

BOOK REVIEWS

Single Reviews

Indian Policies in the Americas: From Columbus to Collier and Beyond by William Y. Adams.

Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2014. 344 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12775

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William Adams has undertaken a comparative examination of the roots and legacies of “Indian” policy throughout the Americas since Columbus. Attempting this survey in 300 pages was very ambitious. Adams makes clear in his preface that this is a “study of the evolution of European and Euro American thought” (p. xi) and, moreover, that “the Indian voice will rarely be heard in these pages” (p. xii). Adams fulfills these promises and may find an audience with like-minded scholars.

Across space and time, Adams considers in some detail the reasons indigenous peoples were and are considered “inferior” (from religion to technology to sociopolitical organization) and liberally employs the terms *primitive* and *warlike* to describe his subjects. In a bizarre twist, he also lays out a scenario considering both the Ottoman and Chinese empires as potential colonizers of the Western Hemisphere. Consequently, this volume furthers the “Master Narrative” in that indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere are presented as rather passive observers in their own inevitable demise. Apparently, it was a foregone conclusion they would be conquered, assimilated, oppressed, dispossessed, enslaved, and condemned to untimely deaths—although more attention is paid to their potential value as labor (slaves and debt peonage) than to the demographic disasters following contact.

The book begins with the “Discovery of America” (p. 1) and is divided into four sections: “The Colonial Powers,” “Postcolonial Programs in Latin America and Canada,” “The United States Programs,” and “The Great Issues” (which restates many of the opinions and conclusions from previous sections). Readers who wish to fact check or follow up on some of Adams’s more provocative statements will find very few citations. For example, in Appendix B (“Notes on Sources”), Adams reveals he relied partially on encyclopedia articles (including *Encyclopedia Britannica*) for background material. The most robust sections of the book deal with US

federal Indian policy, which are drawn heavily, though not always correctly, from Francis Paul Prucha (1976, 1978, and 1984).

Native North American scholars will detect many factual errors but will be particularly troubled by Adams’s discussion of “wannabes” and the Red Power Movement. “Wannabes,” according to Adams, include all self-identified Native Americans—ignoring the vagaries of federal acknowledgment policy and the tens of thousands who do not qualify for citizenship under their tribes’ constitutions. Adams’s notions about race, indigeneity, and identity are antiquated and will be offensive to many. He goes so far as to posit, “in the eastern United States, where there are not many ‘real’ Indians left, the wannabes have taken the lead in agitating for the protection of Indian sites and sacred places on public land” (p. 244). Then he goes even further:

Thanks to the influence of movies, television, and literature, pro-Indian sentiment is nearly as prevalent as is anti-Indian prejudice in Latin America. As a result, persons with only a modicum of Indian blood, and who have never been near a reservation, proudly proclaim themselves to be Indians. More than that, they and their numerous wannabe admirers unhesitatingly proclaim the moral superiority of the Indian race as a whole. In that sense, they are probably the most overt racists in North America today, yet, for the moment, they are condemned by nobody. [pp. 266–267]

Interestingly, Adams also considers John Collier a “racist” (p. 226). Discussing the Red Power Movement, Adams concludes, “no single piece of legislation or judicial decision can be attributed in any direct way to the agitation of AIM, nor to the writings of Vine Deloria” (p. 243).

I will leave to others the task of evaluating the merits of the representations of “Indian” policy beyond North America; however, the majority of the book defaults to North America, and I am confident that federal Indian policy scholars will not be satisfied with Adams’s treatment of the subject nor with his discussion of Native American sovereignty and self-determination. For example, the author missed a great opportunity to further examine and apply the Marshall Trilogy, which would have provided a much stronger explanatory framework. Given the author’s acritical views on assimilation and acculturation, many will find his treatment of Indian boarding schools (residential

schools do not come up) and assimilation policy in general unsatisfactory.

Scholarly discourse depends on documenting and contextualizing opinions in thorough, transparent research. This book would have appealed to a wider audience with additional research and inclusion of more contemporary scholarship and paradigms. Undertaking a project with this scope in the 21st century without frankly acknowledging the legacies of genocide and ethnocide (i.e., the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples [2007]) is unfathomable. Intentionally omitting and minimizing ex-

pressions of Native resistance (past and present) in favor of further elucidating “the European mind” was disappointing.

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Fast, Easy, and in Cash: Artisan Hardship and Hope in the Global Economy by Jason Antrosio and Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 200 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12713

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A few days ago, an undergraduate student approached me after class and commented how much she liked Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld's (2009) book *Fighting like a Community*, which I have been using as a text for several years in my course on South American cultures. She said she loved his clear and convincing argument that rural communities and urban vendor associations need not be homogeneous to engage in joint action. The delighted expression on her face spoke volumes about her relief of finally finding a social scientist who did not believe in confining categories to capture social phenomena but argued, instead, that difference was often a motor force for joint action. She could, just as easily, have been speaking about Jason Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld's new book *Fast, Easy, and in Cash*, which is, in some ways, a sequel and equally iconoclastic. On the basis of questionnaires and case histories of small-scale artisans and other rural and urban entrepreneurs in highland Ecuador, the authors analyze the nature and role of innovation in the production of woven goods and paintings, some produced for consumption within Ecuador and others for export and for—most importantly—the tourist market. The authors cast their net widely, appearing to adopt the official definition of artisan enterprises based on size alone, while neglecting capitalization and the fact that small firms often subcontract work to many small family enterprises. However, their principal focus is on entrepreneurs who define themselves as indigenous: painters originating from the area of Tigua in

the province of Cotopaxi and the world-renowned weavers in and around Otavalo.

The book's basic argument is that artisan production in the context of increasing globalization is subject to similar dynamics that characterize other parts of the global economy—including highly capitalized firms and the music industry—such as winner-take-all economic phenomena, albeit often in different ways. Their analysis entails a systematic dismantling of ingrained stereotypes surrounding the economic behavior of artisans and (since indigenous artisans predominantly live in or originate from rural communities), by extension, peasants. Thus, the authors adduce the involvement of peasants in Southern Colombia in risky pyramid schemes and in growing specialty crops as evidence of their openness to innovation and willingness to assume risk while, nevertheless, hedging their bets. According to the authors, the principal feature that distinguishes artisan producers from that of highly capitalized firms is the former's reliance on the commons: the sharing of ideas through the uncontrolled copying of designs. When artisans complained that the lack of protection of intellectual property prevents them from reaping the fruits of the innovations, the authors engaged in an elaborate study involving a number of local collaborators of the movement of ideas in the Otavalo artisan market to assess the actual extent of the diffusion of ideas. Their conclusion is that sharing benefitted the actors as a whole. They illustrate their point with a fascinating discussion of the production of special shirts with native motifs for President Rafael Correa and the subsequent diffusion of the designs. These exchanges did not, nevertheless, prevent a small number of actors from benefiting disproportionately from the proliferation (the authors use the term “invasive

trades,” which I find confusing: Can one really speak of self-invasion?) of new trades such as the production and sale of paintings and new types of garments. But, here again, the reliance on local connections and collaborations and hence the inability to move operations to new localities generally do not permit prosperous actors to expand their enterprises beyond a certain point. To be sure, the authors’ argument that prosperous actors ultimately contribute to the welfare of the entire industry—because their activities as middlemen expand the market as a whole—comes dangerously close to trickle-down “Reaganomics.” Nevertheless, the differences between successful and less successful entrepreneurs are not necessarily based on differential access to capital nor on being initiators of innovations; thus, unlike in trickle-down Reaganomics, advancement is actually quite open to many actors. A winner-take-all economy, then, does not negate the benefits of cooperation in a commons.

The authors’ interest in the role of the commons in small enterprises leads them to complement their studies of indigenous craft enterprises with small-scale industrial

production of garments in the mestizo town of Atuntaqui. Initially built on the demise of a large foreign-owned factory, the isolated family businesses, founded by the workers who had lost their jobs, prospered as a result of a government-sponsored program of innovation and mutual collaboration, only to return to mutual isolation when individual firms made deals with large-scale clients that left little room for the continued pursuit of common projects. The reader is left with the question of whether, in the long run, indigenous enterprises are more apt to involve sharing resources than those dominated by mestizos—a question whose answer is complicated by the fact that mestizos often work for Otavalo entrepreneurs and vice versa.

All in all, *Fast, Easy, and in Cash* is a welcome breath of fresh air in the study of artisans.

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Banking on Words: The Failure of Language in the Age of Derivative Finance by Arjun Appadurai.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. 176 pp.

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This little book seeks to do a lot of big things. Some of those things have been done already, and others are not as big as they seem. Still, there is enough to keep the interested reader occupied after some brush clearing, as Arjun Appadurai has a knack for synthesizing and sparking conversations.

With his characteristic skill at naming large-scale phenomena (think difference and disjuncture, or the social life of things), Appadurai equates contemporary finance with a specific form, the derivative form. The derivative is a contract through which new assets are created from other series of contracts, only distantly connected to any underlying asset. As promises, derivatives are a linguistic phenomenon. Appadurai sets out to track the failure of the derivative utterance in the global financial crisis and what came next.

Appadurai differentiates his effort from that of others who have been tackling finance for some time. He distinguishes between social studies of finance scholars, mainly following Michel Callon, who seek to understand finance’s devices and mechanisms, and anthropologists (mainly), who seek to understand finance in relation to “religion, ethics, and

salvational ideologies” (p. 16). His “intention is to put these two traditions back in live contact to achieve a paradigm shift to study the ethics of calculative action” (p. 17). Those of us whom Appadurai identifies on either side of this divide have very much been in live contact for the duration of our professional careers. The focus on mechanisms has never been entirely separate from the focus on ethos: despite some excesses of the performativity paradigm (that market devices format markets, tout court), those working on the tools have always been open to their more talismanic qualities. There is by now an extensive literature on numbers’ magic and quantification’s qualities. From within this live conversation, the disagreement has always been less between social studies of finance and anthropology and more between these two intertwining groupings and Marxist or otherwise world-historical accounts of the global economy. This is still true today.

Appadurai’s real contribution is his exegeses of the work of Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, John L. Austin, and the popular author and options trader Elie Ayache. From Weber, Appadurai adopts the insight that Calvinism depended on “radical uncertainty about salvation or, more precisely, radical uncertainty about the value of a person’s life” (p. 5). From Ayache, he sidelines the probability or math of derivative pricing to focus instead on

derivatives' contractual form. Austin's concept of linguistic performativity allows Appadurai to query the conditions of felicity for derivative contracts. His hunch is that while some market participants may be trucking in risk, the higher-level players are engaged in a "different strategy of divination" that allows them to ride the wave of uncertainty, not risk, after Frank Knight's formulation. These players inaugurate a new ethic for capitalism. The incalculability of the present demands a set of dispositions that can deal with the "uncertainty imaginary" (p. 46).

Appadurai too quickly gives up the ghost in the machine of quantifiable risk—for have not others considered quantitative financial models' theological unconscious? Diviners, Appadurai's heralds of the new calculative ethos, always have divining rods. Quants managing risk also have faith—the algorithm can "work," but the algorithm can also be an instrument of piety. Sociologist of finance Juan-Pablo Pardo-Guerra (in press) reminds us that the man who filed the first patent for automatic trading was a fervent Calvinist.

The "failure of language" occurs because promises are divorced from the things warranting them. This claim is puzzling because it relies on a theory of language at odds with the wider argument. For Austin, language does not just represent, it is a tool. Magical spells in Trobrianders' gardens demanded a language different from ordinary speech. "The function [of magic words] . . . is not 'meaning' in the ordinary sense, but a specific magical influence which [they] are believed to exercise" (Malinowski

1935:214). Appadurai's discussion of Durkheim also seems to miss that Durkheim's greatest insight into contracts was their noncontractual basis as sociolegal scholars have long argued.

Appadurai offers a politics with reference to his fieldwork in India. Slum activists in Mumbai link individualism to greed but also shun group affiliations like class or interest group. Theirs is more monist conception of being linked contingently to one another in an unfolding biophysical order (p. 121). Appadurai sees in this an "immanent critique of both classical Hindu thought as well as . . . financialized individualism" (p. 123). Appadurai gestures toward the dividual person as permitting everyone, not just the highest-level players in finance, to introduce chance into their lives and generate new ways to create wealth. That's great! I am down with the dividual, but can I also have Dodd-Frank? Can we have a "thoroughgoing reform of our basic social vocabulary" (p. 118) as well as the Durbin Amendment? Can we enter into the language games of the regulators, the financial engineers, or others who like us are excluded from the domain of the elect? This is an analytical and political question that requires contingent answers and probably more live contact.

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Making Refuge: Somali Bantu Refugees and Lewiston, Maine by Catherine Besteman.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2016. 352 pp.

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In *Making Refuge: Somali Bantu Refugees and Lewiston, Maine*, Catherine Besteman describes how Somali Bantus make refuge as they flee village life in southern Somalia for Kenyan refugee camps and resettlement in the United States amid growing austerity and anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiment. It is a critique of the refugee regime and its neoliberal notions of refugees. The book is highly accessible, engaging, ethnographically rich, and written with real sensitivity, qualities that will resonate well with students. The book will also be useful to policy makers, NGOs, and refugee service providers.

From 1987–1988, Besteman conducted doctoral research among subsistence-level farmers in the village of Banta in the middle Jubba Valley in southern Somalia. Shortly after, the country's dictator was ousted, Somalia collapsed, and civil war ensued. Farmers in Banta and other villages in the fertile inter-riverine region became targets of militiamen. Survivors fled by foot to Kenya where they were "contained" in refugee camps. Besteman advocated on their behalf by publishing widely on the racial, ethnic, and class-based inequalities that made her informants in Banta vulnerable to genocidal violence. She joined Somali scholars in shattering the myth of Somalia's homogeneity.

In 2006, she was serendipitously reunited with Banta villagers during a presentation at Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. Throughout the book, the author draws from her research in Banta and data collected over ten years,

including oral history interviews with survivors from the Jubba Valley, Kenyan refugee camp reports, ethnographic fieldwork in the United States, and advocacy work and collaborative projects. Providing contrast, the stunning photographs of village life and portraits in Banta taken by the author's husband offer a glimpse of life prior to the war.

The book is organized into three sections: Part 1, "Refugees," Part 2, "Lewiston," and Part 3, "Refuge." In "Refugees," Besteman elucidates how the story of farmers in the Jubba Valley links to global processes. Many are descendants of slaves brought to Somalia in the 19th century, while others are indigenous to the country. Italian colonists forced them, rather than pastoralists affiliated with dominant clans, to work on plantations. Cold War alliances with the former Soviet Union, and later with the United States, provided Somali militiamen with the arms used against the farmers. Western aid and development initiatives targeting farmland benefitted the urban elite. Discrimination and violence from dominant Somalis added to Banta farmers' insecurity in refugee camps. In the camps, they and others with a shared history of persecution embraced the label "Somali Bantu," created by international media and NGOs in 1991. Besteman's informants skillfully employed the label and strategized for resettlement in a third country, and her publications supported their case. In 1999, the US government selected 12,000 Somali Bantus for resettlement—although the 9/11 terrorist attacks stalled resettlement for five years.

In "Lewiston," the author explores paradoxes of refugee resettlement and long-term residents' responses. Somali Bantus joined other Somalis in their secondary migration to make refuge in Lewiston, a postindustrial town marked by poverty and high unemployment. While Somali Bantus were resettled as a group, they are expected, like all refugees, to become economically self-sufficient in a short time. The dream of most illiterate Somali Bantus, to obtain an education, was set aside for manual labor. The onus of assisting refugees falls on local communities, fueling racism and xenophobia. When the newcomers acted in unexpected ways, such as opening downtown businesses, driving cars,

and purchasing cartloads of food, other residents created myths about them and questioned their legitimacy for assistance. Besteman here highlights the competing voice of those in helping professions, giving consideration to the ways they help make refuge.

In "Refuge," Besteman describes how and why integration is transformative for host communities and newcomers. Somali Bantus and other residents transform through coresidence, interactions, friendships, and collisions. The author notes examples of sharing food, older women residents frequenting Somali-owned shops, children speaking English and Maay-Maay with friends, and reactions of onlookers near the two local mosques on Fridays. Somali Bantus transformed their own marriage practices, parenting styles, and gender expectations. This section also outlines the Somali Bantus' establishment of ethnic associations separate from other Somalis and advocacy on their own behalf. Little attention is given to the internal divisions, ambivalence, and inconsistencies that mark Somali Bantu identity politics in the United States. Experiences of Somali Bantus from larger cities such as Kismaayo or Mogadishu, who work as domestics or laborers, are not considered.

The timeliness of this book is indisputable. We are currently witnessing an unprecedented increase in the number of displaced persons worldwide: "Globally, one in every 122 humans is now either a refugee, internally displaced, or seeking asylum" (UNHCR 2015). Kenya's recent announcement to close Dadaab, the world's largest refugee camp, by the end of this year due to security risks will displace over 300,000 Somalis and Somali Bantus. What will happen to these refugees? Who is responsible for their future? How will they make refuge?

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Fragile Elite: The Dilemmas of China's Top University Students by Susanne Bregnbæk.

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016. 184 pp.

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Fresh from a childhood filled with cramming, repetition, and focus on achievement, university students at elite schools in China's capital are at the top of a very pointy pyramid. They might be expected to gloat and rejoice. Yet the picture painted by Susanne Bregnbæk is far from triumphalist. What I felt reading about it was horror and pity.

Fragile Elite is based on fieldwork Bregnbæk conducted in Beijing at Beijing University and Tsinghua University—widely, though erroneously, compared to Harvard and MIT, respectively. In China, the scale of universities is absolute, determined by college entrance examination. The book highlights the stories of numerous students with whom Bregnbæk had extended conversations, some over many years and some only once.

Students in China enter college having survived a brutal upbringing encouraged, largely, by mothers wishing for the best for their children and for themselves, too: if their child—and there is usually only one—is successful, then, in the parent's old-age dependency, the child will have established economic security despite the fierce competition and unpredictability rampant throughout Chinese society. College students have the burden not only of finding a way to support themselves but also of caring for their parents.

A deck-stacked unequal society with a supposedly objective college entrance examination, China claims to be a “meritocracy,” yet social class and geographic origin predict educational success, and the all-powerful *gaokao*, the college entrance examination, is the focus of education—factual, assessable, comparable education. At the same time, a parallel discourse has been circulating since the 1980s: *suzhi jiaoyu*, which Bregnbæk translates as “education for quality,” which is a little like focus on character with a dash of creativity and the arts. A favorite key term analyzed by Ann Anagnost, Andrew Kipnis, and other anthropologists, *suzhi jiaoyu* is “softer” than the hard measurable aspects of schooling while still being political and involving social class. Advocates hope it could also lead to happiness and self-actualization—yet another obligation for the already drowning students. *Suzhi jiaoyu* highlights a “double bind”

in which parents and the state wish to inculcate loyalty and obedience while at the same time fostering happiness and innovation. It is easy to predict trouble.

Bregnbæk's account builds on the work of others studying contemporary childhood, youth, parenting, and families in the context of China's birth policies, such as Vanessa Fong, Teresa Kuan, and Cecilia Milwertz, but it does so from a specific phenomenological and psychological perspective inspired by Bregnbæk's teacher, Michael Jackson, and his “existential anthropology.” This does not preclude a discussion of political economy; in the Chinese context, no one can ignore politics. But it aims to get close to people's experience and the “oedipal project” of separation “from the will of parents and . . . the will of the state” (p. 4). Bregnbæk's overall point is that the students are torn, just as the nation is torn, between responsibility to their families and their own individual desires. Though all societies must face this, China is in the throes of what Yunxiang Yan and Sonya Pritzker, among others, have considered a revolution in personhood, with self-help and self-actualization now seen as desirable, modern, and cosmopolitan, in contrast to the sociocentricity said to have characterized China traditionally. Connected to neoliberal ideas of competition, scarcity, and privatization, and with little safety net, the fragile, nervous, high-achieving Chinese students are reminiscent of students in the United States—but with filial ideals. Bregnbæk demonstrates convincingly that students are made unhappy by the competing demands made on them and their inability to achieve them. Still, she emphasizes that “the experience of being pulled in different directions is part and parcel of the human condition itself . . . [and that] social life is full of contradictions” (p. 95). (Freud, anyone?)

The ultimate proof of psychological fragility and suffering within a fraying social context is suicide, as anthropologists from Émile Durkheim to Arthur Kleinman and Wu Fei have shown. The book is framed by Bregnbæk's inquiry into the sad “public secret” of suicide among elite students.

This book paints a clear picture of a narrow, often idealized, slice of Chinese education and youth. Some critics might complain about the focus on elites (defenders will cite Laura Nader and studying up). But in its focus on the contemporary Chinese—and, indeed, global—struggle to prepare students for a world of scarcity and precarity, while trying to fulfill many social, economic, and psychological needs all in one fell swoop,

the fact that the system does not work well even for the winners should give everyone pause. An anthropological perspective adds much-needed context to the seemingly limitless public discourse about the nature of higher education.

Fragile Elite is a lucid and moderate-length monograph with appropriate and well-integrated theoretical concepts. I highly recommend this book to those interested in China, youth, kinship, education, state power, and suffering and well-being.

The Unending Hunger: Tracing Women and Food Insecurity across Borders by Megan A. Carney.

Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. 272 pp.

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Megan Carney's *The Unending Hunger: Tracing Women and Food Insecurity across Borders* critically examines the role that food insecurity plays in migration among Central American and Mexican immigrants. This ethnographically nuanced book discusses efforts by the state and nongovernmental organizations to promote food security within Santa Barbara County's (California) immigrant communities. Carney carefully considers how these programs and practices reshape immigrant women's subjectivities in complex ways. She situates the women's compliance and resistance to the state's everyday attempts to produce neoliberal, caring, and food-secure subjects within the larger biopolitics of food insecurity, which are "visible in the uneven distribution of vital resources—specifically food" (p. 10). This short and straightforward book will especially appeal to undergraduate students in anthropology, sociology, and food studies courses. *The Unending Hunger* also makes a critical scholarly contribution by interjecting gender into conversations about food politics in the United States and taking up the issue of social reproduction and care work within the context of international migration.

Carney advances three primary arguments within the text. First, while the women with whom she worked often described their decision to migrate to the United States as one motivated by poverty and food insecurity, they end up encountering similar constraints once they arrive. Carney proposes that the women's lived experiences show how food insecurity—understood here as a series of structural constraints on everyday eating and feeding—is a vehicle for contemporary biopolitics (p. 11). Second, the government and nongovernmental organizations increasingly individualize the problem of food insecurity by encouraging people to adopt a prescribed set of values, beliefs, and practices. These individuating practices coalesce into the "biopolitical project of food security" (p. 11). Third, Carney explores how food security programs rely on a gendered division

of labor in which reproductive labors and care work are generally assigned to women.

The Unending Hunger contains five short chapters and a conclusion summarizing the book's core contributions. Chapter 1, "'We Had Nothing to Eat': The Biopolitics of Food Insecurity," traces the gendered effects of neoliberal economic policies and the implications for food insecurity in rural communities. Chapter 2, "Caring for Food: 'La Lucha Diaria,'" explores the daily lived experience of social reproduction, illustrating how the act of feeding ranks above all other care work obligations to epitomize the concept of motherhood among Carney's interlocutors. Chapter 3, "Nourishing Neoliberalism? Narratives of Sufrimiento," examines how women's frustrating encounters with food insecurity in the United States combine with multiple layers of suffering (violence, material scarcity, social isolation) to shape their subjectivities. Chapter 4, "Disciplining Caring Subjects: Food Security as a Biopolitical Project," analyzes how the preventative health approach to food security promoted by food aid programs becomes a site of epistemic violence in failing to disrupt narratives of the poor as responsible for their own health issues. Finally, chapter 5, "Managing Care: Strategies of Resistance and Healing," highlights the modes of resistance, cooperation, and accommodation that women employ in order to disrupt the state's disciplinary processes while simultaneously experiencing a profound fear of surveillance.

Carney's methodology is participant-observation driven, and consequently the first three chapters of the book offer a particularly nuanced evaluation of immigrant women's daily experiences with food insecurity and how their struggles to feed their families intersect with the other forms of structural violence shaping their lives. While this material will be particularly compelling within undergraduate classrooms, the bulk of the theoretical contributions come later in chapters 4 and 5, which together examine the biopolitical project of food security. One of Carney's significant insights is that the women with whom she worked did not attribute blame for health problems within Latino communities to the food industry or the government, nor did they call for structural changes, such as access to health

care or medical insurance, when discussing solutions. Instead, they focused on a need for interventions at the level of the individual (p. 159). Carney does demonstrate, however, the many forms of resistance and quests for autonomy that the immigrant women enact through the materiality of everyday life, despite this acceptance of the individuating dimensions of the food security biopolitical project.

In the book's introduction, Carney offers up a powerful critique of food justice, arguing that "a focus on food justice distracts us from the innumerable other forms of marginalization and inequality that shape the human experience"

(p. 37). In her conclusion, she argues for food sovereignty, or a "people's right to determine their own agricultural and food policies" (p. 199). In failing to fully tease apart the differences between these two concepts within the context of her own research, though, Carney missed an opportunity to make an important contribution to scholarly and activist debates about alternative food futures. However, she is to be commended for presenting a straightforward analysis of the very complex issue of food insecurity, an analysis that hews closely to her informants' own experiences and understandings.

Beliefs and Rituals in Archaic Eastern North America: An Interpretive Guide by Cheryl Claassen.

Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015. 408 pp.

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Beliefs and Rituals in Archaic Eastern North America: An Interpretive Guide by Cheryl Claassen provides interesting new ideas and insights into a very understudied aspect of North American archaeology—the beliefs and rituals of ancient eastern North American hunter-gatherers. Over the past 50 years, the development of increasingly refined archaeological research strategies and theoretical perspectives has helped to clarify many aspects of these ancient hunter-gatherer societies. In contrast, only recently have archaeologists made serious attempts to investigate the belief systems and rituals that these people pursued to maintain the delicate balance between order and chaos. Our poor understanding is partially attributable to the ephemeral nature of many ritual activities but also because we do not look for or do not recognize their archaeological correlates. Claassen's comprehensive review of the archaeological record of eastern North America's hunter-gatherer offers a regional perspective on possible indications of these allusive activities.

The volume consists of an introduction and three subsequent parts. Part I, "Archaic Social Life," discusses the origins of eastern North America's Late Pleistocene and Holocene hunter-gatherers and how different ancestries contributed to the diversity reflected in the archaeological record. Claassen underscores the importance of migration and interaction as important factors for establishing and maintaining the social environment. Evidence for resistance to change is reflected by the persistence of existing technologies and the temporal and spatial variability seen in the adoption of new ones.

In some parts of eastern North America, the social environment was characterized by violence that is often in-

terpreted as evidence for "warfare and conflict." Instead, Claassen suggests that these violent deaths represent efforts to capture victims for human sacrifice needed for different rituals. Efforts to integrate social groupings are reflected by mound building, feasting, and shared mortuary programs. She interprets differences in treatment of the dead as reflecting various ritual requirements and spiritual beliefs not simply social differences among the living.

Claassen's interpretations are heavily influenced by a number of prominent scholars including Robert Hall and William Fox (ancient North America), Karen Bassie-Sweet and Linda Brown (ancient Mexico), as well as Jacques Chevalier and Andrés Sánchez Bain (modern Mexico). Claassen's participation in pilgrimages to shrines in Mexico also figures prominently in the development of her perspectives on beliefs and rituals, as did her realization that many of the earth's natural elements (caves, water, cardinal directions) have similar meanings throughout much of the world. Based in part on the above factors, she maintains that many of the beliefs held by eastern North American hunter-gatherers had very long histories, some originating prior to their ancestors' migration from northeast Asia. The significance of many landscape features and site locations was based on spirit beliefs associated with earlier inhabitants (Paleoindians), not just immediate subsistence needs.

Part II of Claassen's book is a collection of annotations covering over 90 archaeological sites that, in her opinion, have yielded supporting evidence for hunter-gatherer beliefs and rituals. The sites, located throughout eastern North America, range from large, well-known ones, such as Poverty Point (Louisiana) and Indian Knoll (Kentucky), to smaller, less familiar ones like Turner Farm (Maine) and Caradoc (Ontario). Archaeological materials interpreted as supporting hunter-gatherer rituals and beliefs include

glyphs, bone shrines, artifact caches, and burials exhibiting specific kinds of trauma or missing skeletal elements. Cross-references are included for each annotation identifying other relevant sites and the topics discussed elsewhere in the book.

Part III contains nearly 250 annotated entries of topics that Claassen believes are related to hunter-gatherer rituals and beliefs. As in part II, the topic annotations, which include data and interpretations, are cross-listed to other topics or sites relevant to the entry. Some of the topics figure prominently in the site descriptions in part II such as *adultery killing*, *ancestor cult*, *bone shrine*, *cardinal direction*, and *commissioning rite for a place*. Claassen suggests that a variety of cults, such as the Cult of the Bivalve Feast and the Cult of the River Keepers, constituted important components of hunter-gatherer belief and ritual. Other topics focus on the

ritual significance of specific things such as deer, fire, wind, shell, and copper.

Claassen should be commended for the effort she put into collecting, synthesizing, and interpreting the archaeological and ethnographic data that she considers relevant to the study of ancient hunter-gatherer beliefs and rituals. To some readers, her ideas will seem far-fetched and lacking support. For others, Claassen's interpretations may help to expand their perceptions of what constituted ancient hunter-gatherer belief and ritual and how those activities might be expressed in the archaeological record. Reading *Beliefs and Rituals in Archaic Eastern North America* may not give readers many answers, but it is sure to stimulate their sensitivity to the kinds of evidence that may lead to a better understanding of this poorly understood component of ancient North American culture.

Competitive Archaeology in Jordan: Narrating Identity from the Ottomans to the Hashemites by Elena D. Corbett.

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12759

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The ways in which archaeology informed and consolidated colonial and postcolonial narratives across Asia have increasingly become the focus of researchers across a wide variety of disciplines. *Competitive Archaeology in Jordan*, a work of remarkable multidisciplinary rigor, cogently blends historiography, cultural studies, anthropology, art history, and religious studies to explore a century-and-a-half's worth of Near Eastern archaeological discourse while pertinently (and poignantly) bringing the discussion into the 2010s. From the outset, the author propounds a statement seemingly accepted by practitioners of the archaeological craft in private but often dreaded in public: "archaeology is politics" (p. 1). Although the book focuses on Jordan (Transjordan but also Palestine during the mid-20th century), it is a work of impressive breadth and provides a theoretical and methodological blueprint for future research on nation-shaping (and nation-dissolving) archaeology. The choice of Jordan from the Ottoman era, through its formative years, and into the present allows for greater subtlety of argument than more obvious (and already widely discussed, although by no means exhausted) examples like Egypt and Israel would have allowed; the modern country's elastic borders and tumultuous history as well as its perceived historical indefinability (*Transjordan* contrasted with and considered alongside *Cisjordan*) rendered it amenable to varied and imaginative legitimiza-

tion narratives of shifting identity constructs, promulgated by the French, the Germans, the British, the Americans, the Ottomans, the Hashemites, and the Israelis employing faith, tradition, and archaeology. The systematic unraveling of these narratives proposed in *Competitive Archaeology in Jordan* is a journey across definitions of nation-building and a pointed critique of the very discipline of Near Eastern archaeology.

"This country of Palestine belongs to you and to me. It is essentially ours" (p. 27). These oft-quoted words by William Thomson (1819–1890), archbishop of York and president of the Palestine Exploration Fund, exemplify how the Near East (particularly the "Holy Land" of Palestine but also its adjoining countries) was perceived by 19th-century audiences in Europe and the United States (ch. 2). However, Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910), founding director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople and faithful Ottoman subject of the Tanzimat era, would have vehemently disagreed; his activity, scholarly, political, and artistic, aimed to protect the hold of another (geographically closer) empire on the same area through the institutionalization of antiquity (ch. 3). The battle over who would own, interpret, and define the material remains of the much-contested lands of Palestine, Transjordan, and Sinai raged throughout the heyday of 19th-century empires but also during the ensuing century (ch. 4–6). The stories of the Mesha Stela ("The Moabite Stone") and the British–American "Eastern Survey," narrated in chapter 2; the articles in the *al-Muqtataf* popular science journal (a particularly compelling section of ch. 3); the stamps and banknotes designed by Y'aqub Sukkar in

1933 and 1949 (ch. 5); Jordanian school books (ch. 6); and the Dome of the Rock, recurring as a symbol of Jordan's engagement with Palestine (ch. 4 and 6), serve as some of the multifaceted manifestations of identity politics within elite and popular cultural milieus that forged "a composite visual corpus commemorating the nation" (p. 168).

A host of original ideas and quotably elegant turns of phrase dissect not only the historical realities discussed but also established views. Interweaving recognized scholarly topoi with little-known areas of inquiry, *Competitive Archaeol-*

ogy in Jordan creates a nuanced picture employing the output of Victorian explorers, Protestant theologians, prehistoric archaeologists, Zionist preachers, Arab nationalists, political journalists, folklore specialists, lyrical poets, and practicing archaeologists—among others. Corbett's study brings home the realization that no matter how self-conscious archaeologists may be about the narratives that inform their work, they still need to address the genealogy of these narratives. This work of scholarly writing proves both an excellent introduction and a bold foray into such an act of self-determination.

Aging and Loss: Mourning and Maturity in Contemporary Japan by Jason Danely.

New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2014. 246 pp.

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Japan is the world's most aged society and probably the most featured in the literature on aging in Asia. Jason Danely's book, *Aging and Loss*, is a delightful addition, offering an in-depth understanding of the complexity of aging in Japan as explored through the experiences of loss in aging subjectivity. This artistically crafted ethnography approaches loss as meaningful for older adults. Through detailed narratives in which memorialization and rituals are an integral part, we witness how older people creatively innovate and transform loss into new connections and meanings, exercise agency, and evoke Japanese cultural aesthetics. Although private in their mourning and yielding, they are not isolated from the larger social discourse; as Danely argues, rituals and images of memorialization "resonate with fears and hopes of growing old, providing a sense of narrative coherence amid a background of intergenerational discord and alarmist public discourse" (p. 32).

The key concepts presented in chapter 1 guide the analysis throughout the book, such as the concepts of "transience" and "empty space" (*ma*) under the cultural aesthetic framework. The intersubjectivity of relational ties (*en*) expands beyond those living to include the spirits that are memorialized. When incorporated into the "economy of care," the circulation of care includes the worshipping of the ancestors and spirits, fulfilled through both formal rituals as well as simple daily offerings (*kuyo*) to the Buddhist altar (*butsudan*) at home. Such imagined economy of care balances receiving (debt owed to the departed and ancestors) and giving (relationship for older adults), enabling a sense of security. The maintaining of linkages with the ancestors especially resonates with societies deep in Confucius tradition.

The aging experience is explored through eight chapters in the book arranged in four themes of "Loss," "Mourning," "Abandonment and Care," and "Hope" in the book. Danely organizes each chapter in a creative manner, wherein stories of the dozen or so informants gradually unfold and intensify with each telling. Amid the rich array of narratives linked to detailed descriptions of the landscape of memorialization in Japanese culture and aesthetics—from *butsudan* and family graves in the domestic realm to communal celebration of *matsuri* (festivals) in the larger social world—I do wonder if narratives of some others, who may regard memorialization and rituals as somewhat peripheral, would help enrich the inquiry of loss. Nonetheless, as the stories are situated in the larger social-political context, they form a critique of the Japanese state whose promotion of a Japanese-style welfare led some to see it as a form of social abandonment of the old.

One constant concern that surfaces among the older adults whom Danely met is the fear of being a burden. This narrative is brilliantly woven into the larger concerns via a layering of the various versions of the well-known folktale of *Obasuteyama*, a mountain to which elderly were carried by their eldest son to be abandoned. Among the many iterations of the folktale, Danely describes in considerable details the prototype from an early version in the Noh drama *Obasute* by Zeami, first performed in early 15th century (in ch. 2); a popular film version by Imamura Shohei called *The Ballad of Narayama* (1983) (in ch. 3); and the manga version (graphic novel) titled *Abandon the Old in Tokyo* by Tatsumi Toshihiro (1970) (in ch. 6), set in modern-day urban Japan. As the realities of elder homicides implies, *Obasuteyama* is as much about the abandoned elderly as it is about the dilemma of their caregivers. While children are supposed to be selfless in their filial duty, caregiving, especially when done without a support network, is a draining task that could leave the caregiver socially abandoned. Meanwhile, nursing homes, as a possible institution of care, are associated with

Obasuteyama and unfilial neglect, generating ambivalence and guilt among the young.

This book is about hope as much as it is about loss. Danely has artfully shown that subjective narratives—in reshaping losses by “punctuating them with points of creativity and moments of connection”—in turn define the aging self and reflect “the heart of aging” (p. 188). Although not considered a key concept here, *kokoro* (heart, feeling, spirit) is another notion frequently mentioned by the older adults themselves, among which the notion of the “heart of aging” (*toshiyori no kokoro*) is certainly worthy of further conceptualization in the book.

Although Danely has acknowledged the relative lack of engagement with aging theories, the book does make a contribution to the much-debated critique of the “successful

aging” framework and suggests that the aesthetics of loss and mourning could provide an alternative mode of aging with meaning. It also contributes to a critique in anthropology of aging discourse; although the notion of Japanese intersubjectivity is not new, the proposal of an “aging self” bounded in the web of relationships—as opposed to the “ageless self”—certainly adds to the weight of situationalities in rethinking aging subjectivity.

Aging and Loss is a beautifully written piece of work that could be enjoyed from multiple perspectives beyond the lenses of anthropology or Asian studies. The fact that the stories took place in Kyoto—an ancient capital and the heart of Japanese traditional arts and culture—will further instill interest among those curious about the rich culture, nature, and changes challenging the city.

Mother Figured: Marian Apparitions and the Making of a Filipino Universal by Deirdre de la Cruz.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 320 pp.

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If there is anything laudable about Deirdre de la Cruz’s *Mother Figured*, it is her ambitious endeavor to bridge history and anthropology. As the take-off point of her study, she purposefully chose the living bodies—several Filipino visionaries and devotees—and not dead artifacts, meant to be self-contained as if isolated from larger global structure and desire. Hence, she did not play down gender, class, power, or conversion’s successes and violence to stress Filipino Catholics’ cornerstone of faith. Further, these bodies do not stand outside spatiotemporal change. For that matter, by inventory of Marian apparitions, movements, and public displays, de la Cruz ventured to understand the historical circumstances in which Filipino Catholics want to have “community and nation be unique in all the world” (p. 5).

With this intent in mind, de la Cruz patiently dug through missionary documents, visionaries’ journals, priests’ homilies, devotees’ testimonials, theater plays, ritual texts, commentaries, government files, household papers, church verdicts, and available ethnohistorical transcripts. These sources provided her a wealth of information to illuminate the ways in which devotions to Mary recur in varying times and places in order to probe how some Catholics have struggled to imagine and articulate the “new universals” of their own faith.

Not wanting to appear drawn by the phantom of objectivity, however, she interviewed people—visionaries,

lay collaborators of Marian organizations, church leaders, and so forth—whose narratives cover periods, events, and themes in consideration. Further, she probed the hidden, offbeat, and grotesque details of religious experience, including conversion and mission, that seem to be absent in written documents via field observations. Standing along the adherents of an anthropology of Christianity, this is to show that Catholicism seems to mediate and become the media per se as it pervades into Filipino Catholic aficionados’ social imaginaries, which, by far, constitute a moral and national consciousness.

By doing this, de la Cruz critiques the dominant framing of Filipino Catholic practices, including Marian devotion, within the archaic, syncretistic, and localized “folk Catholicism.” Taking historical materials as evidence, Filipino inflections of Mary and Marian symbols are way within the purview of Catholic theology, depicting the impossibility of a total domestication of Mary. Also, the ethnographic data on Filipino Marian visionaries are shaded with Catholic apparition motifs. In addition, the episode on the showering of rose petals in a convent in Lipa, an apparition site in the Philippines, bespeaks of the desire for church recognition, even as this is intended to make the brown world a new epicenter of Marian pilgrimage.

One could argue that Filipino Marian devotees’ embrace of Roman Catholicism is due mainly to the politics of media. However, instead of making the Catholic members’ relationship with God freer and more intimate by expanding and transforming ritual spaces beyond the immediate venue, the mass-mediated rallies reinforce Roman Catholic

familiar idioms. Take the case of the Family Rosary Crusade's investment on mass media à la Susan Harding's (2001) *The Book of Jerry Falwell* to ensure the transmission of the proper understanding and praying of the rosary. Albeit awareness and acknowledgment of this media modus, Filipino Marian devotees have not resisted and utterly rejected it; on the contrary, they have become agents of Catholic conventions. As per de la Cruz's appraisal, this seemingly deep participation of lay Filipinos, expressed by way of policing in the name of Catholic conventions, has also made possible the production of Catholic orthodoxy. Following de la Cruz, however, these lay Catholics' agentic capacities cannot hastily be undermined, as they are indexed by middle- and upper-class sensibilities.

I agree with de la Cruz that the much-covered popular Catholic perception cannot simply shed light on revivalist-like experiences and apprehensions of deeply embedded powerful symbol of Mary. Indeed, as the book has demon-

strated, this symbol is germinated in a series of historical events and reshaped in varying places, be it in the Philippines, US, or Canada. Remarkably so, these experiences are framed within the pursuit for making new grammar of representations and imaginings of new universals. However, I would find the book even more laudable if attention was also given to understanding the stakes around which Filipino Marian aficionados forge their lives and values, by way of either abandoning the folk or defending the conventional or subscribing to localized orthodox Catholicism. This would capture not only the situatedness and the problematic tropes of class but also the scope of influence of Roman Catholic orthodoxy in the lives of Filipino believers.

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Far Afield: French Anthropology between Science and Literature by Vincent Debaene.

Justin Izzo, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. 424 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12707

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The intellectual place from which Vincent Debaene writes is not a comfortable one. This book is his doctoral work, of which the French version was previously published (Debaene 2010). It focuses on 20th-century French anthropology, at the intersection between social science and literature. Throughout the second half of the last century, those French anthropologists who eventually became some of the most prominent social thinkers of their time, internationally applauded and recognized as "public scholars" in their country, encountered political difficulties after they published their "second book," relatively early in their academic career. Vincent Debaene, a literary scholar and a professor of French at Columbia University, navigates with ease across this intellectual debate. His work points to the literary nature of anthropology, without denying its "scientific" status. After all, Claude Lévi-Strauss, whose *Œuvres* (2008) drew much of Debaene's scholarly attention in the past several years (Debaene participated in the compilation of Lévi-Strauss's writings for the prestigious collection *La Pléiade* at Gallimard French publication house), was a member of the Académie Française, the pantheon of literary creation in Victor Hugo's country. But Lévi-Strauss committed an unforgiveable sin in

the eyes of his then-mentors Marcel Mauss and Paul Rivet when he published a book that they viewed as a literary piece, not a scholarly one. *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), Lévi-Strauss's "second book," constitutes a hybrid literary genre, similar in tone and purpose to Michel Leiris's *L'Afrique fantôme* (1934), Marcel Griaule's *Les Flambeurs d'hommes* (1934), and Alfred Métraux's *L'Île de Pâques* (1941).

Between 1934 and 1955, each of the four ethnographers under Debaene's scrutiny published ethnographies that included detailed information on the societies and cultures they studied. A few years later, they issued a text that was more "literary" than "scientific," and more autobiographical than objective, on the same culture. These later publications are what Debaene calls "second books," which, for almost all of their authors, brought significant literary recognition. Intrigued by this writing duality, Debaene engages in the analysis of the intellectual process at work by a thorough exposition of the "genetic" relation between anthropology and literature throughout the 20th century.

Debaene links his inquiry to the debate that has evolved in French and European anthropology and has opposed science to literature in the epistemology of ethnographic writing for a century.

In the book's first part, the author discusses the history of the anthropological formation in the mirror of literature throughout the first half of the 20th century. Indeed, anthropology, a then-nascent social science in France, is still seeking

its intellectual identity. Under the intellectual guidance of the Durkheimian school, ethnography at that point identified itself as “human geography” rather than social anthropology. It marked its footprints in opposition to literature by focusing on the pragmatic documentation on the cultures it studied. French ethnography’s founding thinkers in the 1930s were Marcel Mauss (1950) and Paul Rivet (1936), and it was their collaboration that led to the creation in 1938 of the Musée de l’Homme. That development was the culmination of Mauss’s longtime teachings at Institut d’Ethnologie, where he emphasized the necessity for ethnography to be based on strict observation and description of exotic peoples’ societies and “morals.” The intellectual basis of Mauss’s teaching was to depart from the “exoticism” and the romantic attraction of voyage so pregnant in travelogue literature of the preceding decades. Thus, Lévi-Strauss (1955) opens his *Tristes Tropiques* with the (now-famous) proclamation: “I hate travelling and explorers.” Nevertheless, Mauss and his colleagues were reluctant to accept this second book, which followed by a few years *La vie familiale et sociale des Indiens nambikwara* (1948), Lévi-Strauss’s only ethnography.

In the second part of his book, Debaene analyzes the intellectual process at work in the production of the “second” books by Lévi-Strauss, Leiris, and Griaule. Between Mauss’s exhortation for direct observation and the ethnographers’ second books was the experience of ethnography as a rite of intellectual initiation and the embodied discovery of exoticism in the daily, and sometimes boring, recording of gestures, speech, and social relations of a remote community. In their laborious expeditions and fieldwork operations, these young scholars physically encountered humanity among different humans and the poetics inscribed in their cultures and rituals. Their second books are written as a reunion between heart and spirit, a return to the intellectual foundations of literature inspired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Michel de Montaigne. From that perspective, the reader of *Tristes Tropiques* is not so much propelled into the marvels of voyage as into the philosophical search for humanity, especially meaningful just before the Second World War and the Holocaust, which are at the center of the book’s narrative.

Debaene argues that this process has importantly influenced the late-20th-century literature and social sciences beyond French borders. In a densely documented body of research that uses much of that period’s humanities, he devotes the third part of his book to the aftermath of the ethnographers’ “second books.” In sum, *Far Afield* is a fascinating enterprise placing ethnography at the core of last century’s literary creation.

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Pesticides and Global Health: Understanding Agrochemical Dependence and Investing in Sustainable Solutions by Courtney Marie Dowdall and Ryan J. Klotz.

Walnut Creek: Left Coast, 2014. 148 pp.

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How might small farmers in poor, export-driven countries stuck on a technology “treadmill” overcome the economic risks of a transition back to organic agriculture? Once convinced to embrace Green Revolution inputs (hybrid seeds, artificial fertilizers, and synthetic agrochemicals) in the 1960s and 1970s, many peasants enjoyed a production boom. Yet, as soils eroded and pests developed resistance, subsequent seasons required more and more inputs to produce the same yield. Debt further shackled peasants to “conventional” farming. In an ambitiously titled book, Courtney Dowdall and Ryan Klotz aspire to show concrete pathways out of this vicious cycle in one of the world’s most chemically intense agricultural zones: the western Guatemalan highlands.

The opening chapters provide a sobering overview of how pesticides likely affect human health, along with an impressive analysis of the limitations of epidemiological data on pesticide-induced health morbidities and mortalities. Rural Guatemalans suffer so chronically from headaches, dermatological problems, and gastrointestinal distress (“gastritis”) that medical professionals rarely link these symptoms to agrochemical exposure. Most doctors and nurses—whether in Guatemala’s San Carlos valley, where Dowdall and Klotz lived, or in California’s Central Valley for that matter—have little to no specialized training in environmental health. Moreover, in many rural areas the doctor to patient ratio may be as high as 1:65,000. Guatemala also boasts the sixth-highest childhood malnutrition rate in the world, further complicating the epidemiological task of sorting out pesticide-related illnesses and neurobehavioral problems from the generally poor health of the rural population. For these and other reasons, some studies estimate that pesticide-related illnesses in Central America may be underreported by as much as 98 percent.

Yet, when anyone bothers to ask farmers about their experiences with pesticide application, they invariably describe episodes of dizziness, headaches, nausea, blurred vision, and even fainting in the fields. Given this, Dowdall and Klotz wanted to understand why indigenous farmers would continue to subject themselves to these chemicals. From an indigenous coffee-growing community, “Bella Vista”—divided almost equally between a “conventional”

group and a fair trade–organic cooperative—they learned that time is the most decisive factor. Although the organic–fair trade group earns higher prices, the conventional farmers cherish their hard-earned autonomy to negotiate and sell harvests whenever family circumstances dictate and not according to the six-month timetable of the cooperative. Conventional growers also felt they could not afford the heavy upfront labor investments for organic production, preferring to apply the urea fertilizer they learned as laborers on the large coffee plantations.

In a second, more hopeful case study of vegetable farmers outside Quetzaltenango, Dowdall and Klotz describe how market competition among conventional farmers has exacerbated “egotism” and secrecy in the community. Hence, one of the inadvertent benefits for those who have made the organic transition is access to revitalized neighborly ethics of knowledge sharing. For new farmers like “Doña Josefina,” who started farming after her husband emigrated to the US, advice from neighbors and extension agents helped her overcome what the authors insightfully describe as a “knowledge-dependence” treadmill. Before joining the organic cooperative, she—like many others—had just followed the advice of hardly neutral sales clerks at farmer supply stores, who directly or indirectly suggest that “more is better” when applying pesticides.

Throughout their story, women appear to be the greatest potential agents of change, as well as those most vulnerable to pesticides—as family laundresses, as novice farmers after their husbands emigrate, as coffee harvesters with close and regular contact with plants, as homemakers who apply field chemicals to kill household pests, as mothers who must care for sickened children, or as the patients who are the least likely to be diagnosed with pesticide poisoning at medical facilities. For these and other reasons, women may be the best primed to help educate other mothers about the value of pesticide-free food. Unlike in the US, where consumer demand has bolstered organic production, the San Carlos valley organic cooperative must build a new clientele willing to sacrifice cheap prices and blemish-free aesthetics for the idea of chemical-free food.

In a world in which the modern farming industry astoundingly applies one pound of pesticides annually for every man, woman, and child on the planet, this book is a sorely needed contribution to the frightfully small number of studies on lived human experiences and decision making about agrochemicals. An odious loophole in US law

allows agrochemical corporations to export to developing countries any and all pesticides—even those banned or never even registered by the Environmental Protection Agency. In fact, tiny Guatemala was the fifth-largest importer worldwide between 2001–2003 of Class I (meaning the most toxic) pesticides. Should Dowdall and Klotz update, translate, and publish the text in Guatemala

(and I hope they will) with some additional investigative journalism about the specific pesticides to which people are being exposed, it could help raise interest in the organic cooperative's new CSA (community supported agriculture) model called a weekly "Bag of Eco-Vegetables," among the other useful sustainable solutions suggested in the conclusion.

Fredrik Barth: An Intellectual Biography by Thomas Hylland Eriksen.

London: Pluto, 2015. 224 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12715

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With the announcement of Fredrik Barth's recent death on January 24, 2016, many of us were moved to reflect on the enormous contribution that he made to our discipline. Barth (1928–2016) was one of the most influential anthropologists of the past half-century. Fortunately, Thomas Hylland Eriksen has provided a timely and essential guide to those contributions. Eriksen is probably the person best situated to write this admirable intellectual biography and accomplishes the task with elegance and balance, giving attention to Barth's critics as well as to the generative models of this prodigious ethnographer, whose commitment to varied field research was legendary.

Eriksen contends that Barth's contributions to anthropology rank along with those of Marshall Sahlins, Eric Wolf, and Clifford Geertz in the US; Mary Douglas and Jack Goody in the UK; and Maurice Godelier and Claude Lévi-Strauss in France. Barth helped cultivate an impressive anthropological establishment in his native Norway and became a central figure in world anthropology both through his extensive ethnographic fieldwork and his meticulous theorizing as a "generative processualist." Central to Barth's theorizing, according to Eriksen, is the importance of making observations. Eriksen describes all of Barth's many field research projects and the part that each played in the development of his framework. While Barth is frequently thought of as an exponent of British social anthropology, he took a different path than neo-Durkheimians like Mary Douglas or social drama theorists like Victor Turner. Eriksen explores the importance of Barth's early exposure to anthropology as a student at the University of Chicago, where his teachers included Robert Braidwood, Lloyd Warner, Robert Redfield, and Fred Eggan.

Eriksen divides the book into two main sections: Part I, "A Man of Action," and Part II, "An Anthropology of

Knowledge." The first section gives insight into Barth's development of a robust ethnographic practice, focusing on behavior. Barth developed an action-centered approach, generative processualism, which has sometimes been attacked as methodological individualism. Eriksen is fair to both Barth and the critics by explaining the intentions and concerns of both. The "Man of Action" section addresses the areas of behavior that Barth pioneered: the egalitarianism of nomadic groups, the resourcefulness of entrepreneurs, and the manipulation of boundaries in ethnicity. Barth favored an actor-centered approach to the system-centered explanations of the structural functionalists.

Part II, "An Anthropology of Knowledge," focuses on the later fieldwork and new themes, starting with the Baktaman of New Guinea. The fundamental premise of a Barthian anthropology of knowledge is that "what you see depends not only what you are looking at, but what you are looking with" (p. 164). This exploration engaged him in issues of cultural complexity, scale, and variability in another series of field trips.

While Eriksen emphasizes the trajectory of Barth's ethnographic experience and theoretical development, he also gives attention to significant events in Barth's personal life, such as the importance of his experience under the German occupation of Norway during WWII, his time teaching in the US, and his marriage to anthropologist Unni Wikan. Eriksen also gives us insight into the academic politics in Norwegian and British universities as they impinged on Barth's career.

Eriksen's book, unlike some in this genre, will be useful as a text in anthropological theory courses. Rather than assuming a good command of the history of theory, the author not only explains Barth's thinking but also provides a serviceable explanation of other theories. Eriksen, for example, notes that Barth was familiar with Gregory Bateson's work on schismogenesis and provides an overview of the concept as well as birth and death years for Bateson. Students would find this helpful in making sense of the intellectual history of the period. Eriksen fails

to carry through in only one instance—he could have more fully clarified the difference between the processualisms of Barth and Victor Turner. Fortunately, the book is an excellent bibliographic resource and includes a complete list of Barth's books, journal articles, newspaper articles, and reports.

In the final chapter, "Between Art and Science," the author contends that Barth learned something "at a personal level" from each of his field experiences and that this influenced his humanistic perspective. His theorizing was mostly at a middle range rather than grand theory. While he

was instrumental in building a distinguished department at the University of Bergen, he was not an empire builder in the sense of wanting to attract a school of slavishly devoted students. Eriksen makes a persuasive case for the importance of Barth in Norwegian society, both as a public intellectual, known from documentaries, newspaper articles, and public presentations, and as an inspiration for the expansion of anthropology as a popular university subject. "Relative to the population (5 million)," Eriksen writes, "Norway arguably has more anthropologists than any other country. The answer to this conundrum is simple: Fredrik Barth" (p. 197).

The Moroccan Women's Rights Movement by Amy Young Evrard.

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Amy Young Evrard's *The Moroccan Women's Rights Movement* is an ethnography of the national and transnational dynamics that mediate the work of the women's rights movement in contemporary Morocco. The book is based on fieldwork conducted in the early 2000s among a wide range of mostly urban women's rights activists of different generations, political orientations, backgrounds, and trajectories. The book highlights the heterogeneity, breadth, and dynamism of the Moroccan women's rights movement while complicating its relationship to transnational feminist rights discourses. The book makes significant contributions to the anthropology of feminism, activism, and rights in Morocco as well as, more generally, to studies of the Middle East and North Africa. It will be of great use to undergraduate classes in anthropology, feminist and gender studies, and Middle Eastern and Islamic studies.

In her ethnography, Evrard dehomogenizes the women's rights movement by highlighting the diverse positionalities of its activists. In chapter 1, she focuses on well-established and professionalized feminist organizations, as well as small neighborhood and volunteer-based associations that operate with barely any means (p. 43). She introduces us to longtime activists and founders of the women's rights movement, who came out of leftist and human rights movements, and to more recent recruits, who became politicized through the services that they received from women's rights organizations or their salaried employment within them. In doing so, Evrard seeks to challenge the claim that all women's rights activists are elitist and disconnected from their society.

In chapter 2, she de-emphasizes the Western genealogy of the Moroccan women's movement's focus on rights by situating it within a complex national and transnational nexus that includes the monarchy and political parties as well as international agencies and external funders. She argues that "while external funders certainly shape the movement, one cannot say that the movement is financially bound to it" (p. 136). Furthermore, she suggests that "showing the maneuverability and action of associations and individuals around and outside of this funding is an important step in understanding the women's rights movement's relationship to external funders" (p. 136).

In chapters 3 through 5, Evrard argues that the Moroccan women's rights movement "has attempted to link transnational feminist discourses with local realities and understandings of women's place within the family and society" (p. 138). She also describes just how receptive rural, working-class, poor, and other disenfranchised young girls and women are to critiques of injustice and inequality when they are articulated in local terms. In doing so, she not only illustrates her overarching argument about the vernacularizing of transnational rights discourse, she also de-exceptionalizes the Moroccan women's rights movement by showing that critiques of inequality and injustice are by no means the monopoly of those who have been fashioned or conscripted by the so-called universal language of rights.

In chapter 5, she introduces us to what she calls the "harmonious family" frame. This new way of talking about rights reflects the growing realization among activists that most women "wish to pursue legal reform and their own rights in order to help their families and improve their status within the family" rather than to out of a commitment to the autonomous self (p. 48). She argues that the emergence of this frame "demonstrates that the Moroccan women's

rights movement is not only localizing transnational feminist frames but also developing new frames that fit the specifics of Morocco today” (p. 264); that women’s rights activists are seeking to convince women and the larger public of the goals of their movement; that they are educating themselves about the realities of Moroccan women’s lives; and that this reflects the responsiveness, dynamism, and capaciousness of their movement (pp. 264–265). What this suggests is that the language of universal rights has been a major obstacle to the success of the Moroccan women’s movement and that it has taken activists decades to start decolonizing their movement. While this is not a line of argument that Evrard explicitly pursues in her book, I would suggest that it is one of the more significant implications of her material.

Toward the end of her book, Evrard also discusses how the new “harmonious family” frame is viewed with

trepidation by some women’s rights activists because it risks diluting their distinctiveness from Islamist activists who have always privileged similar vernacular discourses (pp. 250–265). What this suggests is that the language of rights not only enables women’s rights activists to assume their difference from the mostly disenfranchised “beneficiaries” that they seek to educate and liberate, it also enables them to enact an exclusionary politics toward women activists of different persuasions who do not invoke the universalizing language of rights in the same way. While Evrard ends her book with the hope that new vernacular frames will enable greater cooperation between secular and Islamist activists and, in doing so, implicitly acknowledges the divisive effects of transnational rights discourse, one wishes that she had made her material speak back to the normative claims and tragic effects of transnational rights discourse in more a more explicit manner.

The Anti-Witch by Jeanne Favret-Saada.

Matthew Carey, trans. Chicago: HAU, 2015. 232 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12761

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To appreciate this book is to recognize its context. Its appearance for French readers signaled the expectant return of a scholar who had taken different paths in the thirty-odd years since the publication of her *Les Mots, la Mort, les Sorts (Deadly Words)* (Favret-Saada 1980). The publication of *Désorceler (The Anti-Witch)* did not transform the terms by which anthropology worked, it simply brought together essays on witchcraft in the Bocage countryside from Favret-Saada’s 1969–1972 fieldwork, which had appeared in various forms from 1983 to 1991, with a “Prélude” written in 2009. Still, it was exciting to return to the Bocage—and, for some of us, to return to an author who drew us to anthropology in the first place. If *The Anti-Witch* forms a path to *Deadly Words* for new readers, then its value is unambiguous. In other respects, it is less so. Despite its apparent exactitude, the chapters cover the same ground again and again, which is to be expected of standalone essays. In a monograph presumably meant to be read as such, the chapters seem unaware of one another.

Method is at stake, and for Favret-Saada, method is being affected. She says as much. Participant-observation is for her more than an oxymoron; it is an ontological claim founded upon empirical selectiveness, failing to account for the “intensities” that pass between subjects, so much so that language and memory are often forfeit in the

encounter only to be recovered in later moments (p. 105). Her anthropology of therapy recognizes the misguided tendency to reduce “dewitching” to simple behavioral therapy (p. 89). She is not concerned with a new therapeutic nomenclature but with the delicate scaffold of relations through which intensities pass. Still, it is one thing to out-mode psychoanalysis and quite another to operate outside its frame.

Take a claim: if *The Anti-Witch* keeps “a dream of ethnography as theory alive in these troubled times” (p. xv), as Veena Das suggests in her foreword to the English-language edition, it is a dream mired by unresolved transference and countertransference despite efforts to shake these terms for the sake of some form of therapy that anthropology ostensibly offers. How else do we acknowledge Favret-Saada’s disdain, or at least the fraught relationship between anthropologist-analysand and dewitcher-analyst? Favret-Saada’s ire toward her primary interlocutor and dewitcher, Madame Flora, deserves comment—“of course” her interpretation of French Cartomancy “bears strictly no relation” to the intricate symbolism and mythology of the cards and instead relies on “figurative interpretations” of pending or previous violence (p. 60). Favret-Saada’s irony mocks the conceit of a Parisian readership more than her dewitcher, but, throughout, Madame Flora’s ignorance and hyperbole are relished a bit too much—a joke turned unkind, a mirror of unacknowledged resentments formed between Favret-Saada as anthropologist and Favret-Saada as patient-client, or maybe this is simply the price one pays for intimacy.

Witches are frequently neighbors, or so we are told (p. 93). Farmers are struck by misfortune; they succumb to a vital, anonymous force. Favret-Saada battles malevolent, unnamed foes as well. Too many fights, however, happen off the page, and as readers we find ourselves searching all on our own for the distinction between corrosive misunderstandings and other occult powers. In the time since her fieldwork in the Bocage, have no others struggled with the quality and stakes of the anthropological encounter that might merit acknowledgment?

Despite my own affinity, there is something about “being affected” that is amiss. One cannot have it both ways. If sarcasm is an analytic strategy, if it acts as protection and seeks to outpace the prejudice of a certain readership, then where does all the closeness of affective intensity (encounters that cause amnesias and tangle words and passions) go? Are there not forces in writing that churn other affects as well? A text is a product (and the 1990 text with Josée Contreras from ch. 4 offers a different tone in its earlier form, surely here a decision made between author and translator). This is not a defense of the peasant-dewitcher but a

defense against a caricature of anthropology: an invocation of my own resentments toward any system that attempts to insulate itself from corruptibility but lacks self-awareness. Besides, we all have histories and hatreds that need accounting.

Take an author—if not writing in a different voice, she is writing now with a decidedly different tone, perhaps bolder, and with the passage of time, more crass. Should the anthropologist take heed of wisdom offered by an earlier self? Or should she recognize that she is in another moment—indeed one filled with the words of others? “When total war is being waged with words, one must make up one’s mind to engage in another kind of ethnography” (Favret-Saada 1980:12). Perhaps the task here is to put words to that other kind of ethnography rather than deepening the violence of self-possession.

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1980 *Deadly Words: Witchcraft in the Bocage*. Catherine Cullen, trans. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Last Project Standing: Civics and Sympathy in Post-Welfare Chicago by Catherine Fennell.

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015. 320 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12754

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Catherine Fennell’s ethnography, *Last Project Standing*, seeks to understand public housing redevelopment in postwelfare Chicago through the lenses of civics and sympathy. Rather than focusing only on continued inequality and displacement, she works to understand how “an ambitious effort to demolish and rebuild troubled projects also became one to rebuild residents as the kinds of citizens who would prove capable of caring for themselves and their families and neighbors” (p. 6). She analyzes how the process embodied “aspirations to move past the entrenched and fraught social divides . . . associated with race and class” and “how some Chicagoans collided with changing public housing in ways that taught them to ‘feel with’ each other and in the process to hope for the realization of a political idea . . . [of] ‘One from many’” (pp. 6–7). Throughout, she discusses how these efforts also required the “‘demolition’ of dispositions, sentiments, and commitments built over many years of living in public housing” and how efforts to create sympathy often failed to create a more cohesive and caring community (pp. 7–8).

Throughout this perceptive, sensitive, and nuanced ethnography, Fennell works with the ideas of “sympathy,” a “communicative mechanism whose subscribers invest it with the capacity to extend feelings, qualities, and visceral states across very different entities” (p. 7), and “civics,” efforts to educate public housing residents in an attempt to help them integrate into the larger society by teaching responsibility, in part by putting them into close contact with middle-class citizens. Fennell traces both the successes and failures of these experiments.

After detailing the history of Chicago’s Westside public housing projects and the plans for their redevelopment that emerged in the mid-1990s and after situating herself as a researcher, the book is divided into three parts. In part 1 (ch. 2), Fennell traces the profound harm visited on public housing residents who lived with the decay of their homes despite their best efforts at maintaining their buildings and apartments. She then moves, in chapter 3, to a discussion of “project heat” (i.e., the intense heat provided for free along with rent) and how residents viewed themselves as accustomed to this heat to such a degree that they craved it when moving to their new apartments. After relocation, former residents were required to establish their own utility accounts and were encouraged to discipline themselves to

use less energy. Fennell traces the failures of this process and how residents' intense desire to recreate "project heat" brought "financial and physical destruction that endangered residents, their families, and their neighbors" (p. 103). At the same time, however, a new politics emerged, with residents organizing to expand and protect their access to utilities. Although this section of the book was extremely interesting and provided an important analysis and critique of the politics surrounding heat, it was unclear what the practical effects, if any, of this politics were. I would have appreciated more discussion on this point.

The second section of the book takes up the theme of "civics." In chapter 4, Fennell examines the uncertainties and anxieties created in the new mixed-income development of Westhaven. She discusses tensions over different patterns of public sociability, struggles over preferences for socializing "out front" or "in back," and efforts to curb crime through a strict division between public and private space as well as the surveillance that accompanied these efforts. In chapter 5, Fennell turns to "the cause industry" and examines the work of "grassroots" and "community" organizations that were called upon to sustain families and the larger community in the aftermath of welfare reform. She traces how leaders distributed the external resources that flowed into the community, all the while contending with accusations that they were acting as "poverty pimps"—

accusations that strained, and often tore, social and kin networks.

The third and final section of the book focuses on early supporters of efforts to create a public housing museum, which, it was hoped, would create a sympathetic public and give Chicagoans who had no connections to public housing access to the struggles and resilience of residents (the project was not completed as of the publication of this book and the museum is not open to the public). The overall goal was to compel potential visitors to see public housing as relevant to their lives and, through contact with decaying buildings and the stories of former residents, to think about poverty differently and to take action to address this pressing problem. It was hoped that visitors would see themselves as profoundly like public housing residents yet living lives that were profoundly different due to structural inequalities such as "racism's influence on housing policy . . . or the relationship between urban crime and disinvestment" (p. 227).

This is an excellent, timely, and nuanced ethnography that moves beyond the more familiar analysis of postwelfare urban inequalities to discuss well-intentioned, if ultimately unsuccessful (and perhaps naive), efforts toward building a more inclusive society. It is a valuable addition to the literature about urban poverty, urban planning, and the politics of race and class in the contemporary United States.

Reconciling and Rehumanizing Indigenous-Settler Relations: An Applied Anthropological Perspective by Nadia Ferrara.

Lanham: Lexington, 2015. 182 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12742

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Reconciliation is a multifaceted approach to the predicament of nation-states whose founding and ongoing legitimacy rest on colonialism and the appropriation of indigenous peoples' lands. In Canada, the context for Nadia Ferrara's book, reconciliation premised on notions of dialogue and mutual understanding has been celebrated as a promising "way forward" to address the persistent grievances of indigenous peoples while inclusively building the country's character and prosperity. In this vein, Ferrara presents reconciliation as an objective to be realized primarily through the transformation of the affective interpersonal relations between indigenous and nonindigenous persons. This "re-humanization" of each other, accomplished through the personal growth of empathy and compassion and taken up in individual relationships, is foundational to the coexistence

and social reconstruction necessary for reconciliation to occur.

Ferrara relates this message through a personal narrative of three decades working with indigenous communities, first as a practicing art therapist and then as a civil servant in the federal government. The book provides a frank reflection on the inner transfiguration of a nonindigenous clinician-cum-functionary who has creatively plied herself to the relational commitments expected of intervening outsiders by indigenous communities. Presented through an eclectic assemblage of anecdotes and recollections, Ferrara translates her cathartic individuated efforts to build trust with therapy patients into her performance implementing policy with indigenous communities. The book provides a window into the world of a self-described bureaucrat who perceives herself as an advocate for indigenous people and who views them as individuals contextualized by cultural systems and a history of colonization.

Also shown are the limits of this perspective to critically question the systems within which the author operates

and that sustain ongoing colonialism. For example, Ferrara laments the paternalistic environment of her government work but does not critique its patriarchal roots. She instead describes teaching her colleagues to be more compassionate through cultural competency training. The book also illustrates the shortcomings of compartmentalizing indigenous injustices to the past as an approach to reconciliation. Ferrara's genuine compassion is undercut by shades of sentimentality and what can come across as a form of heroism some have referred to as "white savior complex." For example, her attempt to share how her Italian immigrant heritage informs her values of inclusiveness instead appears to absolve her of the responsibility of colonization. This sets the tone of the book, relegating colonialism to the past actions and policies of other settlers. "Understanding history" becomes a central tenet of the book's "rehumanizing" theme, but it frames indigenous peoples as misunderstood and colonialism as merely a historical backdrop for the contemporary "crises" and self-determination occurring in indigenous communities. The ways in which indigenous peoples' dehumanization is bound up in the legitimacy of the contemporary Canadian state and the privileges Canadians are meant to enjoy is taken out of the equation. Jarring phrasing, such as "our First Nations" (p. 85), "my research contributed to decolonizing the Crees" (p. 9), "we cannot resolve the injustices of the past, nor are we responsible for the decisions made in the past" (p. 107), and extolling the value of indigenous people's knowledge in terms of potential benefits to settlers unfortunately sound like appropriation or recolonization and make this book a problematic read. Ferrara's apparent unawareness of the implications of her own practice as a colonial

strategy in the chapters describing her role in policy implementation is most disheartening. The sincerity and honesty with which she approaches her work also seems to have served to try to bring indigenous peoples into alignment with the strategies of the conservative government under which an extensive portion of her career unfolded.

The book is not conversant with the scholarship that problematizes reconciliation for obfuscating the structural violence and political asymmetry of indigenous-state relations. Critics highlight the limitations of reconciliation, which reduces the accountability of the state to a problem of individual attitudinal change, crosses out colonialism as a mistake of the past, and makes decolonization a matter of accommodating cultural revitalization. Pledging to revolutionize relationships while maintaining a status quo that reinforces the authority of the colonial state over indigenous nations falls short of grappling with substantive political transformation and diminishes indigenous sovereignty. Educating and changing settler attitudes may provide some foundations for structural transformation. However, this cannot be divorced from the limits of state engagement in reconciliation around indigenous assertions of nationhood.

Ethnographers and clinicians working with indigenous communities will find resonance in Ferrara's account of the personal challenges and transformative nature of current practice. Contemporary personal narratives relevant to applied environments are hard to come by, and if read in the context of broader scholarly literatures on reconciliation, this book may be useful in indigenous studies classes and some applied programs in which students will go on to careers in government.

US Military Bases and Anti-Military Organizing: An Ethnography of an Air Force Base in Ecuador by Erin Fitz-Henry.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 249 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12708

Eyal Ben-Ari

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This important ethnography by Erin Fitz-Henry, lecturer in Anthropology and Development Studies at the University of Melbourne, deals with the militarization of the United States and the global expansion of its "empire." Set against the background of the rapid spread of the country's myriad security facilities around the world as part of the official "Global War on Terror," this sophisticated and readable ethnography focuses on the city of Manta, Ecuador, where a US Air Force base is located. Fitz-Henry sketches and analyzes the ways

in which this forward operating base was opposed and supported by locals and outsiders and how a variety of actors in Manta's communities perceived, understood, and justified a US presence in their country and city.

The book is less a sustained study of the Air Force base (as promised by the title) as an answer to a question hitherto little explored in the scholarly literature on anti-base activism: Namely, how does one account for the failure of the anti-base movement despite the support of a sympathetic national government and the participation of national and international activists? This is an important question because, as Fitz-Henry persuasively shows, it shifts our scholarly attention to the ways in which most local actors rejected the anti-base movement. As such, and in contrast to much

of the work carried out previously by US-based scholars, it provides a rich, empirically based analysis of the failure of the transnational movement working against the spread of US military (and security) installations around the globe. Moreover, and no less crucially, Fitz-Henry does not treat local actors as “dupes” blinded by false consciousness; instead, she writes with respect for their opinions and voices. In this sense, this is a gem of an anthropological work that, while politically committed, is sensitive to the logic of local arguments and justifications.

The volume is well written, theoretically sophisticated, and full of insights, and it importantly provides the voices of many locals. It is based on fieldwork carried out during the first decade of the 2000s although, as Fitz-Henry relates, it provides relatively little of the actual voices of the anti-base activists. Fitz-Henry’s argument is that most local actors in Manta were alienated from the messages propagated by these activists: instead of seeing the activists as coalition partners, they saw them as similar to other national and international elites arriving to intervene in their communities; instead of seeing the US forward air base as one expression of global US militarization, they scaled it down to a local issue. Along these lines, a central element that Fitz-Henry hints at but does not fully develop centers on the class interests of the transnational activists belonging to what Saskia Sassen calls a “global class” comprising cosmopolitan actors. Given their class position, it seems that such activists not only have their own interests and worldviews but also that their positions in effect cut them off from many local actors who may have had similar political opinions.

Apart from an introduction and a conclusion, the volume comprises five chapters. The introductory chapter sets out the setting of the study and Fitz-Henry’s position in the field, including the kinds of social relations established

with local actors. Chapter 2 describes the historical involvement of the US military in Ecuador and provides the wider background for the rest of the volume. Chapter 3 analyzes how the US military presence in Manta was domesticated by the base’s officials and locals by being labeled as no more than part of the Ecuadorian military camp and thus as not “foreign.” Chapter 4, the most fascinating in the volume, shows the scale-making practices used by military officers, local actors, and transnational activists. By these practices, Manta’s US Air Force base was variously framed as global, national, or local. Such a perspective allows the author to demonstrate very convincingly how previous studies of social movements have not fully accounted for different scales of action and interpretations. Chapter 5 shows how the military participation in local endeavors such as charity work was formulated as civilian rather than military action. Chapter 6, again an insightful one, shows how critical debates about sovereignty in relation to the US base, while accepted by locals, were again retooled and rescaled to fit their worldview and understandings. The final conclusion draws the arguments together and suggests some wider implications of the volume.

The book is written from the perspective of an activist-anthropologist, and Fitz-Henry is clear about her own political (US-based researchers would probably use the label “ethical”) proclivities, but her excellent volume does not devolve into a righteous tone characterizing some recent studies of the military and militarization. Thus, to her great credit and disciplinary professionalism, Fitz-Henry does a superb job of bringing out the full complexity of the social and cultural circumstances of Manta. For any anthropologist concerned with global and national issues of militarism and militarization, this is an important and timely volume.

Out to Work: Migration, Gender, and the Changing Lives of Rural Women in Contemporary China by Arianne M. Gaetano.

Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015. 184 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12801

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Out to Work: Migration, Gender, and the Changing Lives of Rural Women in Contemporary China offers readers a close look at the experiences of young women who left their home villages in the 1990s and early 2000s to find work in Beijing as domestic workers and hotel housekeepers. Drawing on ethnographic data collected over a period of more than ten years in Beijing and the key informants’ villages, Arianne M.

Gaetano convincingly reveals how gender, the rural–urban divide, and the nature of work intimately and powerfully shape the lives of migrant women, producing unique sets of opportunities and challenges for them.

The book’s central question is whether or not labor migration benefits young rural women in China and promotes greater gender equality. By examining these women’s motivation to migrate, their process of migration, and their work experiences and conditions in the city, Gaetano shows that outmigration does indeed empower Chinese women and advance gender equality. It creates opportunities for these young women to make money, to obtain social recog-

dition and respect, to form extended social networks, and to exercise greater control over matters of dating, marriage, and family. However, the author also argues that individual women's empowerment is not without its limitations: the struggles these women undergo to advance their interests may contradict the goal of gender equality and at times even reinforce and perpetuate existing gender normativity and sociospatial inequality.

In chapters 1 and 2, Gaetano skillfully situates her analysis of young women's motivations to migrate within not just China's macrohistorical context but also at the mesolevel of the intrahousehold dynamics and the microlevel of the women's individual biographies and personalities. She correctly points out that young women's decisions to migrate should be understood as more than simply a response to poverty or to the state's developmental needs. Rather, decisions to migrate are largely made on the basis of noneconomic considerations. Aversion to rural conditions and farming, the lingering patrilineal and patrilocal marriage and family systems, and aspirations for personal growth and adventure in the city all contribute to motives for these young women to migrate. The outmigration of massive numbers of young Chinese women is not necessarily a feminist gesture of rebellion against "traditional" female roles in the rural community. Instead, the motivation to migrate is shaped within the context of household and family gender roles.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 demonstrate the specific strategies used by the women to ensure their journey to the city, to secure employment, to survive demanding and exploitative working environments, and to integrate into urban life through consumption and tourism. Gaetano attends exceptionally well to the nuances of power and agency. She observes, for example, that the social stigma associated with domestic work and hotel housekeeping renders these jobs extremely unregulated and exploitive. However, the relationship between employers and migrant women

workers is more complicated than one of exploiters and submissive victims. On the one hand, migrant women can strategically sacrifice their autonomy to meet employer expectations in exchange for respect and favor in the workplace. But when such strategies are not successful, the women often refuse to be docile and submissive and protest or resist by quitting the job. On the other hand, the emotional labor done by domestic workers can occasionally engender strong bonds of affection between employers and workers that transcend class differences.

The book is especially exciting when it spans the women's life courses, from early adulthood through courtship, marriage, childbirth, and family formation. Chapter 6 documents shifts in the life trajectories of a few key informants, examining the agency and power of these young migrant women in courtship and marriage as well as their postmarital experiences. The section about migrant women's postmarital lives is especially intriguing, as it illuminates migration as a process and shows how the identities of migrant women are transformed as they move from being young single "working sisters" (*dagongmei*) to becoming wives and mothers. Although some of the women seem to assume traditional feminine roles in their postmarital lives in order to accommodate the needs of their nuclear families, Gaetano ably shows that these should be understood not as capitulation but as creative strategies the women employ to maximize the household income and secure their family's future against great odds.

Overall, this is a beautifully written and highly readable book. It provides careful analysis and nuanced understanding of migrant women's lives and work. I also appreciate the "summary" section at the end of each chapter, which caters to the needs of college students and a broader set of readers. I highly recommend this book to anyone who is interested in gender, labor, migration studies, women's studies, rural-urban relations, and China's changing society.

A Century of Violence in a Red City: Popular Struggle, Counterinsurgency, and Human Rights in Colombia by Lesley Gill.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2016. 304 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12773

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A Century of Violence in a Red City focuses on the city of Barrancabermeja in Colombia's Middle Magdalena, an oil industry enclave since 1919, when the Colombian government granted a concession for the extraction of oil to the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and its subsidiary, the Tropical

Oil Company (TROCO), setting the stage for the consolidation of the country's most powerful labor movement. True to the book's title, the author describes 100 years of Barrancabermeja's political, social, and economic history, marked by frequent periods of political violence and armed conflict. This *longue durée* analysis of regional history not only provides valuable information on the labor movement and the history of popular struggles in Barrancabermeja but also shines a light on a century of violence in the country.

In its seven chapters, the book walks us through a number of well-demarked periods, beginning with the establishment in the 1920s of the *Unión Sindical Obrera* (USO)—the country’s most powerful petroleum workers’ union. The USO was officially recognized in 1934 in the context of an emergent Communist Party and adopted a nationalist and anti-imperialist agenda, focusing on the refusal of TROCO to abide by national labor legislation. In the following decades, a broader social movement grew up around the USO, demanding popular power and the nationalization of the oil industry, but it “never became strong enough . . . to create an independent political party to champion the cause of radical nationalism and working-class politics on a national scale” (p. 58).

Since the 1970s, many authors have ignored class analysis and class struggle as the motor of popular mobilization in favor of a theory of new social movements. In focusing on a city and an economy driven by the oil industry, however, author Lesley Gill never loses sight of her focus on class as her principal analytical category. This is the book’s greatest contribution. Rather than any “end of class,” what is at stake is the making and unmaking of class relations, a process marked by violence against trade unionists that suppressed the discourse of class as a defining framework for popular demands and undermined the capacity to reproduce working-class culture. She stresses the agency and resistance of trade unionists, activists, and city councilors despite relentless and violent political persecution.

In 1951, TROCO’s concession reverted to the newly formed and state-owned National Petroleum Company (ECOPETROL), coinciding with the immigration to the city of thousands of peasants displaced by violence and the growth of a popular movement under the leadership of USO unionists, who in the 1960s constituted a small labor “elite,” working full time under enviable conditions for Ecopetrol at a time when such conditions were the exception, to say the least. Despite their privileged position, unionized workers chose not to stand apart from the rest of the population. On the contrary, they played a fundamental role in galvanizing the civic strikes in demand of public services that peaked

in the 1970s. A newly formed leadership body called the Barrancabermeja Popular Coordinator “expanded the geography of working-class power by connecting peasants, oil workers and migrants to a broader field of organization, struggle, and solidarity,” which made a “collective politics” able to sustain individual lives through the experience of social solidarity (p. 85).

The paramilitaries of the Bloque Central Bolívar arrived in the mid-1990s, and working in alliance with the police and the armed forces, they carried out a counterinsurgency strategy that included the persecution, killing, and disappearance of political and social movement leaders as well as other members of the community, accusing them of being guerrilla collaborators. This assault fractured social networks and destroyed unions, peasant associations, and political parties, overlaying political processes with so much violence that self-interested individualism replaced the collective politics that had been constructed over time.

In addition, Gill examines the situation of workers at the Coca-Cola bottling plant to connect political violence to neoliberalism through the affinity of multinational corporations with the paramilitaries through “gangster capitalism,” which led to precarious employment and widespread insecurity, an extreme form of armed neoliberalism that amounted to accumulation by dispossession (p. 97).

Finally, Gill argues that, after decades of political violence, a focus on human rights became the central category for political practice and demands. But the essentially liberal human rights discourse obscured histories of class conflict and mobilization, depoliticizing the working-class struggle and decontextualizing the abuses suffered by victims. In addition, political and criminal violence became so intertwined that it was relatively easy to dismiss deaths of political leaders as “nonpolitical.” Fragmented memory, low-intensity disorder, and new forms of exclusion and difference rather than new relations of solidarity are the result of long-term violence. The abiding question is how does one achieve an everyday life worth living—one that goes beyond mere daily existence—when fear, uncertainty, and mistrust have become embedded into social life?

On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City by Alice Goffman.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. 288 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12755

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Reminiscent of the great ethnographic works on minority urban life by Elijah Anderson, Jay MacLeod, and William

Whyte, Alice Goffman’s *On the Run* takes readers through a rich and, at times, fantastical description of the struggles that black Americans living in Philadelphia continue to face. Particularly, Goffman’s seven years of intimate participant-observation leads to a timely testament of the tensions between the black community and the US criminal justice system. This book also provides an important contribution

to scholars wanting to better understand the connection between young black men finding themselves under constant surveillance by law enforcement and high rates of distrust, brutality, and recidivism. Moreover, these young men spend most of their lives afraid, running, and hiding, with little hope of a way out of this deadlock.

To achieve these feats, Goffman provides seven in-depth chapters describing the struggles of living on the run. In chapter 1, Goffman begins by describing the lives and legal entanglements many young black men face living on “6th Street.” Goffman finds that almost all of the young men she observed have faced the criminal justice system several times by standing trial, going to prison, and dealing with ludicrous probation sanctions. Chapter 2 represents an important contribution by discussing the social consequences of being labeled and tracked as a criminal. As the chapter is appropriately titled “The Art of Running,” the reader learns about the details of evading arrest, warrants, and probation. In chapters 3 and 4, Goffman provides great insight into how fugitive life affects their communities. Chapter 3 chiefly stands out because it demonstrates the role that mothers, girlfriends, and peers play in protecting and assisting (“riding” versus “snitching”) men in avoiding capture or ending up in prison. These chapters also point out why there is such disdain and disrespect that exists between highly policed black communities and the police. Chapter 5 is theoretically interesting in that it documents the routinization of life predicated by crime and controlled by the criminal justice system, based on community members’ constant interaction with court proceedings and imprisonment. The final chapter, titled “Clean People,” gives a glimpse into the lives of people in this community who are not on the run. While too brief, it demonstrates that crime and those criminalized are toxic, even to those not in its direct path.

Despite the great revelations this book could provide to anyone wanting to better understand the links between crime, community, and the US criminal justice system, it falls short in theoretical relevance. First and most importantly, there are no theoretical explanations of Goffman’s findings. Although ethnographies often are about a new exploration of empirical gems, this topic of young black men as criminals being hunted is not new to the social science world. At no time does Goffman discuss what might ex-

plain the actions of her participants or provide her opinion regarding this community as a systematic example of a country structurally divided by race, class, and gender in the 21st century. This may be because Goffman began this project as an undergraduate and never fully realized the implications of what she would find. In the wrong hands, this monograph could be considered as supporting the necessity for the prominent racial profiling of black men as truly “deviant” and “nothing but thugs.” However, scholarship on race and crime plainly demonstrates that, as Michelle Alexander (2010) has penned, black men live in a new era of Jim Crow racism.

The book also suffers empirically. As a scholar or student, one should read the entirety of the book, including the footnotes, endnotes, and appendix. In fact, the appendix should be read first before diving into the guts of the book so as not to question Goffman’s empirical intentions. For example, Goffman seemed to only focus on the lives of three men, and very few other voices, stories, or data from other black men come through to make a solid argument. It is also odd that some of the data was collected by the participants under study, and the reason for this was never fully addressed. More importantly, Goffman struggles in understanding how being a white and wealthy woman would affect her study and interpretations. It almost seems as though she forgets her privilege and the need for research ethics because of her deep personal relationships with the participants.

Even with these criticisms, the book could be used with caution. As an instructor of a criminology or a criminal justice course, one could see the book as a riveting read for students, but it would need significant deconstructing and further contextualization. In addition, a research methods instructor could use it to explain the trials and tribulations of ethnographic research when privilege and politics influence results. Finally, the scholarship can be used as yet another example of structural racism in the US criminal justice system that has yet to change, despite the rallying cries of the Black Lives Matter movement.

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Dancing to Learn: The Brain's Cognition, Emotion, and Movement by Judith Lynne Hanna.

Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015. 230 pp.

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Dancing to Learn: The Brain's Cognition, Emotion, and Movement is primarily a work of research-based dance advocacy. Judith Lynne Hanna collects wide evidence of the benefits of exercise and dance, especially from neuropsychology, to make the case that dance is “exercise plus” —“plus” cognition and emotion (p. xi, 16ff). Strongly targeted to increase public support of dance in primary and secondary education in the United States, the chapters of the book explore the neuroscience of dance, dance education practices, the variety of dance, evidence of the effects of dance and exercise in education, and the benefits of participation for a wide range of people. Hanna's advocacy is clear: she insists in one chapter that dance “leaves no one behind” and encourages the reluctant, hoping that “a sensitive teacher or friend may help the recalcitrant move into dance” (p. xix).

In other words, an anthropologist reading this book will, at times, feel that the author is addressing a different audience. Although the work draws on anthropology, the engagement with ethnographic cases is secondary to the primary goal and sometimes superficial. The objective is clear when, near the end, Hanna writes about her ambitions for the book: “perhaps readers who have held dance in low esteem have divested themselves of this opinion and attend to the potential of dance, the experienced, seen, and unseen brain choreography” (p. 169). An intellectual chip on the shoulder, the sense that dance is disparaged, shapes the book. At the same time that it is primarily intended as an intervention in public debate about dance and physical education, the book may introduce the anthropology of dance to a broader audience.

In some cases, Hanna's use of dance-related research can be uncritical, especially if the data can be construed as supporting the value of dance; for example, Hanna repeatedly discusses the communicative power of dance with reference to *Science's* “Dance Your Dissertation” contest without ever acknowledging or even discussing the symbolic complexity of the actual videos that are submitted or the way that the contest arose (including elements of humor and self-satire). She seldom discusses the findings of psychological or neuro-

science research in any detail but simply lifts the conclusions to support her arguments.

That said, Hanna's review of the extant literature on the neurological impacts of dance specifically and exercise more broadly is wide reaching. It suffers in places from a lack of depth, but the range of material she draws on may be very persuasive to her imagined reader, skeptical about the importance of dance in education. As a review of the literature, readers will notice issues. For example, Hanna repeatedly refers to neurons as “atoms” of thinking, and the metaphor of the brain “lighting up” probably gets used more than necessary (and it has long earned retirement from popular neuroscience.) As a researcher interested in the intersection of neuroscience and anthropology, I was disappointed that the book did not include critical engagement with brain-based research; at times the author added neurological vocabulary or references to arguments that could just have easily been made without reference to the brain. If anything, the tangential deployment of neuroscience may detract from the arguments for a specialist audience, especially if the use is questionable or references a controversial claim (for example, uncritically discussing the many alleged functions of “mirror neurons”). At times, the neuroscience appears to be used in an almost metaphoric fashion: because a theorist calls dance a “language,” neuroscientific findings on language use can be incorporated without caveats (pp. 26–27). Neuroplasticity and bodily flexibility in dance are routinely equated.

The many examples that Hanna reviews of dance education programs are one of the most valuable resources in the book, and a reader interested in examples of dance-integrated learning will find leads on exciting pilots and thriving dance programs. Although some of the case studies are quite rich and fascinating, most tend to be quite short, and so they will require investigation for practitioners to make use of them.

One criticism that Hanna has not taken on board is the critique of the model that dance is, at its core, a prerehearsed performance designed by a choreographer and carried out by dancers for a static audience. Hanna has a long career of dealing with a wide variety of genres since the 1970s where this model does not apply seamlessly—not just in other cultures but even in contexts like social dance or erotic dance, which her last book was about. Yet, when she writes about dance in general, she invariably adopts a

language of “choreography,” “rehearsal,” and “audience.” In fact, the absolute specialization and preordination of dance is a minority variant of dance performance, concentrated in certain kinds of Western high art contexts, which does not apply to most dance experience.

On the whole, the work is wide and fast moving, a strong model of one way that comparative cross-cultural anthropology integrating neuroscience and cultural research can be deployed in educational activism.

Beyond Post-Traumatic Stress: Homefront Struggles with the Wars on Terror by Sarah Hautzinger and Jean Scandlyn.

Walnut Creek: Left Coast, 2014. 318 pp.

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Sarah Hautzinger and Jean Scandlyn describe their book, *Beyond Post-Traumatic Stress*, as ethnography, an in-depth interpretation of a “large social institution” centered in Fort Carson, Colorado, an enormous US military reservation in proximity to Colorado Springs. Fort Carson is the home of the Fourth Infantry Division and a primary source of soldiers serving in the Global War on Terror (GWOT), which was launched after the 9/11 attacks. The authors’ fieldwork research lasted from 2008 to 2013 and concentrated on a sample of soldiers from an infantry unit that had been deployed multiple times to Iraq and Afghanistan, where these men had been the targets of multiple deadly explosions and ambushes. The unit traces its origins and official designation to the “Band of Brothers” whose heroism during WWII was chronicled in 2001 in a popular TV miniseries. By the time the unit had returned to Fort Carson in 2008, its official designation had changed to the “Lethal Warriors.” Soon afterward, the unit was back on television but no longer as heroes. National news media described fourteen murders and criminal mayhem perpetrated on fellow soldiers and local civilians by members of the “murder brigade.” Hautzinger and Scandlyn devote a chapter to these events but treat them as incidental to the bigger picture they wish to present.

The Bush administration had been eager to avoid the civil discord that emerged during the Vietnam War and believed that a transition to an “all volunteer force” (AVF) might do the trick. The AVF would be, above all, an arrangement for preserving tranquility and near invisibility on the political home front. The authors never explicate the “large social institution” that comprises their ethnographic subject, but it seems clear that the AVF is an important part in this institution and deserves the close attention of anthropologists. The reader gets the impression that the active-duty component of the AVF is disproportionately composed of economically and socially marginal US men and women. About one-third of its “warriors” are either reservists or National Guard troops.

Enlistments typically last five years, during which soldiers are subject to multiple deployments, each lasting about one year. This arrangement challenges the stability of marriages and family life and contributes to the messiness and occasional violence of everyday life among the lower ranks, their spouses, and children.

The authors describe an overtly bifurcated society that juxtaposes the identities, material concerns, and priorities of local civilians with those of military families and institutions. Civil and military elements are connected, but linkages are ambiguous and often contentious. Military reservations are often very noisy neighbors and compete with local interests for possession of potentially profitable and taxable real estate. As Fort Carson’s mission in the GWOT has enlarged over time, the Army has proven to be decidedly acquisitive, eager to provide its local military units with the expanses required for realistic maneuverers, artillery training, and so on. Civilian real estate developers and chambers of commerce are equally eager to capitalize on the attractiveness of Colorado Springs as a venue for new businesses and new residents, even while encouraging continued military investment in this region. (The Air Force also has similarly huge holdings in this area.) The book devotes two chapters to some of the sites—notably the institution of “town hall meetings” (ch. 10)—where conflicting interests are articulated and negotiated.

The authors write that “the injuries of war are [not] primarily individual, primarily medical issues [. . . but possess] social and collective dimensions crucial to recovery, reintegration, and reconciliation with war’s impact” (p. 20). Thus, their title: *Beyond Post-Traumatic Stress*. They write that the “social dimensions” include public settings, media-based accounts, and the “fellow citizens who are intimately caught up in being at war” (p. 20). This is a rather nebulous depiction and, in this narrow sense, parallels the “fog of war” that is the combatants’ experience in the GWOT and is mentioned throughout the book. How does all of this—the fogs and indeterminacy—fit together? Is there some organizing principle (a theory? a paradigm?) operating beyond the authors’ claim to be working in the tradition of a “humanistic anthropology”? The authors provide readers with what might be called an organizing metaphor, the “myth

of the labyrinth,” an image of men and women striving within a maze (pp. 19–21, 32, 234). Unfortunately, the authors can suggest nothing equivalent to Ariadne’s thread—no device or capacity that justifies the soldiers’ ability to “navigate” the maze.

The past can provide helpful precedents. Before we travel all the way back to Odysseus and myth, we might want to pause to explore comparisons with World War I. The signature disorder of the GWOT is mild traumatic brain injury (mTBI). It is repeatedly mentioned in *Beyond Post-Traumatic Stress* and likewise in David Phillips’s (2010) compelling book about the activities of Fort Carson’s troops

in the GWOT and at home. During WWI, hundreds of thousands of soldiers (and brains) were diagnosed with similar disorders. Hautzinger and Scandlyn have chosen to regard PTSD mainly as an idiom of distress and to contrast their “interpretivist” approach with the “positivism” that presumably characterizes researchers who have not gone beyond PTSD (p. 9).

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Against Hybridity: Social Impasses in a Globalizing World by Haim Hazan.

Cambridge: Polity, 2015. 200 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12720

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The premise of Haim Hazan’s *Against Hybridity* is that hybridity is highly valued in the contemporary, postmodern world and that pure products are regarded with fear and suspicion. The “social perception of non-hybrids results in aversion, distancing, and rejection” (p. 4). If, in the modern era, such social characters as the migrant, the nomad, or the transgressor were seen as spreading anomie, “in a boundary-bound social order, these very figures have become the celebrated anti-heroes of our culture” (p. 5).

This is a provocative argument, because it sets out to establish a critique of our contemporary social views, including hegemonic anthropological perspectives. These views are widely shared by progressive sectors of society, among which social scientists—and anthropologists in particular—are protagonists. One could suspect that Hazan’s discussion would lead toward some kind of neoconservative defense of the need to go “back” to clear boundaries of all kinds. One could also suspect that it would engage in discussions of ethnicity, nationalism, or religion, areas that immediately invoke discussions on purity and hybridity. But that is not the case. The author’s purpose is not to engage in the highly politicized and ideological discussion about ethnic, cultural, or political boundaries. Hazan’s concern is much more with types of embodied human existence that are silenced and made invisible because of their intrinsic nonhybridity.

His concern and research focus is on the difficult to translate or even nontranslatable experiences of the very old, the autistic, people experiencing extreme pain, or patients

of Alzheimer’s, among others. Echoing Giorgio Agamben’s *homo sacer*, Hazan states that “the literal, here-and-now utterances of bare life greatly hamper cultural translation” (p. 43). Hazan’s discussion is, therefore, a take on Bruno Latour’s notion of the proliferation of the hybrids and the perception of nonhybrids as those that stand outside the possibility of assimilation.

Extreme old age, for instance, is seen by the author as a condition that is perceived as “neither quite living anymore nor dead yet,” one that “does not become a hybrid as a result of such ‘social death’ or ascribed liminality” (pp. 46–47). Other biopolitical ramifications of nonhybridity are approached—namely, autism and pain. Hazan says that “pain is essentially incommunicable. Because bodily pain resists objectification in language, it is marked by a strong element of unshareability” (p. 118).

The book’s argument is extremely focused and solid, and the choice of themes and examples is rich and varied, yet it conveys a very realistic sense of who and what is placed on the margins of our commonly accepted definitions of what is or is not translatable, with the potential for assimilation. In sum, Hazan outlines—and also denounces, because at many points of the argument the reader cannot avoid a sense of guilty distancing from these old, autistic, or sick “Others”—the contemporary equivalents of the “Savages” of yesterday. Hazan states:

The problem in applying to non-hybrids the grading and staging processes of medicalization and hybridization is actually the problem of translation: because this grading and staging is conducted in the strong language of western midlife culture, it further masks, distances, and silences its objects of translation. We have come back to the critical question of whether and how we can hear the silenced voices of these deadly “others,” and see the true colors of these essential barbarians. [p. 133]

As a general contribution to anthropology and as an attempt to offer possible ways out of some problems posed by contemporary cultural perspectives, the author proposes a sort of collaborative ethnography and social inquiry, in which the respondents should become brokers, “doing more empirical research amidst people who are phenomenologically between worlds—people in early-stage dementia, people in the high-functioning end of the autism spectrum, and so on” (p. 140).

Against Hybridity is an excellent contribution to contemporary theoretical debates. Its focus on particular embodied forms of nonhybridity provides a solid empirical grounding for the author’s analysis. One can only wish that similar critical work on hybridity as a “norm”—but regarding issues of ethnic, cultural, or national belongings—is on the making by someone somewhere on the high-functioning end of the anthropological spectrum.

Science and Sustainability: Learning from Indigenous Wisdom by Joy Hendry.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. 199 pp.

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Embedded in insightful ethnographic stories personally collected by anthropologist Joy Hendry, *Science and Sustainability* is an invitation to critically explore the presumed pragmatic differences between scientific knowledge and Indigenous wisdom. Drawing from numerous cultural encounters, the author challenges us to step out of our cultural conventions and embrace Indigenous wisdom as a scientific way of knowing. As a major contribution to advancing anthropology, this book convincingly argues that scientific knowledge, as rigorously and systematically collected, tried, tested, and reproduced, is not much different from Indigenous accumulated wisdom that has been empirically learned, orally recorded, and passed through generations in the activities of everyday life. Furthermore, it brings to light the discussion that Indigenous science is simultaneously epistemological and ontological, for it is predicated on both ways of thinking and being. The author thoroughly demonstrates the ways in which Indigenous knowledge is an embodied form of knowing, because it is tied to the landscape and the local ecosystem. This book ethnographically shows that, while Indigenous knowledge is passed down through the generations, it is also tested as it is used and systematically improved in each generation. Another strong argument this book makes concerns how counterproductive and harmful to nature it has been to ignore and belittle Indigenous wisdom by Western claims of epistemological superiority. Hence, because the main focus of the book is sustainability, the author seeks to make us aware that “the science of Indigenous peoples in different parts of the world evolves just as does any science, and as practitioners are introduced to new ideas and new forms of technology, they are free to use them alongside their long-held local techniques for making a sustainable living” (p. 49). In search of a sound science,

this book demonstrates how, despite much voiced concern about sustainability, many of the Western mechanisms of resource management act against sustainability by destroying the foundation of the resource they seek to manage. In this sense, the author suggests that the very science that seeks certainty, control, predictability, and closure has ended up subverting itself. In part, she suggests that this is the case because most Western ecological practices are founded on an exploitative worldview that assumes that humans own and dominate nature and that, furthermore, people in capitalist cultures tend to treat nature as a commodity and see themselves out and above it. In light of this critique, the author proposes that there are many lessons to be learned from Indigenous ecological knowledge as a viable method for a truly sustainable relationship with nature.

Although the book is generally coherent in its arguments, I found a few small but significant inconsistencies. For example, although the author opposes the ahistorical essentialism that perpetuates the unhelpful binary opposition between Indigenous knowledge with so-called Western science, she, nevertheless, contradicts herself by stating, “It may seem to be more of a spiritual or cultural matter rather than a scientific one” (p. 84), whereas previously she had vehemently stated that “our science is not much more culture-free than that of the Indigenous scholars” (p. 12). Despite her careful use of the nonoffensive terms *First Nation*, *Aborigines*, and *Indigenous*, on page 104 she calls the Tewa people of Mexico “Indians.” Another shortcoming is that the examples drawn from Africa and Latin America are few and limited. Nevertheless, through multiple examples from Australia, Canada, Japan, and New Zealand, Hendry shows how Westerners scholars are beginning to realize that Indigenous people have a rather sophisticated understanding of living sustainably. By describing the many research centers around the world where collaborative research between Western and Indigenous scholars is taking place, Hendry discusses new and exciting ways of understanding and applying Indigenous knowledge. One of the many examples cited is

the 2009 Australian fires that consumed 1.1 million acres and killed 173 people but that, nevertheless, left completely untouched the house of a person who practiced an Aboriginal form of wild fire protection. Unfortunately, according to the book, only few Western scholars have recognized the importance of Indigenous holistic knowledge, one that includes not only the qualitative and quantitative but also the physical and spiritual.

The book is organized in nine chapters, each of them fostering a vision of bicultural education and the collaborative integration of Western and Indigenous sciences as a learning journey that recognizes the contribution of Indigenous knowledge to Western scientific and social research. Chapter 1 focuses on fire and water as life-sustaining elements. Chapter 2 compares Indigenous methods for making

sustainable living. Chapter 3 discusses the benefits of Indigenous holistic architecture and house building. Chapter 4 is devoted to Indigenous wisdom of health and death. Chapter 5 focuses on the Indigenous knowledge of calendars and climate change. Chapter 6 discusses the Indigenous sciences of astronomy and navigation skills. The cultural basis of physics and mathematics models is discussed in chapter 8. Indigenous technology and sustainability are discussed in chapter 9, followed by a short conclusion and an invitation to broaden our understanding of science. This book is a must-read for students of ecology, health, history, Indigenous studies, science, pedagogy, and anthropology as well as for anyone who sees beyond the limited scope of the positivistic model of contemporary Western science.

The Seductive Warp Thread: An Evolutionary History of Ibanic Weaving by Michael Heppell.

Phillips: Borneo Research Council, 2014. 189 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12750

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Michael Heppell's *The Seductive Warp Thread: An Evolutionary History of Ibanic Weaving* can be considered as a climax critique of Traude Gavin's research findings and analysis on Iban textiles (Heppell 2006; 2010; Heppell et al. 2005). This is evidently presented in the 21-page-long appendix devoted to critiquing Gavin's work and yet again in the repeated challenges to Gavin to demonstrate "why the Freemans [Derek and Monica Freeman] were wrong." It is a considerably personalized attack on Gavin's published research, the weavers as the sources of knowledge, Gavin's supervisors and examiners and even the publishers of her research, as Gavin has claimed (Gavin 2015). The challenges are, nevertheless, targeted to Gavin, as mentioned in her work (Gavin 2015:26), as Victor T. King phrased the creation of "complex issues in anthropological fieldwork, self-reflexivity and interpretation, scholarly authority and the access to, control over and presentation of knowledge" describing Heppell's 2014 book.

Persisting with the challenges, there are several important concerns discussed in the book that are worth conversing about, especially on the aspect of decoration versus encoded meaning. In this book, it is argued that if there was an unconscious dialogue between men and women in which men ranked the women based on their weaving skill vis-à-vis, women enjoyed the ranking and developed a wide range of weaving skills to please men. Heppell emphasizes that not all weaving is of the same quality because there are textiles that

were woven as copies of original creations by weavers who had no direct relation to the weavers who own the designs. There are also textiles that were woven to demonstrate the skill of the weavers, in particular among the unmarried women for the purpose of attracting marriage prospects. There are also textiles woven by postmenopausal women who no longer fear that they might antagonize the spirits; thus, these were the textiles that bear heavy symbolism and meaning. Consequently, the body of woven textiles should not be evaluated based on the skill of recreating from original textiles or on the skill exhibited as marriage qualifying; rather, assessment should be based on the ability to present the reminiscence of knowledge in the textiles.

Nevertheless, the book is not just about weaving as the marker for women's competence and marriage prospects. The importance of the contribution of local ethnographers related to this subject is also pointed out: Heppell emphasizes that if the output of local researchers is to be doubted because they did not grow up in the longhouse, as Gavin suggest, then all other researchers should also be questioned so as to validate the findings and analysis.

In the book, Heppell emphasizes that the value of the weaving was not based solely on its ties with the headhunting, as there were other rituals related to rice agriculture that did not depend on headhunting. At the time that headhunting was outlawed and men found new status by making money through work at rubber plantations, several new technologies were being introduced in the communities that made weaving less laborious, such as machine-spun cotton, commercial dyes, and commercial value of the textiles. As men were able to distance themselves from having to

practice headhunting, women were also able to find new avenues to practice their weaving. For applied anthropologists, the conservation of weaving continues to be of interest at present, even if the focus is now on the commercial value of the craft because the meanings that have been passed on from generation to the next still exist in at least some of the textiles that are being woven today.

To conclude, the book emphasizes the importance of seeing the value of material culture not as mere decoration but also as a memory bank. It also points out that local authors were not questionable sources but legitimate researchers. It must be pointed out, however, based on data scattered throughout the book, that weaving among the Iban served more purposes than showcasing women's weaving skills, as claimed by Heppell to be the measurement of their fertility and marriageability, and instigating headhunting to ensure that rice fields become fertile and, thus, that brave men could become attractive to the unmarried women. Perhaps the discussion could be continued

from here, preferably from a local perspective that presents the Iban textiles as reminiscence of knowledge and goes beyond the confines of seduction and the quest for male approval.

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Anthropology in Egypt, 1900–67: Culture, Function, and Reform by Nicholas S. Hopkins.

Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2014. 180 pp.

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As a field site, Egypt has produced some of the discipline's most widely read ethnographies. But what of Egyptian anthropology itself? How has anthropology been theorized and practiced in Egypt? Nicholas Hopkins addresses these questions through charting the emergence and development of Egypt's anthropology over the first seven decades of the 20th century.

Hopkins is professor emeritus at the American University in Cairo, home to the country's most prolific anthropology faculty. Drawing on published ethnographies, archival papers, and interviews, Hopkins presents a series of short biographical sketches of both the earliest foreign anthropologists who taught in Egypt and the first Egyptian anthropologists trained in Euro-American academies, including those who did not carry out fieldwork in Egypt and spent their careers abroad. The author interweaves his biographical sketches of these anthropologists with extended excerpts from some of their ethnographies. The profiles are organized chronologically across six chapters, covering anthropology before World War I, in the "high colonial period" (1920s to 1930s), on the eve of Egyptian independence in

1952, and in the 1960s, with a focus on the team-based field research carried out during this period in Nubia and the Western Desert.

More broadly, *Anthropology in Egypt, 1900–67* orients around several major themes. One is anthropology's lack of an institutional presence in Egyptian public universities (with the exception of Alexandria University's anthropology department, founded in 1974), despite its early presence in the country. Indeed, two of the most recognizable names in anthropology's foundational history—A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and E. E. Evans-Pritchard—spent several years in Egypt as faculty members. At the same time, Hopkins shows how the colonial jockeying for posts within the Egyptian academy—the French usually got the philosophy post; the English, sociology—coupled with the ambivalence of Egyptians themselves toward anthropology as the study of "primitive peoples" meant that from the very beginning anthropology was linked to other disciplines, such as geography and sociology.

Another theme is the gradual move toward applied anthropology. Hopkins traces how the shift from a preponderance of non-Egyptian to Egyptian anthropologists increasingly focused the discipline around social reform and development. On the whole, the Egyptian anthropologists were motivated by a sense of responsibility toward the "well-being" of their country, and their research agendas coalesced

around a few key areas that constituted what the author calls “the founding charter” of Egyptian anthropology: poverty, education, gender roles, national identity, and the “elimination of superstitious thinking.” The latter referred to heterodox religious practices among rural Egyptians and the urban poor. In this way, Hopkins argues, Egyptian anthropologists still constituted the discipline as the study of the “other” even while domesticating the other as a “social problem” invariably located in internal class or geographic difference.

Because of this focus, in many ways this slim volume—one of the Cairo Papers in Social Science, a refereed series published by the American University in Cairo—works well as a biographical supplement to Omnia El Shakry’s (2007) important book *The Great Social Laboratory: Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt*. El Shakry examines the ways in which social scientific disciplines, including anthropology, came to be projects for the disciplining of collective national subjects in modern Egypt. She shows how early Egyptian social scientists appropriated colonial forms of knowledge even as they transformed, and at times subverted, the racialized assumptions underpinning them.

Hopkins’s book is useful as a succinct descriptive overview of anthropology’s earliest beginnings in Egypt, with a focus on the little-known scholarly contributions made by Egyptians themselves. However, given that the book was published three years after the 2011 revolution by a Cairo-based academic press, the omission of even a postscript looking at how Egyptian anthropologists have re-

sponded to and shaped this extraordinary historical event, including our understanding of it, is surprising.

Indeed, many of the dynamics highlighted by Hopkins—such as the tensions between anthropology as social theory and anthropology as social activism, or of the power differentials that assign the former to “global” Euro-American anthropologists and the latter to “local” native ones—have been raised in relation to knowledge production about the 2011 revolution (Abaza 2011; Saad 2013). Including these critiques by Egypt-based anthropologists would have made *Anthropology in Egypt, 1900–67* more relevant to current debates in, and about, the anthropology of Egypt.

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In an engaging and timely analysis based on long-term fieldwork in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Azra Hromadžić reveals the political and social predicaments in the divided country and how they affect the everyday people, especially youth. From the outset, Hromadžić exposes the divisions that exist in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society as a complex interplay of ethnopolitics projected by the majority of local and foreign policy actors (p. 10). By using Sally Engle Merry’s concept of “spatial governmentality—the ideological, political, and social mechanism of spatial segregation and disciplining of ethnically conceived people” (p. 11), the anal-

ysis convincingly reveals the internally generated and externally regulated policies that reinforce social divisions in the country. As an effect, contemporary life among people in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been built on an eroded interconnectedness and a slippery nexus between consociational democracy, cultural incommensurability, and spatial governmentality (p. 11).

The Mostar Gymnasium, especially its empty science lab, is indeed a powerful metaphor of the Bosnia-Herzegovinian state as “it emerged from the tension within the peace-building and state-making project itself; the international political actors in Bosnia-Herzegovina faced the task of forming an ethnically plural, integrated, and peaceful school/state in which power is shared equally, while accepting the permanent existence, segregation, and institutionalization of the main ethnonational groups within the state/school” (p. 23). The first part of the book that deals

with the Mostar Gymnasium, situated on the Croat side of town, does a remarkable job in disclosing how the two-schools-under-one-roof approach, safeguarded by the consociational democratic model, has effectively legitimized the ethnically segregated space that became a permanent freeze in the larger landscape of the country. In addition, by presenting the reactions of the two main ethnic groups toward the idea of an integrated school, Hromadžić provides the wider social context that inevitably informs, even shapes, the social life of the school. The tensions intersecting in the gymnasium reflect wider dynamics such as the Bosniak fear of loss of its identity. As the most fragile, due to the late development of the Muslim national consciousness, informed also by the perceived discrimination during former Yugoslavia as well as the present-day claims by the Serb and Croat nationalists that Bosnian Muslims are converted Serbs or Croats respectively, many Bosniaks approached the idea of the gymnasium integration warily. Add the fact that Bosniaks were the most numerous victims of the recent wars and it is understandable then why the integration caused fierce reactions.

Yet, despite the fear, there was much more enthusiasm among Bosniaks for the integration of the gymnasium than among the Croats, whose response to the integration, Hromadžić insists, has to be understood in the context of regional Croat nationhood, citizenship, territorial belonging, and political aspirations. Most Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina hold dual citizenship in both Bosnia and Croatia that diminishes their connection to Bosnia-Herzegovina “since they have better privileges as citizens of more prosperous Croat state” (p. 40). Their attachment is strictly regional—toward Herzegovina, which is seen as geographically, historically, socially, and politically distinct from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their homeland is powerfully rearticulated as Croatia and not Bosnia-Herzegovina. The idea of the integrated gymnasium that was removed from the center of the formerly united city to the frontline of Croat national space, thus was seen as a challenge to the fortified “nationalized territory,” which for Croats in Mostar was stretching from the “Croatian border with Slovenia on the west to the boulevard in Mostar on the east, unifying the Croatian homeland with its national minority in Bosnia-Herzegovina” (p. 40).

The cartography of the school with the divided classrooms, the sporadic border-crossing spots in the hallways,

along with the intensive mixing during the smoking recess in the school bathroom, albeit short-lasting and without major impact outside of the school, discloses that the students were not passive dummies, embracing the ethnic regulations and the need for bypassing the segregation. The persistence of segregation within and outside the gymnasium, however, shows how difficult it is to counterfeit the powerfully internalized ethnicization deeply rooted among the gymnasium students, staff, and the citizens of Mostar.

The second part of the book, although ethnographically and theoretically lagging behind the virtuosity of the first part, nonetheless underscores the “impossibility” of the larger nation-building project in contemporary Bosnia-Herzegovina for those who still cannot find their full realization in the rigid ethnically divided society. For those who come from mixed marriages and the “anti-citizens” disenchanted from the corruption, nepotism, and informal networks, Bosnia-Herzegovina remains an empty nation.

This book is a valuable addition to the exciting “new wave” of analyses on Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as Elissa Helms’s (2013) *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation, and Women’s Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Stef Jansens’s (2015) *Yearning in the Meantime: “Normal Lives” and the State in a Sarajevo Apartment Complex*, or especially the edited volume *Unbriable Bosnia: The Fight for the Commons*, edited by Damir Arsenijević (2015). These powerful portrayals of the deadlocked society and the future prospects of Bosnia-Herzegovina succinctly underscore the limits but also the endurance of the ethnic principle 20 years after Dayton.

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Cosmopolitan Conceptions: IVF Sojourns in Global Dubai by Marcia C. Inhorn.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 408 pp.

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Throughout her trail-blazing career, Marcia Inhorn has called on interdisciplinary readers to consider seriously the complexities of women's and men's experiences with infertility and their search for treatment. She points to disparities in access to reproductive technologies and adequate care; injustices are particularly egregious due to the failures of basic preventive medicine (untreated sexually transmitted infections cause infertility) and the lack of regulation of infertility clinics. Since 1998, when she began her dissertation research, Inhorn's evocative, in-depth ethnographies have been set in the Middle East, where her cultural and linguistic expertise provided her with access to IVF (in vitro fertilization) clinics in Egypt, Lebanon, and, for this book, the United Arab Emirates.

In the introduction of *Cosmopolitan Conceptions*, Inhorn outlines a distinctive "reprolexicon" for key concepts she develops in each chapter, engaging with scholars on globalization, bioethics, public health, medical anthropology, and the anthropology of reproduction. With incisive self-reflection, she charts the rise of *reproductive tourism* as a scholarly, media, and IVF clinic marketing term. She analyzes her participants' strong criticism of it based on their experience, ultimately advocating for discarding the concept. This is particularly remarkable because Inhorn's own Dubai research was framed as a study of reproductive tourism. She opts instead for the term "reprotravelers."

The prologue features the riveting global reproductive journey of one woman, and each chapter ends with a series of reprotravel stories. These stories capture the medical, social, and financial risks of infertility treatment as well as the physical and psychological pain that individuals endure. Chapters are organized clearly around four main constraints on the fulfillment of reproductive desires: sociocultural issues, resource shortages, religious and legal restrictions, and quality and safety concerns. An extensive glossary of medical terms assists those unfamiliar with reproductive diagnoses, technologies, and procedures.

Inhorn focuses on the largest private IVF clinic in Emirates, optimistically named Conceive, where she conducted 200 interviews over six months in 2007 and returned for additional research in 2012 and 2013. The majority of interviews were with couples (heterosexual

due to legal restrictions), and she collected 125 reprotravel stories from participants with 50 countries of origin, mainly from the Middle East and Africa. Inhorn argues that "stories are perhaps the best window into the world of infertility—a world that is replete with pain, fear, frustration, and longing for a desired child" (p. 29).

Inhorn showcases compassionate ethnography and is present in long excerpts of conversations with couples in interviews that often began only after she vowed secrecy. Her powerful connection with participants is signaled by how many thanked her for allowing them to unburden themselves about their stigmatized identity and, as one termed it, "invisible disability." With sharp critical analysis, she responds powerfully to stories that include medical malpractice, domestic violence, gendered social stigma, racism, and classism.

The clinic served as an exceptionally ideal setting due to its "transcontinental reputation for delivering a wide spectrum of high-quality and effective IVF services within a multicultural clinic environment" (p. 32). Inhorn discusses feeling welcomed by the "Conceive family" and shares with her study participants the assessment that Conceive's physician director, born in India and trained in India, the US, and the UK, is superior due to his diagnostic acumen, global professional connections to excellent doctors, and direct but caring communication style with patients. Taken by Inhorn's daughter, photos of the clinic, staff, Dr. Pankaj, and Dubai scenes enhance the vibrant context and personalities that Inhorn encountered.

Listening carefully to reprotravel stories, Inhorn dissects the citizenship, legal, cultural, and religious mandates that make it necessary for couples to travel and spend large sums for infertility care. Although its patient-centered and culturally diverse care stands out compared to other infertility clinics in Emirates and around the world, even Conceive cannot meet all patients' needs. Muslim and Emirates laws ban donor egg or sperm, surrogacy, and abortion to reduce the number of fetuses. Inhorn argues that infertility care is a reproductive justice issue and that "reprotravel is about politics—about what states are willing to do for their citizens to ensure their reproductive rights" (p. 301).

Cosmopolitan Conceptions concludes with a compelling three-part call to activism to prevent the need for costly reprotravel among the world's infertile citizens" (p. 302): (1) infertility prevention, including reproductive tract and sexually transmitted disease treatment; (2) increased efforts

to destigmatize the experiences of infertile women and men by providing support groups in the global South, “new routes to social parenthood” such as fostering and adoption, and new paths to adulthood that are not tied to child raising; and (3) advocacy for the low-cost IVF movement, aimed “to

make safe, affordable, effective IVF accessible to everyone who needs it, but primarily to people in the global South” (p. 303). This outstanding and readable book is equally valuable for interdisciplinary scholars, global reproductive justice advocates, and infertility caregivers.

Coercive Concern: Nationalism, Liberalism, and the Schooling of Muslim Youth by Reva Jaffe-Walter.

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016. 232 pp.

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Reva Jaffe-Walter’s *Coercive Concern: Nationalism, Liberalism, and the Schooling of Muslim Youth* is part of a growing anthropological literature (Bowen 2008; Fernando 2014; Jacobsen 2011) exploring the strained relations between European majority societies and Muslim minorities. *Coercive Concern* takes as its ethnographic focus the experience of Muslim pupils at a comprehensive school in Copenhagen, Denmark. Jaffe-Walter’s observations at the school, together with interviews with pupils, teachers, and administrators, form the vantage point for her more general comments on the often-hostile scrutiny Danish Muslim youths encounter in Danish society. Like most of the anthropological literature on the Muslim minority in Europe, *Coercive Concern* is sharply critical of the way established European societies have come to relate to their Muslim citizens. In an eloquent couple of introductory chapters, Jaffe-Walter marshals critics of “liberal society” from Étienne Balibar (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991) and Talal Asad (2003, 2006) to Thea Renda Abu El-Haj (2010, 2015) to sketch the background of her own study of the “hypocritical liberal obfuscation” that, in her view, characterizes the discourses and practices of integration today (p. 13). Following Dorothy Holland and colleagues (1998), Jaffe-Walter identifies the “figured world of integration” as the discursive space that determines the fraught relationships between her young Muslim interlocutors and Danish majority society.

Indeed, the book’s chapters present plenty of evidence both for the ways in which these “figurations” shape the interactions between school staff and pupils and animate the hostile concern that Jaffe-Walter’s Muslim interlocutors face, both in school and by society at large. Unsurprisingly, the Muslim youths we meet in the book are angry and frustrated and, for the most part, deeply alienated from established society. The author, in fact, seems to agree with one of her interlocutors whom she quotes as telling her that, in today’s Denmark, being Danish and being Muslim are mutually exclusive.

Drawing on my own experiences with Danish pedagogical institutions and Muslim youths in Denmark, I find most of this fairly convincing. Although many Muslim “New Danes” have found more or less comfortable homes in Danish society, many share the anger and frustration of Jaffe-Walter’s interlocutors. Often, in their narratives of and interactions with Danish Muslim youths, pedagogues, administrators, welfare officials, pundits, and experts alike display just that kind of hostile concern that Jaffe-Walter diagnoses as a particular form of narcissism. As Jaffe-Walter’s account shows, the professed agenda to emancipate Muslim youths easily collapses into the cultural preferences of teachers and administrators. Thus, the evocation of emancipatory concern becomes a smoke screen for heavy-handed discipline and bad-tempered abandonment.

Yet there is more to say about the often-difficult relationship of established Danish society and its Muslim minority. In fact, there is more in the author’s interviews with the pupils and teachers, and following up on some of the more subtle cues in her conversations might have contributed to a more complex account. For instance, while her interlocutors indeed express sharply critical opinions of Danish society, we also read that some of them build rich and satisfying lives within it—as indeed many Danish Muslims do. Is the diagnosis of “narcissism” really sufficient to explain the teachers’ difficulty in extending empathy to their pupils? The teachers and administrators we meet in Jaffe-Walter’s account are clearly deeply embedded in a national pedagogical tradition, and they think of themselves as tolerant and wedded to emancipatory pedagogy in fairly specific terms. A more finely grained engagement with this tradition might have added more texture to the well-rehearsed critique of liberal (in)tolerance.

At the end of her conclusion, Jaffe-Walter writes about her hope that the future of Danish-Muslim relations could be different: that coercive concern might give way to less hostile forms of interaction and that established Danish society may yet harbor the potential to more fully recognize the identities and ambitions of Muslim youths. One may hope so, indeed. But this turn comes as a surprise to the reader. It seems to militate against the ethnography the author presents, which gives little occasion to suspect any such opening, nor does

it sit easily with the theoretical framing of the book, which seems to locate the inability to recognize Muslims as proper citizens in the very essence of liberal society. A slightly broader ethnographic focus and an approach more attuned to the multiple tensions and contradictions within established Danish society would have helped to make this prospect seem less elusive.

One would hope that *Coercive Concern* finds an attentive audience not only among anthropologists interested in the simmering tensions between Danish (and more broadly European) majority publics and Muslim minorities but also among teachers, social workers, and administrators, especially in Europe. For the latter, *Coercive Concern* would make provocative reading, given that the author's sympathies lie so emphatically with the school's pupils. But it is an important read nonetheless—and perhaps a starting salvo in the difficult conversations those of us interested in the future of “emancipatory” pedagogy in our multicultural societies need to have.

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Extraordinary Conditions: Culture and Experience in Mental Illness by Janis H. Jenkins.

Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. 368 pp.

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In *Extraordinary Conditions*, psychological and medical anthropologist Janis H. Jenkins presents her life work as a scholar of mental illness and culture. This is a body of work worthy of book-length retelling and synthesis. Having an exceptional résumé that includes a postdoctoral traineeship with Arthur Kleinman at Harvard University in the 1980s followed by 14 productive years at Case Western Reserve University, Jenkins returned to California (University of California, San Diego) in 2004 to begin a new career phase studying Latino/a adolescent mental health in New Mexico. Indeed, the cultural touchstone for her research has been the richly diverse heritage of Hispanic Americans.

The book is divided into two parts, the first focused on psychosis and families and the second on violence and trauma among refugees and youths. The thread manifestly carried forward throughout is that of “extraordinary condi-

tions,” a term connoting both the lived experience of mental disorders as well as the structural adversities of violence and poverty that give rise to suffering. Comfortably traversing the boundaries between anthropology and psychiatry, Jenkins seeks to contextualize what is known as mental illness, taking it beyond the elicitation of symptoms to broader realms of subjective meaning situated within sociocultural influences. Persons at risk of extraordinary conditions live not in vulnerability but “precarity,” the latter term more closely aligned to the phenomenology of risk.

Part 1 brings the reader into the world of atypical antipsychotic medications and their administration in the Clozapine Clinic. As patients grapple with the side effects of these powerful neuroleptic drugs, they take comfort in “chemical imbalance” explanations for their illnesses. The medications induce positive “awakenings” as well as toxic numbness and a foreboding of the loss of self. Over time, patients' identities accommodate what Jenkins refers to as the “interiorization of the clinic,” an insidious transformation affecting their ways of being in the world.

The journey that a young adult begins when diagnosed with psychosis is personified in chapter 2 with the story of Sebastian, a young Mexican American in treatment at UCLA's Neuropsychiatric Institute where Jenkins was working in the early 1990s. Sebastian struggled with his inability to respond to the antipsychotic medications and the toll of the voices plaguing him. His domineering father worsened Sebastian's situation, and other family support did little to ameliorate this standoff. The young man nevertheless showed resilience in not succumbing to the voices and taking his own life.

The contested role of the family in schizophrenia—previously seen as pivotal in its “expressed emotion” influence over the etiology and course of the illness—comprises chapter 3. Along with a review of the debates over genetic versus environmental causes of mental illness, the chapter gives the reader an overview of cross-national studies that show consistently more positive outcomes in non-Western societies. Invoking the role of culture in understanding the “black box” of expressed emotion, Jenkins uses case studies from young Latino/a psychiatric patients and their parents to illustrate the nuances of familial support and concern.

The first two chapters of part 2, based upon Jenkins's work with Salvadoran refugees in the late 1980s, take the reader well beyond psychiatry's traditional concerns to the devastating impact of political violence in El Salvador's prolonged civil war. With this backdrop, the refugees' voicing

of *nervios* (distress) and *el calor* (heat) is a painful reckoning with repeated exposure to violence. Falling short of the diagnostic criteria of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), their “extraordinary conditions” arguably transcend clinical algorithms.

Chapter 6 takes the reader into the “trauma and trouble” of Hispanic adolescents in New Mexico. Carrying forward earlier discussions of psychic trauma and precarity, Jenkins draws on interviews with adolescent psychiatric patients to provide an expansive portrait of their lives set amidst the “cybernetic interplay” of institutional, community, and familial neglect. Once again, the reductive reliance on diagnoses—whether depression, PTSD, or some combination thereof—falls short. Here and elsewhere, Jenkins highlights and contextualizes the reciprocal influences of culture with mental distress.

Mindful that her ethnographic work has been confined to the treated (those who have made their way to a psychiatric clinic or hospital), Jenkins acknowledges that the life worlds of the untreated are not included here. Indeed, the profound (and not altogether positive) influence of psychiatric treatment is central to this work. Thus, “extraordinary conditions” may stem in part from genetic predispositions, but their capacity to debilitate is shaped by social, economic, and cultural influences that cannot be ignored. This book is an intellectually engaged yet passionate quest to examine these influences in lives as lived.

Juan Gregorio Palechor: The Story of My Life by Myriam Jimeno.

Andy Klatt, trans. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014. 248 pp.

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Myriam Jimeno's book titled *Juan Gregorio Palechor: The Story of My Life* is structured around the autobiography of a peasant leader involved in the struggle to defend and recover indigenous lands in Colombia. Two analytical essays written by Jimeno, a Colombian anthropologist, precede Palechor's short autobiography. Jimeno makes excellent use of Palechor's story to illustrate the dynamic process of indigenous identity formation. Palechor's autobiography spans from 1930 to 1971, providing an intriguing glimpse into the making of an organic intellectual. His life story straddled a crucial moment in history when leaders turned from class-based organizing to indigenous identity politics, transforming the political grammar through which subaltern people throughout Latin America voice their demands to the state.

The book is organized into three parts. In part 1, Jimeno reviews the literature on indigenous narratives, life stories, and autobiographies. Part 2 expertly weaves aspects of Palechor's autobiography with an analytical intervention on ethnic identity and draws attention to the historical and political forces that shape his activism. Part 3 gives voice to Palechor with his accounts of crucial moments including agrarian childhood, conscription into the Colombian army, and career as a *tinterillo* (self-educated paralegal) that ultimately propelled him to become a peasant leader. His autobiography illustrates the lived and observed experiences of social inequalities that mark the lives of indigenous and rural peoples in highland Colombia.

Jimeno argues that ethnic identity is both fluid and relational. *Campesino* (peasant) and indigenous people “use similar language, clothing, forms of production, and agricultural technology,” but the critical differences between the two are “self-consciousness and self-identification” (p. 29). Indigenous ethnic identity is defined in relation to “conditions

of domination, marginalization, rejection and exclusion” (p. 35). Furthermore, it is entangled with the history of the *resguardo*, an indigenous territorial unit established by the Spanish colonial administration but later embraced as an autonomous institution. To evince the dynamic nature of identity formation, Jimeno describes how the *resguardo* of Guachicono, birthplace of Palechor, initially comprised a diverse group of indigenous people who were either displaced or forced to resettle in the area but who later came to self-identify as Yanaconas, a collective ethnic identity that had not existed prior to colonization (p. 59).

Palechor’s autobiography skillfully illustrates how social categories of race and class are lived in the Andes. In one memorable story, he attends a school board meeting where a *cacique* (i.e., political boss) criticized rural teachers, parents, and children. Palechor describes the room full of “well-dressed people at the meeting, decked out in their fancy shoes, fine dresses, and elegant suits” (p. 115). When they saw that he wanted to speak, “they laughed out loud” (p. 115). He spoke in defense of the rural community and earned the presidency of the school board. As he writes, “They saw that it wasn’t the patched up work clothes that were talking. It was a person” (p. 115). The right to speak is often conferred upon the white or mestizo educated elite, but Palechor breaks with social limits set by dominant society and seems impervious to racist insults. He embraces the derogatory term *indio*, noting “what did I care if they called me an *indio* when to me it was a source of pride?” (p. 118). His powerful oratory skills and unwavering commitment to social equality carried him beyond the school board into the arena of national politics. He served as a municipal councilor for the Liberal Revolutionary Movement (MRL) and, later, as the secretary of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC).

The book illustrates the possibilities of employing collaborative methods that unsettle rigid boundaries between researchers and activists. Jimeno met Palechor while employed at an indigenous legal advocacy organization in 1976, when CRIC leaders were being detained and tortured. Jimeno collected his autobiography in 1980 and worked closely with him to edit it in 1991. She considers that her dialogue with Palechor was made possible because we “both had experienced the historical forces that dominated our time . . . but also because we identified with the same cause” (p. 5). While the period of his political involvement traces the shift from class-based politics to ethnic-based demands, he devotes more time to his formative years and disillusionment with party politics. Narrating his story within a period of violent repression may have led Palechor to emphasize his early experiences rather than those associated with the embattled CRIC.

Jimeno’s accessible writing style combined with Palechor’s conversational narratives make this work well suited for undergraduate anthropology courses. My students read this book for an assignment and found the analytical treatment of indigeneity a refreshing contrast to portrayals of indigenous people as culturally static and unchanging. Palechor emerges as a complex but charismatic figure with a sarcastic sense of humor. Yet in discussion of the limits to state recognized multiculturalism, the reader will not find many references to the well-established literature on this topic. References to some historical documents on pages 61–62 were found to be absent from the appendix or misnumbered in the text. Nevertheless, the documents that do appear are fascinating and provide further evidence of the repression of CRIC leaders and the struggles to defend indigenous lands, historical themes that are just as relevant and urgent today in Latin America.

Slow Anthropology: Negotiating Difference with the Iu Mien by Hjorleifur Jonsson.

Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2014. 172 pp.

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In *Slow Anthropology*, author Hjorleifur Jonsson takes the reader on a journey “of engagement regarding self, other, and the world” (p. xiii). He questions anthropological ethics, stating the following: “Many celebrated schools of anthropology rest on the absolute denial of equality to or negotiation with certain peoples who are, instead, mined for material for the purpose of advancing science” (p. xiv). He asserts that

anthropology has produced understandings of people based on colonial ideologies and that it is now time to break free from these limited views and consider the history, agency, reality, and political negotiation that Southeast Asians have been engaged in for millennia. The main theme of the book is to question anthropological and academic categories regarding ethnography and ethnic groups.

Postmodernism sets the tone of the introduction with a discussion of academia and issues of representation and appropriation. Jonsson suggests that our studies on the politics and identities of people in Southeast Asia are based on our own social constructs and limited by our imaginations

based on our own identities and politics (p. 8). The goal of the book is to “break the ethnological spell that the Zomia discovery offers, because it suggests nothing but subjugation for Southeast Asians as it celebrates bourgeois and academic disconnection at home in the West” (p. 8). He criticizes the underdifferentiation of the term *Zomia*, using examples from James C. Scott’s (2009) work *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Southeast Asia*. He points a finger at his own earlier works to further demonstrate the trappings of academic categories (e.g., *highlanders* vs. *lowlanders*). *Slow Anthropology* is not about understanding Southeast Asia on its own terms but about “understanding ourselves. We get Southeast Asia wrong, systematically, because of certain things that are systematically wrong or mistaken elsewhere” (p. 22). Reflexivity is a core concern visited throughout the text.

Jonsson wields a reality of Iu Mien people that clearly expresses their agency in creating their ethnic identity in different situations and scenarios. He takes us on a sojourn with the Mien from their historical roots in China to their early relationships with kings and kingdoms in the region (e.g., Nan), to the war-torn mountains of Laos, onward into refugee camps in Thailand, and eventually to renegotiated lives as refugees and independent communities in the United States.

Chapter 2 includes varying recollections from interviews with Iu Mien individuals to demonstrate that, depending on family ties, resources, and social position, Iu Mien individuals experienced the war and its aftermath on different terms; “people’s experiences [of the war] were quite diverse, differentiated, and particular—as an ethnic group, they are not easily boxed in” (p. 86). Although ethnic stereotypes exist, identity is an interactive and ongoing process. While the reader learns detailed information about Mien kinship structure, leadership roles, loyalty to chiefs, and enforced enlistment into Chao La’s and other leaders’ militias, Jonsson continually pulls his audience back to theoretical understandings of such information, suggesting that through “landscapes of regional history in Mainland Southeast Asia, we see that ethnicities and other identities are continually being shaped and reshaped within various networks of relations” (p. 134).

Descriptive details on a number of topics—including the transformation of Iu Mien religious beliefs, adaptations of dancing and singing, the re-creation of community as US citizens, and many more—are interwoven into the text as examples of the complexities and temporal-spatial influences of ethnic identities. He states: “I do not treat Mien identity, culture, or history as an ethnographic object, but as a way to specify and engage with the intersections of history, identity, national scholarship, politics, and epistemology that our work has tended to ignore” (p. 137).

Overall, I greatly enjoyed the book. I admit there were times when I found myself questioning Jonsson for questioning James C. Scott, someone whose work I respect. After finishing the book, I realized the need for those criticisms as a way to push anthropologists into a broader playing field of how we approach ethnic identities. As academics, it is easy to get set in our ways believing that we have the correct understanding of “Others,” conveniently or unconsciously forgetting that we view and understand others from our own culturally fogged lenses. While we know ethnography is subjective, Jonsson implores us to reconnect with this position to learn about ourselves, to question the categories we have constructed for peoples of Southeast Asia, and to break beyond these categories towards a more interactive, equitable, and complex understanding of human agency in identity making.

Through long quotes, Jonsson created space for the Iu Mien to represent themselves in their own words—fostering a more equitable ethnographic experience. It is obvious that Jonsson has many Iu Mien friends and that he genuinely cares about how they have been and continue to be represented and appropriated as an ethnic group across time and space.

This book has value to people interested in understanding the fluidity of ethnic identity, reflexive anthropology, Southeast Asian relations over time, Mien people, refugee situations, and the war in Laos.

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Life in a Black Community: Striving for Equal Citizenship in Annapolis, Maryland, 1902–1952 by Hannah Jopling.

Lanham: Lexington, 2015. 380 pp.

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“We made room for ourselves” (p. xii). This one sentence captures the essence of Hannah Jopling’s *Life in a Black Community*, a historical ethnography that examines how black residents interacted with the white community in the border-state town of Annapolis, Maryland, from 1902 to 1952, negotiating and demanding their rights as citizens through various individual and collective efforts. Jopling takes a “chronological narrative” approach to organizing her book (p. xxiii). Broken into five sections, she provides four parallel narratives (“Encounter,” “Bird’s-Eye View,” “Struggles,” and “Own Worlds”) in each section. While at times a slow read, the book overall is a valuable contribution to research focused on the relationship between citizenship and race.

Five encounters—a baseball game, a hanging, a lawsuit, a parade, and a demolition—set the stage for examining race relations between black and whites in Annapolis at various points in time over this 50-year span. Each encounter introduces the reader to the intricate and flexible ways blacks and whites interacted with each other during times of deep and enforced segregation. The baseball game (a section covering events from 1902 to 1905) sets the stage with the story of William Clarence Matthews, a black Harvard baseball player whose presence disrupted strict Jim Crow laws as he navigated white spaces like the hotel he stayed at with his fellow white players or even just being on the same baseball field as white players. The hanging (covering events from 1917 to 1919) of John Snowden for the alleged killing of a pregnant white woman in her own home was indicative of how many trials and executions played out in this time. What was striking about this case was the way in which the black community came together and openly challenged Snowden’s trial, conviction, and sentencing. This forced to the forefront issues of representation of blacks in the judicial system and the formation of a local chapter of the NAACP. The lawsuit (covering events from 1938 to 1940) explores the story of how Philip Brown sued the Department of Education with the help of Thurgood Marshall and won. After winning the lawsuit, “whites understood that they (blacks) would fight for equal rights for themselves and other students” (p. 141). The Girl Scout parade of 1949 is a shining example of blacks including themselves in white-dominated spaces and activities—the chapter details a time when a group of black women ap-

plied for a charter for a Girl Scouts troop, giving a preview of what was to come with the civil rights movement. Finally, the demolition (in 1952) of 24 clapboard houses in a low-income and mainly black housing project highlighted the economic changes occurring in the city and showcased the vulnerable position that low-income, mainly black, families were in at a time of economic expansion in the city.

In a “Bird’s-Eye View,” Jopling gives the reader a glimpse of how the landscape changed over this time during each encounter, revealing the ways Jim Crow was both enforced by whites and pushed back against by black residents. “At unexpected moments, blacks integrated places, or ‘made room’ for themselves, where whites had obdurately enforced separation and inequality” (p. 150). Over these 50 years, this larger perspective highlights the stagnation of everyday interactions between blacks and whites alongside the ever-changing landscape that eventually scattered much of the concentrated black community.

The “Struggles” sections for each “Encounter” explain the various challenges that blacks faced in politics, health, education, and housing as well as with the criminal justice system as Jim Crow was established and enacted. Blacks responded to and dismantled this inequity in a number of ways: establishing parallel organizations to whites; fighting back in the courts, on the streets, and in the newspaper; and raising their own funds as a way of creating the infrastructure needed for community improvement.

Finally, the “Own Worlds” sections give the reader a picture of the worlds that blacks made for themselves during this time in an attempt to live in a world that institutionally and legally designated blacks as second-class citizens. The church was one place with which many engaged as a community location that allowed for the organizing of small interests groups and larger community action. This is where you see Jopling using the interviews she conducted with various residents in the area, utilizing their words and narratives to take the reader on a complex and complicated journey of black citizenship in pre-civil rights Annapolis.

What is striking about *Life in a Black Community* is the various ways it can be used in classes and for research on education, race, racism, citizenship, class, community organizing, Jim Crow, and resistance. Many of the examples of “striving for equal citizenship” that Jopling uses to support her argument can still be seen today, making this historical ethnography soberingly timely and a sad reminder about the ways history reproduces itself when lessons are not learned and enacted.

Savage Frontier: Making News and Security on the Argentine Border by Ieva Jusionyte.

Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. 304 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12733

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Putting together the anthropology of security and the anthropology of the media, *Savage Frontier* is a welcome contribution to the understanding of journalists as producers of security. This well-done ethnography analyzes how journalists in the small Argentine town of Puerto Iguazú—located on the border with Brazil and Paraguay and home to a major tourism industry centered on the fabled Iguazú Falls—engage in a complex game of visibility and invisibility when deciding what illegal activities they should make public or not. Situating these representational practices in their local social context, but stressing their relationship to national and global security discourses, the book's most valuable intervention is to demonstrate the importance of scale and local solidarity for the production of conflicting views of security by the media.

The triborder has been for decades the object of national security concerns and interventions by the Argentinian, Brazilian, and Paraguayan states and has gained much relevance in global security discourses and practices after the 1990s Buenos Aires bombings and especially after 9/11, which led to increasing militarization and surveillance of the area. Global and Argentinian national mass media represent the triborder area as a chaotic enclave of violence and lawlessness, in which terrorist bases thrive thanks to porous borders and organized crime. Ieva Jusionyte carefully argues that journalists in Puerto Iguazú try to reverse this geography of blame and to protect their community from further securitization by associating violence and crime with the center of the nation-state. They portray their town as comparatively safe, keep a code of silence about organized crime and widespread smuggling, criticize the state as the culprit of violence (structural and otherwise), and attribute growing urban crime to poor migrants from Buenos Aires.

During her 14-month-long fieldwork, the author worked as a journalist in Iguazú's main digital daily and main television channel. Chapter 1 reflects on this collaborative methodological strategy, compares the writing genres of ethnography and news articles, and interrogates the relationship between anthropology and journalism. Chapter 2 traces the history of Argentina's northeastern borderland and points out that global security discourses met a preexisting national discourse that interpreted frontiers like

the Iguazú area as savage wildernesses opposed to and in need of the intervention of civilized urbanites. Chapter 3 focuses on the production of the view of the area as a haven of crime and terrorism, stressing the role that US media and governmental and nongovernmental agencies have played in it.

The next chapters are the most ethnographic and discuss how and why Iguazú journalists tend to depict their town as a secure place and project violence onto external agents. Chapter 4 emphasizes their worry that news of violence might have a negative impact on the flow of tourists on which Iguazú depends and explicates "the predicament of small-town journalism": journalists not only fear for personal safety and job stability but also develop close ties and a symbiotic relationship with local members of the national security apparatus (p. 161). Chapter 5 examines how, as members of a marginalized and impoverished town that relies on everyday smuggling of food and as professionals who need cheap equipment from neighboring Paraguay, Iguazú journalists refrain from investigating widespread contraband and corruption. The author relates this to a sense of solidarity with neighbors and to the respect for local moral codes in which some activities that are illegalized by the state are considered legitimate locally.

The tension between illegality and moral legitimacy becomes more complex in the fascinating chapter 6, which explores the local silence about the object of a global and national moral panic: irregular adoptions, the sale of children, and child trafficking in the Iguazú area. Pointing to the blurred boundaries between these criminalized activities and traditional practices of informal fosterage, Jusionyte shows how locals avoid talking publicly about these issues because they attribute them to extreme poverty and fear further criminalization and securitization of the area. Most of chapter 6 is dedicated to a series of ethnographic anecdotes that the author calls "takes" because they narrate scenes of her investigative work while producing a documentary for local television. As such, this chapter resumes discussions on the relationship between ethnography and journalism and results in a rarely seen productive exercise in experimental and fragmentary ethnographic writing.

Savage Frontier certainly has limitations: its analysis is sometimes repetitive, it tends to unreflectively reproduce Argentinian stereotypes about a violent and chaotic Paraguay, and it sympathizes with the reversal of the geography of blame without fully considering that it entails the criminalization of poor internal migrants. One also

wonders why the author chose to study Puerto Iguazú and not the neighboring—and more criminalized and securitized—Paraguayan city of Ciudad del Este. Still, this is a nuanced

and insightful ethnography that should be read by anyone interested in the anthropologies of security and the media.

Kurdistan on the Global Stage: Kinship, Land, and Community in Iraq by Diane E. King.

New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2014. 256 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12739

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The study of kinship and descent was one of anthropology's main foci until the 1970s, when such studies were increasingly criticized for being Eurocentric in assuming that biological notions of kinship are universal. "In countless ways, human groups structure units and define 'kinship' relations on bases other than biological connections" (Stone 2002:6). Also, theories about kinship had often been rigid and legalistic, as if everyone in a society would follow the classificatory models as presented by anthropologists. They left little room for the actual variety and for the choices people make in individual situations and assumed a fundamental difference between "modern" and "premodern" societies. After a generation of lack of interest for kinship studies, feminist anthropologists redefined and revived studies on family relations (Holy 1996; Strathern 1992).

In *Kurdistan on the Global Stage: Kinship, Land, and Community in Iraq*, Diane King examines recent developments in Iraqi Kurdistan (or KRG region), focusing on the importance of patrilineal descent in social and symbolic life until today, in the context of a steep rise of global connections after the 1990s. Characterized by a fast-growing economy and high influx of migrant laborers, Kurdistan developed into the safest area of Iraq, attracting many refugees from elsewhere in Iraq and from Syria. King explains previous lack of access to global connections among others to the "low-intensity panic" in which people lived due to various conflicts that had torn the region apart until the late 1990s, combined with "living in a zone of total media and border control" under Saddam Hussein's reign of terror, which made it "difficult to think or even to know much about the rest of the world" (p. 63). How did social life and connections develop since the establishment of a safe haven in 1991, followed by the autonomous region in 2005?

King argues that "anthropology, especially Middle East anthropology, turned away from an emphasis on kinship and descent too soon" (p. 78). This remark seems unnecessary in the light of the literature, because Kurdish Studies has, maybe more than other fields, been especially attentive to

the continuing importance of kinship in Kurdish societies. Leading scholars, such as Lale Yalcin-Heckmann (1991) and Martin van Bruinessen (1992), have presented in-depth studies of tribal and lineage structures while at the same time leaving room for the flexibility of interpretation of descent and belonging in these cases. Nevertheless, we know little about contemporary relevance and interpretations of lineage structures in present-day Iraqi Kurdistan. Based on long-term anthropological fieldwork, King's study therefore fills an essential gap regarding the dearth of ethnographic material on this geography.

Oral accounts indicate that new lineages came into existence through an important and memorable action by a man, who was then regarded as the founder. Like in other regions in Kurdistan in the mid-19th century, chiefs "filled local power vacuums resulting from the fall of the principalities" (p. 87) when the Ottoman Empire attacked the Kurdish principalities in an attempt to centralize and modernize the state structure. Most lineages were founded in this time, thus "created by modern events" (p. 88). Today, lineages often remain crucial means of connecting and gaining status. Many important political figures are descendants of lineage leaders; cousin marriage remains popular and is often patrilocal. Because of the logic of patrilineal descent, identity claims based on ethnicity and religion are much more fixed and permanent than would be if matrilineal descent was seen as important as well. But King also points to new developments. New Iraqi laws make it "much more possible for women to inherit land than in the past" and have the potential to weaken patrilineal logic (p. 131). The new classes of *nouveaux riches* and of returnees from exile, who, due to new economic and political connections, became influential without stemming from important lineages, are now competing with the traditional leading class.

On a more critical note, many examples given do not fully illustrate what the author is concluding. It seems that she excluded much of the fieldwork material that could have supported her arguments with richer ethnographic and historical detail. There are no in-depth examples of the history of lineages and their importance until today, and the writing often remains anecdotal. The author argues that incidents such as migration or conflict can cause a

rupture in the patriline, and “interviews with Kurdish people who recounted to me the histories of their lineages have produced many examples” (p. 116). One wishes to see some of this interview material presented. Lack of detail and historical context is why kinship studies came to be seen as problematic in the first place and should therefore have been avoided. Women’s roles and views gain little depth and dimension. The remark that “the majority of the Kurdish women I know spend most of their waking hours preparing food and cleaning their homes” does not touch on a more important question—namely, in what other activities women are involved (p. 113).

Having said this, *Kurdistan on the Global Stage* is an important contribution to ethnographic studies of Iraqi Kurdistan and cannot be missed by anthropologists and others with an interest in the global connections of Kurdistan and the larger Middle East.

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Spiritual Currency in Northeast Brazil by Lindsey King.

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014. 168 pp.

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Lindsey King’s book is based on a field study in Canindé in the Northeast of Brazil, one of the poorest areas of Brazil. It is a small rural town (approximately 25,000 inhabitants) with a shrine dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi. Roman Catholicism is the main religious tradition in Brazil. Among its popular practices are the worship of saints (not all of them canonical) and of the Virgin Mary, which reflect belief in a direct and personal relationship with the divine. A gap between official and popular Catholicism is also visible in Canindé. While the shrine that is the center of this study is officially dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi, the pilgrims bring their offerings to their own version of St. Francis, São Francisco das Chagas (St. Francis of Wounds).

The focus of the book is on ex-voto tradition, a widespread popular tradition that King defines as “the entering into a contract with a saint and fulfilling the contract with an offering that mirrors the complaint” (p. 9). While the ex-voto tradition is officially outside the official dogma of the Church, its important place in folk Catholicism is undisputed. Known commonly in Brazil as *milagres* (miracles), the ex-votos are mimetic votive offerings that represent a promise and are nowadays regarded even as folk art.

King’s book is an insightful study of the milagres of Canindé. The book is enriched with excerpts from interviews, local legends, and other oral traditions, as well as observations. The ethnographic feature of the book draws

a fascinating picture of the shrine and its many pilgrims. One can easily see how the experience in Canindé has made an impact on the author, who reflects on her own emotions throughout the book. The experience in the field that stretched from her first visit in 1994 to her last trip in 2011 has changed King, as chapter 2 of the book shows. But the book is not about the anthropologist but about the pilgrims coming to Canindé in order to fulfill their promise to the saint.

The book presents the ex-voto tradition as main feature of the “culture of the poor” in the Northeast of Brazil. Referring to Pierre Bourdieu, King interprets the ex-votos as “social texts” and explains that it is possible to expose the “pattern of poverty-driven medical problems” of the region by studying the ex-voto tradition (p. 36). Chapter 3 shows in detail how a range of physical diseases that are illustrated in the ex-votos (e.g., limbs, breasts, and heads) can be traced back to poverty as its root problem. All these examples are illustrated with excerpts from interviews that highlight the close link between poverty, disease, and the personal offerings to St. Francis. While the earlier reference to Bourdieu is not well developed, King is clearly following in the path of Nancy Scheper-Hughes’s (1992) brilliant study, which she acknowledges in her conclusion. The following chapters, 4 and 5, look at the ex-votos from other angles. While chapter 4 focuses on the material and aesthetical dimension, chapter 5 reflects on politics. King frequently refers to her observations in the shrine that makes her book so interesting to read. She also highlights the longevity of some of the forms (e.g., the anatomical ex-votos) that can be traced back to the Middle Ages in Europe. In this point, she challenges an outdated but

often-still-repeated interpretation of the Brazilian ex-voto as being of African origin (Saia 1944). King correctly highlights the complexity of the ex-voto tradition with African, Native American, and European influences (p. 131).

King's interpretation of the ex-votos as "encoded with symbols depicting conditions of disease caused by the socially created environment of neglect" oversees, however, the religious side of the tradition (p. 124). When she describes them as "encoded way of reacting against the domination of the upper class," the beliefs of the pilgrims are reduced to means of a class struggle (p. 132). Phrases like "unfortunate people" or "like-minded individuals" or comments that "people who are members of the culture of the poor in the Northeast 'constructed' St. Francis of Wounds to heal their diseases" sound even a bit patronizing (p. 124). King's presentation of the ex-voto tradition as a form of social rebellion

ignores that the pilgrims might be content that their prayer was answered and hence neglects the religious dimension the tradition has for the pilgrims.

Nonetheless, the ethnographic insight into a poorly studied region of Brazil is fascinating. While I regret that the theoretical debate was reduced to a few references to Bourdieu and Scheper-Hughes, the book makes a valuable contribution to Brazilian studies.

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History, Time, and Economic Crisis in Central Greece by Daniel M. Knight.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 232 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12719

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The "Greek crisis" permeates financial and scholarly accounts, conjuring Greece as an object lesson for and against austerity. Daniel Knight's highly engaging and accessible ethnography of economic crisis in rural Greece offers a more productive lesson—how crisis activates embodied practices of historicity and time. Knight, like his Trikalinoi respondents, is an expert storyteller, weaving together a fascinating account of the temporal pragmatics that people use in analyzing the present. Inspired by the writings of Michel Serres on nonlinear time, the "cultural proximity" of past events is an organizing concept for the book. With people's expectations of a more prosperous and stable future now shattered, old landmarks of impoverished pasts populate the landscape. War, famine, and absentee landlords who extract rather than return the surplus from scarce resources again have risen. Farmers no longer grow grain but, rather, solar energy panels bought with European credit on borrowed time (p. 58). Livelihoods now depend on sourcing out energy to the northern EU and on Greece's continued membership in the Eurozone in order for the contracts to "pay off" in any locally meaningful way. Ethnographic examples are well placed throughout the book, transporting the reader to the field and the lived "proximal" pasts that Knight's respondents call upon in describing their daily experiences of austerity-driven decline.

"Living the past" is embodied in how people talk and in the closeness they suddenly feel to the hardships experienced by parents and grandparents long ago, passed down through stories and intergenerational household practices. Another source is national narratives inculcated through political rhetoric, media, history textbooks, and shared representations of collective struggle and perseverance. Knight discerns the effectiveness of national embedding practices in how crises that were experienced more severely elsewhere (e.g., the famine in Athens) are relived in Trikala (where conditions were less harsh) with the same intensity. However, which past events "percolate" through to the present is highly local; the civil war is notably absent in Trikala but fundamental to the crisis experience of a Macedonian Greek village a short distance away.

The beginning chapters set the conceptual arc and empirical scene of the fieldwork. Chapters 3–5 provide a chronological accounting of the key events for people in Trikala—Ottoman land tenure, German Occupation, the Great Famine—with some of their signature features and enactments, allowing the reader to appreciate how people invoke and embody these past events in the present. Events reinforcing collective solidarity figure more prominently than divisive episodes like civil war. Remaining chapters show how cultural proximity plays out in daily life. Chapter 6 highlights the centrality of food and the capacity of food items like bread or cucumbers to index protest against "money-eating" politicians and to mark relations of power, prosperity, and suffering. In chapter 7, the visceral need to escape from homes now unbearably filled with crisis 24/7

becomes palpable. People flee to the comfort of public spaces like the coffee house to meet for critical debate and mutual support, making a single coffee last for hours to save money. Public space is intimately connected to status and its maintenance, and chapter 8 details the creative ways in which people continue to invest in material expenditures and rework cultural strategies of consumption and display in spite of debilitating austerity measures. These public displays are the surface appearances that external observers misunderstand as further signs of Greeks “living beyond their means.”

While the topological and topographic dimensions of time are pivotal to how people are experiencing the crisis, Knight’s own presence in Trikala and the relationships he cultivated with respondents before and during the crisis are another important temporal thread. Already embedded in the community, Knight traces the magnitude of changing material circumstances and radically upended life perceptions of his Trikalinoi interlocutors who come from a wide cross section of local society. Because relative prosperity has evaporated abruptly into incomprehensible and bottomless downward mobility, the directionality of change is important to these assemblage practices. A key contribution of the book is its emphasis on the theory-making potential of the empirical practices it traces, showing how people embody historical temporality to interrogate broader global processes.

With the focus on proximal pasts as a specific cultural form of crisis management, other questions emerge,

suggesting further intriguing lines of analysis. Did individual Trikalinoi also problematize this form of engagement with the crisis or challenge each other’s accounts of collectively important events? Could a dread of the past (as it is often experienced in Germany, cf. Boyer 2006) outweigh it as a reservoir of comfort? To what extent did detailed “money talk” (Placas 2016) about daily finances also figure within peoples’ accounts of money-related themes, such as those linking the 1999 stock market crash and suicides with the contemporary politics of food (Knight 2015: ch. 6)?

This is a superb ethnography that would make a wonderful addition to undergraduate syllabi in anthropology on a variety of themes. By carefully documenting the details of local experiences at this crucial juncture of global economic shifts, Knight’s ethnography is poised to become part of yet another “culturally proximate” event in people’s futures and represents an important contribution to the critical anthropology of crisis.

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A Feminist Ethnomusicology: Writings on Music and Gender by Ellen Koskoff.

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014. 256 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12714

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Presented in the form of an intellectual memoir, *A Feminist Ethnomusicology* is an accessible and engaging reflection on the contribution of feminist scholarship to ethnomusicology from the early 1970s to 2012. Through a creative strategy of narration, Ellen Koskoff frames her journey within the sociopolitical context of past and present North American culture, highlighting the theoretical orientations and publications that have influenced her pioneering works on music and gender. Defining feminism as a “political philosophy” meant to address unequal power relations based on gender, Koskoff assesses its achievements over four decades, from an era in which women’s culture was underrepresented to

the affirmation of studies that shed light on the correlations between music, culture, gender, and power. Especially for young scholars, this book is an indispensable compass in the multifaceted universe of feminist ideologies that have inspired lineages of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists. Koskoff outlines the history of feminism in three generational waves, but it is in particular the second one (between the late 1940s and the late 1980s) that is the author’s object of interest for having established a feminist subfield of anthropology and ethnomusicology through significant works and “new models to better integrate and theorize cultural performances of music and gender” (p. 29).

Subdivided into three parts, the volume is composed of 13 essays, seven of which were not previously published. Each section opens with a chapter discussing relevant theories and literature, which over time determined Koskoff’s scholarly direction in relation to the study of the *self-other*.

The theme of *sameness–difference*, as well as the use of binary categories in general, runs throughout the chapters as the heuristic device for analysis.

The first part of the book is an informative review of early feminist literature in ethnomusicology and also includes Koskoff's "Introduction to Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective," a seminal essay first published in a work edited by the author in 1987. Among other topics, this section debates the shift from the abstract and ahistorical idea of "woman" as a monolithic category in opposition to a normative male self to the concept of gender as a socially constructed notion. Focused on social justice issues, in Koskoff's analysis, feminist anthropologists and ethnomusicologists of the second wave seemed to privilege the "sameness" angle, considering all women's position subaltern to that of men, with less emphasis on the study of intrinsic cultural and individual differences. A criticism of this viewpoint opens the second part of the volume, wherein the author voices a challenging question that is not shorn of ethical issues: "How could one be both a politically active feminist, fighting for women's social, economic, and political equality, and at the same time an anthropologist, that is a professional participant-observer of practices seen in the field that seemed to be oppressive to women?" (p. 66). A feminist–anthropologist divide, according to Koskoff, collapsed in the last decade of the 20th century, with the third feminist wave and the adoption of postmodern assumptions. The deconstruction of the binary system, based on conceptual dyads as abstract organizing principles (male–female, order–disorder, power–powerless, inside–outside, emic–etic, descriptive–analytic, to name a few) with their implicit hierarchic structure, gave the start to poststructuralist and postcolonial theories characterized by a radical shift in the observation of the "Other." This innovative approach entailed a

self-reflexive scrutiny of modern anthropology's nature, resulting in the fragmentation of the scholar's authority, now nestled in a plurality of voices.

In the last section of her book, Koskoff observes that in the first decade of the new millennium, postmodernism and globalism have obscured the accomplishments achieved by feminist and gender-based scholarship. But while debates about diaspora, technologies, and theories of mass consumption seem to have erased actual people from anthropological studies, fieldwork remains the key site for the study of the self–other, and intergender, relations. It is fieldwork's experience that, according to Koskoff, allows one to integrate opposite perspectives, the emic–etic instances, into a fluent and real dialogue where sameness and difference converge. She stresses the central importance of fieldwork's process through amusing anecdotes and practical examples taken from her long-term ethnographic research among the Lubavitch community in Brooklyn, New York. Based on direct interaction with the "living subject" of research, fieldwork is not only a method for distinguishing ethnomusicology from musicology but also a process that makes the scholar aware of unconscious biases. In this way, Koskoff seems to unravel the poststructuralist and postmodern stances, suggesting a mediation between the scholar's conceptual framework and the informant's native point of view. Fieldwork is, in fact, the actual place of this continuous negotiation and the privileged site where one can be an active feminist and an ethnomusicologist.

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Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism: Second Edition by Mark P. Leone and Jocelyn E. Knauf, eds.

New York: Springer International, 2015. 489 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12779

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During the 16 years since the publication of the first edition of *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, historical archaeology has, to paraphrase the editors, gained an exhilarating maturity in tackling issues spelled out in the volume, such as how archaeologies of capitalism can and should be done and for what reasons (p. vi). The first sentences of the book,

however, proclaim "this is a whole new book" (p. v). It is fair, then, to judge how it is or is not a second edition.

The first edition had nine chapters in 230 pages; this one is doubly ambitious, with 19 chapters totaling 466 pages. Their organization departs substantially from the first edition, which emphasized themes rather than regions. The second edition does not conclude with a retrospective view; it conjures a sense that there is no conclusive end to capitalism.

The first edition discussed in detail terminology and basic concepts of capitalism. This edition builds upon that

foundation to establish a shared vocabulary; however, “the same terms and approaches cannot be used to examine capitalism in every context” (p. 8). Rather than hopeless confusion, this diversity is comprehensible and instructive and offers hope for a better future because of our common humanity—a promise that the new edition fulfills. Authors do much to question the status quo of overapplying and undertheorizing capitalism in historical archaeology (p. 7).

The sharpest criticisms are a call for fundamental change. Daniel O. Sayers decries looking “for reflections of our own selves” and feeding “on the lowest hanging fruit of the tree of possible activism” (p. 53). Cristóbal Gnecco argues that current discussions “reproduce the cosmology of modernity” (p. 328). Only different ontologies will usher in action and understanding beyond the bounds of capitalist ideologies, an approach John Molenda applies in spatial analysis with the “emergent aesthetic order” of feng shui.

Most chapters offer compelling formulations of familiar topics in the study of capitalism, such as consumerism, labor, and power (Laura McAtackney), making the volume more of a second edition than a new book. Ideologies of food (Jocelyn E. Knauf) were manifest in stockfish; people learned to expect food “from anywhere in the world and in a multitude of forms divorced from the original organism” (Gavin Lucas and Ágústa Edwald, p. 214). New commodities (Zev A. Cossin and Mark W. Hauser’s “visual economy” of landscapes as a commodity) as well as different amounts of mass consumables in households in 19th-century Mexico (p. 319), “poor white” Barbados (Matthew C. Reilly), World War II Japanese American incarceration camps (Stacey Lynn Camp and Laura Ng), and the Great Dismal Swamp (Daniel O. Sayers) offer chances to examine implications for agency, coercion, and consumption.

Race was elided rhetorically by “consumer democracy” (Michael Roller, p. 36) of mass consumerism or in synergistic practice (Mark P. Leone and Elizabeth F. Pruitt) but nevertheless formed iniquities of coloniality (Alfredo González-Ruibal, p. 422). A segmented labor market, however, benefits higher-paid labor, not capitalists or the elite. The level of organization and power of the racially privileged sector of the working class allows them to impose on capitalists the additional cost of impeding the free movement of labor in an open market (de la Fuente 2001:9).

Many contributions rethink liberal tenets of capitalism of progress (Michael Roller, p. 43) and the free-

dom of markets (Guido Pezzarossi) by underscoring how modernity and capitalism are predatory coercion (Alfredo González-Ruibal, p. 441). This predation causes relentless landscape alterations (Jonas M. Nordin; François G. Richard), a “metabolic rift” between human beings and the soil (Adam Fracchia and Stephen A. Brighton, p. 133) as part of the “logic of accumulation”; capitalism is an “invasive species” that disrupts and adversely affects the local communities it invades (Samuel R. Sweitz, p. 323).

This edition takes on a much greater temporal and geographic span and is in that sense new. The geographic organization—moving from the east coast to the west coast of the United States, south to Latin America, and finally on to Africa—replicates the hierarchy that the editors aimed to disrupt: “the ‘modern world’ studied by historical archaeology is not reduced to the extension of European or North American paradigms globally” (p. 4).

The emphasis on deep time perspectives in chapters by George Hambrecht and others complements the work of scholars such as Martha Howell (2010), who challenges the relationship of the commercial revolution of late medieval Europe to the development of capitalism. Because one expressed goal of the volume is to counter “historical amnesia about how past situations have structured present contexts” (p. 5), I found it curious to claim that the authors are of a third generation “who are freed from the history of how the field began” (p. v).

In some cases, the volume perpetuates the very structures of inequality that it proposes to subvert. Despite the doubled size, only little more than 25 percent of the contributors are women, close to the rate of severe gender imbalance in the first edition. This edition goes beyond the first in many ways, but we still have much farther to go.

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Unearthing Conflict: Corporate Mining, Activism, and Expertise in Peru by Fabiana Li.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 280 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12728

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In the aftermath of Peru's Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), particularly the drastic SAP implement by President Fujimori in 1990, the expansive global demand for minerals was used to expand mining to a new level in Peru, boosting the boom of the national economy in the 2000s (the highest growth rate in Latin America for several years). By 2013, Peru was among the top ten countries in the world exporting minerals, and its mining concessions had taken 20 percent of the Peruvian territory, directly encroaching on areas previously used for agriculture and affecting more than half of campesino communities. The conflicts associated with resisting mining in Peru (their intensity and frequency much higher than in other Latin American countries) became one of the most important and complex social movements in Peru, eliciting a varied response from the national government, the mining sector, and the civil society (at the local, national, and global levels). *Unearthing Conflict* aims to explore the complexities involved in the recent resistance to mining in Cajamarca (the Yanacocha and the Conga cases representing a response to the "new modern" mining) by including an analysis of the 20th-century mining in the Central Highlands (the case of La Oroya smelter, representing the "old mining"). The shift from conflicts focused on miners' rights as workers—that characterized most of the conflicts opposing the "old" mining during the 20th century—to conflicts focused on environmental impact (for instance, pollution affecting not only the workers and their families but whole watersheds and areas of influence), to conflicts focused on multiple socio-spiritual-environmental arguments (the "sacredness" of the mountain to be mined, which is also a key aquifer for the region and a source of livelihoods) is used by Li as a starting point to explore these conflicts and how they have been "managed" by the state and mining corporations.

Unearthing Conflict is an ambitious and well-crafted analysis of mining and mining conflicts that deconstructs the ways these phenomena have been defined by social practices from the mining corporations, environmentalists, the state and local-global activists, as well as social scientists and the media. Her main analytical platform relies on Bruno Latour's notion of ontological multiplicity (2008), claim-

ing that not only are there many "cultures" or meanings or interpretations of a unitary Nature but a "multiplicity of actors and agencies that enact socio-natural worlds" (p. 22). Building on John Law's notion that "reality might be otherwise" (2004), Li uses the multiplicity of nature as a basis to understand different kind of politics, wherein the emergence of new actors and concerns over mining has allowed hegemonic representations of nature to be challenged. For instance, when analyzing the case of La Oroya, she suggests that "pollution must be treated not as a single object to be analyzed from different perspectives but [as] a multiple [object] in and of itself (Mol 2002). The existence of pollution is dependent on the particular practices that bring it to being" (p. 37). When analyzing the case of the resistance to Yanacocha mining in Cajamarca, she reiterates that environmental conflicts are not just about competing interpretations of Nature but also about "struggles over the enactment, stabilization, and protection of multiple socionatural worlds" (p. 110). Cerro Quilish was not "simply perceived in different ways . . . Rather, it emerged as radically different entities—a valuable mineral deposit, a mountain that holds water, a sacred mountain and a sentient being—through the practices of the actors involved" (p. 110). Furthermore, Li gives agency to elements of the natural world, blurring the borders between the "natural" and the "social." Another key concept used by Li is the "contested equivalences" to deconstruct how solutions to conflicts are built and to identify underlying conflicts that remain invisible. Building on Viviana Zelizer (1989) and Bill Maurer (2006) and their critique of the argument that money homogenizes all qualitative distinctions or flattens social relations embedded in the way people assign value to things, Li uses the notion of equivalences to explore how they are used to calculate and evaluate the effects of mining activity, giving or suppressing legitimacy to the discourses of different constituencies. Contested equivalences are therefore the different and sometimes incompatible underlying systems of knowledge and knowledge practices that create new social relations of collaboration and antagonism. This concept is used to analyze a broad range of phenomena related to mining and mining conflict in Peru, allowing an exploration not only of what is visible but of what remains hidden or suppressed, showing also unexpected alliances or synergies—for instance, between landlords (*hacendados*) and peasant communities affected by pollution from La Oroya, who obtained compensation from the smelter, or the motivation that local residents

of La Oroya had to participate in the company's programs and to reject the resistance movements. Li does an excellent job in analyzing the engagement of different actors in this conflict, the different logics and narratives, their "equivalences," and the interaction between social and nonsocial agencies. She pays special attention to the role of landscapes and socially constructed "natures" in regard to the mining conflict. Her analysis is based on an extensive and exhaustive ethnographic research and informed by an analytical framework that is well suited for deconstructing, exploring, and unveiling. *Unearthing Conflict* is in this regard an obliged resource for those interested in understanding not only mining conflicts and activism or the complexities of human agency but also the broader interactions between humans and nature(s), especially in these critical times.

Surviving Desires: Making and Selling Native Jewellery in the American Southwest by Henrietta Lidchi.

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. 272 pp.

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Focusing on the American Southwest, Henrietta Lidchi provides an overview of Native American jewelry as a cultural form, as a "vehicle of desires," and "as a material means of expression about oneself, one's community, and one's livelihood" (p. 1).¹ At the beginning of the book, Lidchi follows a traditional cultural-historical approach by providing a cursory overview of the prehistoric and Spanish colonial periods of the Southwest to set the stage for the 150-year period that is the focus of her research. After a brief history of trade routes between the Southwest and Mesoamerica, focusing particularly on the turquoise and shell trade and the resulting lapidary work of the Pueblos, she then discusses the emergence of silversmithing among the Navajo.

While providing a detailed literature review of how anthropologists and archaeologists who worked in the Southwest in the late 1800s to early 1900s helped build museum collections, she touches on how they and individuals running trading posts influenced the materials, economics, style, and "traditions" involved in the production of Native American jewelry. Lidchi attempts to understand Southwestern jewelry by confining herself to the "evolving traditions of Navajo and Pueblo jewellery which have emerged most forcibly over the twentieth century" (p. 5). To do this, she "chart[s] the de-

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velopment of styles and forms from Santo Domingo mosaic to Navajo cast work and stamp work, Zuni inlay and Hopi overlay looking at changes, emerging forms and significant debates" (p. 5).

Lidchi addresses three central questions: (1) the relevance of craft as an idea; (2) the distinction between art, craft, and commodity; and (3) the relevance of biography, wherein its definition is "multivalent." She argues that Native American jewelry is "a transacted object with biographical intent" and that, on the one hand, this "addresses the materiality and communicative power of jewellery" (pp. 5–7). On the other hand, it indicates how "different types of jewelry appeal to different constituencies who wear it to express culture, community or individuality" (p. 7).

Surviving Desires includes eight chapters divided into two parts. Part 1 (chs. 1–5) focuses on the Native American jewelry collections at the British Museum and the National Museums in Scotland. Lidchi begins with an overview of the iconic jewelry styles of the Navajo and Pueblos through what she refers to as "episodic history" from 1860 to the present. She identifies key moments when controversies or events caused the representation and interpretation of Southwestern Native American jewelry to expand and shift. She situates the persistent discourses relating to terms used in describing Southwestern Native American jewelry as "curio," "craft," and "art" that are carried forward to the present day and identifies those individual mediators who were the source of the so-called episodic changes. The themes on which

Lidchi focuses on the markets, tourism, and the specific role of Indian trading posts. Part 2 (chs. 6–8) explores the history of collecting Southwestern Native American jewelry by British museums. She then discusses her own research and the contemporary Southwestern Native American jewelry collection she acquired during three years of fieldwork (1997–2000) for the British Museum. She includes a section on the jewelry artists with whom she worked, referring to them as “makers” and including brief biographical sketches of each artist along with images of the pieces she acquired for the museum.

The book provides an extensive literature review to support Lidchi’s historical overview and the theoretical debates that have transpired over the past 150 years of Southwestern Native American jewelry production. The reader is easily distracted as the author moves in and out of various theoretical frameworks to support her many premises based on who was and is currently writing about whether Southwestern Native American jewelry is a curio, craft, or art—anthropologist, art historian, artist, buyer, or collector.

At times, the narrative seems somewhat disjointed and the British spellings, grammar, and editing makes one pause now and then. Even though some of the threads she follows get a little frayed, there is much to be learned about the transformation of Southwestern Native American jewelry as it moves from a curio or craft to an art form based on the research and personal collecting experience discussed. Following in the footsteps of such luminaries as Kenneth Begay and Charles Loloma, the number of famous contemporary Southwestern Native American jewelers who are redefining this art form in the 21st century has exploded on the art scene in the past decade. *Surviving Desires* is a good start for anyone wanting to learn more about Native American jewelry as well as about the ongoing theoretical debates regarding its status in the art world.

NOTE

1. The author uses the European spelling “jewellery,” but I have chosen to use the more common US English variant “jewelry” throughout this review except in the case of direct quotes from the author.

Fighting for Breath: Living Morally and Dying of Cancer in a Chinese Village by Anna Lora-Wainwright.

Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2013. 343 pp.

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In *Fighting for Breath*, Anna Lora-Wainwright explores the disturbing rise in cancer rates in China’s countryside through a sensitive study of a relatively poor village in Sichuan province. By focusing on the experience of cancer sufferers and how they and their families manage these medical crises, the author makes a valuable and unique contribution to the anthropology of contemporary China. Her intimate relationship with several families of cancer sufferers enables her to trace the moral and spiritual struggles for certainty brought on by these often fatal illnesses.

The book is divided into three parts. Part 1 orients the reader to rural Sichuan, the history of Communist reforms, the socioeconomic challenges of the present, and common misperceptions of the Chinese countryside. Against the recent academic refrain about the decline of morality in village life, Lora-Wainwright insists that rural residents are continuously negotiating the moral parameters of their world, defined by a collectivist past and market-oriented present. In part 2, arguably the heart of the monograph, the author

explores how the moral dilemmas of village life articulate with local understandings of cancer, particularly esophageal and stomach cancer, which are so common in this region. This analysis helps explain why villagers are often skeptical of widely recognized causes of cancer, such as water quality, smoking, and alcohol, and more inclined to attribute cancer etiologies to local conditions, such as hard work, repressed emotions, or contaminated food. In part 3, the author explores the various responses to a cancer diagnosis. Because of the inequalities of the medical insurance system, the cost of biomedical therapies can be prohibitively expensive for rural residents in China. In this context, the author explores how family relations are both strengthened and strained, as difficult choices must be made about how to treat and care for a cancer patient and how to mourn the individual in death.

Readers will enjoy this ethnography for the rich portrayal of village perspectives on health, disease, and suffering. Lora-Wainwright is particularly adept at capturing the many contradictions of rural life and villagers’ contingent strategies for finding ethical meaning within a constrained field of choices. For example, the willingness to work hard is a core value in rural life, where farming has been central to subsistence. But the extreme physical hardships of the collectivist past, particularly those experienced during the famine of

the Great Leap Forward, are perceived as a leading cause of cancer. At the same time, villagers are ambivalent about the market reforms of the present. The demand for flawless fruits and vegetables has altered contemporary farming practices, making the use of farm chemicals essential. These chemicals are widely viewed as carcinogenic, but their use is not condemned outright because it would be impossible to compete in the marketplace without them. Villagers are aware that salt-pickled vegetables are considered a possible cause of esophageal and stomach cancer, but they remain a popular element of the local diet. This preference may reflect enduring habits of the past, but pickled vegetables are also widely seen as healthier than fresh market vegetables because they are made with the pesticide-free vegetables that villagers grow for personal consumption. When deciding about treatment options, family members of cancer sufferers must make difficult decisions about how to deploy limited financial resources. It is morally imperative to show concern for the sick, but cancer sufferers reciprocate by confronting their diseases with stoic resignation, often rejecting expensive drugs and surgical procedures as ineffective, knowing that they might bring financial ruin to the family.

Although Lora-Wainwright has achieved much, she has also missed many opportunities. Her strength—the focus on the moral negotiations surrounding the meaning and treatment of cancer—may also be the book’s weakness because it seems to preclude other types of analysis. For example, anger is widely recognized as a primary cause of cancer. The author demonstrates that discussions about anger frequently identify female in-laws as the cause of this emotional friction. But this insight fails to take up the perhaps even more interesting questions of embodiment raised by this claim. Toward the end of the book, the author tantalizes the reader with intriguing observations about shamans and geomancers and their place in village life and the treatment of illness. But in general, she does not explore the numerous therapies, both traditional and biomedical, that cancer patients use during their illness. Last, while the author scrupulously relates her research to a wide range of important literatures and certainly produces suggestive analyses of the ethnographic events she witnesses, this reader found himself wishing for a more human touch, one that would have allowed the reader to really get to know these courageous cancer victims and their families.

How Chinese Are You? Adopted Chinese Youth and Their Families Negotiate Identity and Culture by Andrea Louie.

New York: New York University Press, 2015. 304 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12782

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Although the spate of books and articles on transnational adoption, initially provoked by a rise in international adoptions that began the late 1990s, has subsided, one topic deserving of further exploration is how teens and young adults have reflected on their experiences as adoptees over time. More specifically, how does adoption intervene in their construction of self and identity and what role does it play in their ideas and practices with respect to making families in the future and the interactions they have undertaken across multiple, and sometimes very different, kinds of family and social ties?

Andrea Louie begins with the adoption journey of prospective adoptive parents to China and then moves to the experiences that adoptive parents have once they are in China. She looks at the decisions parents make upon their return in conjunction with their children about how to instill “Chineseness” in their children and in their families, and she ends with an examination of how the children view themselves as Chinese American adoptees.

Louie herself is Chinese American and infuses the text with reflections on how her ethnic identity has shaped her interactions with Chinese American adoptees and their families.

Louie distinguishes Chinese American adoptive parents (those hailing from China or who are second- or third-generation Chinese Americans) from white adoptive parents (parents who have adopted Chinese children) in order to compare and contrast their experiences of constructing Chinese ethnic identity. I follow her labeling below but wonder why white families that incorporate a Chinese child would not also be considered Chinese American, albeit perhaps with significantly different dynamics entailed in how they approach their ethnic identity.

Drawing on the theoretical contributions of Aihwa Ong (1999), Louie argues that adoptive parents operate from a position of white ethnic privilege that offers them “a degree of capital, mobility, and access to resources to assemble their own versions of ‘culture’ to insert within the so-called U.S. melting pot.” (p. 86). They wrestle with how to address or control difference—between themselves and their children, their family and normative social expectations, and their children and others. They have more options available to them, but their children truly straddle white privilege and

their more complex designation as ethnic “Others” as individuals. Louie’s second point, related to her first, but more subtle and insightful, is that adoptive parents have a “privilege of authenticity” that permits them to pick and choose and negotiate about what it means to be “Chinese” in the United States. This dynamic process unfolds and undergoes change in light of the shifting terrain of the politics of race and culture in the US. She also shows how these meanings are enacted and argues that it is important to recognize the value that adoptive parents attribute to the performance of what they think is authentic about Chinese culture. In managing the ethnic identity of their families and children, the steps adoptive parents take resemble those of other mixed race families, but adoptive parents have more cultural and political capital to work with as they engage in the “race work” of instilling both whiteness and Chineseness in their families and children.

Louie’s discussion of adoptees as teens and adults is not extensive. Her most significant findings—that adoptees, as they approach adulthood, seek not to be objectified and classified and that some among them are creating new kinds of ways to exchange information, form communities, and engage with each other by means of the worldwide web—have already been discussed by other scholars of transnational adoption.

The book is lucidly written, though heavily descriptive. It covers well-trodden ground yet, oddly, omits two key texts—my own (Seligmann 2013) and the very important work of Barbara Yngvesson (2010), who, along with Eleana Kim (2010), has done much to tease out the identity forma-

tion experiences of adoptees and their parents, especially as they become young adults.

Although Louie did participant-observation, accompanying a group of parents on their journey to China and interviewing adoptive parents and children, one does not get the sense that she was able to spend long periods of time with her interlocutors. Her field research with teens and young adults is limited, and the book ends where I had hoped it would begin. Most of the material from which Louie draws her main points is inferred from her interviews, making the book seem more sociological than anthropological.

Louie writes with little jargon, making the volume quite accessible. The ethnography will be useful for undergraduate and graduate classes covering transnationalism, family formation, race, and ethnicity.

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Forests Are Gold: Trees, People, and Environmental Rule in Vietnam by Pamela D. McElwee.

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12792

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In 2010, Vietnam was lauded for its reforestation efforts in the Five Million Hectare Reforestation Projects. As anthropologist Pamela McElwee argues, the campaign was not just about planting trees for the benefit of the nation; it was a policy to encourage individual households to plant trees in order to stake new land tenure rights. This project is just one of many compelling illustrations that showcase forest policies in Vietnam as environmental rule, or the use of ecological reasoning to justify social planning (p. 5).

The introduction provides a compelling theoretical overview of environmental rule by highlighting several key principles inspired by studies of governmentality and actor-network theory. These principles—problematization, classification, intervention, and subject formation—and their specific application to forest policies in Vietnam are condensed to a visual map (p. 27), but as the following chapters make clear, decoding environmental rule requires substantial fieldwork. McElwee studied forest policies for nearly two decades (1996–2014) and employed a range of methods including colonial archives, interviews with elite policy makers and foreign NGO workers, life histories with foresters, quantitative household surveys, and even a transect on a “bare hill” that revealed more than 22 species, each of which could be identified by local residents (pp. 152–153).

Environmental rule challenges the ontological status of forests by revealing how these spaces were problematized and then visualized using diverse and sometimes contradictory classifications, but as McElwee shows in this book, the target of forest policies is never just about trees; rather, it is about “society.”

The case study comprises five chapters presented in chronological order from the establishment of formal French colonial rule to the present-day policies around pricing mechanisms purported to capture the externalities of deforestation. The first chapter introduces an ongoing target of intervention, swidden, or shifting cultivation, classified as depleting the forests even as colonial policies created more accessible areas called “reserve forests” specifically for extracting timber resources. Chapter 2 focuses on postcolonial North Vietnam and the creation of state-owned logging companies or State Forest Enterprises (SFE), which had considerable overlap with the colonial reserve forests (p. 72). These forests were arenas for creating new socialist citizens by recruiting Vietnamese from the lowlands and resettling ethnic minorities in the name of development. The policies led to McElwee to a surprising empirical finding—despite the use of chemical defoliants by the United States in the former South Vietnam, the rates of deforestation in North Vietnam were higher (p. 87).

The final three chapters examine how environmental rule targeted “deforestation” as Vietnam transitioned away from the collective policies in the early 1980s. The new target of intervention was not the forest but those SFE employees who were transformed into a new social type, the forest ranger, and tasked with guarding the forest against illegal loggers vilified in the mass media. Chapter 4 focuses on reforestation campaigns like the Five Million Hectare Reforestation Program that linked planting trees to land tenure

rights in the name of the “nation” but effectively excluded the poorest households, who were deemed lacking in the capacity to care for the trees. McElwee shows how the program emphasized Australian exotics, which compelled people to tend to these trees much more so than indigenous varieties. In the final chapter, McElwee examines two different policies to use economic incentives to lessen environmental impacts. One of the ironic effects of these policies was how people began to visualize trees as carbon containers, which in turn led to Australian eucalyptus trees to be reclassified as “forests” and contributed to the expansion of plantations in the name of conservation.

While McElwee presents Vietnam as a general case study, it is worth asking if Vietnam is not the paradigmatic model, given its revolutionary history and the role of the developmental state. Can environmental rule alone explain the persistence of several themes, including the denigration of swidden agriculture and state-sponsored internal migration? How might environmental rule be applied to ecosystems that span territorial borders like rivers? These questions only reinforce the fruitfulness of this methodological framework for denaturalizing environmental problems in other countries.

Forests Are Gold offers a timely analysis that will appeal to scholars far beyond Southeast Asia. The book’s organization is ideally suited as a case study in the classroom; it provides a sophisticated framework that is then masterfully demonstrated with historical and ethnographic evidence drawn from forest policies in Vietnam and a conclusion that revisits the major arguments while raising critical questions. It should inspire upper-division undergraduates, graduate students, and scholars to rethink assumptions about the virtues of environmentalism by showing us how such reasoning has never been just about trees.

Upper Perené Arawak Narratives of History, Landscape, and Ritual by Elena Mihas with Gregorio Santos Pérez and Delia Rosas Rodríguez.

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014. 488 pp.

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Elena Mihas’s *Upper Perené Arawak Narratives of History, Landscape, and Ritual* constitutes an extensive treatment of a rich culture with a vivid historical consciousness and eloquent storytelling traditions that are represented in the Ashaninka Perené language as well as in English. The Ashaninka peo-

ple are a numerically significant population of lowland Amazonian people living mostly in Peru.

The author drew from 30 narrators living in the Chanchamayo Province. There are 58 texts, which are divided into broader categories of history, landscape, and ritual, each section of which is introduced with contextualizing commentary by the author. The content of the texts was collaboratively conceived with discussion among contributors, family members, and tribal authorities to achieve a consensus on the final product.

This book adds to the author's significant body of descriptive linguistic work, which has made valuable inroads into our knowledge of Ashaninka Perené language structure, including analyses of a typologically ubiquitous class of expressions called ideophones and their interrelations with gesture. With this work, Mihás expands her domain of expertise into ethnographic, historical, and ethnohistorical terrain.

Because this work is identified as belonging to a discourse-centered approach to culture, the texts are of central importance for the book. Each narrative occurs first as a complete text in the Ashaninka Perené language, followed by another complete text translated into English. The translations do not provide the kind of morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown that a linguist would look for. Instead, every line of Ashaninka text is given a number that, in principle at least, matches a corresponding line in the English text with the same number.

The author's translations are, for the most part, of a quality that communicates effectively. However, there are occasions when the translations would benefit from additional commentary and clarification. A welcome and laudable aspect of the English translations is the author's inclusion of some Ashaninka words that have no translational equivalents in English but are important because they communicate to readers about a variety of sensory experiences. These include words for the sounds of bubbling whirlpools, of rifles firing, of laughter, or for the action of digging through soft soil, or for the sensation of grabbing onto something moving.

The stories contain many fascinating details of life experiences and memories related by people who are currently in their seventies, some of whom are relating their own grandparents' experiences, which means that we are getting significant and valuable snapshots into a rather distant past

when salt had to be mined, many places had yet to be named, and intertribal conflict was extremely common.

I found myself drawn into these stories for their universal human interest as much as for their ethnographic value as documents of indigenous knowledge and perspective. The reader is provided with gripping and at times terrifying stories of traumatic events, such as that of a parent trying to hide a child to protect her from slave traders. There is a tragic story of a woman abducted from her home as a young girl who was never able to be reunited with her family again. A number of stories mention or describe in detail the brutality of witchcraft accusation inquisitions. There are also moments of entertainment in some narratives, such as the one about a quirky mythical being who transforms people into whatever he wants when they do not pay attention to him.

The texts also make it abundantly clear that although the Ashaninka Perené are nominally Christian through their affiliation with the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, their Amazonian animism seems to be just as vital to their identity. A beautiful statement of Ashaninka peoples' understanding of what animism means for them is found in the following statement by a man who was quoting his grandfather: "Everything that exists on this land has eyes, mouths and ears . . . a tree exists for a reason, a river exists for a reason, so do rocks, they all have masters" (p. 302).

The author's commentaries that introduce each section of texts, which are grouped into categories of history, landscape, and ritual, are another strand of knowledge represented in this work, and they synthesize the broader scholarly significance of the texts from historic, topical, and cultural vantage points. This book would be a valuable text for courses on South American ethnohistory, indigenous societies of South America, and courses on South American mythology, language, and culture.

Webcam by Daniel Miller and Jolynna Sinanan.

Cambridge: Polity, 2014. 220 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12797

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The rise of the Internet and the correspondent explosion of channels of communication have transformed the fabric of society—from the humorous and at times depressing effects texting has had on "romantic" relationships and the opportunity of families to share intimate moments while separated by time and space to the ability of companies to hold real-time video meetings with participants across the globe. Scholars have dutifully begun to track these emerging patterns of interaction with studies of Twitter, Facebook,

mobile phones, and online gaming. Daniel Miller and Jolynna Sinanan's book *Webcam* offers a welcome intervention in these discussions.

The aim of the book is to understand the role of the webcam as an emergent communication channel. As the authors argue, a study of the webcam is critical, as, to date, there are "no anthropological studies dedicated to ascertaining its consequences" (p. 1). Taking up this task, the book is structured in a series of chapters that interrogate the role of online video conversations in the understanding of the self, the creation of intimacy, the maintenance of long-distance relationships, and the uneven construction of place in the digital age.

The book is written in an engaging style, and it is well suited for advanced undergraduate and graduate students.

The majority of the arguments from *Webcam* are based on ethnographic research done by Sinanan in a small town in Trinidad, and the book gracefully employs vignettes and stories of different characters in Trinidad and across the diaspora to paint a nuanced portrait of the role of the webcam in everyday life.

Webcam begins at the end, with an introductory chapter entitled “Conclusion.” In this chapter, Miller and Sinanan offer the core theoretical contribution of the book, their “Theory of Attainment.” Frustrated with a dominant narrative that sees tools like the webcam as artificial intrusions into “natural” forms of face-to-face communication, the theory of attainment offers a more complicated assessment of technology adoption. The authors argue that “a theory of attainment is one in which we refuse to view a new technology as disrupting some prior holistic or ideal state” (p. 12). They continue, “the word ‘attain’ implies that, although it was not previously achievable it was already latent in the human condition” (p. 12). Here the authors highlight mutability as a consistent aspect of the human experience, challenging normative judgments on technologically infused change. This argument sets the stage for the ethnographic chapters to follow.

The ensuing chapters map different aspects of webcam usage through in-depth portraits of webcam users. This is exemplified in the chapter focused on intimate relationships. The authors detail the fascinating phenomena of the “always-on” webcam. Through the practice of “always-on,” couples and family employ the webcam to create an environment where it feels as though they are cohabitating. Thus, while early adoption of the webcam mirrored the use of the phone, as online video has been incorporated into everyday existence, it has been used in novel ways, offering new patterns of sociality.

While the book has many strong attributes, from the richness of the ethnographic data and clarifying theoretical interventions, the book has a few weaknesses. The first and most obvious issue is that much of the data for the book comes from a small town in Trinidad. While this is not a problem in and of itself, the authors aim to make larger theoretical claims without working out the relationship between the local and global and the possible limits of the webcam experience in Trinidad. While the Geertzian dictum that “where a fact comes from does not determine where it may go” may hold true, it only holds when the authors make a compelling argument for seeing the universe in a grain of sand. Miller and Sinanan, however, do not make this case in the text, which is a limitation of the work.

The second problem is a lack of analysis on the intersections of technology and power. Miller and Sinanan correctly push back against simplistic theories of communication technology, whether dystopian or utopian, and instead ground their research in lived experience. At the same time, the authors do not interrogate important critical questions. They do not ask what portion of the population has access to the Internet and, consequently, to a webcam in a country with a sizeable digital divide. Nor do they ask how the monetizing of these platforms by companies like Microsoft affects the way the technology has developed and can be utilized. Most importantly, they do not help readers to understand what this means for emerging patterns of sociality. Missing this critical perspective is a lost opportunity for an otherwise insightful book.

In balance, *Webcam* is a wonderful edition to the growing research on technology, mediation, and everyday life. It offers readers a window into the ways people are incorporating this technology into their relationships, romances, and understandings of self.

Primates in the Real World: Escaping Primate Folklore and Creating Primate Science by Georgina M. Montgomery.

Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015. 176 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12729

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In *Primates in the Real World: Escaping Primate Folklore and Creating Primate Science*, Georgina Montgomery tracks the development of primatology as a scientific field. She is particularly focused on how a science grew out of the many misconceptions about primates within popular culture. Montgomery is not a primatologist herself but a historian of science with a focus on the history of primatology and animal behavior

fields. This book derives from her long-term interest in primatology and from a course she teaches on the subject.

Primates in the Real World begins with a chapter describing the roles of primates in the popular culture of the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There are descriptions of chimpanzees in zoos, the film *King Kong*, and early attempts at primatology in the form of Edward Tyson’s anatomical studies. Montgomery also discusses anecdotal descriptions of primates in the wild deriving from the tales of exclusively male hunter-adventurers. It is in this chapter that Montgomery establishes her argument that primatologists faced a particular struggle in developing their scientific

field because of the need to break free from the biases and misconceptions of the popular culture.

Chapter 2 traces Robert Yerkes's endeavors to study ape intelligence and sexual behavior in captivity. An important figure in early American primatology, Yerkes determinedly raised money for primate research and effectively convinced the wider research community of the importance of studying primates. Yerkes was also an early advocate for the welfare of captive primates. He traveled throughout the United States to study ape behavior in captivity, eventually establishing an early primate center in Orange Park, Florida. Yerkes was also integral in the establishment of field primatology through his student Clarence Ray Carpenter.

In chapter 3, Montgomery provides interesting descriptions of Carpenter's development as an experimental scientist and, later, a field biologist. The importance of Carpenter's approach to studying animals in the wild was critical to establishing primatology as a scientific field. Carpenter's systematic methods led to his success first on Barro Colorado Island and later during the Asiatic Primate Expedition.

The debate over field versus laboratory methods is the subject of chapter 4, a conflict that applied to primatology as well as to ethology. It brought the "naturalness" of captive and experimental studies into question just as the Cayo Santiago field station was established and the number of primates in captivity in the United States was increasing.

Chapter 5 discusses what Montgomery calls "pop primatology." In the 1960s and 1970s, field primatology became part of the popular culture with the work of Jane Goodall and Dian Fossey. This chapter focuses primarily on Dian Fossey's long-term project, which provided invaluable information about mountain gorillas and was one of the first successful field studies of primates in their natural habitat.

The book concludes with a chapter discussing the long-term Amboseli Baboon Project established by Jeanne and Stuart Altmann. Jeanne Altmann's background in mathe-

matics led to systematic behavioral methods that provided greater objectivity and replicability in behavioral studies. This "new" primatology also involved giving credit to indigenous people who had long been denied recognition for their help with field projects.

Overall, *Primates in the Real World* is an interesting and digestible read that addresses a subject often neglected in history of anthropology texts, making this book a useful addition to undergraduate history of anthropology courses. I do, however, have some reservations about this text. The book sets out to be a history of primatology as a field, but it is, in fact, a very narrow history. The people and projects discussed in this book are entirely US based, so this book traces only American primatology isolated from international influence.

Furthermore, the author refers repeatedly to the challenge of primatologists to break free from the misconceptions of popular culture in their struggle to establish primatology as a science, citing the short-term and anecdotal "adventurers' tales" and lack of actual scientific studies, but, in fact, the natural evolution of any scientific field begins with amateurs' investigations followed by broader, descriptive studies and only later can individual scientists start to specialize in rigorous studies of their subject.

Finally, one challenge in primatology was wholly neglected in this book—that of the biology of primates themselves. Primates live in remote areas that are difficult to reach, require long-term studies because of their slow development and long lifespans, and are highly intelligent animals that often live high up in trees, making them difficult to see and follow. Primates are not the easiest subjects if a scientist's goal is a large sample size and efficient data collection. Those of us who study primates, however, are interested in them because of their complexity and because we see reflections of ourselves in them. To that end, it is always good to have another book with which to educate students interested in the subject.

We Were Adivasis: Aspiration in an Indian Scheduled Tribe by Megan Moodie.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12784

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Tribals or *Adivasis* have been the focus of study for mainstream people all over the world since time immemorial. India is known as melting pot of diverse races, castes, creeds, and tribes, and so on.

The book under review, *We Were Adivasis*, is an effort by author Megan Moodie to understand the status of a tribal group in an urban settlement. The book focuses on feminist jurisprudence in a manner that tries to cover the holistic life cycle of women in terms of their social, economic, educational, and political arenas while reconstituting their traditional identities as Adivasis and the upliftment of their people after being benefitted by affirmative action approach of the government. The study is about Dhanka, tribals who

have settled in Shiv Nagar Basti in Jaipur, the capital city of the State of Rajasthan in India.

The book has been divided into eight chapters highlighting the perception, prejudice, inequality, attitude, and gender stereotyping faced by tribals—especially the women. Thus, the book basically deals with the socioeconomic changes in relation to gender perception in the tribal community.

Chapter 1, the book's introduction, deals with the definitional aspect of Dhanka as a tribe or scheduled tribe (constitutional category), or, as they call themselves, "adivasis"—the latter of which the author has incorporated into the title of the book. This chapter begins with Dhanka's social standing in the caste-ridden society of India, focusing the turmoil and trust in labelling them as Hindus or outside the Hindu fold. The religious identity of tribals has been a debatable issue in India.

Chapter 2 of the book traces the history and origin of the Dhanka. The author highlights the basic question: "Who are the Dhankas?" She notes that textual references to the culture and history of the Dhanka are scarce from the late colonial period to present. Those that do exist tend to be brief and to stress their "insignificance" and lowness (p. 30). The narratives so far given or described by the author provide the details of upbringing and at the same time raise issues of identification for their claim to Scheduled Tribe [ST] status.

Chapter 3 throws light on the deep insight of Dhanka's livelihood in an urban settlement. The impact of new sects or religions on spiritual discipline of Dhanka is another focus of this chapter in the light of traditional affliction of alcoholism. The author notes: "Thus, not drinking and following a vegetarian diet perform a certain kind of annunciation of upward mobility. It is another instantiation of the repeated narrative "We Were Adivasis," in which backward practices are replaced by developed ones" (p. 74).

Chapter 4 focuses on social relations of Dhanka women in domestic arena especially with their husbands and other men in the society. How are women seen and valued in terms of their labor (respectability), which they contribute toward the socioeconomic upwardness of their family and society at large? This chapter specially internalizes the Dhanka's

notions of female respectability and more general notions of family in north India broadly in Rajasthan.

Chapter 5 describes the emerging trends of annual collective weddings, known as *Samuhik Vivah Sammelan*, as the centrepiece of Dhanka articulations of tribal identity and its impact on marriage and family arrangement of younger generation. It also serves the purpose of political mobilization of the community for the political parties.

Chapter 6 is an extended analysis on the notion of collective weddings, this time from the perspective of young Dhanka girls. Considered in this chapter are their aspirations to education and emotions with prospective husbands, their love lives, and future psychological connections with their would-be life partners.

Chapter 7 emphasizes the position of young Dhanka men in relation to economic survival and source of livelihood. The uncertainty of jobs in the era of privatization and shrinking job prospects in government institutions are creating frictions in the worldview of young Dhanka men. The author's comments are noteworthy:

The Dhanka are strained in zone between the era of service in which Constitutional promises of uplift and empowerment provided the horizon of collective aspiration, and the era of the contract in which communities are supposed to embrace "self help" and leave behind the non-modern reliance on caste-based identity and legal affirmative action in the form of reservations. [p. 170]

The concluding chapter 8 discusses the growing complexity of the policy of reservation in India while emphasizing the struggles around reservation in Rajasthan. The categorization of people in the name of beneficiaries of reservation as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes and further mobilization of some communities to be included in these categories have been charged political affairs in India.

We Were Adivasis is very comprehensive in the sense of understanding the social milieu of a tribal group. No doubt this ethnographic detail will be very useful in providing deep insights of Adivasi culture for feminist studies, policy planners, and all those who have keen interest to better understand the tribal worldview.

Protests, Land Rights, and Riots: Postcolonial Struggles in Australia in the 1980s by Barry Morris.

New York: Berghahn, 2015. 216 pp.

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Barry Morris's *Protests, Land Rights, and Riots* consists of six chapters written over a period of 20-plus years; parts of three chapters have been published previously as journal articles. The extended timeframe of the writing does not greatly affect the coherency and quality of the book. There are occasional repetitions of facts, but the overall arguments come through clearly and consistently. Indeed, the long gestation of the book can be seen as one of its particular strengths as retrospective interrogation of the events and indigenous affairs of the 1980s allow for a detailed genealogical exploration of the colonial, political, social, economic, and legislative forces influencing the everyday lives of Aboriginal people in rural New South Wales (NSW) from the 1970s until the present day.

Protests, Land Rights, and Riots is true to its title, providing the reader with a comprehensive political, historical, and anthropological analysis of the struggles of Aboriginal people for rights to land, culture, identity, and history during the turbulent years of the 1980s. The book is a consideration of "the complex fate of Indigenous peoples in settler colonial states, where struggles for autonomy and recognition are politically convoluted and where legal and institutional integration pervades everyday life" (p. 1). Morris's analysis and arguments are concentrated in explorations of the "interplay between the cultural, economic and institutional forces that have developed in a postcolonial state," wherein social inequality, political agency, institutional racism, and dispossession are central elements (p. 2). Furthermore, Morris's study highlights the structural and ideological transformations taking place as the welfare state gives way to one based on neoliberal policies in which political reforms shift moral responsibilities regarding social inclusion and exclusion to the individual, who becomes the foci of the institutions of the state, and the marginalization of those already at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder is reinforced.

The setting of the study is rural NSW; the political context is one in which racial tension between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations is increasingly marked by the neoliberal political agendas—or, as Morris claims, "the shift from neoliberalism as a political ideology to its en-

trenchment as a form of governance" and a move towards more punitive controls (p. 68). The book presents several riots and protests among Aboriginal people in rural NSW, and the analysis is centered around a particular event, the 1986 Brewarrina riots (or "melee," as Morris prefers to call it). According to Morris, this riot "acted as a switching point in a political struggle over the nature and direction of government policy in indigenous affairs," largely because a television crew recorded the confrontation, effectively drawing the attention of the whole of Australia to the social realities of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in rural NSW (p. 4). These riots were also a catalyst when it came to the establishment and deliberations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC). Furthermore, Morris draws the attention of the reader to the construction of the rural NSW Aborigine as the "public order problem," the role of the police in racializing the towns of NSW in the 1980s, and the impact of surveillance and monitoring on the "Aboriginal subject."

One striking contribution made by this book is the "archaeological" unravelling of the fermentation and growth of early neoliberal ideas from the 1970s and 80s onward and the development of a "matrix of regulatory agencies that multiply the mechanisms of surveillance and monitoring" of the "Aboriginal disorder" (p. 90, see ch. 3). Subsequent marginalization of Aboriginal people and, more seriously, the systematic merging of Aboriginal affairs into the general categories of "minorities"—effectively wiping out the recognition of Aboriginal people as the first people of Australia—is described eloquently: "Indigenous [rights] claims became one difference within a sea of difference" (p. 43). Morris makes strong critical claims about such population management practices by the state—via postcolonial parliamentary politics and legislation—instigating forms of moral crisis and racial tension, which become the driving forces behind the "mainstreaming" of Aboriginal affairs.

Another significant contribution of this book—of particular interest when it comes to Morris's argument on "mainstreaming"—is the changing representation of Aborigines in the course of the riots and protests of the 1980s. At the start of chapter 6, Morris claims that "the Brewarrina riot was significant because it was inconsistent with the established cultural scripts and visual imagery of the Aborigines. The national media's violent images of Aborigines confronting state authority ruptured the normative world with shocking effect" (p. 155). The chapter then provides

the reader with numerous examples of symbolic as well as discursive constructs and objectification of indigenous and black people—local as well as global—which conclude

a challenging text and a fine anthropological study. The objectification of the Aboriginal subject is satisfactorily challenged.

The Franz Boas Enigma: Inuit, Arctic, and Sciences by Ludger Müller-Wille.

Montreal: Baraka, 2014. 188 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12756

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Ludger Müller-Wille's *The Franz Boas Enigma* focuses primarily on Franz Boas's early research among Inuit people, particularly his early German publications. The major contributions of Müller-Wille's emphasis are (1) access to material that is hard to locate and not readily accessible to English-language scholars and (2) the intellectual and professional trajectories embodied in this early research as it was eventually replaced by English-language scholarship. Müller-Wille links Boas to his German intellectual tradition and demonstrates the emergence of Boas's reputation in North America and the increased importance of English in international scientific discourse. In both respects, he helps uncover lesser-known aspects of Boas's research and his emerging career.

Müller-Wille, himself a scholar of Inuit communities, focuses on geographic and ethnological paradigms that developed in German universities, especially the influence of anthropogeographers Friedrich Ratzel and Theobald Fischer on Boas's thinking on humans and their environment. This work, in turn, influenced Danish, Greenlandic, and Canadian scholarship, demonstrating the impact of German intellectual traditions and popular interest in polar explorations on scholarship on the Arctic and Inuit peoples. They also coincide with the early years of Boas's career. Between 1883 and 1926, Boas published almost 90 works on the Inuit and Arctic region, about half in German and half in English. Initially, Boas had difficulties speaking and writing in English,

although this became the lingua franca of scientific publications and the language of Boas's professional life. One of the most interesting points of this book involves Boas's insistence on using the terms and concepts—such as place names—of the Inuit themselves. One wonders if Boas's own linguistic challenges helped inform this sensitivity. No matter, Müller-Wille emphasizes, it led to a body of work that continues to be useful for the descendants of the Inuit individuals whom Boas studied. Increasingly, after about 1926, his publications were in English. This is important because it signifies Boas's establishment as an authority of anthropology in the US and the international, English-speaking world. It also signifies the 1920s as the turning point in this development, suggesting something about the professionalization of the social sciences and the appeal of anthropology in the interwar years.

The book struggles to develop a clear, consistent, and original argument about how this work connects to the longer history of Boas's development and importance. Although the title identifies Boas as an "enigma," both as a person and as an anthropologist, this seems to be an overstatement. The work of Müller-Wille himself, Douglas Cole, and myself, among others, have made Boas much less puzzling as a figure. There are gestures to Boas's antifascism in the 1930s, but these do not have a convincing connection to the volume's main concerns. Such a scope is too large a burden for this book, the strength of which is to examine Boas's early research and its legacies and relevance for continued study of and by Inuit peoples. Nonetheless, it makes a useful contribution to our understanding of Boas's early development as an anthropologist and the importance of Arctic research in launching his career.

Swedish Design: An Ethnography by Keith M. Murphy.

Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015. 264 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12706

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Keith Murphy's ethnographic approach to *Swedish Design* is an outstanding contribution to an emerging anthropology of design, particularly in facing the relationships between material culture, creative practices, and politics in the contemporary world. The book has a clear-cut agenda: to demonstrate that artifacts have politics and that, in the case of Swedish design, they are embedded with values of care, egalitarianism, and accessibility that conform to part of a social cosmology that is very close related with Swedish identity, nation formation, and the rise of the welfare state at the beginning of the 20th century. The 260 pages of the monograph are devoted to unpacking this premise by answering the questions "how are the things designed to be political?" and "how are things made to mean?" and by situating design as a cultural category and designing as a social practice.

In the introduction ("Disentangling Swedish Design"), Murphy presents an outline of the main lines of his ethnographic work that temporarily runs from 2005–2006, with intensive fieldwork, to 2007–2013, with different short visits, to complete the 14 months of fieldwork "on site." This is a long-term ethnography, but it is worthwhile to point out that, in his methodological account, the lack of almost any reference to online sites and online relations with his correspondents in the field is surprising; moreover, after at least eight years of fieldwork relationship in a context in which digital media surely must have been present. Thus, I insist here on visibilizing the importance of digital media in shaping most of our contemporary ethnographic works and also its current significance in design (Pink et al. 2016). This being said, I enjoyed the unfolding of the theoretical vectors at the beginning of the book that guided the ethnographic composition. By defining design as a way of making things to serve some practical function, the author looks for anthropological approaches to the subject, such as Daniel Miller's (1987) "material culture," Bruno Latour's (2008) materialist view in defining sociotechnical assemblages and distributed agency, and Alfred Gell's (1998) analysis of art and aesthetics. The diagram concept inspired by Deleuze 1988 is the scaffold of Murphy's architectural lines that follow the thick description drawing: lines of enunciation (final vocabulary) and lines of visibility (cultural geometry). This conceptual weave tries to bypass the dichotomist distinction between an object's intrinsic materiality and its more aesthetic or "symbolic" aspects. The designers working within the cultural

geometry contribute to build a secure and caring everyday world (two core values of social democracy ideology in Sweden) by giving beautiful, simple forms to their objects.

For understanding the links between design and social reformism in Sweden, we navigate through the political and economic history of the country since the emergence of modernity at the end of the 19th century, which is fully developed in the chapter "Building the Beautiful Home." A very convincing narrative teaches us about the efforts of the couple Karin and Carl Larsson to implement social democracy ideals through design, alongside with Gunnar and Alva Myrdal's social reformism and principles of a social architecture based on a modern conceptions of the household. Thus, the connection between social democracy policies, social order, and household design in turn-of-the-20th-century Sweden is well documented and established. Moreover, this historical review smother's Latour's (2008) proposition that design disrupts modernity, because design is shown as a conscious modernizer endeavor by Swedish politicians. Subsequent chapters are devoted to the ethnographic description: "In the Design World" and "In the Design Studio" contain very vivid and rich descriptions of the ethnographer inquiries. However, the ethnographic material seems to escape the former interpretation, as it is very difficult for the author that the designers themselves acknowledge their work as "political"; although most of them do not see their work as overtly political, their work is "heard" as political, nonetheless, at least as it passes through certain institutions (p. 93). Thus, design is intersected by political reinterpretations and reinstitutionalizations, as, for example, through exhibitions and fairs of "Swedish design." Perhaps the metaphor of language, which is used for design's analysis, is a little bit insidious here as it can reinforce the dichotomy that the author wishes to avoid. For example, the author talks about "heteroglossic artefacts" as if they were "utterances" made by designers (because they are the products of their creativity) and then "read" symbolically as political instruments. However, in his conclusion, Murphy masterfully links the "final vocabulary" of Swedish design—functional, ethical, accessible, democratic, and egalitarian—with the contours of Swedish society, proposing a direct link between artifacts and politics through the "social cosmology" of the Swedish (p. 207). In my view, what is most relevant in this book is precisely Murphy's attempt to understand and explicate the Swedish notion of beauty as being linked to everyday life and as a key ethical mechanism for enacting social change and democratic policies. The idea that design can be a source for social change seems to be today expanded worldwide, as a revolutionary form of hope: in design we trust.

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Real Queer? Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Refugees in the Canadian Refugee Apparatus by David A. B. Murray.

London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016. 194 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12787

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For more than 20 years, Canada has welcomed refugees fleeing persecution due to sexual orientation or gender identity (SOGI), enhancing Canada's image as a socially progressive nation. In *Real Queer? Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Refugees in the Canadian Refugee Apparatus*, David Murray critically examines this portrayal by illuminating the constellation of actors and discourses that coalesce around SOGI refugee claimant interactions with the refugee determination system.

The text begins with an anecdote—the author's encounter with a SOGI refugee claimant who volunteered with a LGBT organization, as he was informed it would bolster his claim for refugee status. The conversation led to Murray's investigation as to how people learned about and became SOGI refugees, their interactions with the Canadian refugee determination process, and the role that other actors played in supporting and adjudicating these claims. Based on that study, *Real Queer?* weaves together ethnographic detail, reflexive observations, and salient theoretical concepts to reveal the complex negotiations of identity and performance, law and emotions, and competing discourses of sexuality and gender among differently situated actors in the high-stakes refugee determination process.

The work is informed by Jasbir K. Puar's articulation of homonationalism (see ch. 1; see also Puar 2007), which illustrates how borders are patrolled to enhance the integrity of—and to distinguish between—"tolerant" societies such as the US and Canada and those of reputedly homophobic and, usually, racialized countries. Similarly, the "queer mi-

gration to liberation nation" discourse, wherein refugees are portrayed as fleeing hateful and intolerant homelands to find refuge in the true North, strong and free, underpins the adjudication of SOGI refugees in Canada. While SOGI refugee claimants may learn to align their own stories with this discourse in view of the refugee determination process, experiences of racism and homophobia in Canada and memories of welcoming spaces in their homelands disrupt this narrative. Preparing for a successful claim, however, requires SOGI refugee claimants to engage in presentations of the self and to produce documentary evidence of their SOGI minority status that hews closely to dominant circulating social and sexual identity labels that reflect and reinforce homonationalist discourse. To illustrate how other actors, including LGBT support organizations, help to reinforce homonormative performances and homonationalist narratives and the contestations of SOGI refugee claimants thereof, Murray uses the occasion of the production of—and "back-stage" discussions about—a play written and performed by SOGI claimants under the supervision of a professional director.

Murray further describes how documentary evidence and expert testimony serve as disciplinary mechanisms organized in the service of the nation-state. These include letters affirming claimants' membership in SOGI refugee support or LGBT organizations, inveigling these groups in a technobureaucratic mechanism that reinforces surveillance and shores up the contours of "appropriate" LGBT identity. Members of the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) employ these—along with other written materials, generally informed by hegemonic LGBT categories and labels, and oral testimony—to determine the veracity of claims that require "proof" of both SOGI status and of the potential for persecution in one's homeland because of it. While examining how documentary evidence is produced for use by IRB

members, Murray reflects on the role that he, like other anthropologists, plays as an “expert” witness. The text was published at a time when new measures were being introduced by the former Conservative government, which most refugee advocates believed would increase the rejection of SOGI refugee claims. The sense of an ambiguity as to the impact of the new policies echoes the far more egregious sense of uncertainty that SOGI refugee claimants face in light of the new normal in Canada’s refugee determination system.

Murray’s work engages, informs, and challenges readers; however, some repetitive statements that appear throughout the book mar the otherwise lucid prose. Moreover, in some sections, particularly chapter 7, the author fails to problematize the dichotomy that situates refugees in opposition to immigrants, despite the blurred lines between voluntary and involuntary, temporary and permanent, and (im)migrants and migrants. Importantly, while Murray has succeeded in illuminating the experiences of SOGI refugees and their interactions with the refugee apparatus in Canada,

he is aware of some of the limitations of the research—most notably that it focuses on claimants who landed in Toronto, Canada’s largest city, which is home to a host of well-established LGBT and immigrant-serving agencies. As participation in LGBT organizations, spaces, and events appears crucial in establishing a claimant’s credibility, one wonders whether or how the configuration of those claims would differ for those who sought refuge in smaller cities. In conclusion, *Real Queer?* will serve as an excellent text for upper undergraduate and graduate courses in anthropology and queer, migration, and gender studies but will also be valuable reading for immigrant-serving and LGBT organizations who support SOGI refugee claimants as well as for those who adjudicate their claims.

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Landscape of Discontent: Urban Sustainability in Immigrant Paris by Andrew Newman.

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015. 304 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12788

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Landscape of Discontent is the latest book by a US anthropologist to consider the legacy of empire, the official republican rejection of cultural pluralism, and the politics of urban ecology in contemporary France. In an innovative and welcome turn away from scholarship that centers on the contradictions of French secularism, citizenship, and the place of non-mainstream populations within the nation, this book takes us to a multiethnic, working-class district within the city of Paris that is undergoing massive urban development. Municipal elites chose this area for an ambitious reclamation project that was intended to remake a former industrial canal and transit hub into an environmentally sustainable and globally competitive site with a large public park, cultural centers, and modern public housing units. Andrew Newman focuses on the politics and struggles between local residents and city officials that emerged over the design and use of the Jardin d’Éole, because this park was viewed as an integral part of the transformed urban landscape. He conducted fieldwork among area residents, municipal officials, architects, business owners, and environmental activists following a wave of new investment that was intended to completely rebuild

the district. This infusion of capital produced massive demolitions, noise and air pollution, and toxic-waste dumping. It also hastened the downward mobility of long-term neighborhood residents of West African and Maghrebi ancestry, who were shut out of new housing units and forced into a shadow economy of seedy hotels and overcrowded apartments.

Building on classic and recent work of urban geographers and sociologists, Newman combines fine-grained ethnography with a sustained examination of what he calls “the political life of small spaces” (p. xxxvi). He charts the history of Northeast Paris as a liminal and contested zone, affected by accelerating deindustrialization and the struggle over residents’ rights to participate in the urban-planning decisions that are intended to remake their neighborhood. Newman studies in detail the protest politics of local activists who are a hybrid group of largely middle-income, public sector employees of French and Maghrebi origin. These residents have persuaded the Parisian leftist municipal government to create an 11-acre public park by expressing ecological concerns over the risks of commercial development, the need to redress the social inequities affecting low-income families, and the benefit of ensuring *mixité sociale* or sociocultural diversity in the neighborhood.

Newman’s central question throughout the book is as follows: Who are the intended beneficiaries of green spaces and sustainable cities? Who determines the right moment

and appropriate site of a green turn in urban planning, and who is marginalized by this policy? The author is at his best when he contrasts the layout and rules that govern access and use in the gardens of central Paris with the new park in Northeast Paris, the Jardin d'Éole. Given its large size, minimalist design, lack of enclosures, and unobstructed visibility, Newman argues that the Jardin d'Éole invites open access and creative appropriation by neighborhood residents. The garden within the park is a particularly interesting space. It becomes a crucible for social interactions that reinforce inclusive republican values, on the one hand, and that break-down dominant monocultural notions of Frenchness, on the other hand.

Despite the park's transformational potential, Newman lays bare the class, ethnic, and generational fault lines in the neighborhood. The last chapters chronicle the simmering tensions that emerge over noisy scooters on neighborhood streets and in the park, the bike-sharing program, and the occupation of an abandoned bank to call attention to housing as a basic right. City officials, architects, and middle-class

residents frame these issues with the language of sustainable development, but they also open a window on new ways to police public space and to exclude certain groups, such as impoverished newcomers and young men of immigrant ancestry. Fears linked to juvenile delinquents and drug dealers as well as the desire to maintain local control over public space have the effect of turning residents into neighborhood vigilantes and park guards who conduct surveillance and enforce park regulations.

Landscape of Discontent makes an important contribution to the politics of urban development, environmental activism, political power, and ethnocultural relations within the contemporary global city of Paris. Newman shows how a neighborhood movement becomes entangled with the imperatives of a competitive global economy driven by sustainable innovation and the branding of green cities. By exploring the shifting boundary between public and private space and the debates concerning cultural difference, this book shows how French republicanism is being reworked on the local level in ways that produce both lingering conflicts and spaces of hope.

Lighting Up: The Rise of Social Smoking on College Campuses by Mimi Nichter.

New York: New York University Press, 2015. 272 pp.

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There is some fine-grained ethnographic data in Mimi Nichter's latest offering, *Lighting Up*, which examines social smoking on US college campuses. She argues that we ought to be more attendant to the context in which smoking occurs for two reasons: first, context is not simply the backdrop to a range of behaviors; it is inextricably interwoven in and with them. Second, this is a context that might not be as discrete and bounded as we have hitherto thought. Given that job prospects have diminished dramatically since the global financial crisis and that graduates might not make a smooth transition into the adult world of working and earning, many of the attributes of college life might well continue past graduation. This might mean that the starkly imagined transition point from college to real world, fixed in many of her interlocutors' minds as "on graduation," might not arrive. The upshot for Nichter is that if it does not, smoking cessation might not either. Nichter's interviewees imagined smoking cessation at a fixed point—precisely upon entry into the world where the freedom of college days ended.

Despite Nichter's claim that context is all important, this claim is only actualized within the narrow parameters of the ethnographic work itself. The reason I say this is because Nichter is not so much tobacco researcher as she is a tobacco control researcher, and the context in which she herself sits and from which she produces her findings remains unexamined. This is highly consequential in every respect, regarding everything from how the ethnographic material is handled and arranged to the service into which it is pressed. Most significantly, it is consequential for the claims that it advances about the role and the worth of anthropology.

Nichter's framing of the material is made firmly within the paradigm of translation common to anthropological accounts dating back to Bronislaw Malinowski's interpretation of Trobriand Islanders: How can we make sense of this seemingly curious practice? She proceeds then to translate for us: Why do people on college campuses in the US smoke? Because they are in a liminal time, between the period of parental supervision and freedom, between the worlds of a surveilled childhood and the responsibilities of the "real life" of adulthood. It is a time of freedom but also one of stress that has to be brought under control, often with self-prescribed doses of cigarettes, weed, and drink, as one goes about acquiring all the capitals one needs in order to occupy a state in

the real, adult world but also “has fun.” No wonder cigarette smoking and its range of accompaniments are on the rise in this liminal context, providing as it does comfort, sociality, stress reduction, and the possibility to perform “self” in new ways. Their practice makes contextual sense.

Translation complete, Nichter invokes an equally classical medical anthropological framing by posing a second question, one beyond “Why do people smoke”: How can we stop them? Indeed, this was the original intention of the subdiscipline of medical anthropology—to work out on the basis of deep ethnographic investigation how to diminish negative health effects. Nichter identifies the missed opportunities for tobacco control and proposes intervention strategies. She identifies the real menace to youth futures—that they will be drawn into the thrall of Big Tobacco’s advertising techniques that offer “less dangerous” options like e-cigarettes. This sets the scene for what anthropologists should do against such a menace: they should reveal the ways in which smoking makes meaningful sense to practitioners despite its manifest risks then figure out how we might better reach them so they can be more resilient to Big Tobacco’s sneaky techniques.

In this framing, anthropologists become handmaidens to cessation agendas and thus forego their capacity to take a critical stance on all the players in the tobacco game, however

“good” their stance—investigating anthropologists included. I do not think Nichter should be prevented from taking such a stance, but it is a political, moral, salvational stance, and the effects of taking it must be examined. It is significant that it is Nichter who is making these claims: as a very well-known medical anthropologist, her claims help set the paradigmatic tone for subdisciplinary thinking. This makes it all the more important that she argues for the position she takes, rather than simply presenting it as the only (valid) position medical anthropologists naturally take. I would defend her right to produce what she has in this book, but it must be set within a range of positions, and these positions must form part of the context that she states she wishes to bring to the fore in her analysis.

Broadly speaking, Nichter frames her participants as people who will struggle to find employment in the fields for which they are training. One of these is an anthropology major, who might find it harder than most. But perhaps his path will be eased if he hitches his anthropology wagon to the cessation star? What better prospect is there for a medical anthropologist than to be involved as combatants in the good war against the tobacco scourge? But it is important that we critically examine the roles we take up in this war. If a book starts out with the claim that context is all important, then perhaps Nichter should not exempt herself from it.

Figuration Work: Student Participation, Democracy and University Reform in a Global Knowledge Economy by Gritt B. Nielsen.

New York: Berghahn, 2015. 276 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12718

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Many countries have recently introduced university reforms in the name of austerity, accountability, competitiveness, and efficiency. This well-written book takes as its point of departure Danish university reforms in order to analyze how, in this process, the figure of the student is negotiated in pedagogical, institutional, and political settings. The analysis is based on empirical data from ethnographic fieldwork among students in three Danish universities and within national and international student organizations and networks, as well as on studies of policy papers and historical accounts of student participation.

The author has two ambitions. First, by exploring figurations of the student, she aims to examine the ways in which students participate in their own education and learning,

the development of university governance, and the creation of national policies, both within and beyond the area of education. Secondly, she aims to develop a theoretical and methodological approach to the study of subjects of reform. This approach takes as its point of departure frictional moments of contestation and ambiguity, which produce different forms of figuration. By employing the term *figuration*, the author explores the many different ways in which the subject of study—here, “the student”—is constructed and how these constructions or figurations are entangled with each other. This is an ambitious theoretical pursuit, and the reader might be left with stronger understandings of the different student figurations than of their entanglements.

Two student figurations the author identifies are the student as a co-owner of the university and the student as a consumer who picks and chooses between different educational services. Rather than finding that they are in opposition to each other, Gritt Nielsen’s analysis shows how one figure becomes foregrounded so that it eclipses the other.

Despite the author's careful explanations of her theoretical framework throughout the first part of the book, I find the three ethnographic chapters much more informative in the exploration of the figures' entanglements. Nevertheless, the study of subject figurations and of how these figures relate to each other can inform many other fields of study.

Nielsen initially situates the Danish university reforms and student protests in an international and also a historical perspective, as well as in the context of the wider educational system in welfare-state Denmark. She emphasizes that the 2003 Danish University Act constituted a reform enabling universities to respond quickly to market needs in teaching and research. This reform changed the universities' leadership structure, allowed students less involvement in decision-making processes, and made greater demands on their finishing their studies on time—but also offered greater opportunities to choose between different courses and educational institutions.

The second part of the book consists of three chapters that form its core ethnographic contribution. Here, Nielsen examines the tensions between acquisitive learning, including what is necessary to pass exams within the prescribed time, and inquisitive learning, namely that driven by an explorative interest in learning for its own sake. While students and teachers celebrate inquisitive learning as the very essence of a good university education, this also risks the student spending time “going in useless directions.” Hence, Nielsen argues that the reforms' promotion of efficiency challenges the student's ability to engage in independent and creative explorations, thus possibly creating an obstacle to its attempt to enhance students' abilities as independent thinkers and creative, risk-taking, self-directed, future employees.

This point builds into an interesting paradox that Nielsen observes in connection with her exploration of student resistance toward new reform initiatives in 2005. Although the national student organization aimed to participate in the parliamentary process and to speak on behalf of all students, it received only limited student support. However, nonparliamentary activist networks succeeded in engaging a significant number of students in devising various ad hoc creative events. According to Nielsen, rather than participating in organizations, the student consumer figure becomes a coproducer of the kind of single-case resistance that takes the form of social movements. Paradoxically, the launching of such events against the reforms actually makes the students goal oriented, autonomous, and self-directing—precisely the sort of skills that the reform promotes as creating employability in the capitalist knowledge economy.

Figuration Work entails an implicit critique of how so-called “neo-liberalism” pervades educational institutions. Only in the conclusion does the author explicitly point to efficiency measures, accountability systems, and “freedom of choice” as connected tendencies that are occurring at the cost of democracy as a way of life, subject criticism, and the kind of knowledge that is created by a curiosity that takes nothing for granted. Nielsen's analysis of the different forms of student resistance is the part of the book that most strongly points beyond the university, as it opens up considerations of how educational measures influence people's engagement with democracy. It would suit the analysis to engage even further in the role of an increasingly efficiency-focused and market-driven educational system in the wider society. Nevertheless, Nielsen's careful study of how students are understood as students today still offers a prism through which we can learn about transformations in the welfare state and developments in the global knowledge economy.

Songs That Make the Road Dance: Courtship and Fertility Music of the Tz'utujil Maya by Linda O'Brien-Rothe.

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12716

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The singing of ritually important Tz'utujil songs in an indigenized Zarabanda style accompanied by a 17th-century Spanish five-string guitar may no longer exist. The “songmen” have died, and their children have not maintained the tradition. Linda O'Brien-Rothe began the labors that produced this book as a Maryknoll sister in 1960s Santiago Atitlán, seeking local Maya musical models to de-

velop indigenized Catholic liturgical music. The project did not transform the liturgy but led the author into ethnomusicology and a new life. This reflexive and refreshingly nonpolemical book reports the fruits of her collaborations with several songmen in recording their songs in the 1970s—music often accompanied by dance performed at vigils and in courtship settings to invoke and invigorate spirits and forces with the power to renew nature and transform lives. A wonderful feature of the book is that it is keyed to 18 recordings downloadable from the University of Texas Press website representing the genres discussed in the text.

Among the cited works of six ethnomusicologists of Maya music, there is only one published after 1970. Just as this indigenous song tradition has ended, there is no active ongoing tradition of Maya ethnomusicology. The scholarly context that will be important for most readers is the corpus of writing on Maya literature, ritual, cosmology, and expressive culture. O'Brien-Rothe controls this literature for Santiago Atitlán, and it is used effectively to situate her discoveries in a tradition of scholarship.

A masterful foreword by Allen Christenson places the book in the literary conventions of the Popol Wuj, and O'Brien-Rothe provides her own extended take on this in chapter 4. She finds that the couplet, triplet, and quatrain structures documented by others for K'iche'an pre-Hispanic literature is shared by the texts of her songs, but she adds to this a series of observations on the unexpected presence of an even metrical pattern in many of her songs (p. 161), and her analysis of in-line rhyme via alliteration and assonance as opposed to European end-line rhyming has captured a Mayan poetic convention (pp. 157, 165). Her explanation of how the irregular rhythm of written K'iche'an poetry may be far more regular when it is sung to a musical pulse could offer some new perspectives on the poetry in the Popol Wuj understood as musical lyrics (p. 166).

The main focus of the book is on presenting the lyrics of 24 songs representing two major genres (the Nawales and the Road) and numerous subgenres, in Tz'utujil and English translation, with thorough exegesis. We learn in chapters 1 and 2 that songmen perform the music to invoke nature spirits (Martines and Marias), foundational ancestors (Nawales), syncretized Maya-Christian deities (Santos), and the souls of the dead. At the beginning of current time, the Nawales erected a carved image known as Old Mam to guard the town, and it taught them the three *recibos* of the Mam and the three *recibos* of Santiago—that is, the tunes that

welcome or receive and “stand up” or resurrect the Santos so they can act for the community. In chapter 3, we learn that the songmen channel the Mam who sings through them and that the combination of song and dance “opens the road” for courtship, marriage, grieving, healing, and protection from a bad destiny. Finally, songs of the flowers and fruit in Holy Week were performed in connection with a trip to the coast and back again, transporting symbols of fecundity that initiated the young men in the community, who would then marry and begin the journey of *cofradía* service, the road to Nawal status after death.

While offering an original take from the perspective of the songmen and their tradition as well as numerous detailed descriptions of rituals, the core of the book on the Maya Cosmos and rituals of renewal in Santiago Atitlán elaborates on the work of E. Michael Mendelson, Robert Carlson and Martin Prechtel, Vincent Stanzione, and Allen Christenson rather than offering a completely new interpretation. It does not seek to frame any broader comparative generalizations on Maya tradition, and with the exception of a few references to work in Chiapas, it remains situated in the ethnography and history of Santiago Atitlán.

O'Brien-Rothe has made two really important contributions to ethnographic work among the highland Maya. She has recorded a collection of songs that can therefore now be heard again in the descendant community. For professional researchers on Maya culture, the descriptions in chapter 3 of the role of ridicule in courtship and of the ritualized and poetic explorations of the tensions, ambivalences, and emotions that figure in parent-child relations, in sexual love, and in marriage provide original and profound insights into this indigenous culture. We are reminded of how little we actually know about the psychological texture of the lives of indigenous peasant villagers whose social organization and ritual life have been so thoroughly documented.

The Spirit of the Laws in Mozambique by Juan Obarrio.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. 280 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12734

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Kaleidoscopio—Research in Public Policy and Culture

Postcolonial research on state and governance in Africa has long been in need of ethnographic studies that document the everyday work of state functionaries and processes within state institutions. Juan Obarrio's *The Spirit of the Laws in Mozambique* is an important addition to this growing body of literature. The ongoing legal reform in Mozambique provides an excellent opportunity to examine how

the state is constituted and presented in the everyday lives of Mozambicans.

Obarrio organizes his book in two sets of essays that explore from different angles the place of custom and citizenship in Mozambican legal reform and its implications for access to justice. Collectively, he tells a story of “spatial and temporal discontinuities between different areas of the country [that] separate the spaces of the inception of the law and the spaces of its alleged enforcement” (p. 19). Hence, the first three chapters of part 1 look at the policy-making process at the national level and consider how, through legal reform, state units and transnational donor agencies give

shape to the Mozambican state. This is done through an examination of the views of policy makers, bilateral and multilateral organizations, experts expressed in interviews, draft policy documents, and policy workshops on customary law held in the capital city.

In part 1, Obarrio is economical in his references to the wealth of literature on the customary in Mozambique (probably to allow space for references that might have more global appeal). Still, his long rehearsal of the legal reform of the customary will be highly valued by the reader who is not initiated into the history of Mozambique and its political economy. Part 1 also describes how, with the help of national experts and foreign consultants, customary law was placed at the center of neoliberal legal reform. In this way, Obarrio shows how the enactments of customary law that are the focus of part 2 are rooted not only in Mozambican history and economy but also in neoliberal legal and economic reforms promoted by transnational institutions.

It is when he turns to the local level analysis of fieldwork material from Nampula's periurban and rural localities that Obarrio's book makes a significant contribution. The ethnographic description captures dynamics of local governance through the trajectories of various figures and institutions that work on the provision of everyday justice—neighborhood secretaries, community judges, religious leaders, and local state officials. The focus is on the ritualized performances and mobilization of kinship grammar and the logic of the gift at community courts. Here, we find evidence of how centrally produced legal reforms (outlined in part I of the book) are imbricated in customary practices and local politics, giving rise to what Obarrio calls "customary citizenship," a form of citizenship "blending national belonging, official rights, and local norms and claims, encompassing vast sectors of the population within a process of inclusive exclusion" (p. 6).

The clear separation of national and local level of analysis sometimes produces a tension that seems to push part 1 and 2 of the book in different directions. A good example of this can be seen when the author discusses local

officials and citizens' engagement with the state, noting that "the legal reform of the post-Socialist state generated an individual citizen torn between the call of unfathomable laws and the apparent absurdity of recurrent political alteration, constantly mixing various disparate systems of norms" (p. 20). Later, in part 2, Obarrio's ethnographic materials lead him to affirm that "customary law and state law, oral and written norms, blend in a commonly shared feature once again through the judges' respect for legal precedent" (p. 165). These differences in perspectives may also be explained by the option to focus on spatial and temporal discontinuities rather than on continuities well captured in his concept of "customary citizenship" or the ideas of "state of relatedness" or "the gift of justice."

The diversity of institutions that settle everyday disputes has increased since the early 2000s when fieldwork for this book was conducted. In addition to the community courts and the Bureau of the Neighbourhood Secretaries that are the central institutions in Obarrio's study, a number of donor-promoted local associations, community councils, and religious and customary institutions settle everyday disputes in urban and rural areas (Kyed et al. 2012). Obarrio's idea of looking at the same material and institutions from different entry points has proved fruitful in that it has produced a nuanced ethnography of the state. Because the multiple institutions that settle disputes follow a similar logic to that of the community courts, this book is certainly a timely contribution to the debate on the dynamics of the state in Africa and legal reform in Mozambique. Furthermore, it will provide a useful counterpoint for the much-needed reframing of old debates on legal pluralism and access to justice.

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Wearing Culture: Dress and Regalia in Early Mesoamerica and Central America by Heather Orr and Matthew G. Looper, eds.

Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014. 544 pp.

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Dress, ornament, and cloth have long formed important elements in anthropological study. Yet, in prehistoric archaeology, interpretation of bodily presentation has been somewhat limited. In this volume, editors Heather Orr and Matthew Looper set out to explore dress in Mesoamerica and Central America, specifically in the formative periods, thus driving the authors to grapple with the problems of interpretation of fully prehistoric artifacts and imagery. The volume succeeds in drawing specific and general insights despite the challenges of the archaeological record.

For any edited volume, the introduction is critical, because it defines themes and guides readers to their specific interests. In this case, the preface by the editors is excellent in establishing goals and clarifying terminology. Orr and Looper make it clear that the term *dress* should include not only clothing and ornament but all forms of body modification from tattooing to cranial deformation. However, while the chapters themselves are individually excellent, the volume is weak on continuity and internal dialogue. As the editors acknowledge, this in part results from the breadth of the term *formative*, which covers the less complex societies considered but also includes the early stages of state-level entities like the Olmec and Late PreClassic Maya. There is also great theoretical variability, but that may be a strength rather than a weakness.

Each contribution is complex and multithematic, and most, while emphasizing figurines, draw on a wide range of evidence. Recurrent themes involve gender, shamanism, and methodology, as well as the role of dress in identity. Most of the studies report that gender, rather than sex, is seen in figurines and images, and the “gendering” is not determined by representation of biological characteristics but, rather, by dress, ornament, body painting, or tattoos. Complexities in gender identity are apparent in the figurines and imagery studied in the chapters on formative Oaxaca by Jeffrey Bloomster and by Guy Hepp and Ivy Rieger, as well as that of Follensbee on Gulf Coast imagery. Laura Wingfield shows that fertility, usually associated with female figurines, was instead represented with both female and male subjects through their costume and bodily presentations.

Taken together, the chapters warn us that concepts of gender were variable and complex in the PreColumbian world, at times contrasting with our traditional Western emphasis on dichotomous sexual identity.

On methodology, it should be encouraging to archaeologists that, with minimal physical evidence careful analyses of imagery and artifacts can still reconstruct dress and bodily presentation and, in turn, elucidate individual roles and general community values. This methodological potential is most clearly seen in the computer graphic reconstruction of dress and ornamentation by Karen O’Day. Another lesson from that chapter and others is that ornaments from burial contexts should be studied and interpreted together as sets, not as individual elements. In terms of such methodological possibilities, it is striking how much Caitin Earley and Julia Guernsey ascertain from just the imagery of textile designs. Their chapter will lead scholars to reexamine framing elements in sculpture and their significance. Similarly, using only two sculptures, Katherine Faust presents an almost Geertzian “thick description” that is very revealing, while O’Day explores shamanism using only a single burial but with an intensive examination of all evidence. In contrast, the chapters by Matthew Looper and Sophie Marchegay systematically review a broad range of evidence on every aspect of bodily presentation to draw their conclusions. They demonstrate great continuity through time in the costume traditions of the Maya and of Nicaragua, respectively.

Other chapters seek deeper meanings in the nature of the ornaments themselves. For example, John Clark and Arlene Coleman argue that earspools, usually interpreted in terms of wealth or status distinctions, literally represented a second set of ears. They show that ornamentation identifies deities—and, by extension, spiritual specialists and leaders—as having heightened physical senses. Similarly, Karen Winzenz, using the San Bartolo murals, shows how dress and costumes embodied life essence, including divinity. Whitney Lyle and Kent Reilly show costume to be equivalent to the treatment of sacred objects, literally “bundling” or wrapping the body of an individual to create or emphasize divine status.

Finally, John Hoopes provides an excellent closing overview. This chapter should actually be read first, because it is difficult for the reader to draw comparative themes given the absence of a common language or overarching theoretical framework connecting all chapters. That lack of

integration is the only major weakness of the volume. It might have been helpful for all to follow the approach in the chapter by Rosemary Joyce on Honduran figurines. That study is particularly important in part due to its explicit use of the more formal and comparable language and literature of semiotic theory.

This volume will, of course, be of great value to those interested in dress, symbol, and ideology. Surprisingly, however, it might be even more useful to excavators, because it shows how they could use more fully the evidence from burials and their ornament sets to better understand aspects of prehistoric ideologies.

Making Aboriginal Men and Music in Central Australia by Åse Ottosson.

London: Bloomsbury, 2016. 240 pp.

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In *Making Aboriginal Men and Music in Central Australia*, Åse Ottosson presents a detailed and innovative ethnography of Desert Aboriginal music based on her experiences of working in a renowned Aboriginal radio station and media organization in Alice Springs and on her visits to desert communities. The Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) was incorporated in 1980 and became the first indigenous media organization in Australia to be awarded a public radio license in 1984 (p. 60; Batty 2003).

Ottosson makes clear that she came to this research as an anthropologist and as a working-class 40-year-old woman with extensive experience in the music business in Sweden, Europe, and Australia and with an avid love of and involvement in rock music scenes. Ottosson comments that she has written previously on “Australian people and society” (p. xvi; see also Ottosson 1988) and on the subjects she presents in this volume (2012, 2016). This long-standing experience has led Ottosson to this current detailed contribution on the peculiar socialities or “mongrel” nature of Desert music as made by Aboriginal men (p. xiii).

Ottosson’s analysis develops upon recent theoretical perspectives among anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and sociologists of Aboriginal music and the societies and industries that produce it. The theoretical stance of acknowledging that music is productive in the “formation of social and cultural identification” has informed her approach because it lends a means to analyze the “multifaceted dynamics of identifications that characterize the Central Australian Indigenous music scene” (p. 11). This is in contrast to popular music studies that either underscore the traditional content and meanings of Aboriginal country, reggae, rock, and pop (e.g., Corn 1999; Dunbar-Hall 1997; Magowan 1994) or, alternatively, characterize Aboriginal music as a form of resistance to dominant society (e.g., Breen 1989; Mitchell 1996).

Through carefully articulated descriptions of a variety of social contexts including performances, recording sessions, and band competitions in the communities and towns of Central Australia, Ottosson shows that Desert Aboriginal music is firmly based within evolving cultural traditions that resonate with traditional cultural norms. These norms are invariably intertwined within the long-standing relations between Aboriginal and settler society. In taking this approach, however, her focus is not on the inter-relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people within the music world of Central Australia but on the diverse and messy identifications of Aboriginal male identities played out in the interculturality of the actual music making. This is what Ottosson conceives as the “racially charged concept of ‘mongrel,’” which she argues is how indigeneity and masculinity are formed (p. xiii; see also pp. xii–xiv and 177–179).

As an outsider, yet someone with a long-time association with Aboriginal people of the Desert, Ottosson argues she has a privileged position to enter the male-dominated world of country, rock, and reggae music cultural practices as produced in central Australian desert towns and communities. In the same vein as other female anthropologists, such as Nancy Munn, who have worked within traditionally Aboriginal male domains, Ottosson points out she is not subject to the gender restrictions that circumscribe the behavior of Aboriginal women when in mixed company, giving her greater opportunity to observe male practices and discussions.

What evolves out of Ottosson’s privileged position are her vivid descriptions of personal histories of musicians and the musical world of community concerts, touring, recording sessions, and battles of the bands where Desert music is produced (chs. 3–7). She carefully argues that it is the very mundane nature of these everyday events that underscore how intrinsic music making is, both historically and contemporarily, to Aboriginal societies, indigeneity, and identities in this region.

For instance, Ottosson provides a comprehensive historical overview of the influences of gospel, country,

reggae, and rock music on Desert Aboriginal music. Significantly, she describes the development of country music as a preeminent form with structure and sound that resonates with Desert cultural sensibilities. This includes the stratification of country music reflecting a ubiquitous respect for “oldfellas” or elder country-men musicians such as Herbie Laughton and Gus Williams (ch. 2).

With this volume, Ottosson’s important contribution to the literature on Aboriginal music goes far beyond popular points of analysis in other writings. Her study of the intercultural is an exploration of the interplay between Aboriginal people, as expressed in their music making, and how this is an essential social form in the domain of Aboriginal men. The arguments and descriptions of Central Desert Aboriginal societies that Ottosson articulates will be very familiar to those who have worked in these regions. Indeed, one of the most important points Ottosson makes is that the mundane social nature of Aboriginal music making among men embodies and reinforces the complex rules of social behavior by which Central Desert societies regulate interactions between genders and age categories as well as between indigenous and nonindigenous others.

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Hierarchy and Pluralism: Living Religious Difference in Catholic Poland by Agnieszka Pasieka.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 261 pp.

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Hierarchy and Pluralism explores religious and ethnic pluralism in rural area of Rozstaje in the southeast of Poland. While the Roman Catholic Poles dominate here numerically, politically, and symbolically (as would be expected in rural Poland), Rozstaje is unique in that it includes minority denominations of Greek Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and Buddhists, as well as two ethnic groups, Lemkos and Poles. Such diversity is rare and remarkable, given that all minority (non-Catholic) religions combined constitute less than

five percent of the Polish population, and Lemkos’ small population mainly resides in this area of Poland. Rozstaje’s peculiar demographic composition derives from a history of forced displacement of people and shifting national borders, thus religion and ethnicity here are deeply intertwined. Agnieszka Pasieka explores the historical underpinnings that shape social relations in the community and offers a survey of memories and interpretations of past and present religioethnic conflicts.

Pasieka argues clearly that although the experiences of “lived religion” in day-to-day interactions or pronouncements allow for plurality (known locally as “ecumenism”), members of religious and ethnic minorities generally affirm, if not internalize, the dominant and normative position of Catholic Poles. Diversity seems to be most embraced

through popular discourses that value neighborliness, hospitality, and respect. Yet, as Pasieka demonstrates, much of this allowance is not necessarily an active embrace of plurality but, rather, avoidance of crossing paths with neighbors of other denominations, lest one's tolerance be "tested." For some, knowing less rather than more about "the other" is a good way to maintain a sort of tolerance predicated by distance.

The main limitation of the book lies in its partial political context offered for understanding the current power of the Catholic Church, despite detailed descriptions of other aspects of historical and political background. Specifically, the author claims that no substantial change can be observed in the religious landscape and practice during the transformations to postsocialism (p. 121). Yet, scholars of Poland have identified a de facto merging of church and state after the fall of state socialism in 1989 and an intensification of a politics of "morality" as a result of the renewed political power of the Catholic Church. The backlash to this resurgence has been manifesting in growing anti-Church sentiments. Interestingly, Pasieka identifies a clear intensification of such sentiments, including criticisms of the Church's severe position against reproductive rights, political involvement (including attempts to shape voting outcomes from the pulpit), and financial and other abuses. The reader would benefit from a further contextualization of this backlash within the larger church-state politics of the postsocialist era. National statistics also reflect this backlash: Catholic identification fell from 96 percent in the early 1990s (when the Church worked in tandem with the Solidarity oppositional movement against the regime) to 86 percent in 2013 (Statistical Yearbook of Poland 2014:134). The book's emphasis is on religiosity and practice, and here too we see this trend: weekly mass attendance of 80 percent in the 1980s when the Church served as "the vehicle for opposition" (Stark and Iannaccone 1996:268) contrasts sharply with the Church's own statistics for 2012, which show that only 40 percent of Poles attend Sunday masses (Sunday Practices Table 2012). Discursively,

a growing fear of "laicization" (*laicyzacja*)—which in Poland is used to denote a declining influence of religion (referred to as "secularization" in other contexts)—is being voiced by the Catholic Church and religious politicians. How do the communities in Rozstaje and the hierarchal pluralism observed by the author relate to these broader trends and discourses? The question is relevant for thinking about how the Catholic Church maintains its dominance, particularly in rural areas like Rozstaje with its spectrum of religious denominations and in the face of sharp anti-Church criticism.

Overall, Pasieka tries to strike a delicate balance between documenting the dominance of the Catholic Church and capturing evidence for pluralistic coexistence. I appreciated the author's enthusiasm to identify small possibilities for spaces in which minorities might be recognized. Ultimately, however, the book demonstrates the limits of Polish "ecumenism," showing that multireligious and multiethnic conviviality is fragile and ambiguous and perhaps more akin to a veneer in Rozstaje, where it can quickly turn toward intolerance and xenophobia. This ethnography shows the dilemmas of negotiating diverse social identities in a context in which the Catholic Church continues to hold a politically privileged position.

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Mixed Messages: Cultural and Genetic Inheritance in the Constitution of Human Society by Robert A. Paul.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 368 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12727

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In this book, Robert Paul aims to show how dual inheritance theory—mainly drawing on the work of Robert Boyd

and Peter Richerson—can make sense of otherwise puzzling ethnographic data. There are, Paul argues, two kinds of evolved behavior: one based on genes, copulation, kin selection, and inclusive fitness; the other achieved through cultural reproduction of symbols, which ensures continuity of a wider social arena beyond biological relatedness with its own emergent properties based on external information

storage and transfer. Inevitably, there are tensions between the two “channels” due to their different “objectives,” and it is in particular the resolution of these that Paul seeks to address and explain. Indeed, social systems are always to some degree opposed to genetic fitness and biological process, while culture needs genetic reproduction only to take place somewhere in the system for it to be sufficient to ensure biological continuity.

Paul’s approach is to embed his analysis firmly in a series of carefully selected ethnographic cases and to ask how biological and cultural reproduction are reconciled in each one. Thus, the cultivation by Micronesian Pohnpei of outsized yams might seem a “maladaptation” in Darwinian terms. Instead, it is explained here after the fashion of the sexual selection of exaggerated features, less in terms of calorific efficiency than as a way of allowing people to compete through generosity. The pattern of practices underpins the whole sociocultural system and thus ensures population survival. In this and in other examples, Paul shows how the strong imperatives of the genetic system are symbolized, transformed, and harnessed for the reproduction of the cultural system. He emphasizes, moreover, how the sociocultural system can often override genetic adaptation (a well-enough-observed phenomenon), for instance through the suppression of sexual behavior, different iterations of the cultural relationship between men and women, a preference for adoptive over genetic kin, of alliance over exogamy, and so on.

Although I warmed to the boldness of Paul’s overarching argument the more I read of it, I am left with a number of inadequately answered questions. One underlying difficulty is common to many critiques of evolutionary explanations of sociocultural phenomena: how to convincingly explain the mechanisms by which beneficial arrangements arise, especially without lapsing into anthropomorphism of the kind—the system “pursues an independent reproductive goal” (p. 41). Although “societies” are entified and have real material consequences for how people interact, they are intrinsically second order reified constructs. In explaining social reproduction from an evolutionary perspective, how should we differentiate between abstract values and concepts (e.g., norms of marriage and sexual fidelity) from what peo-

ple actually do (e.g., rates of divorce and adultery), when it is these latter that actually influence variation and selection? Paul’s rich use of ethnography is two edged, in that while it provides many pertinent and fascinating examples, the vignettes tend to generalize descriptions and overinterpret the data from an evolutionary perspective. Given that local systems are full of complex emergent properties that can submit to a variety of local explanations, there is no reason to expect that they must all be consistent with the same explanatory model. The implication here is that the systems reported are in “stable equilibrium” rather than a dynamic equilibrium that is just sufficiently stable to effectively continue and perhaps expand and complexify. More emphasis on intracultural variability and the temporal dimension would have helped.

Then there is the notion of “maladaptation.” Adaptation is always a matter of degree and must be measurable to demonstrate that it has taken place. In many cases, we do not have enough empirical data to test adaptability in relation to social reproduction at the systemic level. Although all cultural practices statistically increase or decrease adaptability, how do we know when they are exerting enough selective pressure to make a difference, whether in the short term or in the long term? Moreover, while cultural artifacts (including symbols) spread more rapidly than genes, they also replicate with less fidelity, which has important knock-on effects in the system.

Paul acknowledges that there are problems with the term *dual inheritance* itself, given that modes of information transmission are so varied, and although he perhaps underplays the way in which the two strands interweave through epigenesis and fudges the difference between transmission that is holistically “biological” and that which is specifically genetic, he does offer us a strong argument in support of its theoretical relevance. *Mixed Messages* is an important and thoughtful addition to the literature on evolutionary approaches to ethnographic data. It will sustain the conviction of many that dual inheritance must be part of our analytical repertoire for explaining how sociocultural systems evolve, and it may even break down the resistance of some who had hitherto to be persuaded.

Masks and Staffs: Identity Politics in the Cameroon Grassfields by Michaela Pelican.

New York: Berghahn, 2015. 258 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12731

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What does it mean to belong, to have outgrown one's "outsiderness," to claim or assert a set of identities, especially as a minority in a region legendary for its ethnic diversity and deeply hierarchical structures? This overarching question, it seems to me, animates and sustains the main narrative in Michaela Pelican's monograph *Masks and Staffs*. At issue is the evolving and contentious relations between the Mbororo and the Hausa (both Muslim minorities) and the dominant "Grassfielders"—the latter composed of a conglomerate of territories lumped under a single ethnic label in the book. While Cameroon is celebrated in the tourism literature for its ethnic diversity, it is apt to state that the Western Grasslands epitomize this diversity par excellence; this was even more so the case at the turn of the 20th century as a result of the migration of the Hausa and Mbororo agropastoralists (from Northern Nigeria) into various Grasslands kingdoms. Although these two groups have lived in the Grasslands for almost a century, the academic literature on them is relatively puny, especially that devoted to themes other than their history and migration trajectories. Hence, this makes Pelican's monograph all the more necessary and significant. Guided by the anthropological quest to explore and understand human relations and cultures in context, Pelican pursues this objective by investigating the ways in which the Mbororo and Hausa have cohabited with "Grassfielders," especially in Misaje, a small town in the northeast of the present North West region.

At least two main theoretical currents converge in this work—one classical, the other more contemporary. With respect to the classical thread, Pelican returns to Max Gluckman's thesis about the salience of "cross-cutting ties" in the promotion of group cohesion in multiethnic contexts. Cross-cutting ties are simply mechanisms, strategies, and allegiances that unite individuals across ethnic or social units. While not fully explored in the book, these cross-cutting ties in the Grasslands include marriage, forms of tributary, reciprocal exchanges, and, in many cases, appeals to common Tikar descent (especially in the author's field area). Although Pelican finds elements of Gluckman's thesis worthy of consideration in light of her data, she concludes that "cross-cutting ties in themselves have no general effect, but used as raw material for political rhetoric, they may promote

either social cohesion or violent conflict" (p. 8). The other thread that runs through the monograph is the recent surge in identity politics occasioned by political liberalization in the 1990s, as well as the proliferation in rights discourses at the global level. These national and global discourses have inspired a new generation of educated and elite Mbororo who now champion and defend the rights of Mbororo not only as minorities but also as indigenous peoples within the Cameroon state. In this vein, Pelican conceives ethnicity as "essentially relational and processual," as seen in some of the conflicts that have prevailed between the Mbororo and Nchaney citizens in the Misaje area (p. 5). Pelican suggests that one of the main reasons full-scale violence has not erupted between these ethnic groups is largely on account of what she terms *functional indifference*—"a strategy that opts for overlooking difference and rivalry for the sake of continued coexistence" (p. 10). Ultimately, her analysis rests on the ways in which ethnic "Others," such as the Mbororo and the Hausa, are integrated into Grasslands society while maintaining their religious and cultural difference.

Masks and Staffs is a critical analysis of the changing relationships between the Muslim Hausa and Mbororo groups versus "Grassfielders"—relationships strained by farmer–herder conflicts, stereotyping, and complementary modes of subsistence. The work's strongest features include the insights gained from the analyses of Nchaney, Mbororo, and Hausa ethnicities, informed by Fredrik Barth's constructivist and interactionist approaches—this, in large measure because the book conveys the contingency and fluidity of the distinct but multiple identities claimed by or ascribed to the ethnic groups in question. The monograph demonstrates the critical need for more anthropological studies of Mbororo and Hausa identities across the Grasslands, especially as many of their youths migrate to urban centers. Perhaps more contentious is Pelican's claim that a "significant feature of farmer–herder relations in the Cameroon Grassfields is the apparent disjunction of corresponding discourses and practices, and the general tendency to frame economic conflict in ethnic terms" (p. 132). At the heart of the farmer–herder conflicts are issues of class and power and, most significantly, the role of state agents in their propagation. The invocation of ethnicity rather than the state's excesses or outright neglect seems overdetermined and unsupported by evidence beyond Misaje, particularly when such a conclusion aspires to be valid for the Grassfields as a whole. Furthermore, uncritical usage or references to colonial claims about "pacifying" the Grassfields does such

a disservice to the region's history and its peoples and most importantly betrays the narrative as a "pacifier's" version of history (pp. 140–141). This notwithstanding, *Masks and Staffs*

is a much-welcomed monograph that builds on and advances the corpus of knowledge about the evolution and dynamics of interethnic relations in the Cameroon Grasslands.

Dilemmas of Difference: Indigenous Women and the Limits of Postcolonial Development Policy by Sarah A. Radcliffe.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 372 pp.

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In *Dilemmas of Difference*, Sarah Radcliffe embarks on an ambitious project that theorizes postcolonial development from the positionality of indigenous women. The author "presents the first systematic discussion of how indigenous women have been categorized and treated in development, indígenas' diverse responses, and their reworking of development's knowledge about social heterogeneity" (p. 30). Radcliffe argues that development relies on persistent postcolonial understandings of social difference that misrepresent the positionality of racialized women and, ultimately, exacerbate postcolonial hierarchies.

Combining a postcolonial analysis of development with intersectionality, Radcliffe's project offers an examination of development frameworks—modernization, neoliberalism, and postneoliberalism. One of Radcliffe's contributions is a theoretical framework that brings together critical analyses of development, coloniality, postcolonial intersectionality, and citizenship to shed light on indigenous women's experience and critique of development. Development defines beneficiaries on the basis of postcolonial, stereotypical understandings of social difference and denial of subaltern agency. Coloniality, in turn, illuminates the long-standing patterns of power that structure inequalities regarding labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production. In particular, Radcliffe points to the association of indigeneity with internal colonies—areas of social abandonment and state neglect in which racialized bodies are constructed as dispensable. Radcliffe conceptualizes citizenship as a set of practices ensuring voice, authority, and resources, through which the difference between those who need improvement and those who are full bearers of citizenship is breached. In the postcolonial hierarchy, indigenous women occupy the lowest level, from which they forge knowledges that reveal the uneven, insufficient, and episodic nature of development.

Radcliffe's project starts with a genealogical analysis of development in its modernization, neoliberal, and postneoliberal manifestations. Social neoliberal policy deals

with social difference through what she calls "single issue development," wherein gender and race-ethnicity become technical categories of subpopulations targeted for poverty alleviation through separate spheres of policy. What is novel is Radcliffe's demonstration that both gender and development and ethnodevelopment share understandings and, in fact, rely on each other to reinforce dominant norms about divisions of labor, intrahousehold interactions, and sexuality, which elide indigenous women's agency.

Radcliffe contextualizes her analyses in the experiences of two groups of indigenous women, Tsáchila and Kichwa, to enable the examination of interlocking factors of marginalization related to wider processes of landgrabs and rapid urbanization and declining agrarian economies reliant on outmigration. This grounded examination of indigenous women's lives brings to light the structural forces that produce disadvantages regarding access to livelihoods, control of land resources, education, employment, and cultural recognition. Development projects disregard indigenous women's realities by not seeing them as farmers and managers of natural resources and by ignoring their productive and reproductive workloads and the limitations of living in internal colonies.

Radcliffe deepens her argument by evaluating specific policies of civic participation, indigenous women in development, and sexuality and health rights. Appearing in development in the 1990s, the category of "indigenous woman" was characterized as deficient in political agency by virtue of traditional cultures that eroded women's self-esteem. Programs for leadership aimed to create modern, liberal political agents that participated in formal politics unencumbered by ethnic culture. In contrast, indigenous women's agendas advocated for both collective and individual rights.

Next, Radcliffe examines sexual and reproductive health policies and programs based on an association of indigenous women with problematic fertility. The ethnic agenda meanwhile enlisted women as biological reproducers of the group. Intercultural health policy opened the possibility for indigenous women to counter these understandings and pointed to the uneven and racist health provision that disempowered indigenous women at the bodily scale. At the same time, intercultural health is a crucial element in an agenda that expresses indigenous women's knowledges, understandings

of rights and culture, and the interlocking factors that determine their lived experience.

Radcliffe offers an account of indigenous women's agency and the practices through which they breach beneficiary status to attain citizenship. Through women's associations, elected leaders, and support from networks, indigenous women legitimize their political presence. They forge a hybrid between tradition and newer resources as articulated from their postcolonial intersectionality. An examination of postneoliberal development closes Radcliffe's book. It shows that although postneoliberal development promised to abolish single-issue development, it was unable to surmount the historical separation between gender and multiculturalism. In contrast, indigenous women pursue *sumak kawsay* (living

well) as a model of sustainable living based on codependence between human and more-than-human actors.

While *Dilemmas of Difference* represents a timely contribution to the critical literature on indigenous women and development and to the debate of neoliberal instrumentalization of difference, the breath of the book does not always allow for a fuller ethnographic description of the crucial critiques of indigenous women regarding development, which, although present, could be further discussed. Overall, with a genealogy of development frameworks contrasted with indigenous women's experience, Radcliffe demonstrates the persistence of postcolonial stereotypes and colonial assumptions of social difference that produce indigenous women's dissatisfaction with development.

Andean Waterways: Resource Politics in Highland Peru by Mattias Borg Rasmussen.

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015. 232 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12793

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A significant contribution to the anthropology of water in the Andes, *Andean Waterways: Resource Politics in Highland Peru* leads us to cover new paths in understanding the sociopolitical dynamics around three irrigation channels and two rivers in a context of climate change. Through political ecology, the book focuses on the formation of waterways in Recuay, a province of the Department of Ancash, located in the northern Peruvian Andes. This area is home to *comunidades campesinas* (peasant communities), peasants and pastoralists who inhabit the villages of Huancapampa, Ocopampa, and Poccrac. Common to all is their location close to the Santa River, in the midst of chains of mountain glaciers called Cordillera Blanca and Cordillera Negra, currently at risk due to global warming.

By means of a beautiful ethnographic account, the book tells the stories of the Atoq Huacanca and Santa rivers; the Querococha 3 Bases (Q3B), Shecllapata, and Aconan channels during 2010; and the way villagers struggle for their livelihoods in a context of rapid ecological, political, and social change. Through the voices of Don Manuel, Doña Agapita, Don Seferino, Don Juan, Don Lucas, Eladio, Noimy, Don Mariano, and Karina, we come not only to know the waterways in Recuay but also to comprehend the intricacies of villagers' dealings with a changing environment, particularly as pertains to water, and with a state often perceived as indolent.

Following the route of the waterways is an interesting method that may potentially open up an ethnographic universe to understand how water and the social converge (Ore 2005). However, it could also prevent us from understanding the holistic views of water in the Andes that certainly transcend irrigation channels. To overcome this risk, a historical description could have grasped the several layers of water management that contributed to the current waterways formation (Boelens et al. 2005; Onyango et al. 2007).

Rasmussen explores the discursive and factual relationship between the villagers and the state, which he explains as traversed by the condition and discourse of *abandonment*. As Rasmussen discovers the intermesh between local and state practices, the idea of abandonment takes many shapes that together finally reveal the paradoxical state practice of caring for its people and abandoning them.

Some ethnographies of water in the Andes depict the complex nuances unfolding in the relationship between locals and the state as well as the many ways in which their practices have historically intertwined in different ways (Guevara-Gil 2011; Ore 2005). An illustrative passage on page 73 shows the complexity of peasant–state relations. Don Angel, a small farmer and leader of the irrigators' commission, opposed the peasant community for using the water of the Q3B channel to irrigate natural pastures, basing his claim on the current law of water resources. The account unveils not only a contentious interplay of the state-led modernization of water management that has been trying fiercely, though unsuccessfully, to stamp out the local water practices of Andean pastoralists in the upper part of

the basin but also the role of the local water organizations to impose the state view of “proper” water management. (For an analysis of Wetlands management, see Dixon and Wood 2007.) Don Angel, as a local water user, is apparently closer to the peasant community than to the state, though he definitely aligns with the state in this particular case. In a similar vein, the state is not a monolithic entity but, rather, a complex ensemble of interests and practices. The concept of abandonment unfortunately does not reflect these many complexities. A more accurate image of the state would have taken form had the ethnography included a brief historical account of peasants–state relations, global and local NGOs’ practices, and miners and mining companies in the region.

Though the research area is the provincial capital of Recuay, the author does not explain how climatic change occurs there. Impacts of global warming are certainly happening in this glacier area, but how they are described and scientifically measured, as well as the ways in which local struggles connect specifically to environmental changes, remain unaddressed. This reminded me of Andrew Vayda and Bradley Walters’s (1999) claim that contemporary political ecology is turning into “politics without ecology” because of its emphasis on politics at the expense of biophysical, ecological, or environmental data. All in all, this is an indispensable book if one wishes to understand the contemporary politics of water in the Andes of Peru.

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Wives and Wanderers in a New Guinea Highlands Society: Women’s Lives in the Waghi Valley by Marie Olive Reay.

Francesca Merlan, ed. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2014. 202 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12705

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Wives and Wanderers is something of a curiosity: an imperfectly stitched-together series of chapters found in the papers of Australian anthropologist Marie Reay. It is prefaced by two excellent introductions, the first by the editor Francesca Merlan and the second by Marilyn Strathern. It is notable more for what it could have been than for what it is: had it been published, “it would have been the first full-length

ethnography of women’s lives” (p. xxxii). The chapters, originally drafted in the 1950s and 1960s (some as letters and field notes), comprise stories of courtship, sex, marriage, and gendered violence in what is now Jiwaka Province, Papua New Guinea. A central theme of these stories is the trauma experienced by young Minj Agamp women when they were forced, often through violent abduction, to marry in order to advance male clan members’ own projects. Reay describes indolent and happy teenagers, accustomed to the relative freedom of young girlhood, enjoying courtship parties and affairs with multiple men, suddenly thrust into unwanted, frequently violent marriages and the diminishment of their

own social value. Of particular interest to contemporary scholars are the details Reay provides about the Australian colonial government and its agents, whose power—to imprison, tax, or impose fines—casts a heavy shadow over men's and women's decision making.

Reay did not hide her distaste for the treatment of women in the Wahgi Valley. I suspect this is one reason why the book was never completed. Like many female anthropologists working in male-dominated, colonial contexts, she must have struggled to put her discussion of Minj Agamp patriarchy into words that did not reinforce the simplistic view of “native” marriage reified in colonial definitions of custom. No, women were not “bought and sold,” but yes, in marriage, they were essentially treated as objects of exchange between men. No, customary marriages were not sanctified by the exchange of bridewealth, but yes, these exchanges could be an important clue in figuring out who was married and who was not. No, women were not passive victims of violence and exploitation, but yes, they were beaten, raped, abducted, and sometimes killed if they tried to assert themselves—and even if they survived, they risked being stigmatized as “wandering women,” who were fair game for all kinds of chronic mistreatment. Anthropologists working in the PNG Highlands today struggle with the same dilemma as did Reay: How do we give an account of these realities without demeaning Highlands women and their strength?

Like many of the anthropologists who would follow her in exploring the lives of Highlands women, Reay insists on showing how fiercely these women resisted male violence and how cunningly they took up new resources, like the colonial government's insistence that women must consent to marriage, to further this end. Reay speculates that extreme male domination was a fairly recent arrival to New Guinea, but she also suggests that gender equality would mean the end of Minj Agamp society: “the male ego will

have to be reconstituted so that the integrity of men does not depend upon exchanges of women, pigs, and wealth” (p. 167). While ethnographers of PNG today are less pessimistic about cultural survival, most would probably agree that men are still invested in exercising control over women and the products of their labor. Marriages remain brittle and antagonistic, and women who stray from the ideal of a “good woman” can find their life chances seriously curtailed. But then this is hardly unique to Highlands PNG. Activists documenting rape culture in US universities, for example, might be interested in what Reay has to say about how young Minj Agamp women experienced sexual agency bundled with sexual exploitation and how both men and women participated in the stigmatization of “wanderers.”

As an incomplete manuscript, *Wives and Wanderers* is understandably not perfect. Later chapters can be rambling, and both Reay and her editors make errors in Tok Pisin (e.g., Merlan misidentifies the word *wapra* as Tok Pisin [p. xix] when it is actually a Melpa term; Reay translates *tok bokis* as “talk bogus” [p. 158], and this really should not have slipped past reviewers). In sections drawn from Reay's more informal correspondence, the editors retain material that she would probably not want to see in print.

A lesbian working in the masculine world of midcentury Australian anthropology, Reay was (according to Merlan's introduction and Michael Young's 2004 obituary, the latter of which is here reprinted as an appendix) bullied by superiors and blocked by the colonial administration—who apparently “disapproved of female anthropologists, especially those who broke the ‘White Women's Protection Law by wearing shorts’” (p. xlii). She was also, apparently, a difficult person, respected for her intellect but hard to get along with. It is interesting that the editors have chosen to make these facts of her personality part of the story told in *Wives and Wanderers*, a book about women's agency in the face of male domination.

Domesticating Youth: Youth Bulges and Their Socio-Political Implications in Tajikistan by Sophie Roche.

New York: Berghahn, 2014. 292 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12711

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In this complex and ambitious ethnography, Sophie Roche explores the meanings and power of youth in the post-Soviet republic of Tajikistan. Working in three field sites, she collects census data, records genealogies, and conducts hundreds of structured and unstructured interviews. In her

analyses of these diverse data, Roche usefully challenges common assumptions, such as the view that youths are deviant troublemakers in need of guidance or that “youth bulges” are a risk factor for conflict and violence. She argues that youths, even youths in crisis, do not in themselves produce conflict; it is when youths are mobilized into “vanguard” movements that they can undermine society's control of their maturation.

Youth, Roche reminds us, means different things in different contexts. In the West, youth is a life stage that is

demarcated by rites of passage, such as marriage, and ends at a relatively early age. In Tajik society, youth is a gradual process of social, political, and religious maturation that stretches for decades. Youth in the Tajik context can best be understood by considering what Roche calls “domestication,” the process by which youth is controlled and converted into maturity. In Tajik society, domestication is facilitated by an age hierarchy that allots control over resources to individuals based on seniority. In the household, this control allows parents to direct their male children toward varied career paths and to force them to marry at a young age. Parents view these tactics as ways to maximize the security and prosperity of the group. Sons view them as limiting their individual well-being and freedom.

Although elders try to control domestication, youths are strong enough in their desires that the process becomes a negotiation. Since independence, certain historical realities have given youths even more power in these negotiations. One example is the civil war (1992–1997), which Roche argues undermined parents’ control over marriage. At the onset of the war, families were eager to marry off their daughters so that young women would be protected from dishonor. This eagerness meant that young men did not have to wait for parental approval or collect money for gifts and wedding parties before securing brides. The result was a drop in the average age at first marriage. (Roche does not explicitly address the irony of her finding that young men, whom parents normally have to force into marriages, actually marry earlier when they can do so on their own terms.) Labor migration has also complicated domestication processes. The lack of jobs and limited social mobility in Tajikistan have driven up to 50 percent of young men to Russia, far beyond elders’ control, where they make money to send or bring back to their families. If parents view labor migration as an undesirable necessity, youths welcome the opportunity to experience freedom and increase their status in the family.

The most effective way for youths to keep domestication on their own terms, Roche argues, is by participating in vanguard movements. A vanguard movement is “a small group [that] claims to represent a majority and is ready to fight for the future of those they have included in their

category as disadvantaged” (p. 24). Roche describes a number of vanguard movements that have attracted youths since the pre-Soviet era, particularly the Soviet Komsomol and the post-Soviet religious and combatant movements that participated in the civil war.

Some readers may object to Roche’s choice to focus on young men (as opposed to young women and men), but I did not find this problematic. One reason is that throughout the book Roche skillfully integrates material about women’s experiences as mothers, sisters, and brides and about women’s vulnerability during the war. A second reason is her clarification that men and women in Tajik society pass through very different stages of maturation; females move directly from girl to woman at marriage, while men pass through the longer, more fraught period of youth, which is the focus of her interest. Of more concern is the fact that her central theoretical concept, “domestication,” is never clearly defined. In the opening chapter, Roche calls it a process, a perception, and a practice and suggests it is both a top-down, authoritarian process and a negotiated, bottom-up process (pp. 19–21). This lack of clarity obscures some of her later arguments. If in presenting the youth concept, Roche usefully draws on her considerable expertise in Tajik language and culture, she never does so in her discussions of domestication. Possibly, comparing her own notion of domestication to Tajik ideas about discipline, education, and maturation would have added some clarity to the theoretical project. A second concern regards her ethnographic analyses; although Roche is working in three small communities, she jumps quickly from interview quotes and specific descriptions to generalizing pronouncements about Tajik family and kinship. This is to say that the study’s ethnographic material needed a bit more contextualization.

These concerns are small when measured against the important contribution this study makes to anthropologists’ understandings of Tajikistan, the post-Soviet experience, and the life cycle. The detailed ethnographic passages, original demographic data, and exhaustive literature reviews recommend this book to advanced students and scholars, Central Asianists and non-area specialists alike, who are interested in the connections between youth and conflict.

When Rains Became Floods: A Child Soldier's Story by Lurgio Gavilán Sánchez.

Margaret Randall, trans. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 152 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12777

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In this short but remarkably compelling memoir, Lurgio Gavilán Sánchez recounts his three years (ages 12 to 15) as a guerilla in Peru's Shining Path insurgency, his later recruitment by the Peruvian military, his postmilitary life in the Franciscan brotherhood, and finally his development into an anthropologist. The text is accompanied by a very able introduction by Orin Starn, which places the book and the Shining Path movement in historical and comparative context.

Shining Path, the Peruvian Communist Party, derived its name from the Communist teaching that Marxism-Leninism would serve as the "shining path" to revolution. The Shining Path was founded by Abimael Guzmán (Chairman Gonzolo) at the San Cristóbal of Huamanga University in Ayacucho, where Guzmán taught philosophy. Shining Path's ideas of equality and social justice and its goal of launching a "people's war" were widely promulgated by university professors and students throughout the region. In the early 1980s, the movement developed into a guerilla insurgency in the regions near Ayacucho, some of the poorest areas in Peru. Very quickly, it began to attract young people like Sánchez with calls for social justice, and its members took up arms in the name of the Peruvian peasantry.

According to Sánchez's account, his small group of revolutionaries (*compañeros*) were neither well enough trained nor well enough armed to directly engage the Peruvian military. So, although they sometimes harassed military installations, their actions turned mostly on attacking local police posts, killing so-called informants and collaborators in peasant villages, sporadically enforcing violent communist discipline on peasants, and collecting food—often by theft and extortion from local villages. While Shining Path ideology called for its revolutionaries to live among the peasants and become one with them, the revolutionaries were quickly confronted by military-backed peasant militias that emerged to protect the villagers from guerilla depredation and violence. What had begun as a "people's war" on behalf of the peasantry rapidly evolved into a murderous war against the peasantry itself.

The book is subtitled "a child soldier's story." The vast majority of accounts of child soldiers are found in the reports of various human rights and children's rights organizations, so it is both unusual and refreshing to have an account unmediated by the advocacy agendas of such organizations.

The result is a story told with candor, nuance, and a sense of tragedy. The revolutionary ideology of the Shining Path clearly attracted children and youth whose prospects in rural Peru were uniformly bleak. At the beginning, the revolution offered the hope of a new order of human equality that would do away with all forms of inequality, including those of age and gender. This ideology permeated the daily lives of the guerillas. Sánchez recalls the early days of his enlistment, when he took a new name, ate from a common bowl with his comrades, sang guerilla songs, and slept together with them on the floor in a single pack that alternated men and women. He rose quickly through the ranks of the *compañeros* and was a political leader by age 14.

But these utopian moments were embedded in a frighteningly dystopian revolutionary organization with a culture of terror. None of the *compañeros* were protected from the terrorism of the revolution. All comrades—men and women, children and adults—could instantly become the victims of revolutionary justice for all sorts of infractions, ranging from pilfering supplies to overstaying leave. Violators of all kinds were shot, strangled, or hanged with indifferent and unspeakable cruelty. Fabiola, the cook, was hanged because she had fallen in love with a policeman while on leave. Martha was strangled by the *compañeros* because she stole a can of tuna fish and three crackers before going out on guard duty. As Sánchez notes, the revolutionaries were allowed to steal from the peasants, but petty thieves among the *compañeros* were treated with revolutionary terror. Similar forms of revolutionary violence were imposed on local communities. As Sánchez tells us, from time to time, they would meet with the "masses," and anyone who failed to show up was executed for the crime of "irresponsibility."

Yet at the same time, Sánchez was able to find friendship—first with 17-year-old Rosaura, who became a devoted companion with whom he shared dreams of deserting the Shining Path until she was killed by the bullets of government soldiers. Later, he found great satisfaction in his friendship with Nurse Tania, with whom he served as a nurse's helper.

Sánchez's guerilla days came to an end when he was rescued from almost certain death at the hands of village militia by a lieutenant in charge of a Peruvian military patrol. The members of the village militia implored the soldiers to shoot him, saying, "Kill that terrorist, even those as small as him have burned our houses" (p. 39). Luckily for Sánchez, the soldiers ignored these demands. Lucky for us as well, as his story provides a perspective on the motivations and lives of child soldiers that is rare.

Art, Anthropology and the Gift by Roger Sansi.

London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. 200 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12752

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Art, Anthropology and the Gift is a refreshing look—through the lens of the gift—at the complex relationship between art and anthropology. Roger Sansi first traces the affinities between the two disciplines, beginning with the emergence of modern anthropology and avant-garde art in the early 20th century through to anthropology’s crisis of representation and art’s critique of the institutionalization of artistic practices later in the 20th century. Both disciplines’ zest for excavating their disciplinary heritage, he argues, has led to their mutual envy and attraction, culminating in the “social turn” in contemporary art and the “literary turn” in anthropology. A growing number of artists and scholars—intrigued by anthropology’s social critique, visual approach, attention to the politics of representation, and participatory methodology—are approaching art as a form of engagement; anthropologists are similarly crossing over to embrace literary, visual, and performative approaches in their ethnographic practice.

Sansi proceeds by explicating the convergences between anthropology and art through the notion of the gift. This central anthropological concept, according to Sansi, has also been pivotal to art theory and practice, as many artists have conceptualized art’s potential for individual expression or community building as a gift. While this approach largely diverges from anthropological approaches, which attend to hierarchy and obligation in gift exchange, Sansi sees the mutual interest in the gift as a productive starting point for imagining future intersections of art and anthropology.

The book is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1, “Introduction: After the Ethnographic Turn,” sets out the book’s goals and terminology and describes the affinities between anthropology and art pertaining to visibility, the politics of representation, participation, and social practice. Chapter 2, “Art as Anthropology,” discusses how art has historically engaged with anthropological debates and theories of the gift and, conversely, how art movements have influenced anthropology. Chapter 3, “Traps and Devices,” holds that art is not merely a representation of reality but also a form of social action. In formulating his argument, Sansi draws on and critiques the work of Alfred Gell, who conceptualized art in terms of what it does in the world, beyond representation. Chapter 4, “Aesthetics and Politics,” focuses on the critiques of aesthetics coming from anthropology and art theory. In particular, following the philosopher Jacques Rancière, Sansi articulates a notion of aesthetics as politics

and calls for anthropology and art to extend agentic capacities onto things. Chapter 5, “Participation and the Gift,” provides an overview of both disciplines’ engagement with the notion of the gift, including Marcel Mauss’s understanding of the gift as a social institution and Jacques Derrida’s approach to the gift as an unintentional event, and holds up the situationists’ notion of the gift as a transgression as best suited to understanding participatory art practices. Utilizing the work of Gell and Tim Ingold, chapter 6 (“Work and Life”) analyzes how the work of art has changed from art as ready-made to art as participation over the last century. Chapter 7, “Fields and Labs,” considers what anthropology might learn from conceptual, collaborative, and participatory contemporary art forms about its own research practices, theories, and findings. In the final chapter, “Ethnography and Utopia,” invoking anticapitalist movements like the 15-M in Spain and Occupy in North America, Sansi poses the notion of the gift in relation to the “micro-utopia,” a term he borrows from curator and art critic Nicolas Bourriaud. Sansi argues that what characterizes both anthropology and art is their capacity—a gift—to imagine an alternate world. However, his consideration of utopia recognizes that hierarchy and obligation can easily subvert a utopian gift into a dystopian one.

While *Art, Anthropology and the Gift* is a captivating and inspiring work, it could have benefited from engagement with recent performance studies scholarship about participatory, site-specific, performative, and interventionist artistic practices. This body of work has pushed our thinking on nonintentional agency, interrelationality, audience engagement, and intermediality. Performance studies, after all, was one of the key catalysts of early conversations between anthropology and art, dating back to the 1980s performance ethnography of Victor Turner and Edith Turner (1982) and performance studies scholar and theater director Richard Schechner (1985). In addition, I wonder about the use of the trope of primitivism to elucidate the common interests of anthropologists and artists or the art versus artifact dichotomy undertaken in chapters 2, 3, and 7, especially without a more thorough consideration of how the colonial context spawned the trope in the first place.

Overall, however, *Art, Anthropology and the Gift* makes an important, overdue contribution to anthropology and will interest scholars and students in visual culture studies, visual art and art history, and performance studies. Its brilliant engagement with politics and utopia–dystopia through the notion of the gift will beckon anthropologists to work across disciplines and to (re)envision what an engaged and interventionist anthropology might look like.

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Beyond Tradition, Beyond Invention: Cosmic Technologies and Creativity in Contemporary Afro-Cuban Religions by Diana Espírito Santo and Anastasios Panagiotopoulos, eds.

Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston, 2015. 262 pp.

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This is a thought-provoking collection of essays (an introduction and nine chapters) resulting from two workshops on Afro-Cuban religious creativity and relations of power authored by the members of a multinational research network based at the Centre for Research in Anthropology (CRIA) at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. As the title *Beyond Tradition, Beyond Invention* suggests, the contributors' aim is to transcend not only interpretations of Afro-Cuban religion based on essentialist notions of tradition, origins, and identity but also those based on the sociological constructionist critique of the "invention of tradition." To do so, the coeditors put forward an ambitious new research agenda that focuses on the cosmological "inventiveness" and ritual creativity within which both human and nonhuman religious actors are constantly in the making. This underscores these actors' sensory engagement and intersubjective performance.

In defiance of the conventional approach that posits the existence of compartmentalized or bounded "strands of tradition"—such as Santería, Palo Monte, Espiritismo Cruzado, or Abakua—that are legitimized in terms of their presumed origins and distinct spiritual entities (orisha, spirits of the dead, and so on), the coeditors propose an unprejudiced, ground-up approach that dismisses preconceived categories or typologies and calls attention to the devotees' multiple engagement in various "traditions." These traditions are understood as different perceptual sensibilities or embodied dispositions (pp. 40–41), and following Stephan Palmié's theoretical lead, they are also conceived as mutually constitutive discourses imbricated in the ongoing production of politically and historically determined objectifications of cultural representations that define and shape their alleged identity. One wonders, however, how or how much this approach actually moves away from the more conventional "invention of tradition" critique.

Perhaps some of the chapters' (e.g., 1, 2, 3, 7, 9) originality emanates from their focus on the religious performance's generative creativity or "narrativity" that results from the random interactions produced by the ritual encounter itself and its correlated, "unfolding story" (p. 88). The coeditors invoke the Deleuzian "logic of becoming," the achieved rather than the given, the notion of a virtuality or potentiality that is activated or actualized in the ritual process rather than the mere repetition of cosmological representations or pre-existing metaphysical entities (p. 177). This presentist focus on the creative unfolding of the action that defines and transforms "things, entities, and corporeal positionings" is theoretically challenging and refreshing (p. 9). Yet it seems somehow to obliterate the fact that what others have called improvisation, here understood as repetition with critical variation, can only happen within some sphere of common or at least complementary understanding. This is not to deny the importance of the achieved but to remind readers of the importance of the mutability of the given.

As happens with most collections, the thematic and theoretical unity of the various chapters is spotty. Rather than a drawback, this highlights the diversity and conceptual creativity of the authors. Some of the chapters (e.g., 4, 5, 6) demonstrate a greater interest in historical depth and in the sociopolitical contextualization of religious practice. In this regard, the resurgence of Afro-Cuban religiosity following the 1991 political opening that inaugurated the *Periodo Especial* is given well-deserved attention. Alessandra Basso Ortiz's chapter 4, for example, challenges the notion that the state's retraction would have induced a historical ritual transition from past noninitiatory, group-oriented devotions to present-day initiatory, individualized practices. By means of original ethnography, she documents the contemporary persistence of the noninitiatory, group-oriented forms of religiosity and suggests an epochal change not of ritual praxis but of moral values that shift from the communal to the individualized (p. 130). Other chapters (e.g., 7, 9) examine the transnationalization of Cuban Santería in Tenerife (Spain) and in the United States, its eclectic dialogism with New Age religious forms, and its strategic

adaptations to the new diaspora contexts. These contribute to the book's intended multifaceted approach to the main theme of creativity.

One of the strongest values of the collection is certainly the rich and solid ethnography that grounds most of the chapters and the balanced selection of the multiple "traditions" or variants of Afro-Cuban religiosity, providing the reader with a good overview of its contemporary dynamism, eclecticism, and pluralism. By questioning the mutual boundaries of these traditions and highlighting their constant

creative reshaping, the chapters ultimately underscore the fundamental syncretism that structures any religion. They do so in opposition to the essentialist positioning taken up by most of the literature on Afro-Cuban religions as well as by many practitioners. On the whole, the collection reads as an example of fine-grained, innovative scholarship and an ambitious intellectual exercise. It will be of interest to graduate students of Afro-American religions and Afro-Caribbean anthropology and, more broadly, to any scholar curious about today's Afro-Cuban cultural dynamics.

Amada's Blessings from the Peyote Gardens of South Texas by Stacy B. Schaefer.

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015. 272 pp.

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Hagiography and ethnography are rarely blended genres. As historical sources, the medieval "lives" of saints have provided scholars "the opportunity to see many facets of a moment of history through the impact of a single important person upon the other people, events, and intellectual and spiritual movements that were drawn within his or her orbit" (Stouck 1999:xvii). Yet in biography today, the term usually connotes an overly reverential approach to one's subject, a lack of the necessary critical distance to consider a modern "life."

Amada's Blessings from the Peyote Gardens of South Texas by Stacy B. Schaefer exemplifies both of these senses in its characterization of Amada Cardenas, a Tejano peyote dealer from South Texas, whose long life intertwined with the development of the Native American Church (NAC) over much of the 20th century. A singularly significant individual whose key location, relationships, and charismatic personality indeed drew people, events, and movements into her orbit, Amada is a worthy historical subject through which to consider the role of the peyote trade in the NAC's growth. Schaefer, an emeritus professor of anthropology who previously conducted ethnographic work among the Huichol, a Mesoamerican indigenous people whose ritual use of peyote is extensive and well known, ably draws out this significance in her treatment of Amada's life. Yet her relationship to Amada and the book's presentation unapologetically go beyond a conventional ethnographic life history, reading more as testimony from one of the faithful than an analysis (even an intimate one) of a remarkable life.

Amada's life (1904–2005) logically structures Schaefer's work, beginning with an ecstatic first-person ac-

count of Amada's 2004 centenary birthday celebration and the author's initial meeting with her in 1993. A subsequent chapter relates the natural and historical background of the South Texas region around Mirando City, a small community located east of Laredo and, most critically, on the northern edge of peyote's geographic range. Amada's birth nearby to a Tejano family descended from the original Spanish settlers (who displaced earlier indigenous occupants) was fateful for the key intermediary role she came to play as a peyote supplier, as a host to indigenous buyers, and eventually as a revered figure within the NAC. Essential for this involvement were not only the circumstances of place and time but also her family relationships and her warm, welcoming personality. Her adoptive father was one of the region's first peyote dealers in the early decades of the 20th century, just as the peyote trade and the NAC were dramatically expanding. Amada learned the business from him, as did her husband, Claudio Cardenas Sr., harvesting and selling peyote to larger and larger numbers of indigenous buyers who came to purchase the cactus for sacramental use. Unlike their competitors, from the beginning the couple opened their homes to these visitors, respectfully providing space for ceremonies and eventually participating themselves. Their involvement even extended to allowing Claudio to be briefly arrested as part of a 1953 test case challenging state laws against its sale.

After Claudio's death in 1967, Amada continued to participate in the peyote trade, and her connections to the NAC became yet deeper. From a welcoming refuge for traveling practitioners, her home increasingly became a pilgrimage site, especially following the establishment in the 1960s of annual February meetings to honor her and her late husband. Even following her formal exit from the peyote business by 1980, Amada maintained her intermediary role for those who arrived seeking the sacrament, putting them in touch with licensed dealers and making special peyote "chiefs" for

ceremonial use. By this stage of Amada's life, many of her connections were multigenerational and included not only hundreds of families across Indian Country but also many across the South Texas region, where she had become a living legend. At the time of her death, many people thought of her as a mother, a grandmother, and, indeed, as a saint whose blessings could heal the body and the soul.

Schaefer relates her narrative largely through extended quotations from interviews with Amada's family members and friends, supplemented by firsthand observations and a few key archival materials. The interview material is well handled, providing and elegantly translating the mixed Spanish and English spoken by her interlocutors. The history and

economics of the peyote trade and ethnographic descriptions of NAC rituals are discussed sufficiently to provide background to Amada's life, but those seeking more detailed scholarship on these issues should look to other works. The focus here is on celebrating a life that the author and many others clearly found inspiring, a remarkable woman in a special place, and the book will appeal most to those seeking a testament to the power of kindness, generosity, and hospitality to shape the lives of those around them.

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New Media and International Development: Representation and Affect in Microfinance by Anke Schwittay.

New York: Routledge, 2015. 206 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12741

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This rigorously researched and analytical volume partially addresses the conundrums of the microfinance industry as practiced by "first"-world donors and "third"-world implementers through an exploration primarily of the affective domain of everyday humanitarianism that inspires donations. I say "partially" because it is not a complete analysis of the microfinance industry, as that was not author Anke Schwittay's purpose; rather, her concern was to illustrate how microfinance organizations (MFIs) create spaces and opportunities for affective commitment to be demonstrated in increased donations that facilitate greater financial offerings to the world's poorest microentrepreneurs. More importantly, she explores how the use of new media has been adapted by MFIs to maintain donor affective commitment.

The core of the analysis is the "role of affect, representation, performance and fellowship in international development" (p. 3). The author states "that global poverty-alleviation efforts have an affective dimension, which is fostered through narrative and visual representation through the performance of development rituals and through establishing personal connections." Central is "how affect works on everyday citizens in the global North who are supportive of poverty-alleviation efforts" (p. 3). The topic is of great significance, as microfinance has become almost a ubiquitous panacea for poverty alleviation, given that poverty has been defined as a financial problem. Poverty, however, as

the author points out, is so much more than a financial problem.

The author's research introduces the reader to the work of Opportunity International (OI), a US and Australia-based MFI, that has been operating for more than 40 years, and KIVA, one of the newer microlending operations that utilizes new media to link donors with borrowers and to generate affect to elicit donations that are then channeled through local MFIs for distribution. The chapter on OI (ch. 4) zeroes in on the experiences donors have when participating in "insight" trips to visit clients in India; the chapters on KIVA (chs. 3, 6) analyze the ways in which the organization has overcome the constraints of high interest rates that plague the MFI industry while generating affect to guarantee continuous giving. This new media- and web-based approach is facilitated through the blogs and pictures posted largely by KIVA Fellows, who work in local implementing MFIs for four months to administer and follow up on loans.

The author and I share in our anthropological professionalism and our approach to understanding the context and history of the focus of attention. She begins her study with a prologue that explains how she got involved in microfinance when she worked with KIVA and took an insight trip to India sponsored by OI. She briefly explains how the overhead incurred through providing small loans to sometimes remote populations gave rise to the need to charge ever-increasing interest rates and how KIVA's introduction of one-to-one investors through the use of the Internet, social media, and other technical strategies has reduced, if not completely eliminated, the high interest charges. Her cornerstone question guiding the research is one that so many NGOs encounter: How can they best harness current

technologies to make appeals for donations, which are affectively driven?

Schwittay's ability to be a true participant-observer demanded of her the ability to understand MFIs from the inside as well as observe the interaction of donors with clients from the outside. Her methods of observation and questioning in both settings allowed her to go beneath the surface of operations to get at the core principles of how MFIs work with donors and clients and how affect motivates donors to give more. I found the chapter on the OI insight trip particularly instructive for the following reasons: the organization's lack of transparency, the failure to orient donors to the culture of clients, "scripted" presentations by local and international staff, prevention of questions on challenges clients face, language and translation concerns, and the overall lack of cultural sensitivity of donors (especially "strange" men [donors]

hugging women [clients]—a no-no in most cultures). For me, the upshot of this chapter was that affect went just so deep—as did the superficial level of information donors require. A deeper knowledge of clients' circumstances was not necessarily needed.

Schwittay has clearly understood how both a more traditional MFI and a newer, media-based MFI maintain donor affect and work to help solve the problems of poverty. Both OI and KIVA focus on finance, while many of the implementing partners through which KIVA distributes loans provide training in business development, literacy, numeracy, and the like. It is this extrafinancial focus on poverty alleviation that is so sadly missing in both "minimalist" operations because to provide such services would increase interest rates—a characteristic of MFIs that is problematic everywhere.

The Chimera Principle: An Anthropology of Memory and Imagination by Carlo Severi.

Janet Lloyd, trans. Chicago: HAU, 2015. 375 pp.

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Carlo Severi's *The Chimera Principle* is an essential work of anthropological literature for the study of so-called "oral" societies but also for researchers interested in the transmission of memory, belief, oral tradition, and so on.

In the introduction, Severi warns of the pitfalls of analyzing "the Other" from a simplistic ethnocentric perspective according to which unknown cultures are defined as what they are not (compared to "Us"). An object, classified as a music instrument in a Western museum (a Zande harp), within the original culture bears a fundamentally different meaning, connected to a ritual voice. A big mistake was made by defining societies as "without writing," reducing them in this way to a negative image of "ourselves." By stressing the dependency of their memory only on the arbitrary will of individuals, researchers overlooked an essential mnemonic technique—the one founded on the relationship between images and words, connected to a ritual discourse. In reality, these societies frequently rely on iconographic tradition, which is the central topic of Severi's research.

Severi finds his precedent in Aby Warbourg, who, in his biology of images, elaborated the idea of transmission of cultural symbols through image. Severi's book presents an analysis of case studies of the relation between words, images, and memory, which was studied only randomly. In

the Oceanic tradition of a cord with knots, representing a visualization of the Iatmul cosmology (with its thousands of names of anthroponymic and toponymic nature) and in the ritual clasps or masks representing ancestors, Severi discerns two basic techniques of memorization: order and salience. The former is based on regularly ordered visual sequences that enable the interpretation and evocation of memory; the latter lies in what Severi calls "chimera"—a ritualized image composed of heterogeneous parts, of which the visible part implies hidden meanings. It is this kind of object, which differs from everyday perception, that holds the power to be memorized.

Order and salience present basic principles of what Severi calls the "art of memory" of the Amerindian pictographs. Pictography was for a long time interpreted erroneously as something that it is not—as either arbitrary drawings or a failed attempt at phonetic writing. Contrary to the general perception of it as an unstable semiotic medium, dependent on arbitrary will and incomprehensible to others, Severi shows that it is a conventional, sequential, and widely spread system transcending the limits of languages. Its evolution went in parallel with the evolution of the oral tradition, the one uttered in the ritualized context: from rock art to a biographical song of a warrior to a more complex iconographic tradition of the ritual shamanistic utterance. The constitutive element of this mnemonic codification lies in its parallelist structure. In these ordered sequences of ritual songs made of constant repetitions, the pictography translates into images only the variations of the basic formula, the saliences of which activate the memory.

Parallelism is not only a way of mnemonic codification but also a technique for orienting the evocation and imagination through the construction of salient figures—chimeras, presented as creatures from the invisible part of the world. The third function of parallelism is to define the locutor of the ritualized text as a chimera. A parallel world is constructed through ritual speech and the transformation of the shaman into a complex and paradoxical image, one who is composed of contradictory identities (one here, other or others in the parallel world). Severi defines the locutor as an “I–memory.” The locutor of a ritual recitation has to be differentiated from the one of a narration, as these two forms of transmission of memory also have to be distinguished. Because he is capable of assuming plural, contradicting, but temporary identities—creating in this way a tension with the everyday perception—the shaman evokes at the same time doubt and acceptance. Something impossible not to believe is created, similar to what Severi finds in Carlo Ginzburg’s (1983[1966]) analysis of European witchcraft. As Severi states, doubt is the essence of any belief. He ascribes the effectiveness of the shamanistic therapy to the process of the patient’s projection in reaction to the incomprehensible parts of the uttered traditional song—it lies in the interplay between

the shaman’s only vaguely comprehended sounds and the patient’s own experiences of pain. Due to condensing of different contradictory aspects, the ritual communication is never totally comprehensive, but it consequently engenders imagination, believing, and mnemonic evocation.

Severi concludes with a reflection on uncertainty in the context of cultural conflict. Memories of it gave rise to the Apache Christ and the Christian Lady Sebastiana (death) as new ritual chimeras presenting cultural hybrids and paradoxes. At the same time, they embody and confront the enemy, present continuity, break with tradition, and engender new forms of beliefs.

Due to his groundbreaking reflections on the old anthropological concepts, *The Chimera Principle* has all the values of the monumental anthropological synthetic works worth reading and “thinking with.”

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Advertising Diversity: Ad Agencies and the Creation of Asian American Consumers by Shalini Shankar.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 328 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12747

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In a time of mass minority incarceration, racial profiling, and public xenophobia, we are reminded that discussions about the various means by which diversity, race, and ethnicity are constructed are already, and increasingly, important. While Shalini Shankar’s new book *Advertising Diversity* does not engage with racism’s most violent forms, so prevalent today, it makes an equally important contribution by improving our understanding of the subtle techniques through which difference is depoliticized and reproduced through racial and ethnic representation.

Drawing on four years of engagement with eight advertising agencies and more than 200 industry professionals, Shankar illustrates how claims of inclusion and colorblindness contrast with the proliferation of agencies that specialize in emphasizing difference and marketing to minority populations. Echoing Jane Hill’s (2008) *Everyday Language of White Racism* and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva’s (2009) *Racism without*

Racists, Shankar illustrates how, without intent or malice, the focus on diversity acts as “shorthand for inclusion” while simultaneously diverting attention away from the inequalities or prejudices that underpin so many of our differences (p. 19).

In an industry in which whiteness has long been the norm, multicultural advertising is actively emphasizing the significance of race in the name of profitability. Shankar is particularly interested in how advertisers engage in biopolitics, drawing on increasingly fine-grained census data to naturalize racial differences and transform Asian Americans from “model minorities to model consumers” (p. 23). As an economic anthropologist critical of the inequalities the capitalist system perpetuates, I appreciated Shankar’s attention to the circuits of capital that give ethnoracial difference market value. In this assemblage of discursive and material forms, multicultural advertising agencies recognize that their ability to represent diversity and perform as ethnic and linguistic experts is essentially about opening new markets. This “intercultural affect,” Shankar argues, illustrates how race is negotiated in consumer capitalism.

At the same time, Shankar avoids a blanket critique of Asian advertising firms. Detailing the hard work and creativity of many of the men and women with whom she worked, Shankar's writing communicates a clear respect for those she interviewed and observed. Shankar also leaves open the possibility that the growth of the Asian advertising firms she observed might contribute to the politics of antiracism by redefining normalcy in the United States. Tracing industry representations of Asians from the inscrutable Chinese laundrymen at the turn of the 20th century to portraits of the highly desirable "recession-proof" Asian American consumer of today, Shankar suggests that these representations have the potential to erode the perception of Asian Americans as "forever foreigners" and inspire social activism in the future. She writes that "the hope, then, is that these diverse new visions of normal will someday become simply 'normal'" (p. 268).

While the need to balance critique with respect for the livelihoods of the people with whom one works is familiar to anthropologists, some readers might find themselves wishing for clearer sense of Shankar's perspectives on the industry. She clearly endeavors to illustrate the progressive potential for antiracism in these firms and the ads they produce in several instances. In others, she emphasizes how this work naturalizes differences. She writes, drawing on George Lipsitz (2011), "as long as racialized spaces are maintained—in this case, diversity being treated as a special interest—single actors do not need to decide to discriminate in order for racism to persist . . . in such spaces . . . liberal-minded individuals may 'inadvertently participate' in reproducing racism" (p. 20).

Shankar's ambiguity, however, can also be read as a careful attempt to recognize uncertainty. As Shankar clearly recognizes, utilizing Félix Deleuze and Gilles Guattari's (1987)

concept of an assemblage to frame much of her discussion, there is nothing static about ethnoracial representations or the identities of the advertising professionals that produce them. What is clear is that there is a high degree of uncertainty about how racism and whiteness will take new forms in the 21st century and how Asian American marketing firms will influence and be influenced by these shifting conditions.

I would like to hope, along with Shankar, that ethnoracially targeted advertising can shift our public conceptualizations of race and ethnicity, creating a new, more inclusive sense of normal. But even if they do, these ads are clearly not well suited to address the conditions that underwrite so much of contemporary difference, including opportunity and justice. It is also unclear how the practice of advertising diversity, already in the service of the market, could lead to meaningful change (p. 253). It is nonetheless important to understand the practices at work, particularly given how powerful discursive and material forms can be, even in the service of the market, as we form new assemblages of diversity.

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Women and Power in Zimbabwe: Promises of Feminism by Carolyn Martin Shaw.

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015. 216 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12748

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Carolyn Martin Shaw's *Women and Power in Zimbabwe: Promises of Feminism* discusses the evolution of feminism in Zimbabwe. The book challenges long-held views, such as association of the Homecraft movement in Southern Rhodesia with the domestication of women, and argues that the movement, in fact, provided women with space to discuss issues that

affected them. It also critiques the claim that there was gender equality during the liberation struggle by presenting women's experiences, which are absent from the hegemonic and official narrative in Zimbabwe. Women's confidence in the possibility of simultaneously liberating themselves from racial and gender oppression is deflated by persistence of gender inequality after independence. This disappointment becomes the bedrock of feminism in Zimbabwe.

The book argues that the choice between self and security, as reflected in Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* (1988), is fraught with tension and predicament.

Choosing freedom comes with loneliness and sociocultural censure. Conversely, choosing companionship and “moral superiority” entails deference to patriarchy and relinquishing of autonomy. Zimbabwean women maintain hope notwithstanding the dilemma. Therein lies “cruel optimism” and the truth in Dangarembga’s (1988:16) stark statement, “This business of womanhood is a heavy burden,” aptly used by Shaw to signpost her chapter 4. The feminist movement in Zimbabwe operates in a context in which progressive laws on gender equality coexist with political obstacles. It has to contend with how gender intersects with age, class, marital status, and occupation, as well as religious and political affiliation in ways that frustrate efforts to unite women. As Zimbabwean women in various organizations work to promote gender equality, some of them are confronted with their membership in the ruling party and ties to the same government that they should compel to respect women’s rights. Once again, they have to choose (and this time between self-interest and women’s interests). Balancing loyalty to the ruling party and government with commitment to the feminist movement can be elusive. Another obstacle contributing to “cruel optimism” is the division between married and unmarried women, represented as virtuous and immoral, respectively.

Shaw brilliantly depicts Zimbabwe’s contradictions and hypocrisy on culture, morality, and gender. Her discussion of cultural issues in Zimbabwe highlights the crisis of attribution with which the country continues to grapple. As Zimbabweans embrace Western technology and lifestyles, they hold on to the African–Western binary in which thorny and uncomfortable cultural issues that are perceived to be detrimental to patriarchy are described as Western or “un-African” and demonized, while views and actions that perpetuate this ideology are accordingly “Africanized” and extolled. This inadvertently “Africanizes” attitudes and practices that, under human and women’s rights regimes, are retrogressive.

As Shaw addresses subversion of patriarchy and gerontocracy during the liberation struggle, which engaged the youth and women to the detriment of elderly men, she also presents the ambivalence in Shona patriarchy. Strong, accomplished, independent, and outspoken women are objects of public condemnation (as prostitutes or loose women) and private admiration captured by *murume pachake* (male woman) in the Shona language. It is important that Shaw

acknowledges the limitations of the four categories under which she discusses Zimbabwean women who come in a continuum, thus blurring boundaries.

However, it is troubling for a book on Zimbabwe to focus on Shona women and exclude other ethnic groups in the country, with the Ndebele, the second-largest group, mentioned only in passing. One is left wondering whether this is a book about Zimbabwean or Shona women. A point that the book downplays is the hierarchy observable in Shona culture among women. While the book refers to a mother-in-law as having more power than her daughter-in-law, it does not attach much value to this hierarchy, thus giving the impression that Shona women are categorically subjugated by patriarchy. Yet, women’s exercise of power on other women is not exclusively about perpetuation of patriarchy; it is also based on kinship organization as illustrated by Tete’s higher social status vis-à-vis her brothers’ wives in Dangarembga’s *Nervous Conditions*. Shona men are also not all powerful, as they are culturally expected to defer to specific women such as those from their mothers’ lineages who are proxy mothers. Shona patriarchy also bestows power on women on the basis of age, achieved economic status, and spiritual role. This buttresses Zimbabwean feminists’ argument that feminism is not “un-African.”

Last, Shaw’s book overlooks transformation in gender relations and women’s positions in contemporary Zimbabwe, yet these changes have become visible to the point of generating moral panic and public debate. Nonetheless, the book has paved the way for future research on feminism in Zimbabwe to interrogate the reconfiguration of gender roles and relations and Shona patriarchy’s inherent, adaptive mechanisms that accommodate situations that perplex its internal logic (Jaji 2016). Although this accommodation happens on patriarchy’s own terms, perhaps feminism is thriving and “cruel optimism” is no longer as cruel in contemporary Zimbabwe.

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Race Becomes Tomorrow: North Carolina and the Shadow of Civil Rights by Gerald M. Sider.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 248 pp.

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In *Race Becomes Tomorrow*, Gerald Sider draws on several decades of research and activism—the 1960s through the 2000s—in Robeson County, North Carolina, to tell an ethnographic story about race, class, social justice, and civil rights. In Robeson County, residents recognize three races: African Americans, Euro-Americans, and Indians. Recently, a vast inpouring of Latin@s has populated the county. Sider's African American interlocutors and his civil rights organizing with them, however, are central to his narrative. The book is organized into four parts: "Stories," "Cultur-ing Worlds," "Beyond," and "Living Contradictions." Each section advances Sider's analysis of the interrelations among race, class, justice, locality, rights, and exploitation.

Sider explains how race works by showing what race does—such as sustain racial inequities while staring civil rights in the eye. Sider learned during 1968, for example, that the mere possibility of advancing a civil rights agenda required electing an "untouchable" African American: "Untouchable meant the White power structure could not take the candidate's or his spouse's job away, could not foreclose a mortgage for one or two late payments, could not suspend a child from school for a minor infraction" (p. 42).

Sider argues that people make and live race twice: within a race and among races. He explains that making race entails "making races" (p. 2). This perspective is important. Race analysts commonly neglect the interaction between intraracial and interracial dynamics. Sider shows how social class divides a racial formation. For instance, as elites emerge among "oppressed 'minority' groups, a significant portion . . . either turns away from or, worse, turns against the needs and problems of the more oppressed of 'their own'" (p. 39). This tussle works to the disadvantage of the most vulnerable people. The development of local elite among African Americans, for example, manifested in cleavages that distanced them figuratively and literally from poor African Americans. This makes it difficult for the latter to improve their position in a racial hierarchy.

Sider contends that minorities are "disposable people." That is, people who can be more effectively exploited replace those who become less exploitable. Importantly, Sider includes poor whites among the disposable. Using the notion of disposable people allows for class-based analysis of

how race works within the institutions of capitalism. Disposability entails being rendered redundant, whether by the mechanical cotton picker, by footloose factories, or by gaining civil rights that price one out of the local employment market. As one Robesonian told Sider, "Ever since the colored (African Americans) got civil rights, we had to get rid of them. That's not what colored means. We got rid of them and got Mexicans" (p. 57).

Race Becomes Tomorrow illustrates how race and biology become intertwined. For example, African American Robesonians typically acquired dangerous and less productive land (e.g., flood-prone ground), which in turn negatively affected health indicators such as infant mortality. Zoning African American communities beyond town or city limits compounded the situation, preventing their access to services such as sewage lines.

Witty and sometimes graphic wordplay that illuminates the dynamics of race, class, and capitalism is scattered throughout *Race Becomes Tomorrow*. For example, Sider uses the words "fucked" and "getting done" as metaphors to show how exploitation involves creating both intimacy and distance. However, some reader's ears might grate at the sound of "getting fucked" (over), though in the vernacular this is exactly how locals might describe exploitation.

There are a few fissures in the texture of *Race Becomes Tomorrow*. Sider takes us to New York City several times, for example, to make points about whiteness and about social class. While the anecdotes are vivid—the cockroach-infested Lower East Side tenement of Sider's Yiddish grandfather, white guys racing cockroaches, white guys riding dirt bikes across trash dumps—I wondered why the author needed to take readers to New York to do so. This takes me to me to my next point.

Race Becomes Tomorrow is a memoir, an anthropological memoir. However, Sider says that it is not. According to memoir expert G. Thomas Couser, memoir now rivals fiction for popularity among readers. Therefore, one could argue that memoir is an inadequate form for serious scholarship. However, memoir can be as serious and effective as an author intends. As anthropological memoir, Sider's New York excursions make sense because it extends and illustrates his analysis of class. Instead of running away from memoir, more anthropologists should use it to demonstrate how personal experience informs theoretical explication.

I assigned *Race Becomes Tomorrow* to a class of 23 first-year university students. Twenty-two of them said they would

recommend the book to other undergraduates. Their main gripe, though, was that they found Sider's style complicated. For example, Sider's clever critique of anthropological conceptions of nation, culture, and class—and how they obscure violence—glanced over the heads of these students. Nevertheless, the students said that *Race Becomes Tomorrow* signif-

icantly advanced their understanding of race in the United States. This is an important achievement. Undergraduates, graduate students, and seasoned scholars will find value in *Race Becomes Tomorrow*. Indeed, the book is appropriate for anyone interested in a vivid ethnographic account of what race does in the United States.

The Calls of Islam: Sufis, Islamists, and Mass Mediation in Urban Morocco by Emilio Spadola.

Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014. 190 pp.

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Emilio Spadola's *The Calls of Islam* offers a fresh anthropological addition and analysis to the study of different forms of competing "calls" and "countercalls" to Moroccan Islam in the urban context of Fez. Spadola carried out his research in the aftermath of 9/11 and the 2003 Casablanca terrorist attacks. Therefore, this ethnographic study took place at a time when the Moroccan state launched a religious campaign to control other regimes and ideologies of Islamic contestation seen as a challenge to the authority of the king as Commander of the Faithful. The state had to reclaim its moderate, tolerant Islam by domesticating the media, foregrounding the historical Sufi and Maliki traditions, and publicly demonizing ultraconservative, political Islamic activists. In this complex political context, Spadola's book offers an anthropological analysis and description of these competitive calls to Islam.

The Calls of Islam builds on the classic works of Clifford Geertz, Dale Eickelman, Vincent Crapanzano, Deborah Kapchan, and Abdellah Hammoudi and is conversant with the anthropology of Islam of Talal Asad, Saba Mahmood, Michael Lambek, and Charles Hirschkind. Yet these highly influential names and works rarely eclipse the substantial addition of Spadola's ethnography to our understanding of the Moroccan religious project and its theoretical contribution to the growing body of the anthropology of Islam.

At the core of Spadola's ethnography is the relational dynamics between different ideologies and beliefs of Islam and their practice. These relations, Spadola argues, are produced through "technological mediation" (p. 65). Spadola has largely succeeded, through a set of ethnographic data and vignettes, at highlighted the theoretical complexity of this short ethnography. The theoretical density of *The Calls of Islam* emerges from Spadola's combination of Louis Althusser's theory of "interpellation" and mass-mediated theory. Therefore, Spadola successfully makes the claim that the state structures and interpretations of religious

doctrine turn individuals into subjects through repeated staging. Spadola notes that "this repeatability remains within the control of the state" (p. 7).

Based on his ethnographic work in the urban context of Fez, Spadola argues that the "technologization" of Islamic authoritative practices and calls is largely demonstrated in public forms and rituals. Spadola notes from the beginning of his analysis that despite the competing notions of Islamic calls—including from ordinary and middle-class men and women, the state, and the Islamists—they are still largely controlled by a postcolonial, mass-mediated, hegemonic national religious call. This call is largely grounded in the belief and annual reproduction and postcolonial televised staging of the ritual of allegiance to the monarchy (*bay'a*). The nationalization of the Islamic call is reflected, for example, in the political success of King Hassan II to galvanize the Moroccan population through state media during the Green March to capture Spanish Sahara.

In seven well-conceptualized and written chapters, Spadola lays out the historical development and expressions of religious consciousness through a mass-mediated public and counterpublic in colonial and postcolonial environments. The ethnographer takes his readers through examples of religious calls disseminated through the radio, television, tapes, DVDs, and the Internet. Despite a historical background that spans two chapters of the book (mostly chs. 2 and 3), Spadola never leaves the ethnographic present in Fez, making sure that the main focus of the book is Sufi rituals around shrine veneration and jinn curing. In other words, chapters 4 and 5 stress how "old practices and practitioners of Sufi trance and exorcism and new stagings of Islamic exorcism and national Sufi culture summon urban Moroccans into mass-mediated politics, power, and social order" (p. 2). In this situation, Spadola notes that the Moroccan calls to Islam play on personal preferences and subjective differences. Islamic calls around invisible spirits (*jinn*s) answer particular individual needs through a "particularizing" media/venues and an "informal economy of curing rites" that clash with public norms of piety. As countercalls and voices of Islam in urban Morocco, the ritual

parties (*lila*) and jinn exorcism performances demonstrate these differences through mediated individual background that are accepted among certain groups. Unlike this form of mediated staging, Spadola moves from the monarchy, the 30-year-old Zuhur, and the local *faqih* (religious scholar) to an Islamic exorcism that criticizes trance rites and calls for their elimination. While he started his ethnography with the hegemonic power of the Islamic call preached by the monarchy, Spadola concludes that, despite the challenges of the post-2011 Arab uprisings, the state continues to control the

national religious call through co-optation and repression, leaving little room for the other competitive calls to challenge its mediated official message, at least for now.

Spadola's dense writing can sometimes be frustrating and challenging for nonspecialized readers. But if you stick to his historical journey and stay patient with his religious terminology and theoretical framing, you are likely to end up enjoying this book. This ethnography will be useful to students in anthropology, Islam, religion, and North African studies.

Writing Culture and the Life of Anthropology by Orin Starn, ed.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 280 pp.

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On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the by-now-iconic volume *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Clifford and Marcus 1986), Orin Starn, James Clifford, George Marcus, Richard Handler, Michael Fischer, Danilyn Rutherford, Kim Fortun, Michael Taussig, John L. Jackson Jr., Anne Allison, Charles Piot, Kamala Visweswaran, Kathleen Stewart, and Hugh Raffles have produced a rich and thought-provoking collection of essays addressing the current and future state of anthropology. Under the title *Writing Culture and the Life of Anthropology*, they inquire about the ways in which the earlier *Writing Culture* volume provided an ambitious and much-needed critique of anthropology's colonial impositions and inclinations as well as forged a path for innovative and experimental approaches within the discipline. More importantly, in moving beyond the historical parameters of the initial volume, all authors ask about possible futures for an anthropology in its institutional settings and beyond. What is the role of the empirical, material, artistic, and aesthetic in conceptualizations of anthropology? What is the relationship between the human and animal, plant, and geological worlds? How shall we think about the role of serendipity and intuition in the crafting of our research? How shall we take on the tremendous challenges of addressing continuing issues of violence, including racism, genocide, and climate change?

Although it may be somewhat unfair to group them together in such a way, in the volume under review, Clifford, Marcus, Handler, and Fischer open up historical vistas onto the life of *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, including the subsequent history and fate of anthropology. In rightly pointing to the abundant ethno-

graphic and analytical energy that the first *Writing Culture* released—experiments with genre, style, and narration; increased attention to issues of representation, dialogue, polysemy, and silence—they also insist on further probing normative assumptions related to ethnographic research and writing. Clifford, for example, considers the ways in which attention to race, gender, class, sexuality, visual culture, and the growth of technology have shaped the discipline, and Marcus insists on pushing further questions of design and scale. Handler calls our attention to the complexities of institutional culture that shape the discipline, and—as if to anticipate Jackson Jr.'s contribution—Fischer calls attention to the importance of literature and the visual arts in ethnographic and culture talk. Together, these contributions set the stage for a wide range of further contributions that in turn tackle the questions of how we can keep anthropology relevant, exciting, absorbing, and fresh.

Thus, in keeping in step with the boundary-pushing character of *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Rutherford, Fortun, Taussig, Jackson Jr., Allison, Piot, Visweswaran, Stewart, and Raffles invite us to think about future trajectories for the discipline. In seeking to form new and innovative paths from the concrete matters of ethnography, they ask how reality and the empirical can be addressed anew (Rutherford), what ethnographic design might look like (Fortun and Taussig), what kind of effects technology has on ethnography (Jackson Jr.), and what the future of anthropological thought itself might look like (Allison, Piot, Visweswaran, Stewart, and Raffles). In the space I have at my disposal for this review, it is hard to do justice to the astonishing richness of their collective contributions, including the narrative vitality and ethnographic vigor that makes *Writing Culture and the Life of Anthropology* so exciting. Yet the particularities of their approaches and views provide a productive ground for

further discussions—in classrooms and at workshops and meetings, as well as within the context of institutions and organization that also benefit from ethnographic work.

If, in the spirit of further thinking about anthropology's future, I might offer one criticism, it would be to say that we do need to think about the ways in which anthropology changes—and perhaps must change—but also about the current political, economic, and historical situation that greatly contributes to disciplinary transformation. Such an inquiry would need to pay greater attention to the historical forces—including, for example, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rise of a borderless capitalism and neoliberal arrangements of state and power—that since the 1986 publication of *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*

have contributed to deep changes in the world. That is, if the discipline is to maintain its creativity and strength, it needs to push innovative styles of thinking, researching, and writing while also staying alert to the realities of authority and power in all of its myriad ways. After all, an anthropology without political courage and a critical edge will run the easily the risk of becoming irrelevant to—among others—our colleagues, institutions, grant agencies, and interlocutors.

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Copenhagen: Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study [NIAS], 2014. 448 pp.

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The *Dictionary of Kammu Yùan Language and Culture* is the first comprehensive Kammu dictionary in English presenting the language and culture of the Kammu Yùan people. It is a gnostic window showcasing the detailed and nuanced landscapes in which the Kammu people dwell.

The dictionary is an informative and comprehensive collection of the traditional Kammu culture and language. Although it is the accomplishment of collaboration of four authors, the main part of the dictionary reflects the 30 years of experience of Kàm Ràw, a native Kammu speaker born in 1938 in northern Laos. He had been a hunter, a swidden farmer, and a shaman before he moved to Thailand in 1972, owing to the war in Indochina, and took part in the research programs of Kristina Lindell, one of the coauthors of this dictionary. Two years later, he migrated to Sweden, where he joined with the researchers there in similar studies. Kàm's other name, Damrong Tayanin, is his official name in the passport issued to him in Thailand so that he could migrate to Sweden (p. vii). In the following years, he coauthored 13 books on Kammu language and culture, for two of which he was the first author. He is also the author of two books on Kammu folk religion and songs.

This 500-plus-page dictionary is in imperial octavo format, encompassing almost all aspects of the Kammu society.

With its 6,000 entries involving 14,000 Kammu words or phrases, the dictionary insightfully illustrates the traditional Kammu language, kinship, agriculture, calendar, village life, and folk religion, among other topics. The Kammu language is presented with an orthography based on International Phonetic Alphabet with only two minor modifications. Long vowels are represented with double vowel letters. Tones are marked with diacritics.

The encyclopedia-like dictionary features an extensive inventory of Kammu words, lavish explanations, and plentiful diagrams. Many entries cover several hundred words, some covering more than a thousand words. Many Kammu entries are elucidated with images or drawings that assist the reader to understand many otherwise hard-to-understand entries like those concerning tools, house structure, musical instruments, animals, plants, body parts, among others.

As important components of the dictionary, the appendices provide a great variety of information for the reader—for example, the detailed accounts of kinship, village life, the agricultural year, personal names, phonology, word formation, and syntax. Lao loan words are also analyzed in the appendices. The additional detailed descriptions in the appendices can be used as valuable reference for researchers of various disciplines. The dictionary would be pale without these appendices.

The dictionary also offers maps showing the distribution areas of dialects, geographical names, swidden fields, and paths. An analytical index offers the Kammu

lexica for songs, prayers, sayings, measure units, plants, animals, and so on. Biological names are annotated with Latin taxonomical terms. An English index at the back lists around 1,400 entries, with each directly glossed with Kammu words rather than page numbers, which saves the reader the trouble of locating the words in the dictionary.

Despite its usefulness, it is a shame that the diagrams or the images do not provide English glosses for the Kammu names. For example, the entry *hrlù*, “a place by a road where travelers rest or spend the night,” is illustrated with Kammu (p. 73). However, the reader must look up these Kammu words in the dictionary for their meanings. Also, there is a mention in the introduction about Kammu as a tone language (p. xxi), but the book fails to provide information regarding the value and contours of the tones, which can otherwise be useful in comparative studies among the Kammu dialects and the Tai languages. Illustrations without English glosses can not only be reader unfriendly but also can create difficulty for the reader to understand their meanings. The word *hnʔòh* as in the diagram for *hrlù* (a simple temporary shelter) is not found in the dictionary. Only a similar word *hntròh* “to boil” is available (p. 65). It could possibly be a typo because *hnʔòh* points to a cooking utensil resembling a pot hanging above a bonfire.

There are also some minor errors in the dictionary. The entry *ráap* is glossed as “1. shoulder pole, carrying-pole with two baskets” (p. 284). Conventionally, it should have a second sense since it has a first sense. A sense like “2. a carrying pole and the loads on it” could have been omitted by mistake, because the word *ráap* in other variants of the Kammu language refers to “pair of loads carried by a carrying pole,” functioning as a classifier: for example, *klám moi ɣap* (*klám*: to carry; *moi* : one; *ɣap*: pair of loads carried by a carrying pole) “to carry a pair of loads with a carrying pole” (Chen 2002:190, 305).

The reader should also use this book with caution because a large part of the dictionary is based on Kàm’s personal experience before 1972. Many features or conditions have vanished in this area. The traditional taboos for eating, marriage, and other daily activities have actually ceased to exist or are fading out because of modernization in the country.

Notwithstanding the few weak points, the dictionary is still an excellent reference book for linguists, anthropologists, and researchers of other relevant disciplines.

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With the Saraguros: The Blended Life in a Transnational World by David Syring.

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014. 161 pp.

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David Syring entered the world of the Saraguros, a highland Kichwa indigenous population living in the southern Ecuadorian Andes, in 2005, initiating a new ethnographic experience after his initial fieldwork as a native anthropologist in the Texas Hill Country. Introduced to the community by renowned Andean anthropologists Linda and Jim Belote, who have worked with the Saraguros for several decades, Syring seeks a deeper understanding of the Saraguro’s *vida matizada* (blended life), meaning the blending and balancing of personal and professional worlds within a matrix that draws on strong, local indigenous traditions and transnational lifestyles (p. 10). *With the Saraguros: The Blended Life in a Transnational World* entwines ethnography with metaphors, poetry, art, and photography, achieving a deeply humanistic perspective of their shared worlds. Syring questions how

people in different cultural contexts perceive, participate, thrive, and achieve a work–life balance, obtaining the “good life.”

In the Ecuadorian imaginary, the Saraguros evoke a static, “traditional” Andean lifestyle based on their indigenous attire, local practices of agropastoralism, production of artisan crafts, and Andean ideologies. By contrast, Syring argues the Saraguros practice a variety of lifestyles in a range of geographical contexts. The Belotes and Luis Macas Albuludí have published accounts of Saraguro migrations to the United States and Europe. Macas, the founder of the Pachakutik political party, former president of the Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Ecuador, former Minister of Agriculture, and Saraguro, embodies this transnational blended life. *With the Saraguros* attempts to delve into contemporary Saraguro indigeneity to show the confluences of globalization, transnationalism, and the emigrations fueled by economic opportunities outside of Saraguro. Syring focuses on these lifeways and work patterns to provide his microanalysis of one Saraguro family’s practices.

He raises questions and contributes to the discussion of what “the pursuit of happiness” means and considers how his own socioeconomic background may influence his anthropological lens, perception, and interpretation of these livelihoods.

This volume closely follows the stories of Benigno Cango and his wife Ana Victoria, who live and work locally, and Ana Victoria’s brother, Máximo, who lives and works on an industrial dairy farm in Wisconsin. Syring appears as a key figure, self-described as the “technopelli,” a metaphor of the anthropologist as the southwestern US “kokopelli” storyteller figure. The “technopelli” appears as a technology-savvy, traveling outsider who both tells and captures stories while participating in his own blended lifestyle. Syring’s work consists of six chapters, four short interludes, and a brief prologue and epilogue that analyze stories he collected throughout his experience with the Cango family. Chapters 1 and 6 outline Syring’s anthropological approach and his desire to found his ethnography on those factors that connect all humans—family, work, and happiness. In chapter 2, the reader learns of the Saraguro context through beadwork as a metaphor for the blended life. Syring dives further into the work–life balance in chapter 3, where he explores different perceptions and goals of work cross-culturally. Chapter 4 marks a significant discussion of Saraguro women’s beadwork and Syring’s participation in it. Chapter 5 explores the blended life through the Saraguros’ relationship with their environment and invasive or traveling species to the region, arguing that one’s relationship to nature influences the sense of one’s place in the world.

Syring provides an accessible, descriptive account of his experiences among the Saraguro. The book’s accessibility primes it for broad audiences, both academic and nonacademic, but it would particularly serve well as a tool for undergraduate ethnographic methods courses. I especially appreciated the recognition of Syring’s positionality as a white,

male anthropologist and his distance from academic elitism. He acknowledges that his working-class origins afford him different vantages and relationships with the Saraguro, while he also maintains privilege. At times, Syring falls victim to some of the stereotypes he cautiously tries to avoid. The cover photo of Syring surrounded by an indigenous couple and their children looking at his digital camera screen, encircled by a multicolored beaded necklace, may mislead the potential reader, inferring paternalism and (neo)colonialism. This powerful image may bias the reader from the outset.

This volume also would have benefitted from more theoretical engagement, connecting the Saraguro experience to the national context. Syring engages competing notions of “the good life” from his own perspective and that of the Saraguro but fails to contextualize these within the controversial national political agenda of *Sumak Kawsay*, a Kichwa indigenous concept meaning “living well” or “good life” featured prominently in the 2008 Ecuadorian constitution. The appropriation and manipulation of *Sumak Kawsay* concept, later glossed in Spanish as “Buen Vivir” or “Good Life” to distance the political agenda from the ancestral concept, received abundant backlash for lacking local relativism and recognizing that many indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorians continue to live in abject poverty without basic needs to “live well.” The progression of this sociopolitical ideology would have provided a more compelling orientation for this work, while Syring provided the on-the-ground, local interpretations of it from the Saraguro perspective. Syring’s consistent self-reflexivity, while useful to explicate his positionality, detracts from the potential incorporation of more Saraguro families, expanding the breadth and depth of his ethnographic work. The Andean specialist may find this piece too focused on Syring’s own interpellation with the blended life to provide a more profound understanding of the Saraguros’ experience of it.

Embodied Protests: Emotions and Women’s Health in Bolivia by Maria Tapias.

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015. 176 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12765

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The linkage between emotional states of individuals and the structuring of social action was rarely addressed in anthropological paradigms during its formative decades in the late 19th century. Until the mid–20th century, culture, not the individual actor, was considered the generative basis of social

action, and behaviors were defined by custom and sustained by tradition, not by individual decisions.

Maria Tapias carried out fieldwork in the 1990s, exploring emotional motivations and the multiple scenarios in which they were enacted in the Bolivian town of Punata, which was undergoing neoliberal reforms. In her interpretation, neoliberalism is an economy marked by liberalization of markets and decentralization of power in the governance. This implies that local policies are endorsed and carried out in national and supranational institutions such as the

International Monetary Fund and World Bank without attending to local problems.

Tapias maintains that emotional distress unleashed by the neoliberal reforms resulted in illness. Bolivian highlanders, like natives of other Andean countries, are predisposed to accept the link between sickness and emotional states. They are, as a result, prepared to defend themselves and their children against illnesses by resorting to traditional practices. The lack of employment came at a time of runaway inflation exacerbated the impoverishment that was endemic in the country. Urged by the United States to undertake measures to halt inflation, the Bolivian government undertook measures that aggravated popular protests.

Employing the method of biographical inquiry to elicit and interpret the accommodations to neoliberal reforms, Tapias draws upon the experience of migration by her parents from Bolivia to Queens, New York, where she was born. Noting the high infant mortality rates in Bolivia (70 deaths per thousand births—the highest rate in Latin America), she was motivated to study the responses of women as mothers who bore the sorrow and often the blame when their children became ill. Their narratives reiterate their frustrations when the traditional practices used to protect their babies from their own anger by expressing a few drops of milk before nursing failed to work. If the infant died, the women suffered both guilt and remorse.

At a structural level, the decline in Bolivia's economy precipitated in the presidency of Hugo Banzer in 1971 was followed by massive protests at the end of the decade. These continued up to the mid-1980s when Victor Paz Estenssoro, who led the country after the 1952 Revolution, was seated as president. High unemployment, a widening gap between rich and poor, and inflationary prices for food and living expenses forced the middle classes as well as the poor to engage in counterproductive responses. Massive migrations from highland mining sites to the Chapari lowlands where national lands were distributed to laid-off miners and unemployed rural workers led to new alliances as the cultivation of coca became a major source of income, providing one-third of the gross domestic product of the country. Many Bolivians also migrated beyond na-

tional borders to Argentina and Spain. Multiple new identities of race, class, gender, and religiosity, briefly noted by Tapias, emerged, as occupational class position intersected with colonial ethnicities of Quechua and Spanish *mestizos* and as *campesinos* and urban adventurers adapted to the new economy. The female market vendors who were Tapias's chief informants dedicated themselves to educating their children so that they would succeed in this new open society, only to discover that there were no jobs awaiting them on graduation.

As a result, social welfare gains of preceding decades were nullified, and the rules of reciprocity among ritual and biological kin were denied in the worsening economic climate. Illnesses proliferated in the family and community. Folk remedies traditionally used to find a balance between hot and cold illnesses, or others that released bile, failed to alleviate the suffering experienced particularly by women. Tapias asserts that power relations were demonstrated in the greater allowance for men to express anger: men beat their wives more frequently, and the rich took advantage of poor more effectively. The unemployed who sought alternative income by growing coca for the thriving drug trade were subject to jailing and the loss of whatever profits they had made. The failure of these coping strategies accelerated the downward fall of the economy.

The net result is summed up by Tapias in terms such as *debilidad* (weakness or susceptibility to illness), *tirisya* (a condition of listlessness and lethargy), and *arrebato* (illness caused by a loss of trust, as when a nursing mother passes on her sorrow to the infant). So prevalent were these so-called "folk illnesses" that they acquired the umbrella term *Pachamama*, the cosmological concept related to sacred space and time. It was as though the people sensed an end of their world approaching in the spectral form of disease.

Tapias's monograph would be more accessible and able to assist international and national change agencies if she had provided an assessment of how the town of Punata relates to other sites in Bolivia in terms of income and economic activity. This information would also enable change agents to better adapt educational and medical programs for specific populations.

The Corn Wolf by Michael Taussig.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 216 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12753

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The spirit of this book demands not a succinct review but notes of a leisurely journey through the text, with pauses

to admire a clever juxtaposition, the catch of an image, the stripes of the animal.¹

Taussig's title comes from Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Remarks on Frazer's The Golden Bough* (n.d.). Wittgenstein says that Frazer is mistaken in understanding magical thought as a form of explanation and hence in thinking that magic is fundamentally mistaken. Magic should be understood in

the way we grasp poetic language. Ritual acts (“gestures”) are comparable to the rhetorical flourishes and metaphors embedded in ordinary speech, language that is not narrowly correspondence based and representational but connotative and fluid. In remark number 26, Wittgenstein says:

What we have in the ancient rites is the use of a highly cultivated gestural language. And when I read Frazer, I keep wanting to say at every step: All these processes, these changes of meaning are still present to us in our word language. If what is called the “corn-wolf” is what is hidden in the last sheaf, but [if this name applies] also to the last sheaf itself and the man who binds it, then we recognize in this a linguistic process with which we are perfectly familiar.

This is followed by a footnote quoting *The Golden Bough* that, “where the belief in the Corn-Wolf is particularly prevalent, everyone fears to cut the last corn, because they say the Wolf is sitting in it; . . . the last bunch of corn is itself commonly called the Wolf, and the man who reaps it . . . is himself called Wolf”

In both his ideas and his style of presentation, Wittgenstein here is not so far from Nietzsche, and Taussig follows suit. Like these eminent predecessors, Taussig is trying to show us something rather than to represent or explain. The work is laid out paradigmatically rather than syntagmatically. There is no particular order, and, while the book is divided into distinct parts, it is hard to call them chapters; they are definitely not articles and not exactly essays either. Perhaps *parables* would be a good descriptor if that were not a compromised word. Words, sketches, and photographs mimetically mirror each other, creating an array of scenes—from two gripping accounts located at opposite ends of Taussig’s adventures in Colombia, through a night in Zucotti Park, two weeks in Palestine, obscenity in Iowa and Manhattan, and my personal favorites, the title piece and the one on humming that moves from Nietzsche through Winnie-the-Pooh to Allan Ginsburg. How could one fail to be charmed?

Taussig wants us to see the magic running through language and life. Sometimes he takes on Frazer’s tone (be amazed, something terrible is happening here) and sometimes he takes up Wittgenstein’s struggle to merely point us in the right direction. But his goal is different, conspiratorial, he says, like the furtive wolf. Taussig tells us he is writing apotropaic texts, averting evil in a form of countermagic. The corn wolf is both playful and scary; *Homo homini lupus*

(Man is wolf to man). Evil is widespread and all too evident in agribusiness and capital.

The book is a tour through Taussig’s favorite themes—Taussig on Taussig as it were—animism, iconoclasm, mimesis, nervous system, sacrifice, secrecy, shamanism, sorcery, transgression’s erotic power, the seduction and pollution of violence, Bataille, and Benjamin. Most generally, Taussig writes against stasis and for the vibrancy of being. This is what animism is about, and conjuring, and it can speed up in revolution or settle down in idling mode. Taussig is attuned to changes of tempo and interested in grasping that moment or condition where imitation begets transformation, “where mimesis propagates itself into metamorphosis” (p. 37). One could call Taussig’s writing cinematic, constituted through a montage of images; but where cinema moves quicker than the eye, Taussig wants us to slow down, to catch what Roland Barthes called the rustle of language and what Taussig hears as the humming of bees and words, but also objects, in the animistic and fetishistic buzzing of the world.

Slowness does sit oddly alongside the speed of Taussig’s thought, the restless journeying, the rapid transformation of field notes into publication. There is a quality I would call “spurtive” when the furtive wolf jumps out. Imagine a world without deadlines, Taussig asks. Imagine a world without dead lines is what he means.

The Corn Wolf is a work, as Richard Rorty (1989:18) once said of this kind of writing, “which one cannot confirm or disconfirm, argue for or against. One can only savor it or spit it out.”

NOTE

1. As Taussig begins with the image of the graduate student faced with transforming field notes into a dissertation, I proposed the book to a thesis-writing seminar at Toronto. Thanks to Shireen Kashmeri, Lukas Ley, Hollis Moore, Jacob Nerenberg, and Melinda Vandenbeld Giles for fruitful discussion.

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A Talent for Friendship: Rediscovery of a Remarkable Trait by John Edward Terrell.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 320 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12743

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Late in the 19th century, Peter Kropotkin, an exiled Russian prince-scientist living in England, published a series of essays on the key importance of mutual aid in the evolution of biological species. In part a response to prevailing social Darwinism of the day and in part scientific support for socialism, Kropotkin was one of the first in a long line of scholars grappling with the role of cooperation in biological evolution. *A Talent for Friendship*, published nearly 120 years later, represents one more addition to that lineage by focusing on the role played by friendship in human history and evolution.

A Talent for Friendship is framed around the “friendship hypothesis” that humans have an evolved capacity to make friends outside their immediate groups and that this is a defining and unique feature of our species. This novel capacity in turn creates new opportunities for cultural transmission, mobilizing large numbers of people to action and buffering risk in new ways. The book pits the friendship hypothesis against the “friendship is wimpy hypothesis” that “people are by nature so fundamentally aggressive and distrustful of another that only an emotion as powerful as familial love can effectively control our animal urges and desires . . . feelings as diffuse as friendship simply [cannot] influence human history or evolution” (p. 80).

To illustrate these two hypotheses and to argue for the primacy of the first, John Edward Terrell deftly weaves together his own fieldwork experience on the Sepik coast of Papua New Guinea with 20th-century science and 500 years of philosophy. The book roves widely, bringing in discussions of fractal geometry, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (Pirsig 1974), Harry Potter, and how to host a Maori Marae encounter between groups.

In part 1, the book sets up the problem of human nature and argues that past scholars have focused on two persistent “ghost ideas”: (1) that humans are naturally “savages” and (2) that humans are above all self-interested. In response to this, Terrell lays out the friendship hypothesis. Moving to part 2, Terrell describes his own archeological fieldwork experiences on the Sepik coast, using these experiences to illustrate the importance of friendship in the present day and to

speculate about the importance of friendship in earlier times. Beautifully written case studies of inherited friendships from this region also add to a long line of similar Melanesian case studies with origins in Bronislaw Malinowski’s classic study of Kula exchange. Part 3 paints the current state of evolutionary biology as focusing too heavily on self-interest, math, and violent intergroup conflict. Part 4 lays out some crucial features of cooperation in nonhuman animals, and part 5 draws briefly on research on psychopathology and emotions in humans as evidence for the uniquely human propensity for social living. Part 6 finishes by outlining “Principles to Live By”—a guide for reaching out and making friends.

Terrell is a fine storyteller, and the book is an engaging read with a number of thought-provoking case studies and examples. However, the storytelling itself also illustrates another common human predisposition—the tendency to create caricatures of others. For example, part 1 paints a picture of social science and evolutionary biology as largely neglecting the importance of friendship, cooperation, and social relationships when indeed there is a rich tradition in both anthropology and evolutionary biology focusing on these issues (Chapais 2009; Goldschmidt 2006; Hruschka 2010). As another example, part 3 conflates the use of math in evolutionary biology with a focus on self-interest and “savagery” when, in fact, there is a massive literature on modeling the evolution of cooperation through a variety of means that goes back to the Price Equation and early work on reciprocal altruism.

The book’s select case studies nicely illustrate the importance of friendship among human in a few places and times, but they are not well suited to supporting the two main claims of the original friendship hypothesis: that (1) a capacity for friendship is common to humans and (2) is also unique to them. To accomplish this, the book would have benefited from a more wide-reaching investigation of the human record as has been done in other investigations (Brain 1976) and also a more thorough review of the animal literature to justify human uniqueness (Seyfarth and Cheney 2012). That said, these weaknesses should not diminish the value of the book as an enjoyable read that weaves together many streams of thought and case studies to illustrate the remarkable capacity that humans can have for building new relationships with strangers.

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Desi Hoop Dreams: Pickup Basketball and the Making of Asian American Masculinity by Stanley I. Thangaraj.

New York: New York University Press, 2015. 288 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12799

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Stanley Thangaraj's ethnography, *Desi Hoop Dreams*, details South Asian American men in Atlanta redefining masculinity and citizenship through playing basketball. The author details the practices of South Asian American men who construct Desi-only basketball spaces to challenge and (re)invent masculine stereotypes of South Asian American men as nerds, terrorists, sexually impotent, and weak. Using the likes of Judith Butler, Robert Connell, Michael S. Kimmel, and Michael K. Messner, among others, Thangaraj employs an intersectional approach using postcolonial, queer, gender, sport, and race theories to make sense of the practices of Desi men. Thangaraj delineates how Desi men negotiate gender, sexuality, race, and citizenship while playing basketball with other Desi, African American, Asian American, Latino, and white men. Thangaraj uses the ethnographic space of Indo-Pak Basketball leagues and tournaments as sites to understand how men from varying religious, ethnic, and class backgrounds create community and share a desire to be recognized by mainstream America as full masculine citizens.

Thangaraj's Desi men challenge notions of terrorism, emasculation, and racial illegibility, playing competitive and aggressive basketball but espousing normative ideals of manhood. Thangaraj demonstrates how Desi men construct muscled, strong bodies to counter assumptions of them as weak and unattractive. Thangaraj complicates discourses on race by moving the conversation away from overdetermined white–black binaries that are exclusionary while also demonstrating the intimate connection the binary has to Desi men's engagement with multiple racialized bodies. The phrase “man-up” for Thangaraj elucidates how Desi men intersect with internal and external definitions of

masculinity as both a call to their behavior and their demands of other South Asian American bodies. Desi men aspire to unreachable, white, respectable, heteronormative male status but appropriate African American masculine coolness and swagger to gain masculine reputational status.

Chapter 1 describes “pick-up” games as formative to constructing desirable masculinity. Pick-up basketball delimited to and by South Asian American men protects Desi men from racism and prejudice in white- and black-dominated basketball spaces. Meaningful homosocial connections cultivate sustained relationships, formalized sporting experiences, and broader social networks outside of sport. Chapter 1 also describes brown-only spaces created at recreation centers in African American neighborhoods. Thangaraj shows how middle-class status allows Desi men to secure private weekly games. On the nights that Desi men pay to reserve indoor courts, they transform the space into South Asian American brown-only spaces. African Americans are actively kept out of the games to protect the desired homogeneity of the space. By policing participation, Desi men essentialize African Americans as natural, aggressive, and criminalized contaminants of brown spaces. Thangaraj sees this as an adoption of mainstream racist ideologies and a strategy by Desi men positioning closer to whiteness at the expense of Blackness. Thangaraj's theoretical use of inclusion and exclusion demonstrates how Desi connect class, race, and gender to citizenship.

Chapter 2 is focused on national basketball tournaments in which Desi men participate to further construct their masculine ideals. Thangaraj theorizes national tournaments as proof that strong, powerful, capable, and athletic brown bodies exist. High-caliber tournaments challenge mainstream ideas of brown masculinity as weak, nerdy, and impotent. The participants simultaneously appropriate black aesthetic masculine ideals and uphold black sporting heroes while also denying African Americans admission to play

within strict racialized and policed boundaries. South Asians of Caribbean descent are also routinely denied admission. In some cases, documentation is required to prove one's racialized identity. Thangaraj details how the tournaments are constructed into South Asian American spaces through decoration, naming of teams, food, language, and tattoos demonstrating religious and ethnic affiliations. Chapter 3 decodes the racial logic of Desi men as they define their racialized identity in relation to Asian Americans, African Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos. Desi men are able to negotiate their status through physical domination of Asian Americans while excluding African American men and engaging in competition with Latinos as foreign but not threatening to Desi masculinity. Thangaraj demonstrates the historical tensions between marginalized groups as they fight each other to move up in status in US racial and masculine hierarchies.

Chapter 4 describes Desi life outside the court, engaging in heterosexual courtship at nightclubs and strip clubs

and in physical altercations with other Desi men. Thangaraj demonstrates the need for femininity while simultaneously denying subjectivity to women. Chapter 5 delineates the exclusion of queer bodies through the practice of what he calls "intimate irony." Intimate irony polices heterosexual norms and excludes queer bodies while appropriating stereotyped queer performances. Thangaraj concludes with Desi men's desires for acceptance by the South Asian American community, dreams of an NBA player of Indian descent, and the goal of situating Canadian brown communities as more desirable than brown American spaces. Thangaraj's work not only serves as an important resource for sport and South Asian American life but also contributes to conversations on race, gender, and sexuality. As it describes heterosexual males on the margins, the reader comes away understanding heteronormative masculinity as diverse and complex. *Desi Hoop Dreams* is an important read for undergraduates, graduate students, and scholars of sport, postcolonial, gender, and race studies.

Dams and Development in China: The Moral Economy of Water and Power by Bryan Tilt.

New York: Columbia University Press, 2015. 280 pp.

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In the last couple of decades, China has become the major center for large hydropower projects. With people's increasing awareness of the potential environmental risks posed by such large-scale human engineering of nature, voices against such projects are prevalent from academia, social activists, and the general public. But criticizing is always easier than understanding the real problems. Taking extreme positions does not necessarily lead to solutions for problems.

What has made this work special is that Bryan Tilt does not simply take positions and criticize such projects from high moral grounds. Instead, he sees these water-management projects as an arena in which different moral values confront each other. Government agencies, power companies, scientists, NGOs, and the local people, as major constituent groups, all have their own objectives and goals concerning proper water-resource management. Such varied goals and objectives stem from diverse moral visions that are based on different cultural norms as to the proper way to use water resources. From this perspective, building hydropower dams is not simply something good or evil. Instead, positions of all constituent groups are seen as valuable inputs that need to be considered in the decision-making process. The issue,

as a result, becomes how to make sure that positions of all constituent groups are heard and given due consideration before decisions are made.

In this book, Tilt mainly focuses on the hydropower projects on two rivers, Lancang and Nu, which both run through Yunnan Province in Southwestern China. Containing enormous potential hydropower, these two rivers are seen by government agencies and big power companies as important sources of clean energy, which can help to reduce the reliance on heavily polluting fossil fuel energy while meeting the ever-increasing energy demand in China. However, such projects are also seen by the Chinese government as ways of alleviating poverty among the local people. The geographical, cross-cultural, and discursive negotiations in these projects are viewed as important parts of the Chinese government's state-making efforts in this geographically remote and economically backward area inhabited mainly by ethnic minorities.

Large hydropower projects inevitably involve input from experts in different fields. But these experts are found to have epistemological differences in their views of hydropower projects and the environmental, social, and cultural consequences these projects might have. Thus, it is a challenging but a necessary step for them to transcend disciplinary boundaries and collaborate with each other. Although scientists play important parts in the planning and decision-making process of these large projects, a lack of

accountability and transparency often compromises the quality and impact of inputs from scientists.

A large part of the work is devoted to the people directly affected by these hydropower projects. Besides two chapters on the people and the environments in which they live, a chapter is specifically devoted to the cultural and social effects of these projects on them. Tilt finds that many problems existed in the resettlement schemes of early hydropower projects and that negative results on the displaced people have persisted until today. Compensations for displaced people occupied a very small part of the budgets of the hydropower projects, revealing insufficient concern for the local people among decision makers living in urban centers. Lack of accountability and transparency, especially lack of participation of the local people, has been one of the major causes for such problems. Local people are often found to have little information about the projects that will have great influence on their livelihoods. The current land-tenure system, which does not give farmers full land rights, is also found to be an important factor that has prevented local people from claiming full compensations. However,

Tilt does find improvement in recent years. Recent projects have given much better compensations, which has enabled displaced people to better start a new life.

In recent years, there has been an increased effort by domestic and international environmental NGOs to influence the planning and decision-making processes of large hydropower projects. Often seeing environmental conservation and biodiversity as the highest priority, some groups often keep local culture and local people out of their imagination of an untouched wilderness. Those taking extreme positions often find themselves sidelined by government agencies and power corporations and unable to exert any influence. Tilt seems to admire the achievements of some NGOs that are ready to compromise and collaborate. It is often these groups that are acceptable to government agencies and power corporations and can achieve their goals to some extent.

In sum, *Dams and Development in China* is an in-depth research on the problems and issues related to large hydropower projects in China. For those who have an interest in this field, this is definitely a work that must be read.

Nighttime Breastfeeding: An American Cultural Dilemma by Cecília Tomori.

New York: Berghahn, 2015. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12778

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Cecília Tomori's rigorous and detailed ethnography of nighttime breastfeeding and sleep explores the "embodied moral dilemmas" posed for families in the United States by the contradictory cultural dictates that advocate, on the one hand, breastfeeding, which requires regular maternal–infant contact, and, on the other, the strict separation of parental and infant nighttime sleep spaces. Little ethnographic research has explored the ways that new parents negotiate the intertwined and mutually determining nature of breastfeeding and sleep, making Tomori's contribution novel and necessary.

Tomori argues that a focus on the moral ambivalence experienced by parents facing these contradictory cultural pressures reveals the ways that embodied practices of breastfeeding and sleep "reproduce and transform persons, family relations and even certain aspects of capitalism" (p. 47). Her ethnographic research with 18 middle-class couples (predominantly white and heterosexual) in a midsized city in the midwestern United States was conducted longitudinally,

starting during the couple's first pregnancy and following them for one year after the birth.

Tomori, a medical anthropologist based in a School of Public Health, sets the stage for her ethnographic investigation with two chapters that offer comprehensive reviews of literature on infant sleep and breastfeeding. The first focuses on the ways in which capitalist cultural norms can distort embodied practices of breastfeeding and sleep. Here, she successfully draws together cultural and biological anthropological research on breastfeeding and sleep. This provides important biological context for the dilemmas that families face: the cultural requirement for parents to produce "good" (independent, self-reliant) infants by placing them alone to sleep interrupts the biological feedback that most effectively maintains a good milk supply and thus undermines women's ability to perform the culturally valued role of a "good mother" by breastfeeding. The second chapter takes on the question of health-related risk discourses in shaping "choice" in infant feeding, wherein not breastfeeding and breastfeeding excessively (i.e. too frequently, for too long, during the night, etc.) are each constructed as "risky" practices.

Five ethnographic chapters follow, dealing with the production of parents through competing ideologies embedded

in prenatal classes, the moral minefield of breastfeeding, men's kin work in support of breastfeeding, the "material culture" of infant sleep, and ways that infant and family sleep is affected by capitalist time regimes. Tomori's focus on the ways that her participants' embodied experiences of breastfeeding and sleep shaped their practice provides an excellent counterpoint to narratives of infant feeding and sleep that frame parental decisions as principally ideologically driven. The discussion of men's work in support of breastfeeding is noteworthy, as partners are largely missing from breastfeeding and infant sleep research. In the cultural context of Tomori's research, wherein partners rather than women's mothers or other female family members play the largest role in supporting women's breastfeeding efforts, her investigation of their contributions and practices fills an important gap in the literature.

It is refreshing to encounter a nuanced examination of breastfeeding practice that nevertheless maintains a commitment to advocate for breastfeeding and the creation of a more supportive environment for women's efforts in that direction. Tomori underpins her support for breastfeeding promotion with the belief that women deserve access to knowledge about their own and their infants' bodies, seeing this as a pathway to reduce reproductive stratification and the embodiment of inequality.

Although the US structural context is briefly outlined in the introduction, the book would benefit from more extended consideration of structural issues in the theoretical chapters and greater consciousness of context through the

data chapters. Tomori rightly states that the US is an outlier among Western industrialized nations, lacking any nationally mandated paid maternity leave for women or parental leave for partners and with a health care system whose access is largely dependent on employment. However, within the ethnographic chapters, these peculiarities of the US context fade into the background. In describing women's struggles to combine work and breastfeeding, for example, the normalcy of women returning to work at three, four, or five months postpartum is taken for granted; Tomori links the women's struggles to the overall conflict between production and reproduction in capitalist contexts. As real as that conflict is, the US provides an extreme case. Despite many cultural commonalities, including moral debates about breastfeeding and sleep patterns structured by capitalist temporal regimes, an ethnography of white, middle-class experiences of breastfeeding and sleep would look quite different in Canada, where paid maternity and parental leaves are available for the first year postpartum. Because structural arrangements like maternity leave and health care provision are also artifacts of US culture, added attention to the unusual nature of the US context for breastfeeding and sleep among new parents would have further strengthened this excellent ethnography.

Most appropriate to an academic rather than a lay audience, *Nighttime Breastfeeding* will be of interest to anthropologists and public health researchers with a focus on breastfeeding, as well as scholars of kinship, reproduction, social construction of risk, and embodiment.

Americans in Tuscany: Charity, Compassion, and Belonging by Catherine Trundle.

New York: Berghahn, 2014. 230 pp.

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Few places evoke the fantasy of a single, independent woman falling in love with, and in, an idyllic paradise more than Tuscany. Such imaginaries developed during the Grand Tour, solidified in the postwar era with the publication of memoirs such as Iris Origo's (1947) *War in Val d'Orcia*, and reached its apex in the 1990s with Frances Mayes's (1996) oft-mimicked *Under the Tuscan Sun*. But once one crosses from a temporary tourist to a permanent resident, the magic tends to end—and then what does a woman do? Catherine Trundle's interesting book, *Americans in Tuscany: Charity, Compassion, and Belonging*, closely examines female Anglo-American expats in the Tuscan capital of Florence who engage in philanthropic activities as a mode

of negotiating their permanently liminal identity, fostering connections amid feelings of isolation and depression, and finding moral value in a city that has largely lost its charm.

Trundle regularly attended Florence's Episcopalian "American Church" and volunteered alongside its parishioners at the American Charity Group, an organization ostensibly founded to provide food and clothing to Florence's poor but that, she shows, was the culturally situated way of fostering a sense of belonging. In her engaging second chapter, Trundle examines the historical roots of this phenomenon among expatriates—a privileged class of migrants that never can be truly "Italian" but are not treated in the same way as poorer, often darker-skinned *extracomunitari* (immigrants). The story, reconstructed from interviews with female Anglo-Americans and an Italian divorce lawyer, follows this pattern: a young woman studies in Florence, meets and marries a dark-skinned Italian, and, after having children, realizes that her worldview valuing the nuclear

family's independence is incompatible with that of her mate, who privileges extended familial networks and especially his mother (Italian males call themselves *mammoni*—"mamma's boys"). While those of the older generation—upper-class, boarding schooled women sent to Florence at a time when study abroad was not commonplace—work to keep their marriages together despite the lack of romance, members of the newer, middle-class generation often end their marriages in divorce. Both groups are disillusioned with Florence but feel "stuck"—they cannot leave their children, who identify as Florentine and have close ties to their fathers' families. These are not naive women; they are cognizant that their idyllic dreams were romanticized. Yet as they nevertheless strive to construct this imaginary—often through food-based experiences such as hosting cooking lessons and lectures on olive oil during meetings—they subtly reveal their "anxieties that fulfilling their migrant dream was a precarious achievement, threatened by the complex reality of the very factors that appeared to fulfill it: tranquility and social distinction" (p. 80).

The rest of the book critically deconstructs their philanthropic "incorporation work"—a strategic performance to create community relationships based on shared experiences, values, and worldviews. This is divisive as much as it is constructive. Internally, the group is far from unified or homogenous, and, like any other organization, members struggle with each other for power and prestige. Externally, membership in the group performatively marks them out from others. Tourists (mentioned only in passing) are one group, but, somewhat ironically, Italian women who genuinely want to join their meetings are another; the expats insist on only speaking English purposefully to exclude them. But most importantly, their charitable activities positioned themselves as distinct from, and more desirable than, other marginalized groups. While elderly and homeless Italians were favorably treated in an unequal client–patron relationship, Eastern European and North African migrants were met with distrust; the women policed their activities, questioned the validity of their heartbreaking migration narratives, and

assumed they were ungrateful for the beneficence they were shown. Compassion is fatiguing work, and Trundle's subjects thus adopted an ethos of "disinterested equality," establishing dispassionate rules of giving behind which they could retreat when a migrant would request extra alms. In the end, Trundle's book shows that, while civic engagement demands inclusion, it does so in a way that creates social distinctions and unequal power relations—what she terms the "friction of charity."

Trundle does an admirable job of merging complex and disparate theories to make sense of upper-class philanthropy, although the lack of context makes for thin description. How is the women's philanthropic work perceived by their children, working-class Anglo-American expats, men (American or otherwise), other Italian charities, and, importantly, the dominated group of migrants who request their donations? But more unfortunately, readers expecting an ethnography of "Americans in Tuscany"—as the title and marketing blurb promise—will be disappointed. There is no engagement with other Anglo-Americans in Tuscany—neither with the Frances Mayeses who live in restored farmhouses (there are many) nor with the Anglo-Americans who live in other Tuscan cities; it is unclear whether they share the same attitudes or acculturation strategies. Nor are there descriptions of Florence, the women's actual perceptions of the city, or where they go outside of the organization. Might they attend lectures at museums, enjoy *aperitivi* in Piazza della Repubblica, or frequent the Maggio Musicale symphony series? Trundle is right to eschew pop images of Tuscany, but a sense of place is still integral to her subjects, who, despite exclusion, nevertheless live their lives under the Tuscan sun.

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The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins by Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. 352 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12746

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"To listen and to tell a rush of stories is a method," writes Anna Tsing, and "a rush of stories cannot be neatly summed

up" (p. 37). Tsing's latest ethnography is indeed a rush of stories, tracing spatial and temporal entanglements of open-ended gatherings she calls polyphonic assemblages. In polyphonic music, Tsing explains, autonomous melodies intertwine without any becoming dominant (p. 23). It is thus necessary to listen carefully for moments of dissonance and harmony. Polyphonic assemblages bring together

multiplicities of human and nonhuman actors, with attendant multiplicities of temporal rhythms and spatial connections. What happens in these assemblages thus needs to be understood from diverse perspectives and always in relation to transformative encounters. Learning to notice polyphonic assemblages is a crucial antidote to our current fixations with capitalist progress narratives. It can help open our imaginations to history that is open-ended and indeterminate and thus to diverse possibilities for collaborative survival by which we might muddle through the mess we have made of our planet.

The main protagonist in these stories is the matsutake mushroom, a distinctively aromatic fungus that thrives in ruins of capitalist timber extraction. Matsutake is a prestigious delicacy for Japanese people and a source of precarious livelihoods for others. The smell of matsutake is a product of encounters, which it also mediates. Deer and bears are drawn to it; slugs and bacteria are repelled. For some people, matsutake smells like autumn; for others, it smells like dirty socks. The smell of matsutake enters the roots of the trees with which it intertwines, and the smell of the trees is absorbed by matsutake. The mushroom receives carbohydrates from its arboreal host, while the tree receives life-giving minerals from its fungal guest. Matsutake forests emerge from collaborations between mushrooms, trees, and humans.

Tsing's matsutake stories are presented through "a riot of short chapters . . . like mushrooms that come up after the rain . . . a temptation to explore . . . and always too many" (p. viii). Most chapters feature ethnographic narratives from four matsutake worlds: Oregon (US), Tamba (Japan), Yunnan (China), and Lapland (Finland). These are interspersed with interludes on smelling, tracking, and dancing. They revolve around the experiences of diverse human actors, such as commercial pickers and picnicking families, elite landowners and state forest managers, low-paid industrial mushroom sorters and world-renowned mushroom chefs, tour guides and teachers, and Anna Tsing herself. Of course, there are also many nonhuman protagonists. All are intertwined with emergent theoretical insights.

My own explorations of these too many stories stretched out over two trans-Atlantic flights and several days of train

rides, and there was still much to explore. I read about multicultural mushroom camps in Oregon and how American ideals of freedom are indispensable to transnational matsutake supply chains, learning about the intertwined historical experiences of diverse Asian American groups in the process. I came to appreciate what matsutake commerce can teach us about supply chain capitalism, which depends on translations across multiple differences rather than homogenization. I was absorbed by stories of a conservation movement in Japan, which seeks to remake people in the process of remaking landscapes. I found out that studies of fungi suggest that evolution operates less on individuals than on complexes of symbiotic relationships called holobionts. These are just a few examples of things that I learned from these stories, which could be read in many different ways and are worth revisiting over and over again. *The Mushroom at the End of the World* will appeal to those with a wide variety of interests, including political ecology, science and technology studies, diaspora studies, community economies, and experimental ethnography, as well as those interested in reading great stories just for the sake of reading great stories.

I have not enjoyed a book this much in a very long time, and I encourage others to explore it for themselves. I conclude here, however, with something of a caveat: this book will not appeal to anyone looking for easy answers. All of the stories here are about indeterminacy and precarity, about not being able to plan or predict. Living precariously, according to Tsing, "helps us see what is wrong" by acknowledging that we can only survive with the help of human and nonhuman others (p. 29). This is the basis of livable collaborations, happening in "mutualist and non-antagonistic entanglements" that she calls "latent commons" (p. 255). These are all around us, though rarely noticed, and they well up with possibilities for life in capitalist ruins. But these are commons without guarantees or promise of a utopian future. In the place of best practices and first principles, life in these commons calls for "arts of noticing," a cultivated awareness and response-ability to emergent possibilities. For these reasons, Tsing concludes, rekindling curiosity is essential to multispecies living. This conclusion is my favorite part of this extraordinary book, for it offers each of us a concrete project on which we can embark.

Talking Stones: The Politics of Memorialization in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland by Elisabetta Viggiani.

New York: Berghahn, 2014. 288 pp.

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Elisabetta Viggiani's book *Talking Stones* makes valuable contributions to the study of commemorative practices in post-conflict Northern Ireland while exploring the workings of collective memory. She adds unique perspective to scholarship on national politics and commemoration due to the unusual status of the Northern Ireland case, where polarized ethnopolitical blocs, rather than the state, create memorials that reproduce opposed, collective imaginings of the past. Numerous studies of commemorative practices in Northern Ireland have focused on more ephemeral forms, such as wall murals and parades. Viggiani's book situates commemorative practices in relation to permanent memorials, most of which, in the absence of state memorials, were constructed through the community leadership of paramilitaries and associated political parties.

Since at least the 1930s, scholars and political writers have recognized history as a resource for creating political legitimacy in the present. Ireland provides many compelling examples of how history is not merely a determining set of conditions but also a tool for political actors to represent the present and future, serving as both the terrain and stakes of conflict itself and now peace. Viggiani examines processes of memorialization in postconflict Northern Ireland, where 30 years of armed conflict deauthorized the local state to the extent that there is no unitary political elite to create a state-sanctioned history. Without a coherent official history, as Viggiani explains, grassroots memorialization practices have accelerated, reproducing opposed narratives of republicanism and loyalism in physical space and collective memory. Viggiani argues these material practices constitute powerful "counter-memories" that materialize profoundly different collective understandings of why conflict occurred and who bears responsibility—as well as of the conflict's contemporary significance.

Viggiani focuses on the paramilitary memorials that proliferate in north and west Belfast, where the conflict's most intense violence emerged along with the leadership of both republican and loyalist paramilitarism. Since the ceasefires and negotiations of the 1990s, paramilitaries have sought less violent means of political legitimation. As punishment attacks declined (they initially increased following the 1998 agreement), memorialization became a more respectable ve-

hicle to create legitimacy. Viggiani documents how memorials incorporate local experiences into opposing narratives of Ireland or Britain's national histories. Iconic events in national history are reconceived—for example, the Battle of the Somme or the Easter Rising of 1916—and recent local experiences are incorporated into these past events.

However, Viggiani's work goes beyond merely documenting the synergy of collective memory and political legitimacy, considering the more fraught question of how commemorative practices are differentially received within groups. Viggiani examines the power asymmetry between agents who conceive and make memorials and "receivers" of these memories, as well as the way that memorials subsume individual experiences and memories into broader selective accounts. She recognizes that although "recipients" are theoretically free to choose from a range of interpretive responses, in actuality, power imbalances, as well as the degree to which these narratives are generally accepted within communities, set real limits on expressible responses. Despite the partisan purposes served by contemporary memorialization—indeed, some residents see Belfast's ubiquitous memorials and commemorations as a continuation of the conflict—Viggiani suggests that participatory, grassroots commemorations have greater potential to move commemorations toward common ground than a state-imposed narrative.

The book traces the creation and reception of four memorials in a case study fashion. Chapters 1–4 establish the theoretical and ethnographic context for these studies. Chapter 5 examines the successful construction of the dominant republican narrative through a memorial garden for Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and civilian casualties. Chapter 6 considers a sectional narrative within republicanism, examining how republican socialist memorials articulate differences from the PIRA mainstream. Chapter 7 assesses the successful projection of a loyalist narrative through the Ulster Volunteer Force's (UVF) appropriation of World War I history. Chapter 8 explores another loyalist grouping's struggle to claim part of this historical narrative. Chapter 9 contains a reception study applying James Scott's concept of public and hidden transcripts. Two of the book's most significant empirical contributions are a database of permanent memorials and a reception study with local residents who live near the memorials under consideration. Theoretically, the book is oriented by Benedict Anderson's work on nationalism and Maurice Halbwach's work on collective memory.

The book presents important empirical and analytical insights; however, greater ethnographic richness would have assisted readers unfamiliar with the region. For example, in 2000, a memorial plaque to victims of PIRA's Bloody Friday bombings was erected at Belfast City Hall. The bitter debate that accompanied the memorial's establishment potently illustrates the political conditions that limit state-sponsored

commemorations to victims of the conflict. Examples like this one help explain how the absence of official history is related to the realpolitik of the peace process. Nevertheless, the book's microanalysis of how memorials are conceived and received within communities provides significant insights for scholarship on the workings of social memory, materiality, and political collectivities.

The Making of an African Working Class: Politics, Law, and Cultural Protest in the Manual Workers' Union of Botswana by Pnina Werbner.

London: Pluto, 2014. 320 pp.

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Pnina Werbner's masterful ethnography, based on long-term, multisited, and meticulous fieldwork, breaks new ground. Studies of the African working class and the continent's public sector unions are scarce, especially in the anthropological literature. Werbner fills this gap with an account that is both ethnographically rich and grounded in a range of scholarly traditions. Particularly impressive is Werbner's acute grasp of the law. Werbner traces the history of Botswana's Manual Worker's Union (MWU) from its foundation in 1968, two years after Botswana's independence, to its watershed event, a prolonged strike in 2011.

Werbner rightly argues that the emergence of a working-class consciousness and movement in Botswana must be understood as simultaneously local and global, particular and cosmopolitan, in addition to being uneven and incomplete. Prior to independence, formal sector work consisted primarily of oscillating migration to the South African mines by men living in an almost exclusively rural country. Such conditions are not conducive to the development of working-class consciousness. However, in the postindependence period, Botswana's infrastructure and civil service grew exponentially, creating an increasing number of formal sector jobs. More recently, the MWU's members' jobs and livelihoods have become increasingly precarious due to escalating levels of education required for unskilled labor and neoliberal practices that entail privatization and outsourcing of jobs. Werbner documents the union's struggles to maintain its workers' employment in the face of these odds and to sustain a living wage in the context of vast inflation and a government that devalues manual workers.

Werbner argues that union leaders' ethical subjectivity develops through their activities, practices, and evolving pursuit for dignity, *seriti*, for themselves and vulnerable others. She offers life and work histories for several women and some men that reveal their ongoing and often successful attempts to resolve labor grievances. In doing so, in extending their care and consciousness outward, they develop a sense of dignity and both self and external recognition of their growing capacity to serve and to be responsible leaders. Werbner emphasizes the union's and its leaders' deep embedding in local culture, incorporating Christian prayers to open their meetings and creating songs and performances that draw upon local "traditions" and values. At the same time, union activities extend beyond the local, incorporating global ideologies and international laws and practices in a pastiche that reveals their members' developing vernacular cosmopolitan identities and consciousness.

Deploying the Manchester School's extended case study method, Werbner details the tumultuous history of the MWU, paying attention to the vast array of micro and macro processes that have shaped the union and the nation. She analyzes the years of grievances, court cases, strikes, changing legislation, factions, fissions, and interference by government and political parties. The MWU shares much with the politics and trajectories of many labor movements, including the creation of competing unions, leadership struggles, and the increasing embourgeoisment of a relatively highly paid and salaried leadership growing more distant in wealth, lifestyle, and experience from the membership.

Werbner also emphasizes the role of the union in nation building. From extending subjectivities beyond the parochial concerns of family, "tribe," or locality, the union draws its membership and leadership from all corners of Botswana, and it offers women leadership positions in an otherwise patriarchal country. Thus, union membership and activity

partially transcend particularistic identities and thereby foster an emerging cosmopolitanism.

The MWU reached its cosmopolitan and organizational culmination in the 2011 eight-week strike, “The Mother of All Strikes,” in which five other public service unions, some of skilled professionals, joined with the MWU, mobilizing a force that transcended class and education lines. Inspired by the uprisings of the Arab Spring to the north and declining real wages in Botswana, the strike electrified the nation, intensified political debate, revealed authoritarian tendencies of the government, and tested the courts. While national in scope and cosmopolitan in its outlook and reliance upon international labor law, the strike was also firmly grounded in local cultural performance, song, and public meetings held in the “traditional” Tswana manner under large trees. Werbner takes the reader through the gains and losses encountered

by strikers, the factionalism, and the uncharacteristic violence that accompanied the strike as well as, importantly, through a series of court cases that followed it—some won, some lost. Werbner’s astute legal eye provides an insightful analysis of the court proceedings. She reflects upon the increasingly cynical lens through which “lawfare” is criticized as a tool for ensuring citizen’s rights and encourages the reader to consider the ways in which court battles can promote social justice—Botswana being a case where the judiciary has enjoyed considerable autonomy.

Werbner has produced a theoretically sophisticated and thoroughly researched account of the uneven rise of working-class consciousness and activism in Botswana. This book will be of great interest to Africanists, postcolonial scholars, and sociolegal scholars but should receive a much wider audience.

A Passion for Society: How We Think about Human Suffering by Iain Wilkinson and Arthur Kleinman.

Oakland: University of California Press, 2016. 328 pp.

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Iain Wilkinson and Arthur Kleinman have written extensively on social suffering—Wilkinson as a sociologist and Kleinman as a pioneer on this topic in medical anthropology (Wilkinson 2005; Kleinman et al. 1997). Joining forces in this lucid and engaging book, the authors propose reorienting social science around passionate concern for suffering and active promotion of “caregiving practices.” They show how the kind of social research they defend is guided by a “humanitarian social imaginary” that has roots in the sensibilities and moral culture that emerged in Western societies in the 18th century and was heavily debated in the 19th. They draw inspiration from the “discontent” of figures like C. Wright Mills, Max Weber, and Jane Addams, all of whom were “passionately struggling to create a more human form of social knowledge that was more responsive to people’s actual lived experiences” (p. 199).

One of the most interesting features of the book is their argument against the standard story of Western social science arising as a response to social upheavals wrought by industrialization and urbanization in the 19th century. This history starts too late, they argue, showing how a transformed understanding of human misery in the 17th and 18th centuries gave rise to the concept of “social suffering” and the very category of “the social” as an object of analysis.

Cultivating sympathy for others’ suffering was integral to generating such social understanding.

The authors argue that the connection between moral sentiment and social understanding must be recaptured now by centering social inquiry around caregiving practices that attempt to address social suffering. A variety of recent strands of anthropology and sociology do this, but politically engaged medical anthropology is championed as a model, in particular when done by physician-anthropologists operating at the intersection of producing social knowledge and implementing medical and public health interventions.

More broadly, they defend ethnographies that rely on images and narratives of suffering to evoke emotional responses and prompt critical reflection on our moral and political responsibilities. They identify affinities between this mode of social inquiry and a much longer tradition of writing humanitarian narratives. Indeed, contemporary ethnographers operating in this mode take on the role of humanitarian—literally, in the case of Paul Farmer, one of the heroes of the book, or at the level of representation in ethnographic work like João Biehl’s book *Vita* (2005), which focuses on the suffering of a single person and traces the harm done to her by the Brazilian health care system. By “caring for their subjects and using what they learned through research to dignify and uplift their fellow beings,” such authors engage in “ethnography as a caregiving form of knowledge” (p. 184).

I have three criticisms. First, there is an unremarked-upon tension between the justice perspective the authors

invoke at times and the care framework that dominates. From the opening description of a girl working in a Chinese factory to accounts of exemplars like Jane Addams and Paul Farmer, the authors refer to structural violence and talk of solidarity with victims of injustice and campaigns for radical change. But why try to bring all this under a humanitarian framework of caregiving? Aiming for a more “humane” and “caring” society by improving “caregiving practices” is not the same as aiming for a more just society by engaging in social and political struggle. Surely both are needed, but neither should be entirely subsumed under the other. It is not incidental, given their emphasis on responding to suffering by delivering “care” that enables “recovery and healing,” that their model is *medical anthropology* (p. 185).

Second, as fascinating as it is to consider the links between contemporary social research on suffering and the long history of humanitarianism, taking a historical perspective also requires attempting to explain why a turn to suffering has occurred in the last few decades. If major social and cultural shifts gave rise to a “humanitarian social imaginary” in the first place, what social and cultural shifts—or shifts within particular disciplines—prompted this resurgent attention to social suffering?

Finally, not adequately addressing those two issues is part of what makes Wilkinson and Kleinman’s engagement with Didier Fassin’s work on humanitarianism so disappointing. They devote an entire section of a chapter to responding to him but, by subsuming justice under care, fail to wrestle fully with the implications of one of his central questions: What is gained and what is lost “when we mobilize compassion rather than justice?” (Fassin 2012:8). Nor do they engage

potential explanations—my second criticism above—for the turn to suffering, trauma, and victimhood in the 20th century (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). Sidestepping a proper debate, they incorrectly portray Fassin’s work as “openly hostile” (p. 146) to research on suffering and “intent on denouncing humanitarianism” (p. 239, n. 10). This reduces important differences in approach to one side promoting and the other side denouncing humanitarianism, a dichotomy Fassin explicitly aims to move beyond (2012:8–13, 244–247).

Nonetheless, anyone engaged in some form of social inquiry—including students, given its accessible style—will find much to grapple with in this provocative book that attempts to get at the passionate heart of why anybody should engage in social inquiry at all.

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Tamils and the Haunting of Justice: History and Recognition in Malaysia’s Plantations by Andrew C. Willford.

Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014. 336 pp.

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Tamils and the Haunting of Justice should be read alongside the author’s earlier work, *Cage of Freedom: Tamil Identity and the Ethnic Fetish in Malaysia* (2007), an ethnography on Hindu revivalism in the context of an increasing state-driven ethnic and religious nationalism in Malaysia.

In his new research, Andrew Willford takes us to a different ethnographic playing field way beyond Ravindra Jain’s (1970) first anthropological ethnography of Tamil plantation Indians in Malaya. Here, Willford interrogates

multiple “sites of struggle,” including rituals, among Tamil Indians who have been displaced from their original plantation “homes,” specifically by showcasing ethnographically the different “plantation fragments” in Selangor, from squatters to flats, including estate laborers who have been dislocated by the new Putrajaya administrative capital of the nation-state.

Each chapter in the book is self-contained, focusing on a specific *problématique*. These “sites of struggle” are always political, involving contestations with authorities over community spaces, schools, sacred places of worship, compensations, and, ultimately, identity. Each chapter is also empowered by its own set of ethnography, including dialogues and conversations, expressed by chosen and sometimes randomly selected informants so as to elicit the differentiated

subjectivities pertaining to certain issues or events that they have experienced. Some statements uttered by informants evoke immediate referencing by the author to his core theoretical corpus, drawn from Sigmund Freud, Karl Heidegger, Jacques Derrida, or Jacques Lacan, which, for him, works better conceptually in exploring “the complex subjectivity of victimhood within a matrix of power” (p. 10).

From this reviewer’s perspective, “words” spoken by Willford’s research subjects are at once “fragments” of their “subjugated discourses,” because in most chapters, these “words” are appropriated by the author to reinterrogate and deconstruct prevalent dominant discourses about Tamil Indians in society, such as his chapter on reappraising the recent 2001 Kampung Medan ethnic clash between Indians and Malays in urban Malaysia. By personally taking the reader through the motion and intimacy of “words” rendered by selected informants, the author offers a fascinating analysis in dispelling the “official” discourse, couched in Indian gangsterism-based explanations for the above racial violence.

Willford also privileges voices from various Indian icons, including the erudite Dominic Puthuchery, and, by doing so, he is able to mediate the latter’s critical commentaries on “the Indian” *problematique* into his text. In the final chapter, readers are also treated to a climax in Tamil working-class subalternism via the analysis of the Indian Hindraf movement and its street protest, which lately has been supplanted by BERSIH, a more multiracial-based tour de force in its calling for clean and good governance.

In the book, Willford touches on critical aspects of the “Indian problem”: for example, the distancing of Indian middle-class from Tamil working-class political struggles and the betrayal by both the Indian-based plantation union, NUPW, and the MIC, the Indian party component of the governing National Coalition. The author concludes that in their quest for “the haunting of justice,” the Tamil working-class Indians have become victims of the betrayal of “the Law” and the “ideals of the nation.”

Willford’s book is gritty and interrogative in both its methodology and contents. Through a kind of postmodernist ethnography and storytelling narratives, Willford in-

terweaves his own personal commitment and advocacy of the community’s imaginings into the text. At this level of their subjectivities, expressions of their discontent appear to be more racialized than class based. Nevertheless, in opting for the phenomenological approach, the author has been spared the “heavy duty” of deliberating upon “false consciousness” or “class” versus “ethnicity” identity discourses on Malaysian Tamil working-class Indians.

Willford’s work should also be viewed from a broader comparative historical trajectory that recognizes that deterritorializations of *communitas* had long affected the Malaysian landscape: British colonialism dictated transnational, Tamil-exploited plantation enclaves for rubber production. In the process, it also underdeveloped the Malay peasantry and dislocated the indigenous Orang Asli communities. Malaysian postcolonial governance and developmentalism under Mahathir’s corporatization and the New Economic Policy had privileged its own inclusive class of Malay Umnoputras at the expense of poor Malays, Indians, Chinese, and other indigenous communities throughout Malaysia. In the current post-Mahathir ongoing civil society contestation for good governance in Malaysia, the Hindraf protest did represent a major counterpoint, followed by BERSIH and other citizenry-based movements. While the “plural society” legacy of Malaysia persists with its own “ethnic interpellations,” its higher echelons have consistently witnessed a “power matrix” of interest sharing between the economically well-off and politically powerful from all the different ethnicities. Unfortunately, at the level of everyday subjectivities, as illustrated in Willford’s book, oppression, injustice, and the betrayal of ideals affecting Indian–ethnic underdogs continue to be perceived in racialized terms.

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Performing Afro-Cuba: Image, Voice, Spectacle in the Making of Race and History by Kristina Wirtz.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. 344 pp.

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In *Performing Afro-Cuba: Image, Voice, Spectacle in the Making of Race and History*, Kristina Wirtz, a linguistic and cultural anthropologist at Western Michigan University, offers a discursive exploration of Afro-Cuban performance traditions and ritual religiosity in Cuba's eastern city of Santiago de Cuba. Building on field research conducted between 2006 and 2011, Wirtz is interested in the ways Afro-Cuban performance—and, by extension, black bodies—is often framed through a governing trope of folklore, which tends to fix blackness in a kind of racialized stasis within Cuba's foundational fabric of race and nationhood. Employing linguistically oriented performance theory in conversation with the work of Richard Bauman, John Austin, Michael Silverstein, and Mikhail Bakhtin, among others, Wirtz suggests a “semiotics of blackness” that serves as a “mutually constituting process constructing racialization and historical imagination in Cuba, where folkloric performances of Blackness contribute to more broadly circulated discourses about race and nation” (p. 298). Wirtz draws on extensive video recordings of folklorized Afro-Cuban religious ceremony, public commemorations of slavery, *marronage*, and semiautonomous *cabildo* societies (African ethnic associations dating back to the late 16th century), Carnival parades, and the select work of visual artists to illustrate the ways Cuban signs of blackness are often interwoven and ultimately constituted through prevailing racial narratives and assemblages of historical memory.

In chapter 1, Wirtz evokes Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of chronotope, referencing a dialogics of space-time, to help think through the ways temporality—in particular the colonial “past”—and place are centrally figured in the performance of race in Cuba. Here, she suggests markers of blackness indexed to a primordial Africanity or nostalgias of enslavement are varyingly reproduced through folkloric performances, thus reinforcing racialized (if not racist) representations of blackness while reinscribing them within Cuba's national imaginary as “timeless historical accounts.” What proceeds in the following chapters are largely discursive examinations of Afro-Cuban performance sites in which Wirtz exhibits a nimble fluency with Afro-Cuban religious symbolism and ritualized language (e.g., *Lucumí* and *Palo* liturgy) as well as the theatricalities of *Bozal*—a creole Spanish ascribed to enslaved Afro-Cubans—and its

resonances within Cuba's comic blackface theater tradition of *teatro bufó*.

In chapter 6 Wirtz importantly, if somewhat belatedly, discusses the revolutionary state's institutionalization of folkloric discourse and performance spectacles vis-à-vis blackness and Afro-Cubans toward the incorporative ends of revolutionary nationalism. While briefly cited, Wirtz might have broadened this discussion to include greater attention to the enduring legacies of pioneering Cuban ethnologist Fernando Ortiz in laying the intellectual groundwork of a folklorized blackness as constitutive ode to Cuba's “transcultured” (i.e. racially hybrid) national identity. Along related lines, a sensitivity to the historical tension between the project of folklore, which seeks an atemporal assimilation of blackness within the Cuban national body, and the political exigencies of a nonracial nationhood forged amid Cuba's late-19th century Wars of Independence and rearticulated during the revolutionary period might reveal additional complexities regarding ideological convergences of Cuban race and nationhood. Concerning the immediacies of the current moment, further attention might have been given to the impacts of Cuba's expanding market economy and the related rise of foreign tourism on contemporary folkloric spectacle.

Central to Wirtz's argument is the suggestion that folklorized performances of the past ultimately frame and produce racializing effects in the present. Notably absent from this account from an ethnographic perspective, however, is how such racialized schemes shape everyday life, subjectivity, and strategic practices among those who either “perform” them or otherwise live through their raced logic. The reader, for instance, gets little sense of how Afro-Cubans themselves understand their participation in folkloric performances or what meanings or counternarratives they may (or may not) be crafting vis-à-vis dominant racial prescriptions. Put simply, who are these performers and what might they say about their practice? How, moreover, might folkloric blackness articulate with broader racialized life in Cuba? Yet alternatively beyond a cursory mention, how do folklorized spectacles operate in relation to other popular sites of Afro-Cuban performance (e.g., *timba*, *hip hop*, *reggaetón*) that mark self-consciously modern understandings of black subjectivity that may stand in opposition to (or transcend altogether) such ahistoricizing, nationally incorporative framings?

The reader unfortunately has scant access to Afro-Cuban voices that might offer insights to these questions, contributing to what feels like an ethnographic disconnect between

the researcher and the researched and a subsequent insularity of analysis. Wirtz's broad use of video recordings of performance events as key mode of textual interpretation might contribute to this apparent divide given the implicit gaze of videography, which tends to establish a dichotomous line between observer and observed. Absent direct ethnographic engagement with Afro-Cuban participants and

the broader communities in which they live may, in this sense, risk reproducing ahistoricized renderings of blackness that Wirtz seeks to deconstruct. Overall, *Performing Afro-Cuba* nonetheless offers an important read on the semiotic contours of race and folkloric spectacle in eastern Cuba and marks an important contribution to broader folklore studies.

After War: The Weight of Life at Walter Reed by Zoë H. Wool.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 264 pp.

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Walter Reed Army Medical Center has been a focal point in US national imagining of the wounded soldier almost since its founding in the early years of the 20th century. Located less than ten miles from the White House, the recovering soldiers housed there have proved an irresistible draw for presidents and celebrities: nothing says patriotism and sacrifice like burn scars and amputations. The arch narrative suggests soldiers at Walter Reed deserve our gratitude and our support. Thus, it was a major scandal when the *Washington Post* broke a story about vermin-infested living conditions and patient neglect at the center (Priest and Hull 2007:A1).

Zoë Wool's fieldwork for *After War* began in the immediate aftermath of that Walter Reed scandal, when the nation's attention turned briefly to issues faced by the increasing numbers of wounded shipped back from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Working primarily with the severely injured and their families, Wool found an ethnographic niche at the Fisher House at Walter Reed and was able to spend some time living there in 2007 and 2008. The Fisher Houses are independent, nonprofit communal living centers located near military medical facilities where injured soldiers can live with a "nonmedical attendant" (NMA)—usually a spouse, girlfriend, or other family member—while recovering and making the transition to civilian life.

This is an ethnography enriched by the kind of experiential detail only available from immersion. Wool captures the serendipitous moments—the arguments and indiscretions, the rants, confusion, frustration, and ever-present boredom—that are lost with quicker methodologies. The emerging analysis hinges on the slash that separates "extra" from "ordinary," per the author's usage, to point up the often-unbearable tension between the extraordinary circumstances of inhabiting a body transfigured by violence

and rhetorically construed by politicians and media as the very distillation of patriotic heroism, while attempting to transition to an ordinary civilian life. The tensions—the absurdities, one might say—are a tightly bound knot in which generic Americans, symbolically incarnated in local boosters, express generic gratitude to specific soldiers who were blown up in the course of doing what most of Wool's informants understood to be their jobs. Meanwhile, the future is ever present as the institutionally approved fantasy of an ordinary family life, centered on a heterosexual couple living unremarkably with their kids in a model suburb.

Drawing on and adapting the work of Veena Das (2007) on the ways in which the ordinary is, in some sense, the only antidote to extreme violence, Wool captures the ordinarieness of life at Walter Reed, replete with its complicated drug regimens, learning to walk on prosthetics, suicide watches, and crates full of donated goods. At the same time, she highlights the imbrication of that approved future in the present. Wives and girlfriends become NMAs rather than lovers and partners, intimately engaged with the needs of bodies that leak, swell, and require constant care. These are relationships in which the couple often lived together only briefly before war and have no particular home to go to after it.

The story she tells, Wool admits, is a masculine story—though women veterans are not completely absent from the book. The Fisher House patients, her primary subjects, are nearly all men. The women in *After War* are "wives, girlfriends, and mothers" who, she claims, "receded into the background" as she revised the book (p. xiv). I take slight issue with this: while their stories may be told primarily as they relate to injured soldiers, Wool correctly locates both the centrality of the promise and the problems of postwar masculine success, defined as an imagined heterosexual normativity. The importance of such familial success is amplified when the traditional marker of male adulthood, success in the world of work, recedes behind a veil of uncertainty linked to disability payments and other presumptively insurmountable obstacles to working-class normativity. A vast weight is

thus placed on these women and on their relationships with men marked by war.

Missing from Wool's account, apart from a brief acknowledgment at the beginning, are the foreign victims of US war making—the Iraqi and Afghani civilians—who have suffered and died in vastly disproportionate numbers. They are missed in this account even if we understand the limitations of site-specific fieldwork and the ways in which a generic account of these other victims of war would have them lost behind a wall of complete incommensurability. *Af-*

ter War is not, then, an antiwar ethnography but a necessarily limited truth of war narrative that I highly recommend.

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Life on the Malecón: Children and Youth on the Streets of Santo Domingo by Jon M. Wolseth.

New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2014. 216 pp.

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In *Life on the Malecón: Children and Youth on the Streets of Santo Domingo*, Jon Wolseth explores the lives and circumstances of street children and youth near the historic district of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. These children live on the streets for different reasons, but their shared circumstance is that they are homeless. Living on the streets means facing uncertainty as they work to earn money for food, clothes, toiletries, and other items. Situated within the context of childhood studies, this ethnography tells the complex stories of marginalized street children and youth as they interact with each other, their families, and Niños del Camino (Children of the Road), an NGO that provides educational, medical, and legal outreach services to street children and youth.

Life on the Malecón is based on Wolseth's interactions and experience with street children and youth when he was a Peace Corps volunteer with Niños del Camino (hereafter, Niños) in the Dominican Republic. Over time, he built rapport with the children and learned about their lives and experience on the streets. He also built relationships within Niños as he and other staff worked to assist children find their families and provide resources to help better their circumstances. It is against the backdrop of the street (populated by drugs, prostitution, and policing) that we find children and youth—primarily boys—shining shoes, collecting bottles, washing windshields, and engaging in child sex work.

The book is divided into five chapters: "Introduction," chapter 1 ("Outreach Work"); chapter 2 ("Structural Conditions"); chapter 3 ("Friendship and Everyday Violence on the Street"); and "Conclusion." The data are based on when

Wolseth worked with Niños, and descriptions often read as caseworker examples. For example, there are attempts to find where children sleep and work, plans to place children back with their families, and other outreach efforts. Given the sensitive descriptions in the book, Wolseth offers the following statement to the readers:

I ask that you withhold judgment of the lives contained within these pages. Instead, attempt to understand how kids who live on the margins of society and are excluded from mainstream structures of social and economic power create for themselves a life of meaning, utilizing culture in order to thrive. [p. 19]

The only picture in the book is on the cover, and it captures a sense of children—young boys—creating their own community. Their daily situations are often difficult, and the reader, like Wolseth, is left asking questions and wondering if and when to step in. There is a discussion in the book where Wolseth sees Carlos (one of the boys in Niños) in a prostitution situation involving two male tourists. Wolseth and Carlos make eye contact but do not interact with each other. Reflecting on this, he writes:

Like so many other nights, I turned away and let the indignation and anger wash through me. I was just as upset at my own inability to do anything . . . If there is no acceptance of one's behavior, you can't begin to talk about self-worth, protection, and having dignity and boundaries in what one will or will not do. Instead, Carlos' prostitution became the big elephant that nobody would talk about. [p. 34]

As a reader, I was left wondering what I would have done in the same situation. I have conducted research in the Dominican Republic and have spent time in Santo Domingo. I have been on the Malecón and have seen the scenes on the street change from day to night. I have seen sex workers on the street—the difference is that Wolseth, through Niños, was working with children involved in sex work, and there was an established relationship.

There is another situation where the reader is particularly drawn into story. Wolseth and other Niños staff reunite José Alberto, one of the street children, with his family. José Alberto is mentioned throughout the book, and his story is one of the main narratives. We learn that José Alberto's father looked for him—searching many areas of Santo Domingo—when he did not return home. He went back several times, traveling more than an hour to find his son. José Alberto's father was happy to have him home again, and Wolseth and other Niños staff made an arrangement with his father so that José Alberto could continue to work in order to have a sense of independence.

The end of the book finds Wolseth leaving the Peace Corps, Niños, and the Dominican Republic in 2006 and returning again on vacation in 2010, looking for some of the street children and youth whom he had known. We are left wondering about José Alberto and the other children, as well as the impact of Niños and similar organizations on the lives of children and youth. Even though we are left with questions at the end of the book, *Life on the Malecón* captures the experience of street children and youth at a particular point and time in Santo Domingo, and it tells a very important story about childhood and community, survival and strategies, and interconnected relationships and agencies.

Why Haiti Needs New Narratives: A Post-Quake Chronicle by Gina Athena Ulysse.

Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2015. 440 pp.

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In *Why Haiti Needs New Narratives*, Gina Athena Ulysse collects a number of blog posts and other nonacademic writings connected in some way with *Goudougoudou*, the massive earthquake which devastated Haiti on January 12, 2010. The collection highlights Ulysse as a Haitian immigrant living in what is termed Haiti's tenth department, Haitians living abroad, *lotbò dlo-a*. Her primary argument is that Haiti's struggle to recover from the earthquake has been hindered by past and present stereotypes of both Haiti and Haitians. On the one hand, there is *Ayiti Cherie* (Beloved Haiti), the vibrant and beautiful nation. On the other hand, there is what has been called *Ayiti Chire* (Broken Haiti), the Haiti full of intractable problems and incapable citizens. This collection presents images of Haiti that fall into the land between these two poles, crucial if Haiti is to overcome current circumstances and stand as an empowered nation again.

Ulysse divides this collection into three parts. The first and longest section collects writings completed just after the quake. Primarily blog posts, these writings are, as Ulysse states, a bit disassociated and unfocused—not surprising given her connection to Haiti and the magnitude of the situation. Despite their lack of focus, they communicate grief over what happened, the fear that not enough relief would reach Haiti, and her commitment to assisting in as many ways and in as many contexts as she can. It provides great insight into those things that motivate a public anthropologist and displays the kind of engagement for which those of us who work in the service of the public good strive. Out-

standing in this section is her essay “Why Representations of Haiti Matter Now More Than Ever,” which outlines, I think, the primary message of this book. Included here, too, are a number of writings that highlight the carnival that was made of the quake and of the subsequent political events, including the presidential election. The second section consists of writings roughly one year after the quake. Time has provided some opportunity for calmer reflection, and this section is consistently well written, informative, and enlightening. Here, I believe, is where Ulysse responds to her own call for new narratives. These stories present a number of different images of Haiti and of Haitians, primarily positive and empowered. Although most of this section is exceptional, I particularly liked the leading blog entry, “Why I Am Marching for Ayiti Cheri.” The third and final section is more loosely connected to the quake, focusing on demystifying and destigmatizing *Vodou* by attacking the popular images held by most around the world. For experts of diasporic religions, these writings will be fairly simple, but we must recall that these works were written for public consumption, not for the academy, and thus achieve their stated end of demystifying.

The book itself could be used as an anthology or reader for those interested in teaching Haitian studies, as it touches on history, culture, society, politics, and current events. However, Ulysse goes one step further, providing the original English along with translations in Kreyòl and French. As a speaker of Kreyòl as a second language, I am thrilled to see this addition to the resources available to those who are learning the language. Aside from increasing the readership of this book, having the texts in three languages facilitates learning and comprehension. I wish I had had this sort of reader during my Kreyòl classes.

Ulysse's colleague Claudine Michele (p. xxvii) argues that "as a native daughter anthropologist-performer situated on the margins, [Ulysse] offered a multifaceted insider/outsider perspective on this developing moment in Haitian history," and I tend to agree. Ulysse's argument that Haiti needs new narratives is not new among Haitianists, but the passion with which she presents her arguments in

the texts she has compiled here gives it a fresh urgency. Rather than making that her endpoint, which could have been adequate for a collection of public writings, Ulysse answers her own call and presents a number of these new narratives—narratives that begin to lay out the vast landscape between the two poles of Ayiti Cheri and Ayiti Chire.

The Ancient Highlands of Southwest China: From the Bronze Age to the Han Empire by Alice Yao.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. 288 pp.

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Temporality is a recurrent yet challenging issue in the study of local histories when narratives of time are often fraught with imaginations. In the archaeological practices of Bronze Age and Iron Age cultures in the periphery, it is often difficult to establish a chronology that incorporates materiality, temporality, and functionality of archaeological discoveries between center and periphery. The reflection of time through material cultures is transgressive in nature.

Focusing on the temporality in the southwest frontier of ancient China, Alice Yao's new book, *The Ancient Highlands of Southwest China: From the Bronze Age to the Han Empire*, is a groundbreaking work in disentangling the complex history that is often clouded by a center-dominated narrative. It is a crucial theoretical contribution to the field. Gu Jiegang and his "Doubting Antiquity Movement" in the early 20th century proposed that antiquity was a "piling up of layered fabrications" (Li 2013). While this was an important step toward the modernization of historical research in China, the lack of constructive solutions hindered the moving forward of the subject for a long time. Historical texts were either treated as an unchallenged orthodoxy or were neglected or abandoned completely (cf. von Falkenhausen 1993). One of Yao's aims is to "collapse the disciplinary boundaries between these (historical, anthropological, and archaeological) domains" (p. 17). Her innovative anthropological approach treats the "historical awareness" of these peripheral societies as an "ancillary to writing and historiography" (p. 30), through which she finds funerary landscapes a medium to reconcile the lack of written documents in the periphery and to "decenter" the "periphery historicity." This new view will contribute to revolutionizing our understanding of transmitted texts (e.g., bronze inscriptions) as the study of them often is often constrained by the text and its immediate archaeological contexts. It will also be valuable

in the research of Bronze Age cultures and interactions in the central and marginal areas across China. Research on the regional interactions during the Erlitou and Shang periods has been a heated topic in the past decade. However, apart from finding evidence of long-distance trade and cultural transmission, how this process helped to shape local landscapes remains underinvestigated. For instance, it is a widely held view that the Panlongcheng site, situated right on the edge of the Yangtze River near today's Wuhan City, was an important military outpost established by the Shang from the north. This is attested by the discovery of very distinctive Shang-style burials and bronzes as well as places and walls (Liu and Chen 2012). But how did the Shang people interact with local people and their environment? Yao's reconstruction of local funerary landscapes by detailed analyses of typical Bronze Age and Iron Age cemeteries situated in different environments in ancient Southwest China resonates with an important research direction at Panlongcheng, which is to examine how economic and cultural activities were influenced by the active alluvial processes at and around the site (Hai Zhang, personal communication, July 20, 2015).

Yao's unpacking of funerary landscapes, consisting of "body, cemetery, and landscape," benefits from her insightful reconstruction of the formation process of these cemeteries (p. 48). By revisiting archaeological stratigraphies, which are often forgotten in this type of scholarly inquiries, and focusing on spatial relationships among archaeological features, not only is she able to disentangle rich information entailed in archaeological reports, assisted by the examination of artifacts, she is also able to create a channel to go "beyond the temporality of sedimentation" (p. 103). While taphonomic research has become common in the archaeology of prehistoric settlements in China, its application to the research of Bronze Age and Iron Age burials is still rare. Yet Yao has proven its unique position in understanding past societies and human behaviors. This detailed, innovative analysis of cemeteries also provides a working framework for the reconstruction of burial rites and funerary landscapes. There is a consensus among scholars that funerals held for the deceased

are also an important part of the living society. Drinking and associated activities are crucial for the living to gain prestige by engaging with the deceased (von Falkenhausen 2006). But it is clear that such means of communicating with the past vary greatly. I wondered whether “ancestor” as a concept was universal to these societies outside the political center and how the diversity of cultural exercises (e.g., local cuisines) and physical environments fit into this type of dynamics between the past and the present.

The author uses drums and other types of material media to put her case studies into a broader regional context and delineates the history of the periphery and its interactions with the center. She notes that “not only was space limited within the mounds, but membership was restricted and contingent on status” (p. 102). This perspective, again, is illustrative to the study of burial landscapes of ancient central China. For instance, the erection of those gigantic burial mounds for the Chinese emperors and empresses was also a crucial political movement, surrounding which power and social prestige were often re-created. There is thus no doubt that the methodologies and theories will be extremely

influential to related fields. Beyond this, this book is also a great effort echoing James Scott’s (2011) research on the peripheral societies and their significant role in the making of history.

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The Impotence Epidemic: Men’s Medicine and Sexual Desire in Contemporary China by Everett Yuehong Zhang.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 288 pp.

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The Impotence Epidemic offers a nuanced, sensitive, and powerful ethnographic analysis of impotence in contemporary China. Despite being a somewhat taboo topic, Everett Zhang managed to interview 350 men and their partners through over ten years of field research in two Chinese cities. Unlike other work on impotence that focuses on men’s experiences only or the social and cultural effects of anti-impotence technologies, Zhang examines both men’s and women’s experiences of impotence through an embodied and holistic approach. He argues that more than a neurovascular event, the impotence epidemic in China is a social and cultural phenomenon, a bodily response to socioeconomic changes since the 1980s. It is both a real social condition and an expert or state construct to legitimize the medicalization of impotence through the establishment of *nanke* (men’s medicine) and to cultivate a subject of desire. One of Zhang’s unexpected findings is that impotence is not primarily rooted in physical suffering—it is “the longing to enjoy sex” (p. 12). The impotence epidemic is a positive orientation toward

“desiring production,” signifying a shift from downplaying individual desire in Mao’s era to promoting “the desire to desire” in the reform era. Impotence becomes an object of both medicalization and self-governance.

Zhang pays particular attention to the Chinese notions of the body (*shenti*) and experience (*tiyan*). Instead of the combination of the biological and the psychological, *tiyan* includes forces that the body incorporates and feels. Rather than a discrete given, *shenti* entails subjective, experiential, and relational dimensions. Zhang explores subject formation through bodily practices, for example, “sexual intercorporeality”—the intertwining of male and female bodies—which, he argues, inform the subjectivities of men and women. This understanding of the body enables Zhang to explore the polymorphic and multivalent perspectives of impotence in China, which is not just about erectile failures but also about a wide range of experience: social stratification, sexual desire, family obligations, gender relations, one’s ethical orientation, and life itself.

Zhang engages both traditional Chinese medicine and biomedicine to understand their strengths and weaknesses and the shifting dynamic between them in treating impotence. For example, he found that many Chinese men were reluctant to accept Viagra partly due to their understanding

of potency as relating to one's overall vitality rather than the simple ability to achieve an erection. Patients switched between taking Viagra and taking Chinese herbal medicine, pursuing sexual pleasure and nurturing life to achieve an ethics of being. The story of Viagra in China reveals both a medical pluralism in the field of impotence and the resilience of traditional Chinese medicine informed by the ancient Chinese wisdom of "cultivating life" (*yangsheng*). Encompassing regimented bodily practices and other self-governed activities to pursue a healthy, good life, *yangsheng* includes sexual cultivation, which represents a moderate attitude toward sex. Zhang argues that *yangsheng* represents the ethical limits to the production of desire.

According to Zhang, women played an important role in the experience of impotence and the production of desire. He points out that a new type of woman, sexually informed and experienced, demanding more and better sex, caused anxiety for men, leading to impotence. Zhang analyses a new type of masculinity that allows men and women to find sexual fulfillment in non-phallogocentric ways.

The book contributes to the study of the global rise of therapeutic governance through a notion of "moral symptomology"—"the decisions and judgments of the medical establishment and ultimately, the state in rendering certain symptoms legitimate for medical attention" (p. 32). This notion resembles the process of medicalization but emphasizes the ethical and moral dynamics of certain symptoms and their political etiology in historically and culturally spe-

cific contexts. Medicine constitutes an important statecraft to manage diseases and living conditions in order to enhance the productivity of the population. But, historically, the Chinese government has not perceived impotence to significantly affect productivity. Zhang argues that under the moral symptomatology of Mao's era, to minimize political risk, people went to a doctor for nocturnal emission (*yijing*), not impotence (because nocturnal emission was considered involuntary). Therefore, seeking medical treatment for *yijing* sought to eradicate "uncontrollable desire," whereas seeking treatment for impotence aimed to regain the ability to "indulge" in sex. However, since the 1980s, the moral ground for impotence has been reconfigured. The moral stigma attached to the pursuit of sexual desire was replaced by an ethical stigma attached to the inability to realize one's capacity as a modern subject. Sexual desire is construed as central to the subject of modernity. The establishment of men's medicine thus aims to fix this ethical deficiency in male subjectivity. Unlike Mao's era, the post-Mao moral symptomatology has produced more patients of impotence than of *yijing*.

The Impotence Epidemic contributes to our understanding of the historical, theoretical, and moral-ethical dimensions of impotence and its ramifications. It will be of interest to scholars who focus on ethics and morality, gender and sexuality, body and society, modernity, the interplay between traditional Chinese medicine and biomedicine, and China's postsocialist transformation.