in a world in which money and goods move across national borders more easily than people.

*The Scattered Family* beautifully answers this question by examining ways Ghanaian transnational families draw on and “reshuffle” repertoires of child circulation. It is a book about the effect of global conditions of labor, immigration law, and public policy on practices and emotions of family separation, including the strategic circulation of children.

The book's structure reflects Coe's long-term multisited fieldwork focusing on three types of actors: biological parents, their children, and the relatives who care for them in Ghanaian towns and cities. An introduction and conclusion frame seven ethnographic chapters. The introduction captures our attention with the story of Irene, a home health aide whose U.S.-citizen children are being raised in Ghana by her parents. Irene is not separated from her children because of immigration restrictions—which plague many

other characters we meet in the book—but because the nature of work, childcare, dangerous neighborhoods, and lax schools conflict with Irene's ideas of giving her children the best care possible. Coe thus introduces her book's conceptual apparatus, developing the notion of “repertoire” (“existing beliefs, practices, and resources of family life” that “provide interpretations by which people can evaluate a situation,” make decisions, and “be prompted to particular emotions like love and anger” [p. 5]) in tandem with anthropological thinking on reciprocity, distributed parenting, migration, and the transnational circulation of children. The conclusion relates these themes to policy suggestions.

Coe's seven ethnographic chapters create a meaningful organizational symmetry—two chapters on Ghana, three chapters on the United States, and again two chapters on Ghana. The first group of chapters discusses how the material, bodily, character building, and emotional elements of raising a child are distributed among multiple actors in southern Ghana. We learn that children's companionship and labor tied Ghanaian families and generations together in the 19th century. This history of family reciprocities established a pattern that Ghanaian parents and their kin adapted to changing social and economic conditions in the 20th century, responding to the cocoa boom and bust, urbanization, the expansion of formal education, and structural adjustment policies.

Three chapters on Ghanaians in the United States investigate, in turn, law, work and childcare, and situations in which implicit repertoires are made conscious. Coe carefully demonstrates that family reunification rules in U.S. immigration law ironically separate families, discouraging immigrants' full social and political belonging in their country of migration. Most Ghanaian immigrants find that the professional qualifications they gained in Ghana are not fully recognized in the United States. Instead, they work irregular hours in poorly paid sectors such as home health care. Childcare is simultaneously limited to daytime work and financially out of reach of most immigrant workers. Parents bring assumptions about childrearing into consciousness when these conditions combine with their worries about negative peer pressure, their fears regarding strictures on corporeal discipline in the United States, and as they attempt to foster resiliency and respect in their children. Community gossip adds to immigrants' uncertainties about parenting Ghanaian children in the United States. Although middle-class mores and church teachings idealize parents raising their own children in a single household, many migrants feel compelled to foster their children out to relatives in Ghana.

The final two ethnographic chapters shift the focus from migrant parents in the United States to foster parents and fostered children in Ghana. Grandmothers raising infants and preschoolers benefit from remittances, but are old, tired, and less capable than their children of

helping their grandchildren with homework. Aunties and uncles face ethical dilemmas regarding their use of remittances, torn between providing care and trying to establish middle-class urban lives for themselves and their own children. For example, do they meet the consumer demands of their migrant siblings' children, or do they buy an appliance for the household? Fostered children draw on and transform their parents' and foster parents' repertoires of family life to make sense of parental absence. More so than their parents and foster parents, children articulate their expectations of care in strong terms, expressing their wishes for emotional intimacy, material support, and living out the increasingly prevalent ideal that parents and children should live together.

Throughout the book, the author's training in folklore and the anthropology of education is evident in her keen attention to cultural transmission and change. Through her analysis of parental anxiety regarding what skills, knowledge, and cultural orientations will be valuable for their children's future, Coe rethinks notions of cultural capital. She demonstrates that in the same way that the concepts, habits, relationships, and expectations of family life develop over time through previous encounters with global capitalism and rural-urban migration in Ghana, so too is the cultural capital that parents seek to transmit to their children specific to particular historical periods and social configurations. Coe then takes us beyond ethnographic particularism to demonstrate how ideas and discourses about the family become routinized by such institutions as the law, religion, and schooling.

The routinized discourses detailed in *The Scattered Family* give legitimacy to certain social arrangements and not others, leading to inequality. Global inequality prompts the transnational migration and family separation that constitute the central problem of the book. Social inequality is evident in the difficulties that Ghanaian parents face in the U.S. labor market. Migrants assume dual and complex class statuses, as part of an admired middle class in Ghana, and of an underappreciated lower class in the United States. Finally, the enduring Ghanaian pattern of wealthier families fostering children in and poorer families fostering children out is turned on its head for transnational families, shifting the contours and emotions of inequality within families. The connections Coe draws among discourses, practice, and inequality are reminiscent of anthropological work on stratified reproduction (Colen 1995) and on the status paradox in migration (Nieswand 2011).

This is a wonderful book, developing sophisticated ideas about a most timely topic. It opens up new avenues of research regarding gender and work, and notions of race in the encounter between African migrants and African Americans. Its compelling case stories, exemplary research and analysis, and straightforward explanation of terms make

*The Scattered Family* perfect for the advanced undergraduate and graduate classroom.

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**Neoliberalism and Commodity Production in Mexico.** Thomas Weaver, James B. Greenberg, William L. Alexander, and Anne Browning-Aiken, eds. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012. 352 pp. + illustrations, maps, tables.

## BRANDT PETERSON

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*Neoliberalism and Commodity Production in Mexico* reflects a growing dissatisfaction among anthropologists with reductive and teleological portrayals of neoliberalism. Instead, as the editors of the volume stress, neoliberalism is instantiated in specific sites and conditions; any instance is particular and not simply an iteration of an overarching logic. The studies collected here explore Mexican experiences with free-market policies since the 1980s, "by focusing on particular commodities and asking how their production and marketing have changed under neoliberalism" (p. ix). The case studies collected here (there are more than a dozen) that hew most closely to this focused objective are the strongest. The volume's critical framing does not develop a clear theoretical approach beyond the observations that (1) there is a great diversity in how neoliberal ideas and practices are vernacularized, and that (2) there are frequent contradictions between those practices and "[neoliberalism's] ideology" (p. 38). This is the book's main weakness, and it is evident in those contributions that lose sight of the narrow focus on transformations in production and distribution. The result is an uneven volume whose main audience will be those already concerned with the methods, commodities, and communities it covers.

As the editors observe, Mexico is as good a place as any and "better" than most if one wants to study neoliberal development in practice. Macroeconomic policy following Mexico's debt default in 1982 epitomized structural adjustment, while the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) appeared as the embodiment of neoliberal trade prescriptions. The editors also point out that policies and institutions targeted by neoliberals were born of

a popular revolution against an earlier technocratic liberal project. This historical perspective informs some of the strongest of the studies presented here, and it is supported by the long-term commitments of many of the authors to the communities in which they research.

In their chapter on Sonoran table grape production, Rebecca Carter and William Alexander observe that the industry is a success story by the criteria neoliberal development theory establishes for itself. Comparative advantage in cheap labor and a niche in the market based on the difference between Mexican and South American harvest times have helped Sonoran grape production grow to a thriving, profitable business that has created thousands of jobs. Although this success coincides with NAFTA, the authors point out that declines in traditional crops because of competition and water scarcity, and not simply new opportunities opened by trade policy, were its necessary conditions. The success of the industry has not been accompanied by proportionate improvements in livelihoods for workers, for reasons the authors explain carefully. The analysis does not simply confirm a pattern of inequality and concentration of capital that might be general to “neoliberalism” but, instead, elegantly shows how this outcome emerged from conditions and experiences specific to production in Sonora, its communities, and the environment.

Robert Emmanuel’s chapter on water in Sonora is likewise based on a nuanced, historically detailed understanding of the area and the production in question, in this case cattle. Cattle production operations were remarkably sustainable in the desert with an irrigation system managed by traditional practices of communal service from the start of the 1900s until midcentury, when state economic planners pushed for stocking rates beyond those advised by state agronomists or recognized as manageable by ranchers. By the 1980s, overstocking’s consequences contributed to the decline of the industry; as with Sonoran grapes, neoliberal reform targeted an industry weakened not by bureaucratic or protectionist inefficiency but, rather, by environmental and market changes. Emmanuel shows how reforms to land tenure and water regulations in the early 1990s rapidly concentrated capital, technology, livestock, and land. *Ejidal* (communal) organization and the irrigation management system that relied on it came undone with results that included rapidly increasing environmental destruction and residents’ growing reliance on migration to cities in Mexico and the United States. Subsistence and feed crops are unprofitable, while industrial cow-calf feeder farms bring returns, but only on large properties that guarantee water rights that are tied to the property above the aquifer. Here again, the chapter’s strength lies in the fine-grained research and analysis of particular conditions and experiences of neoliberalism.

Robert Alvarez’s chapter on mango production is based on similar depth of knowledge and commitment, but it

departs from the close focus on changes to production and everyday life, and how those might connect to neoliberalism, that works so well in other chapters. Instead, Alvarez frames this as an ethnography of “the transnational state,” contending that United States Department of Agriculture and Food and Drug Administration certification is a violation of national sovereignty that “reaches into the heart of Mexican agriculture and creates subsequent repercussions that threaten not only the immediate livelihoods of producers but also . . . the heart of rural culture” (p. 70). The victims here are commercial mango producers whose industry emerged in the 1980s, largely in response to new markets among Latino immigrant consumers in the United States. In other words, this is not “traditional” agriculture, nor has it long-standing connections to the revolutionary Mexican state or communal land tenure. Alvarez is concerned that it is agencies of the U.S. “transnational state” making demands on growers, and not distributors or retailers, an apparently unreflective deployment of mainstream neoliberal theory. A more robust sense of long-standing conversations about neoliberalism, states, and markets (and neocolonial government and fruit production), and a model of government as a verb, rather than “the state” as an actor, might produce a more suitable framework with which to theorize the connections between the experiences of mango production and neoliberal technologies of power.

The absence of a clear, shared theoretical touchstone (and the occasional adoption of neoliberal common sense) is evident elsewhere. A study of indigenous communities in Oaxaca asks if poverty and migration result from residents’ failures to adapt, or from neoliberal policies (either “erroneous” or “deliberate”), finding the plausible but somewhat disconnected answer in the end of supports for corn farmers. Another chapter on water in Sonora asserts that neoliberalism’s goal was to improve development, yet by decreasing local control of water it threatened “northern Mexico’s competitive edge in free trade agreements” (p. 116). These uncertain approaches do not extend the theoretical aspirations the volume editors hint at or bring the ethnographic material to life. This is a pity, as there is much promise in the methods and expertise gathered here, and the chapters that succeed do so convincingly.

**A Matter of Belief: Christian Conversion and Healing in North-East India.** *Vibha Joshi*. New York: Berghahn, 2012. 356 pp.

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For about 15 years now, scholars working on the anthropology of Christianity have been concerned with global Christianity’s production of a particular kind of subject. They

have debated the exact ways to characterize the subjectivities of their largely Protestant (and, within that, Pentecostal) research populations. Are Christians moderns, individuals, liberals? Are they not actually all that different from their preconversion subjectivities, thus traditional, individual, or something else entirely? While this has been (and continues to be) a productive debate, the scholarly focus on subjectivity has largely left considerations of the sociality of religion to the side. Churches, denominations, and processes of schism are rarely discussed, even though they are pervasive features of global Christian communities. Given this, it is encouraging to see that Vibha Joshi's *A Matter of Belief* does in fact take up questions of Christian sociality, focusing on the ways in which Christian healing practices in Nagaland are practiced to heal both individual Christians and the community as a whole.

Nagaland sits in the far northeast corner of India, initially annexed by the British in 1826 as part of Assam (p. 19). Naga groups at this time had a reputation within the colonial administration as rebellious headhunters, and the British seemed happy to have members of the American Baptist Mission take over much of the actual practice of colonial governance, particularly after an 1879 attack on British troops. As Joshi recounts it, local people came to think of the Baptist mission as much a provider of education and medicine as a provider of anything particularly religious. In return for these "gifts" of Western institutions, the Baptists required local people to take up a particularly severe form of Protestantism that required them to alter many of their practices: Naga Christians could not drink rice beer (a staple), could not celebrate many of the communal festivals, and could not use drums or other local forms of music in church, to name only a few of the more restrictive prohibitions. Nevertheless, many Naga people did convert. More importantly, many of the converts were instrumental in fighting for independence from (post)colonial India, arguing for their autonomy as people more ethnolinguistically connected to Tibeto-Burman speakers of Southeast Asia. "Nagaland for Christ" is the cry of the local people who want to disconnect themselves from a Hindu-dominant nation from which they feel particularly alienated. Having suffered tremendously during their battles with the Indian state in the latter part of the 20th century, revivalist Christian groups have sprung up throughout Nagaland calling for a Christian healing of entities running the gamut of social structure, from individuals to Nagaland itself.

Although this ethnography is firmly situated within Northeast India, Joshi's scholarly interlocutors are much further afield. She compares Nagaland (and the Angami Naga in particular) to the Nuer and uses E. E. Evans-Pritchard's work as a guide for her own social structural analysis (p. 34). Joshi treats social structure and social processes as institutions producing social cohesion. In particular, healing rituals are read as performances that help to

create solidarity. As Joshi notes, ritual is a way of "reminding people of the importance of rules in an otherwise non-centralized and even partly anarchic society" (p. 82).

As much as Joshi argues from this structural-functional perspective, she painstakingly details the many groups and processes that seem to divide people within Nagaland. Beyond just a non-Christian-Christian split, Joshi describes the many different denominations that have proliferated in Nagaland in recent decades; the various groups fighting for differing levels of political autonomy from India; and the more traditional factions of village, clan, and subclan. That is, social cohesion at first glance seems to have suffered in recent years, something that local people as well as Joshi recognize. Nevertheless, Joshi sees possibilities for continued cohesion underneath the surface-level divisions that crosscut Naga social worlds. Christian and local Naga healing practices are more syncretic than divergent, Joshi argues, because local people easily move between healers from different traditions as occasion demands. Large-scale events of communal Christian healing bring together people from across a number of social divides.

If the anthropology of Christianity has lately focused almost exclusively on subjects and subjectivity, then by equal turns Joshi here focuses exclusively on the groups that divide this largely Christian community, reading these groups through the all-encompassing filter of cohesion. This means that particularly Christian models of groups and groupness are not given a chance to be explored in this book. As a result, while Joshi provides an excellent, exhaustive collection of the lexical ambiguities that come with the translation of Christian terms into Naga languages at the level of cultural and linguistic structures, readers do not get a sense of how these terms come to be mobilized in conflicts or healing events attempting at their resolution. Nevertheless, this book provides an intriguing counterpoint to the contemporary scholarship on the anthropology of religion while making an important contribution to the ethnography of Northeast India.

**Return to the Land of the Head Hunters: Edward S. Curtis, the Kwakwaka'wakw, and the Making of Modern Cinema.** Brad Evans and Aaron Glass, eds. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014. 464 pp.

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This richly illustrated, multivocal, and altogether remarkable volume is the result of many years' work on the part of the editors; the U'mista Cultural Centre and the Gwa'wina Dancers of Alert Bay, British Columbia; and many scholars and cultural experts. Their project led to "the most recent restoration" (p. xviii) of Edward S. Curtis's 1914 film

*In the Land of the Head Hunters*. Curtis's film had long been lost when Bill Holm and George Quimby found a copy of it in the Chicago Field Museum. They began in 1968 to consult Kwakwaka'wakw people to learn more about it, which led to their 1973 restored version, complete with a Kwakwaka'wakw soundtrack, *In the Land of the War Canoes*. Having done archival work, independently, on various aspects of the original film (its intertitle cards and musical score), Brad Evans and Aaron Glass joined forces in 2003 "to provide a scholarly recovery of the original melodramatic contexts and content of the film and musical score; and to establish an indigenous reframing of this material given unique Kwakwaka'wakw perspectives on the original film, its specific cultural content, and its historical context of production" (p. xx). In 2008, they screened the newly restored film in six cities, with accompanying cultural interpretation by the Gwa'wina Dancers. They also created a website ([www.curtisfilm.rutgers.edu](http://www.curtisfilm.rutgers.edu)) and organized various exhibits and conferences related to the screenings.

Curtis is of course one of the most remarkable figures in the history of North American ethnography, photography, and colonial encounters. As Paul Chaat Smith puts it in "Twentieth Century Fox," his incisive afterword, Curtis is "a classic American rock star" (p. 359). According to Smith, "nobody shaped how the world thinks about American Indians more than he did. And let's acknowledge that no single person shaped how American Indians think about American Indians more than Edward S. Curtis" (p. 358). Little matter, then, "that his oeuvre is essentially one big fat lie" (p. 359). Reviewing, renewing, or reinventing Curtis is worth the effort.

And the 16 chapters of the volume do just that. Several chapters consider Curtis and aspects of his work apart from the film; others discuss the history of the making and reception of the film, current Kwakwaka'wakw responses to it, the film in relation to the cinema of its time, its sonic dimensions (in various eras), and the work of restoring it. There is some disagreement among the authors as to whether Curtis himself believed in the reality (or authenticity) of the apparently timeless world his romantic images conveyed

or, instead, understood that his Indian subjects were living 20th-century lives and actively collaborating with him for their own purposes. The volume as a whole seeks to transcend that dichotomy by focusing on: "indigenous agency" (as opposed to victimization); "the generic classification" of *Head Hunters*, between documentary and melodrama; and the modernity of 1914 (and 2014, for that matter) Indian lives, a modernity in part constituted by images of tradition that they themselves have "selectively deployed" (pp. 8–9).

While space precludes discussion of every chapter, the editors' superb contributions deserve comment. By contextualizing the 1914 *Head Hunters* within the spectacular and melodramatic film genres of its time, Evans aims "to break the documentary hegemony on ways of being in modernity" (p. 205). He wants us to be able to see 1914 Kwakwaka'wakw people not only as the cinema goers and culture consumers this book teaches us they were, but, precisely because of such intercultural encounters, as actors (in the performative, not social-scientific, sense of the term) playing with the re-presentation of what they now understood to be (in the modernist trope) "their culture." And, as Glass shows, that culture was extraordinarily preadapted, as it were, to a modernity they themselves helped to produce because the dramatic presentation of familiarly owned and transmitted cultural properties was central to it. Colonial oppression there certainly was (and is), but Kwakwaka'wakw people—through Curtis's film and through work in various anthropological, economic, and touristic enterprises—were never its passive victims, just as they were never the passive subjects of documentary films and other modernist representational projects.

This book does us all a service by ushering Curtis's *In the Land of the Head Hunters* into the 21st century.

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