



Book Reviews

Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times. Ann Laura Stoler. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. 448 pp.

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Duress can be read as both warning and exhortation. Ann Laura Stoler has been a scholar of colonial and imperial studies for many years. This book brings together some of her previously published articles and her experiences doing research in France and the Middle East and provides a careful rethinking of what she calls imperial formations. What we call empires are highly adaptable forms of relations and technologies of rule that appear, disappear, and reemerge again and again in different contexts and times. Imperial formations are both durable and protean—characteristics that continue to surface, disappear, and resurface long after and seemingly independently of the span of a particular historical empire. “In an effort to press on the limits of the ‘empire’ concept, I use the term ‘imperial formations’ . . . to register the ongoing quality of processes of decimation, displacement, and reclamation that endure beyond the formal exclusions that legislate against equal opportunity, commensurate dignities, and equal rights. As an alternative to ‘empire,’ it is to signal the temporal stretch and recursive recalibrations to which we could be looking” (56).

Stoler offers a critique of much of what has been taken for granted in colonial studies. Her interests lie “in the distributions of inequities that concepts condone, inscribe, and inhabit; in the challenges of writing new colonial histories that press on the present; and, not least, in unlearning what we imagine to know about colonial governance and why those understandings and misrecognitions should continue to concern us now” (8). Contrary to what is often assumed, concepts such as empire are fragile and misleading, full of messy accretions and ambiguities, always ready to morph into different contexts and uses. We are warned against assuming that imperial formations belong to a historical past only, or that contemporary imperial formations are somehow not imperial because they do not seem to exhibit the standard features of past empires.

To illustrate this, Stoler interrogates the exceptional status accorded to Israel’s relationship to the Palestinians. She also examines why French scholarship has been so

reluctant to recognize the ongoing characteristics of empire that exist within the modern French Republic itself, such as racism and forms of exclusion by other racially charged criteria (such as respectability) or internal colonies, those segregated urban areas in France whose inhabitants, mostly former colonial subjects from Africa or Indochina, are both abandoned and closely watched by the state. And she questions why US scholarly and political discourse seems reluctant to challenge the premise that US imperial characteristics—a worldwide network of military bases, wars to spread “American values,” or the internal colonization of both African Americans and Native Americans—are somehow not imperial (or are only those of a benevolent empire) because the United States is an exception. She argues that claims of exceptionalism are an integral characteristic of imperial formations, one of the ways in which they disappear and reappear, part of the necessary flexibility and adaptive apparatus of imperial ventures.

Stoler employs the terms *occlusion* and *aphasia* to point to the intentional concealment of embarrassing histories and practices and the inability to speak about them. These terms evoke not states of forgetfulness or ignorance but the seemingly contradictory condition of simultaneously knowing and not knowing. It reminds this reader of the characterization often made of the citizens of the Third Reich, who somehow knew, must have known, and resolutely did not know what their government was doing. Beyond such histories, genealogical tracing becomes important. By this, Stoler means paying attention not to the successes and triumphant images of imperial strength but rather to the failed projects, abandoned attempts, and general messiness and equivocation that inevitably characterize imperial ventures—especially to how forms and relations are discarded only to be morphed, resurrected, and adapted to serve imperial needs in other contexts into the present.

Stoler provides case studies from France, the Dutch East Indies, and other places of the fluid meanings and interchangeable realities that terms such as *colony* and *race* actually represent as ideas put into practice in varied forms to fulfill multiple imperial functions. Penal colonies, settler colonies, military camps, detention centers, and farm colonies to reform “wayward” youth—all have been and still are elements of the carceral archipelagoes that dot the landscapes of imperial ventures. These forms are unstable and overlapping in their functions. The disposition of

human bodies, mass dislocations, forms of sexual abuse, torture, incarceration, and disciplinary regimes inflicted on the Other, as well as the creation of the Other through deployment of racially coded standards of respectable and civilized behavior, are parts of the biosecurity of imperial formations. Deliberate confusion of public, private, and intimate spaces is an imperial technique. Damaged personhood is not an accidental consequence but an intended outcome. Duress pervades the entire enterprise.

As Stoler warns, we should not assume that imperial ventures are dictated or guided by reason in the Enlightenment sense. The almost obsessive collection of voluminous scientific information that seems to be part of many imperial ventures is accompanied by a deep sense of insecurity on the part of the colonial masters, who can never know enough about the inner lives and affective dispositions of their often recalcitrant subjects. Here the reader may recall how imperial ventures of all kinds have employed the social sciences to provide insights (never enough or of the right kind) into the daily lives and deeply held values and priorities of colonial subjects in order to find ways of recasting local knowledge through the filter of metropolitan imperial needs and prejudices. Minute accountability and technologies of surveillance become essential for the task of discerning or intuiting what restless subjects have in mind. Because imperial formations are enterprises fueled by anxiety of the potential enemy within and without, they are quite capable of deploying violence in seemingly rational ways. Stoler astutely points out that the purpose of this is not to ensure security but to perpetuate the ongoing state of insecurity essential to imperial forms of governance and control.

Stoler adds different insights and contexts to much material that is not new. Perhaps one test of the value of this is that it is difficult to read *Duress* without applying its insights both to the ways we engage in ethnographic enterprises and to current situations. Stoler provides the reader with much to consider and underscores the urgency of doing so.

Life as a Hunt: Thresholds of Identities and Illusions on an African Landscape. Stuart A. Marks. New York: Berghahn, 2016. 518 pp.

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According to Stuart A. Marks, “international wildlife conservation is one of the world’s greatest myths” (6). It relies on the Cartesian dichotomization of humans and nature—a concept alien to the Valley Bisa people of Zambia’s central Luangwa Valley, who “assume that a seamless moral fabric bound them and the resources of their landscape together”

(116) and who do not have an indigenous word for “nature” or “environment.” In this beautifully written ethnography, Marks shares a cultural history and a worldview that are vastly different from what is encoded in the conservation myth.

Beginning under British colonialism and continuing after independence, the cost of development through wildlife conservation in Zambia has been paid by way of beatings, incarcerations, seizure of hunting weapons and lineage heirlooms, increasing dependence on foreign agencies and an unresponsive state, the prohibitive cost of hunting licenses (which are disproportionately granted to local and international elites), and the loss of life, limb, and livelihood to dangerous wildlife. Marks recorded 133 fatalities and 162 persons injured in wild animal encounters from 1990 to 2013 in the Munyamadzi Game Management Area, where the Valley Bisa live surrounded on three sides by Zambian national parks. But his book is not so much about wildlife or national parks as it is about the spiritual, social, political, and economic history of a landscape presumed to be a wilderness. It is about the knowledge and experiences of the Valley Bisa people—the hunters and hoe cultivators who have shaped this landscape, whose ancestors lived alongside wildlife for centuries, and whose presence gets erased from northern-dominated conservation discourses.

Assembled and edited over a 25-year period and based on more than 50 years of ethnographic work, *Life as a Hunt* follows three generations of hunters, noting the ways they perceive and order their world as they traverse the changes wrought by “globalization, commoditization, state regulation, and the intensified hardship of frequent famines” (284). Here Marks shows how Bisa identity is rooted in the surrounding landscape, which serves as a “repository of their cultural memories” (25). Plants and places are not simply named for people and events; they become embodied in Bisa ancestral beliefs and “express meanings, precautions, signposts, and virtues that are continually updated with new stories and contemporary associations” (55). Propelled by the conservation myth, outsiders rarely recognize that the natural landscapes they seek to conserve are very human indeed.

A biologist and anthropologist whose distinguished career includes work as an academic, an independent scholar, and a consultant to governments, international donor agencies, and conservation NGOs, Marks began research in the Luangwa Valley in 1966. Much of his writing serves to critique the crisis narratives repeated by northern biologists, conservationists, and development administrators who depict Africans as a “contentious indigenous menace” (xxiv) whose “improper land-use practices” (152) are responsible for catastrophic declines in African wildlife. On the contrary, Marks argues, “northerners and members of their worldwide diaspora might learn much from the inhabitants of this valley” (xxi).

Marks's research intersects with that of Dan Brockington, Clark Gibson, David McDermott Hughes, James Igoe, Roderick Neumann, Paige West, and others who chronicle the social costs of colonial and neocolonial conservation in Africa. What sets his book apart from the others is the sheer, even overwhelming amount of ethnographic information drawn from half a century of living and learning in the Luangwa Valley. For example, Marks includes transcripts—hour-by-hour accounts—of two separate occasions in 1988 and 1989 when he accompanied a hunter into the bush. He incorporates tables indicating meat prohibitions for men and women, meat-distribution patterns, and the number of meals consumed from single animals killed as well as species preferences, the number of wildlife encounters, and stalk outcomes of hunters he interviewed from the 1960s through the 1990s. While these sections may feel a bit tedious to the seasoned fieldworker in search of processed and theorized material, for the budding social scientist they present useful examples of the many forms that raw ethnographic data can take. To the development practitioner or lay reader, they offer a valuable glimpse into the worlds of GMA residents whose livelihoods are regularly impinged upon by consumers and conservationists a hemisphere away.

As with any scholarly enterprise, there are a few limitations. The length of this book may prove overwhelming for some. Readers unfamiliar with the history of wildlife conservation in Zambia—for example, the creation of the Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas in 1987 and the abolition of the National Parks and Wildlife Services and the establishment of the Zambia Wildlife Authority in 1998—might find themselves confused by the nonchronological order of the chapters. Additionally, the current list price of \$150 is prohibitive for most potential readers.

The book's limitations, however, are overcome by its strengths, which include Marks's emphasis on intergenerational social changes, the strong case he makes for longitudinal ethnographic research, and his call for new vocabularies and a new paradigm of global wildlife conservation. Prominent examples of social change among the Valley Bisa include the diminishing status of elders and the unraveling of group identity resulting from the higher rates of primary education and employment among younger community members, as well as the growing formation of nonkin-based alliances such as Pentecostal evangelical congregations. To avoid detection by wildlife scouts, hunters have both narrowed their local social spheres and expanded their regional networks to include powerful patrons who think about wildlife in decidedly different ways. As one interviewee noted, "now everybody has a limited number of trusted friends. We are afraid that 'informers' will squeal and wildlife scouts will appear, beat, and arrest us. . . . Today those who snare don't claim

interests in animals the same ways as we once did. Now, they are interested mainly in money" (237).

In spite of these changes, Marks writes, "local memories and identities persist and may be more sustainable in the long run than the impressions and visions of momentary strangers" (5). The repeal of the Zambia Wildlife Act in 2015 and the ensuing replacement of the Zambia Wildlife Authority with the newly formed Department of National Parks and Wildlife make *Life as a Hunt* and the lessons it confers especially timely.

Amazonia in the Anthropocene: People, Soils, Plants, Forests. *Nicholas C. Kawa.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016. 202 pp.

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Not only indigenous tribes live in Amazonia. Many rural folks of mixed ancestry who might have lost no opportunity to move to big tropical cities such as Manaus or Porto Velho have also made the banks of its rivers and its rain forest their homes. According to Nicholas Kawa, the way that these caboclos shape the rural countryside may tell us a great deal about how to cultivate a more inclusive ecology in the Anthropocene. They may teach us even more, perhaps, than the shamanic visions of great indigenous leaders such as Davi Kopenawa in *The Falling Sky*.

Charles Wagley and other pioneer anthropologists are clearly behind Kawa's desire to present today's caboclo culture ethnographically. He also gets inspiration from contemporary writers such as Mark Harris, who while following in Wagley's footsteps goes a step further in elevating the peasant to existential subjectivity; the indigenous can be bypassed altogether. Phenomenologically, the caboclo peasant lives with the environment in the moment. Attuned to the rhythm of the seasons, the flow of time, and the agency of plants and animals, the peasant (like Lévi-Strauss's bricoleur) becomes a specialist in improvising. In all its simplicity, caboclo culture amounts to finding one's own way of making things work. Whether Kawa writes about caboclo communities along Brazil's Madeira River, the soils that people cultivate, the plants that they grow or that conveniently grow themselves, or the animals and spirits that turn forests into anthropogenic landscapes (and each topic frames a chapter), his primary interest lies with the simplicity of rural folks' modern improvisations.

Modern life bubbles up under the canopy and down along the Madeira River, especially around the municipality of Borba, the center of Kawa's ethnography. We are told

that “like most people across the world, rural Amazonians lead lives that are in many ways both seemingly traditional and exceedingly modern” (17). It is due to their simplicity, at once modern and timeless, that the rural folks of the Brazilian Amazon are so good for helping us rethink our place in the Anthropocene. A twin product of history and modernity, caboclos are mixed. Anything complex has melted away or blurred in their mixing. They live in muddied waters through which illusions of untamed nature, of lands dominated by wilderness, or of landscapes ruled by biology fizzle out. Such simplifications have enabled improvisation to reign. Like the caboclo who does not need to know why and how and by whom the fertile soils of *terra preta do indio* were created, the anthropologist in Kawa’s personal narrative does not have to learn the technique for tying up his hammock. He can ask someone else to teach him. To make do with what is at hand, in other words, improvisation, is of the essence.

This is as true of plants as it is of people. Invasive plants like *pião roxo* (*Jatropha gossypifolia*) thrive where humans live, but they rely on improvised opportunism rather than on human intervention to propagate themselves. Who knows whether it is as medicine or as biofuel that they have become some of the world’s worst tropical weeds? Whatever the case, what matters is that they have advanced modern globalization through the improvised simplifications they have brought about.

Caboclo culture produces environments that become anthropogenic through improvisation, not through control or domination. This is why they can teach us how to “engineer our way out of ecological crisis” (69). If lived modernity in rural Amazonia is simply improvised, why then waste time on cultural, historical, or environmental complexities? *Amazonia in the Anthropocene* certainly does not. Nicholas Kawa is firmly of the view that there is no point in trying to decipher the Amazon rain forest as a space “just as likely to be molded by humans as by nonhuman beings and forces” (111). This brings him to embrace posthumanism, which he strangely associates with David Graeber’s decentered anthropology. Readers will judge whether such a casual approach to the great challenges we face does justice to the humanity of the men and women who live along the Madeira River or to the evolving web of meanings that continues to structure Amazonian futures.

Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene.

Donna J. Haraway. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. 312 pp.

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Rather than fall into despair or hope for a miracle to undo the damage that humans have wrought upon Earth, Donna Haraway invites readers to consider more-than-human relations as a means of rethinking the Anthropocene. Haraway argues that the Anthropos has become a central agent and a figure of historical, geological, and ecological change at the same time that its underlying assumption, that of humancentric “bounded utilitarian individualism” (49), has become unthinkable. Here she joins scholars such as Timothy Mitchell, who in the essay “Can the Mosquito Speak?” in his 2002 *Rule of Experts* analyzes technoscientific transformations in early 20th-century Egypt—considering the interaction of multiple agents, elements, scales, and temporalities—and argues that the appearance of agency and technoscientific control in massive-scale infrastructures, like dams, had to be understood as being embedded in a world of multiple and unpredictable nonhuman forces. Since Mitchell’s mosquito, the question of nonhuman, more-than-human, posthuman, or multispecies relations has become pervasive in anthropology, recently informing analysis of the Anthropocene. Haraway, then, urges readers to think and tell stories that counter the Species Man centrism of the Anthropocene (and the Capitalocene) for what she calls the Chthulucene.

The Chthulucene that Haraway conjures is earthly (*chthulu* is from Greek *khthôn*, earth), tentacular, and multispecies: it is populated with buzzing swarms of critters, all playing in the “string figure game of caring for and with” (55), all sharing the same compost piles as they become each other and become with each other. Haraway argues that nothing is individually bound and self-forming (or autopoietic) but, rather, that all beings make each other and do not preexist their relating. Her essays offer old and new figures, stories, and a lexicon for paying attention to partial connections. In the earthly Chthulucene, these connections are to be found deep in the ground. Not posthumanism, then, but com-post, as in the composting of earthly humus: metaphors for practices of symbiotic and sympoietic relationalities. Staying with the trouble requires one to weave new collaborations and narratives for future flourishings of “oddkin” (2), by which Haraway means forming kinship relations that are translateral, proliferating, and multispecies rather than genealogical and anthropocentric. These flourishing relations, she proposes, are nonhierarchical and symbiotic. They take the form of string games, one of the animating figures of the book. These are ways of “thinking as well as making” (14), of the “pattern and assembly that solicits response” (3). String figures stand for a world constituted of interaction and “response-ability” (12), where “the partners do not precede the knotting” (13).

Oddkin is also central to the argument, woven through several chapters, that Earth will continue to flourish only after a serious reconfiguration of human reproduction futures. Here Haraway also acknowledges violent histories of

population control and reproductive politics as well as decolonial feminist struggles. But oddkin is a repurposing of an older anthropological insight. Kinship making, anthropologists have shown, is not necessarily bound by genealogical relations but performed through material and semiotic practices. And we also know that nonhuman critters can be kin and ancestors, forming relationships that have deeply challenged any set boundaries among persons, species, and divisions of nature and culture. For anthropologists, then, Haraway's book will read as an invitation to think and write in terms that allow for symbiosis throughout. "Critters do not precede their relatings" (60), she insists, nodding to Lynn Margulis's evolutionary biology, Isabelle Stengers's cosmopolitics, and Marilyn Strathern's partial connections together with feminist science fiction writers, art-science activists, and other human and nonhuman companions.

The essays entwined in *Staying with the Trouble* are themselves modeled as a string figure game. Haraway experiments with rewriting new myths for the Chthulucene that interweave philosophers, scientists, science fiction writers, art-design activists, pigeons, acacia seeds, ants, bacteria, lemur storybooks, Inuit video games, hormonal growth drugs, indigenous activists, and many others. Their entangled stories all show that beings are responsible for and with others in caring. For example, she uses the story of her dog Cayenne being prescribed the estrogen drug DES, known for its carcinogenic effects, to tie together partial connections with women's health activists, industrial farm bovines, homeopathic pharmacists, and hormone-producing pregnant mares. In another essay, tales of pigeon messengers, sentinel animals, pests, and participants of art-science projects conjure collaborations between people and birds struggling with impending loss—of ecosystems, crafts, practices, spaces, and land rights.

While playing with—as productive companions—pigeons, artists, squids, spiders, art activists, farmers, holobionts, science fiction writers, model organisms, punk musicians, and coral reefs in order to write about earthly symbiosis and multispecies string figures, Haraway's voice is simultaneously narrative and normative. *Staying with the Trouble* combines speculative descriptions with a modest invitation to set aside restoration and reconciliation for a "partial recuperation" (10). Readers may not find clear road maps that guide them to struggle for more just flourishings or to understand the powerful and violent articulations of economies and ecologies in the Capitalocene. But they will perhaps rethink and expand the diverse relationalities that constitute the very preconditions of collective action. This is an invitation both to theorize and to make unexpected collaborations.

The closing essay, a collective science fiction writing experiment, envisions a possible future of humans on earth. Haraway and her writing partners imagine five

generations of Camille, one of the Children of Compost. Living in communities of migratory beings, Children of Compost seek to heal the extinctions, exterminations, and genocides of the Anthropocene. Here and in other sections, one might struggle to understand who is being brought into the conversation in such cowering of speculative fiction, and who is being left out. Anthropologists will already be attuned to the varied ways—or string games, as Haraway would call them—through which people inhabit and make sense of their worlds with and through other beings. In my own work, I have observed Turkish rice farmers respond to a surge of unpredictable rainstorms by simultaneously increasing their pious offerings, investing in new agricultural machineries and aggressive chemicals, and learning anew the complex interactions of seed, labor, and water in the forested swamps they cleared and drained a generation before. If "it matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories" (12), I ask: whose Chthulucene?

Writing Future Worlds: An Anthropologist Explores Global Scenarios. Ulf Hannerz. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 306 pp.

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In *Writing Future Worlds*, Ulf Hannerz uses an anthropological lens to examine the works of public intellectuals who have constructed global scenarios of the future. He focuses on five frequently cited authors: Samuel Huntington, Paul Kennedy, Francis Fukuyama, Robert D. Kaplan, and Thomas Friedman. He discusses the works of other US or British writers as well and, in a final chapter, authors with personal or parental ties to China, the Philippines, India, Singapore, Lebanon, France, Germany, and Russia who also have educational or professional ties to the United States or Britain.

Hannerz argues that after the Cold War, academics, journalists, and policy makers, particularly in the United States, needed new narratives to envision future relations among nations and make policy decisions. His goal is not to critique the ideas of these popular futurologists but to understand "how the basically small-scale commentatorial enterprise of a handful of writers grows into a significant component of global public consciousness" (5). In so doing, he studies up or sideways. As he states, his research is armchair anthropology. He did not conduct interviews or participant-observation. However, he describes how these authors are networked to each other. Several were connected through Harvard. This includes Fareed Zakaria,

originally from India, who studied political science with Huntington at Harvard and became an editor of *Foreign Affairs*, which published articles by Huntington and others. Zakaria eventually wrote his own global scenario and began hosting *Global Public Square* on CNN, where several global scenario writers appear as guests. They cite each other and endorse or review each other's work. They create and reuse catchy phrases, such as "the clash of civilizations," "the world is flat," "Eurabia," and "soft power," which are repeated in the media.

Samuel Huntington portrays the future as a clash between Western civilization and Islamic and Confucian civilizations. He also criticizes the growing influence of Mexican or Hispanic culture on the Anglo-Protestant core values of US culture and is skeptical of cosmopolitan elites, who do not have loyalties to a national culture. Paul Kennedy uses history to examine the rise and fall of the great powers and prepare for the 21st century. Francis Fukuyama, who also studied with Huntington, predicts that liberal democracy, the market economy, and science and technology will prevail and lead to the end of history, art, and philosophy. Robert Kaplan, who worked as a journalist in Africa, claims the world is heading toward anarchy, while Thomas Friedman argues that technology is flattening the world and that global warming and overpopulation are concerns for the future. Other ideas discussed include Joseph Nye's argument that the United States should rely more on soft power (spreading cultural ideas) than hard power (military enforcement) to convince other countries to go along with its policy initiatives.

Hannerz examines how these writers use the concept of culture. They choose historical details that reinforce their visions for the future. The historical time they cover varies from one event to a conjunctural 20 to 50 years to the *longue durée* with cultural traditions presumably enduring over centuries. Hannerz observes that the global scenario writers tend to conceive of culture as a "replication of uniformity" (145). He counters that culture also can be viewed as an "organization of diversity" (142–43) and that "people as actors and networks of actors have to invent culture, practice it, experiment with it, reflect on it, remember it (or store it in some other way), and pass it on. And along the way, they may just debate it, and change their minds" (144).

Hannerz identifies four organizational frames that people use to manage meaning: the state, the market, movements, and consociality or everyday interactions among family, friends, and acquaintances. He analyzes how different writers discuss aspects of culture within one or more of these frames. For example, when Friedman asserts that globalization is driven by "the basic human desire for a better life—a life with more choices as to what to eat, what to wear, where to live" (154, citing Friedman's *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*), he is conveying meaning within the market frame.

The global scenario writers also tend to conceive of culture as bounded, but Hannerz notes that, going back to Alfred Kroeber, many anthropologists have stressed "a cultural history of openness and flows" in the "global ecumene" (162). He shows how flows occur among cultures and how cultures vary in terms of scale: extralarge (global) to small (local, group, or individual). One of his examples is Anders Behring Breivik, who dabbled in the hip-hop and graffiti youth cultures of Oslo, played war games on the Internet, and drafted a manifesto with anti-Muslim ideas before his deadly attacks on Norwegian civilians.

Hannerz usually provides summaries of the main arguments of the works he discusses, but that could have been more consistent, especially for the five main authors. I would like to have read more information about Huntington and who influenced him. One chapter deals with the sideshows of invasion alarms about a possible future Eurabia and MexAmerica. Reflecting Hannerz's areas of expertise, the former is much more developed than the latter. As he does effectively in other sections of the book, the MexAmerica section could have been enhanced by developing an ethnographic example as a counterpoint.

I also would like to have learned more about how these scenarios have influenced policy making. As Alfonso Gonzales notes in *Reform without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*, Kris Kobach studied at Harvard under Huntington. He helped write anti-immigrant legislation that passed in places like Arizona and Alabama, has advised several politicians, and is frequently interviewed by the media. As an anthropologist collaborating with grassroots movements working on countering the immigrant threat scenarios and envisioning futures based on social justice for all, I am still mulling over how to use Hannerz's analysis. Although he expresses a desire for this book to be read by audiences outside of anthropology, it does seem to be geared more toward academic audiences.

Anthropology Now and Next: Essays in Honor of Ulf Hannerz. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Christina Garsten, and Shalini Randeria, eds. New York: Berghahn, 2014. 324 pp.

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As a discipline at the interface of Western culture and the rest of the world, anthropology has always been open to different ways of knowing—offered to us by those who are the product of tradition as well as those created by change. In *The Order of Things*, philosopher Michel Foucault recognized this, describing ethnology as a counterscience because it is always calling into question that which is

established. Though always hearkening back to its distinctive tradition, it seems that the discipline, being what it is, continually reinvents itself.

A current manifestation of that idea is the collection *Anthropology Now and Next*, in which the contributors have in common a mentor relationship with Ulf Hannerz, who moved from a very original approach to cities as an urban anthropologist to the challenges of interpreting the changing global order. His conception of research and his recognition of the value of literature and philosophy in interpretation are present in each essay. Brief comments on a selected few of the essays will, I venture, provide the reader with a sense of the character and quality of the volume.

Helping us come to grips with new realities, Thomas Hylland Eriksen reminds us what Henrik Ibsen faced in the confusion of the industrializing world of the 1860s, using drama to convey ways of muddling through the perceptual conflicts of his time. Then, moving to the social sciences, Eriksen introduces us to new concepts like liquid modernity and useful interpretations such as the memoir of the 20th-century Tzvetan Todorov.

One of the more engaging chapters is by Christina Garsten, who decided that think tanks were a proper territory for ethnography. She takes us to a world that academics have encountered but have too little studied. Garsten sees think tanks as brokers of knowledge that “operate at the margins of state power, outside state mandate, yet entangled in it, providing a link between political power of decision-making and corporate resources” (81). Her essay enables a more critical analysis.

Helena Wulff considers a comparable yet quite different example of studying sideways. Her domain is vast and intricate, culturally rich and consequential even in the age of globalism, and that is the Irish literary tradition. Fortunately, it is written primarily in the language of their conquerors and not their ancestors, but in *Ulysses* James Joyce gamboled with the conquerors’ tongue and redirected it forever. Wulff’s essay is about a lot more than art.

Thomas Blom Hansen writes of his research in Mumbai and endorses the value of cultural interpretations other than academically legitimated ethnographies. Some of us have long used novels and travelogues as historical sources, for in them the social order was often exposed. Are not Charles Dickens and Émile Zola superior interpreters of the social order? Could any ethnographer have interpreted the ethnic culture of Chicago’s Irish community in the 1930s better than James T. Farrell did in his *Studs Lonigan* trilogy? Hansen writes that we “swim in a sea of speech, narratives, and interpretations” (127). Are they relevant? The answer is *Orwell*.

João de Pina-Cabral celebrates Ulf Hannerz’s and Sidney Mintz’s interpretations of the classic concept of ecumene, demonstrating its value to contexts and domains not visible to most but of crucial importance to those who

live within them. The Portuguese term *lusotopy* describes such a reality, and Pina-Cabral’s memorable account verifies its utility in research.

Taking us into the ecumene of global governance, Ronald Stade begins by analyzing projections after the Cold War, a time when all relationships had to be reconsidered. What are the geocultural scenarios, he asks, using Hannerz’s terminology: a clash of civilizations, the United States pitted against the rest of the world? He goes on to discuss depoliticization with reference to such major theorists of our time as Hannah Arendt, Jürgen Habermas, Chantal Mouffe, F. A. von Hayek, and James Ferguson. In the concluding section, he analyzes global governance with reference to the work of James Nathan Rosenau.

These brief comments, I hope, will give the reader a sense of the quality and diversity to be found in this collection. Every chapter is innovative. Were I to teach the history of anthropological theory, I would finish with this volume, for I can think of no better way both to provide students with an awareness of where anthropology is heading and to alert them to all the possibilities the discipline offers. In addition to the six essays mentioned, there are six equally brilliant essays written by Brian Moeran, Andre Gingrich, Dominic Boyer, Thomas Fillitz, Gudrun Dahl, and Ayse Caglar, each a distinct contribution to the discourse of interpretation.

The final chapter, by Dominic Boyer, is devoted to the mentor who opened the world of cultural anthropology to this collection of scholars who so honor him by the work they’ve done. Ulf Hannerz is distinctive and productive by many measures, but the final interview encounters him in a reflective mood, a bit like the rare good luck of encountering a philosopher in a pub. His easy references to the leading thinkers in anthropology as well as modern writers and public intellectuals reveal a scholar who has a great deal to say about the modern condition. The decency and humanity of his concerns present further evidence. This collection dedicated to him is an anthropological waymark.

Identity Destabilised: Living in an Overheated World.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Elisabeth Schober, eds. London: Pluto, 2016. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12573

MICHÈLE D. DOMINY

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Identity Destabilised is not a book about climate change, as its subtitle might suggest. Rather, “overheating,” a gloss for accelerated change, is the “central metaphor for the current phase” (2) of economic, social, and cultural forms of globalization. The book’s 12 short ethnographically

informed articles are well framed by Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Elisabeth Schober's theoretically rich introduction, "The Art of Belonging in an Overheated World," and Chris Hann's closing essay, "Eurovision Identities: Or, How Many Collective Identities Can One Anthropologist Possess?" The coeditors provide a "global grammar for talking about identity" (240) in this collection, as Hann notes in his study of ethnonational identity in his native Wales and postsocialist Poland. Especially critical for his analysis is Stanislaw Ossowski's binary distinction between the "private fatherland" and the "ideological fatherland" (242), a distinction from which *Identity Destabilised* extrapolates to support the intellectual goal of its coeditors. The theoretical fingerprints of Fredrik Barth mark the volume with a conceptual grammar that examines how "groups are being shaped and contested . . . in the interplay between exogenous and endogenous forces" (14) that define late capitalism.

An edited collection this geographically and topically diverse risks seeming scattershot in its variety of sites and topics, yet *Identity Destabilised* holds its focus by the shared anthropological conviction of its contributors, eight of whom have been affiliated with the University of Oslo's project *Overheating: The Three Crises of Globalisation*. This comparative project shares a conceptual framework that approaches the crises caused by the acceleration and intensification of global processes, specifically in disparate locations. Through their ethnographic reach and diversity across sites and circumstances, the studies in this collection also capture social responses to resource- and identity-based conflicts, the generation of place-based identities, and the reemergence of groups and boundaries in an overheated transnational world. In this way, the authors return anthropology's focus to traditionalism as an ideological mode and to ethnicity as both a form of cultural expression and a cultural strategy in situations of contact and dizzyingly rapid change.

The book captures accelerated change appropriately in three geographically dispersed boomtowns. Villa El Pedregal is the site of the modernizing Majes Irrigation Project in Peru, where Astrid Stensrud traces the generation of place-based identities through work and stories, demonstrating how they are understood to be "lying within specific discursive formations and daily practices" (75). Robert Pijpers documents the reemergence of ethnic and autochthonous identity and of groupness in the iron ore mining site of Marampa in Sierra Leone. FIFO (fly-in-fly-out) workers in Gladstone, Queensland, site of the largest power station in the state, a cement factory, coal terminals, and an alumina refinery, are actors in the growth of a port town where continuous change provides a source of identity in Thomas Eriksen's study.

Richly detailed yet simultaneously succinct studies bind the local with the global in cases of disruptive

economic change. Torunn Wimpelmann contrasts a traditional elite family and the leadership of the kahns and maliks as necessary and reassuring intermediaries in Kabul, Afghanistan, with new leaders who stand outside of the local moral economy in a dysfunctional nation-state where "simple, one-off monetary transactions" (180) have replaced trust and reciprocity. In the Israeli border town of Kiryat Shemona, Cathrine Thorleifsson works closely with a migrant Mizrahi community and its nostalgia for sites of origin to reveal the "overheating effects of exclusionary identity politics" (101) and the injustice of ethnocracy in a neoliberal settler colonial state. Similarly, frontier violence in indigenous Australian communities in the southwest Gulf of Carpentaria reveals the overheating effects of settler colonialism. Amanda Kearney argues that the speed and endurance of this "cultural wounding" are "climactic" (228) and that cultural healing for remote Yanyuwa families realizes emplacement in country through processes of deceleration. Heike Drotbohm also acknowledges these contrasting decelerative processes. Her fieldwork with erstwhile migrants who are forced to return to Cape Verde points to immobility and deceleration as an inevitable reversal of accelerated change in globalization.

Iver Neumann's "Frozen Moments: Visualising the Polity in Times of Overheating" extends the volume's time scale with its empirical focus on Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments to the Vietnam Memorial as a parallel class of "boundary markers or diacritics of polity identity" (223). In analyzing their construction as a "constitutive social act" (224) and in tracing the representation of the Other as absence, as death, as liberator, and as suborned in monuments from the megalithic to the postmodern age, Neumann highlights that fact that stable monuments can signal a perceived risk of overheating by freezing moments in time. In other studies, Branko Banović focuses on the multivocality of the homosexual moustache in the Montenegrin Pride Parade, Keir Martin analyzes the economic overheating of the Premier League and the fracturing of cultural identity for Manchester United soccer fans in the United Kingdom, and the incursions of Korean investors in the Subic Bay area of the Philippines spark renewed social indigeneity for Elisabeth Schober's Aeta informants.

Thomas Eriksen and Elisabeth Schober succeed in restoring the discipline's commitment to documenting "forms of belonging to places, groups or communities" (1) in a world ripped apart by migration, unsustainable resource extraction, instantaneous communication, and global capitalisms. The diverse range of ethnographic and economic conditions represented in the chapters provides the empirical materials to view identities through accelerated change while juxtaposing stability and ethnographic specificity with forces for change in an overheating world through multisited ethnography. By reclaiming the

ethnic- and identity-focused research of Fredrik Barth's contribution to British social anthropology and Abner Cohen's methodology of situational and processual analysis, the book uncharacteristically unites Barth's signature approach with the anthropology of liquid modernity and global interconnections in the parallel zones of awkward engagement illustrated so aptly in the works of Zygmunt Bauman and Anna Tsing.

Modes of Uncertainty: Anthropological Cases. *Limor Samimian-Darash and Paul Rabinow*, eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 256 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12574

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Modes of Uncertainty engages with its subject on three levels: first, it lays the foundation for knowing uncertainty by developing its conceptual array; second, it explores modes of uncertainty as they come into practical use in different domains; third, it introduces uncertainty as an approach, as a mode of anthropological inquiry. Editors Limor Samimian-Darash and Paul Rabinow depart from risk-centered scholarship to present 10 anthropological cases that both illuminate the contemporary emergence of uncertainty and help develop its conceptual world. The cases do this by considering modes of uncertainty in subjectivity, knowledge, and technology as they surface within different domains—finance and markets, security and humanitarianism, and health and the environment.

The cases implicitly make compelling arguments for rethinking uncertainty. The first part of the book, "Economics and Entrepreneurialism," explores uncertainty through Pat O'Malley's historical account of insurance. Next, Eitan Wilf discusses the infusion of ideas from jazz music to organizational policy and management, and Natasha Dow Schüll analyzes the process of self-improvement among technology-induced online poker players. Part 2, "Security and Humanitarianism," traces uncertainty through four cases. Meg Stalcup examines the way in which police officers report events of a suspicious yet unspecified nature. Then, Rebecca Lemov presents a history of coercive interrogation policy and experimentation in the United States. Carol Kidron observes the interaction between local Cambodians and global humanitarian governance with regard to trauma and its management, and Gaymon Bennett inquires into biosecurity, its moral transformation, and how this transformation is justified through the institutionalization of malice. The third part, "Environment and Health," focuses on uncertainty through Adriana Petryna's examination of how extreme ecosystem

events enable policy makers and climate experts to assess climate change through alternative, nonparametric approaches. Frédéric Keck then discusses the human-animal interface and the practices aimed at identifying potential catastrophes with regard to it, followed by Austin Zeiderman's account of unstable urban spaces in Colombia and the governmental techniques and political rationalities that emerge from them. Through these cases, we see how uncertainty manifests itself in relation to subjects, how it is made intelligible, and what technologies come in light of it.

The project initiated by this book breaks from the cultural approach, which discusses how risks are tackled in different cultures as a way of creating certainty, by reconfiguring uncertainty, risk, and danger as separate concepts. It does so by making second-order observations on how uncertainty is evaluated and acted upon in particular contexts, and therefore it aims to conceptualize and problematize uncertainty as a completely separate idea from risk. The book complements critical scholarship on governmentality and risk not merely by addressing the issue of risk control but by furthering the investigation of emergent technologies that arise in response to problems of uncertainty and their management. The management of uncertainty, as Samimian-Darash shows in her 2013 "Governing Future Potential Biothreats" and as elaborated in this book, has been enabled through technologies of risk, preparedness, and event. Each of these technologies provides a form of viewing and addressing the future, offers its own solutions and functions, requires different sets of expertise, and bears limits to its use.

The book's meaningful contribution to the knowledge of uncertainty and to the ability of researchers to approach the study of uncertainty—both conceptually and analytically—is only part of what it offers. Going one step further, it advocates the use of uncertainty as a "mode of anthropological inquiry and participation" (204). Uncertainty as a distinguished mode of inquiry is equivalent to other modes of inquiry: theoretical versus totalizing; descriptive versus cultural; philosophical versus external. The authors review these modes and show, using the cases in the book, how anthropological inquiry through a mode of uncertainty may be advantageous where others are found wanting. Most interestingly, they conclude that the practice of the mode of inquiry of participant-observation not only renders the researcher internal to the researched but also renders the researcher changed by it. This intriguing new path raises questions that ought to be addressed in the future. Does this mode of inquiry travel well into other fields of social science? In what ways would this new understanding of uncertainty play out once applied within critical scholarship, in contrast to previous conceptions of uncertainty? And how might the researcher inquiring into uncertainty, with uncertainty, and by uncertainty be able to reflect and go beyond its limits?

Anthropology and Economy. *Stephen Gudeman.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. 233 pp.

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Financial capital appears to dominate all aspects of contemporary human existence. This presents a challenge for economic anthropology because of its traditional focus on nonmarket-dominated societies and on economic activities that often do not involve money, at least as money is currently understood. In a world where capitalism seems to have penetrated every inch of the globe and every niche of social life, the relevance of anthropological perspectives on such issues as production, distribution, and consumption might be questioned. One of the great values of Stephen Gudeman's latest book is to demonstrate that such thinking is very wrongheaded.

Gudeman structures his argument around two sets of relationships. One set involves the interactions among what he labels the five spheres of the economy: the house, the community, commerce, finance, and metafinance. The second concerns the tensions between dichotomous concepts: self-interested pure market transactions versus the mutuality of social relationships; calculative reason versus empathy; competition versus sociability; and abstraction versus concrete material reality. The five spheres of the economy trace a continuum from low-market, high-relationship interactions where mutuality, empathy, sociability, and immediate material impact are evident, as in economic exchanges between family members, through to the high-market, low-relationship interactions of the world of metafinance, where self-interested, competitive behavior uses abstract mathematical models of flows of wealth that seem to have little connection to their immediate effects on others. In the latter world, stock market value can be increased through plant closures or other actions or events that might have devastating impacts on households and communities to which the shareholders have no connections.

While house, community, and local commercial activities are dominated by finance and metafinance, Gudeman argues that there are still interactions among the spheres. Financial and metafinancial practices continue to involve sociability for its own sake, ritual, ceremony, and even magical spells—all hardly rational in the narrow sense. Stock markets open and close with rituals and ceremonies. Advertisers seek to imbue products with spiritual qualities, and salespersons engage in customers' personal lives. Stock market bubbles share similarities with what Émile Durkheim labeled the collective effervescence of a corroboree, a ceremonial gathering of Australian Aboriginal groups. Calculative reason is overwhelmed by shared

sentiments and mimicry. Human behaviors that have long been of interest to anthropologists have not disappeared in contemporary economic spheres, and anthropological approaches help explain aspects of contemporary economies that economists either do not recognize or treat as externalities.

For Gudeman, economists' analyses are, in one sense, examples of local representations of economic action that are as amenable to ethnographic treatment as any other culture's explanations of why its members do what they do. In another sense, though, they are part and parcel of the process by which both economies and economists' theories have become increasingly abstracted from the everyday lives of so many members of society. This is not to claim that decisions made in the finance or metafinance spheres do not have real-life consequences. It is rather that the rationales for decisions are often couched in terms of statistical and other kinds of numerical abstractions. Metafinance operates according to formulas and representations of values that are distant from the material realities of actual house or community economies and relationships. Ultimately, these high-market, low-relationship spheres seek to extract rent from the low-market, high-relationship spheres.

Gudeman eschews any reference to the old formalist-substantivist arguments. Nonetheless, his book represents a plea to embed the economy in society again. "As markets grow, we abstract from material life, we abstract from the habitat that surrounds us, we abstract from connecting to others, and we abstract from a part of ourselves" (191). As such, some familiar criticisms are reasonable. Gudeman is careful near the beginning of the book to point out that while sharing unites houses, they are still marked by power differentials based on such categories as gender and age. However, these realities—never mind others, domestic slavery, for example—are not discussed as part of the description of the house economy. Similarly, he acknowledges the problematic tendency of early anthropological accounts to treat societies and cultures as isolated and homogeneous, but he presents such accounts in just that way, then uses them to illustrate how the house and community spheres operate. Marxist interpretations of economic life are reduced to a couple of footnotes, even though the discussion of rituals and magic in market interactions or the argument about abstraction would be strengthened by a robust consideration of concepts such as commodity fetishism and alienation. Consideration of feminist analyses of domestic labor is also absent despite a discussion of the ways that finance and metafinance extract wealth from houses and communities.

Readers not familiar with the history of economic anthropology or some of these other very relevant theoretical perspectives on economy might be forgiven for coming away with a romanticized sense of house and

community economies as characterized by empathy, mutuality, and sociability in opposition to the harsh realities of self-interest, competition, and alienation of market relationships. The book's cover displays a banner from an Occupy Wall Street demonstration in the wake of the 2008 financial collapse that sports the motto "FORECLOSE ON BANKS NOT PEOPLE." This suggests a more radical interpretation of and response to the hegemony of the finance and metafinance spheres than the book offers. Given that Gudeman devotes an entire chapter to money and abstraction, the absence of any reference to David Graeber's work is surprising.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms, *Anthropology and Economy* offers a convincing argument that the economy needs to be understood as much broader than the market interactions that many economists are still wont to focus on. Gudeman shows that even today there are many acts of production, distribution, and consumption that are not dominated by the calculative, self-interested reasoning of *Homo economicus*. Market interactions themselves depend upon nonmarket relationships and the spheres of high-relationship, low-market houses and communities. Gudeman's most critical insights are devoted to rent seeking in the modern economy and the contradictory tensions between the high abstraction of the finance and metafinance spheres and their reliance on the extraction of rent, or what others might call surplus value or unpaid domestic labor, from houses and communities with the very real possibility of undermining these ultimate sources of wealth siphoned off in the form of profit and interest. His discussion of the expansion of various kinds of money is also very illuminating in a world where hard currency is being overtaken by electronic and other means of recording and tracking value. He writes in a style that is amenable to senior undergraduate students as well as more advanced scholars. *Anthropology and Economy* is a valuable contribution to economic anthropology and should help build the case for anthropology's relevance to the modern world.

Morality and Economic Growth in Rural West Africa: Indigenous Accumulation in Hausaland. Paul Clough. New York: Berghahn, 2014. 468 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12576

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This book presents a framework for economic growth in Africa, specifically, how the Hausa of northern Nigeria achieve that growth. Paul Clough argues that different societies have different trajectories of accumulation, that they are driven by different moral paradigms, and that among

the Hausa, noncapitalist accumulation leads to wealth in people as well as in things. He focuses on the village of Marmara, which like other towns in Hausaland has a long-term relationship with a regional market system that provides an outlet for surplus agricultural production. Building on Polly Hill's classic research, he shows that indigenous subsistence agriculture continues to be durable while farmers also engage in significant trading networks.

Clough carried out his main piece of research between 1977 and 1979; subsequently, he went to the field for a month each in 1985, 1996, and 1998. In the context of the regional political economy of south Katsina, he looked at patterns of production and exchange, at relationships between richer and poorer farmers and the field of agricultural marketing between the economic region and others, and at their changes over time. He found that what mattered were the acquisition of farmland and land inequality: the large share was controlled by the top 10 percent of land-using household heads, and the relatively small share was controlled by the bottom 40 percent. Unlike Polly Hill, Clough believes that sons of large landholders had advantages, but additionally that inequality was also due to in-migration—those who arrived earlier had easier access to land. After World War II, combining farming with off-farm occupations made small households viable. There was growth in inter-regional trade, with linkages between rural markets, and farmer-traders gained access to more funds. Moreover, conversion of the local Maguzawa to Islam led to the commercialization of production and the removal of women from work; these in turn led to changes in the relations of production. Islam also produced clientage and trading friendships that created patronage for credit. Polygyny remained the ideal, and with changes in culture, wives became economically independent, mothers and sons cultivated closeness, and husbands fed their wives.

Marmara residents have preserved some traditional cultural forms while pushing capitalist transformations. Clough's central concern is with moral assumptions: in the context of noncapitalist accumulation, patron-client relations continue to matter. He rejects Polly Hill's position that *arziki* (fortune, luck) is basic to the moral economy; rather, he asserts that moral practices anchor social relations. Clough explores economic institutions for the transfer of land, labor, credit, and produce. By looking at money flows and borrowing, he seeks to understand the range of credit practices in order to understand the range of economic relations between richer and poorer villagers as well as patterns of wealth acquisition and exchange relations. He argues that in the precapitalist mode, rural traders used their profits to expand their landholdings and employment of hired labor. Clough muses about the significance of using hired labor rather than family labor. He found that frequent laborers are younger than frequent employers and are largely migrant laborers. In considering the changes in

organizing rural labor over time, he speculates that the idea of the subordinate worker has endured, but that moral obligations link the laborer with the master.

Small landholders overcame constraints in order to become wealthy. There were two paths to accumulation: those that were production oriented (continual reinvestment of profits from trade and transport), such as trading in grains and groundnuts, which provided funds for commerce and agriculture, and those that were trade oriented (borrowing for trade). Why borrow? Because of a lack of food grains, the need for money for sons' marriages, and the payment of taxes. The borrower-lender relationship was very personal, emphasizing mutual confidence. The duty to lend was related to the need for working capital. Men combined strategies of borrowing, lending, and investing through complex social relations, because this was morally right. Clough's position is that polygynous marriage and relations of patronage and trading created a distinctive pattern of noncapitalist accumulation. The accumulation of capital was different from the acquisition of wealth constituted by wives, children, and clients.

This is an extraordinarily dense book. Clough pays careful attention to empirical detail—but there is so much and it is not prioritized, so one gets lost in it. And some of the topics are scattered throughout the chapters, the switch to polygyny, for example, diluting their power or salience. Clough introduces a variety of interesting topics, but then he doesn't explore them. He mentions getting depressed—is there a fieldworker who doesn't? But then he drops the topic. Hausa terms pop up throughout the text, but it is not always clear why. Sometimes Clough uses them without underlining their importance, for example, in his discussion of *sana'a*, off-farm occupations. Or *bashi*, a loan not immediately repaid. He tells us that this is cloaked in secrecy, but he never says why. The methodology section seems almost naive; lending money to a landlord, he claims to have learned a lot, but what? He has many, many tables; they are long, not well explained, barely analyzed, and inconsistent. One comparative table might have the percentage symbol, the second does not. They are also not easy to read. The maps, which matter, are not clear; the one that delineates ecological zones is barely legible. And Clough equates household with family; I do not believe this is generally true. Are all domestic groups related by kinship or affinity?

Polly Hill is an extraordinarily important figure in economic studies in Africa, especially in Nigeria. If Clough's findings differ from hers, that's significant. But the significance of his findings gets lost in his verbiage. He hails his use of an empirical approach, but Hill certainly did as well, so is the difference in their findings only mechanistic, as he claims? In her 1986 *Development Economics on Trial: The Anthropological Case for a Prosecution*, Hill is pretty persuasive about the necessity for questioning the numbers and how they were come by.

Particularly vexing in this book are the missing people. We get scattered glimpses of individuals, but they have no flesh and blood. This is a pity because Clough's is an empirically solid study—it is just hard to penetrate.

Colonial Jerusalem: The Spatial Construction of Identity and Difference in a City of Myth, 1948–2012. *Thomas Philip Abowd.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12577

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This year marks the 50-year anniversary of the Six-Day War that ended with the Israeli capture of East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip. Israel withdrew from Sinai in 1982 and Gaza in 2005; the other territories remain under occupation. East Jerusalem was officially annexed in 1980 by Israel to create a “unified” city, but the final status of Jerusalem, envisioned as an international area at partition, remains unresolved in international eyes. While Israel annexed the land, it did not absorb the people living on that land. Palestinians live there as permanent residents; although they are permitted to apply for Israeli citizenship, very few do and when they do, even fewer are actually approved by the authorities. East Jerusalem Palestinians can vote in municipal elections but not in national ones. They pay taxes but struggle to get building permits. Their residence permits can be revoked. In recent years, many of them have taken to the streets in protest.

Thomas Abowd situates his book within the reality of occupation; he brings to life the consequences of Jerusalem's contested status for the Palestinians (and Israelis) who reside in the city. Given that the current US administration is open to recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, reading this work helps elucidate what such a move might mean for the future of the region. To Abowd, Jerusalem represents a “colonized space at the heart of a colonial conflict” (5). Colonial powers, present and past, fix(ed) boundaries, alter(ed) laws, and remade people's identities. They count(ed) and label(ed), define(d) and segregate(d), all in the name of civilization. Their governance is and was racialized, sexualized, and discriminatory to the natives of the lands they control(led). Abowd notes the reluctance to apply this frame to the Jerusalem case, particularly since colonialism is perceived by scholars and others as something that has passed, something we have moved beyond. There is value, however, in understanding that a colonial present remains in this city and that it must be understood. To capture that awareness, Abowd focuses on

daily life in Jerusalem from a variety of different perspectives and in a variety of different times.

Abowd completed 35 months of concentrated fieldwork in three stages—from 1996 to 1997, from 1998 to 1999, and in 2006—supplemented by shorter visits over an additional five years. He interviewed and collected life histories from 98 Palestinian and Jewish Jerusalemites; included in this material are more formal discussions with 29 Israeli Jewish activists, city planners, and historians. Archival materials (United Nations records and British colonial documents) and active participant-observation—informal chats in shared taxis and at falafel stands, life experienced while waiting in line at museums and walking the streets of the city—round out his extremely rich set of data.

Although the book reads like a collection of discrete essays, and some might see this as a flaw, this structure actually serves to highlight what Abowd seeks to explore: the colonial process that has fractured Palestinian lives in Jerusalem. After a theoretical first chapter, he spends the next three chapters delineating the current landscape of the city, detailing the absences, the people and things out of place, and the mythologizing that seeks to solidify a new and unidimensional cohesive narrative about the city. To show how social memory is made, he takes us on walking journeys through various quarters of the city, led by former Palestinian residents who describe what intercommunal life looked like between 1917 and 1948 while they meticulously deconstruct the changes wrought on their homes since then by the new interlopers. In one chapter, the home of the once-prosperous Baramki family morphs into the Israeli Tourjeman Army Post, straddling the border until the border disappears in 1967 and Teddy Kollek, Jerusalem's mayor, gives it new life as the Tourjeman Post Museum to celebrate Jerusalem's reunification. In 1997, supported by a German philanthropist, artist Raphie Etgar persuaded the authorities to convert it into an exhibition about coexistence, and the home was reborn as the Museum on the Seam, an art gallery committed to dialogue.

From these chapters that reveal the presence of the past, Abowd moves into two chapters that explore the gendered and classed spaces and politics of the city now—first looking at women's experiences, then those of men. For Palestinian women, western Jerusalem can be a space of freedom from surveillance and gossip, allowing them breathing space away from the close-knit family structure. They must exist invisibly in this space, however, because when their neighbors notice them, they can be subject to racist and sexist attacks. They pay a price for being what Mary Douglas called matter out of place. For Palestinian men, all of Jerusalem can expose them to daily acts of cruelty at the hands of the authorities. The men are policed in the city, treated as people to be feared and thus as people who must be controlled and monitored—and taught their place.

It's a bleak picture, but Abowd tries to leave us with a bit of hope in his final chapter on building solidarity across the two communities—Israeli Jewish and Palestinian. He focuses here on the hurdles that Palestinian families face as they try to provide shelter for their families. With no master plan in place, with permits almost impossible to secure because families must pay all the costs for needed infrastructure (greatly inflating building costs) or wait endlessly for permission because there is a backlog of applications and no hurry to process them, Palestinian families are often forced to build illegally. When they do, the government eventually comes in and demolishes what they have built. This chapter examines housing rights activism, especially the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, founded in 1997. Abowd notes how inherently fragile the committee's actions are. Palestinians rebuild homes and the government tears them down again; the media has grown tired of covering their efforts; and events at the national level can reduce the level of support they receive from Israeli Jewish citizens or the international community. They do persist, however, and the importance of steadfastness (Arabic *sumud*) can be seen throughout this work. By the end, Abowd has come to believe that the futures of Palestinians and Israelis living in this city are bound together, even if he cannot see what the contours of that shared existence may be in this fractured urban space.

Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes. Lisa Yoneyama. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. 336 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12578

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Both of the endorsements on the back cover of Lisa Yoneyama's *Cold War Ruins* describe it as monumental. It does not take long to understand why. Yoneyama's critique is built on a prodigious amount of research into Japanese and American post-World War II memory projects, especially redress actions—governmental and corporate responses to victim grievances—that she unpacks with an impressive array of theoretical tools. The historical scope of the book encompasses the cultural politics of the occupation of Japan as well as post-Cold War redress culture. The first section, two chapters on Japan's space of occupation, considers struggles over American bases in Okinawa followed by an examination of the discourse of gender rights and the liberation of women in postwar Japan. The second section takes up a number of border-crossing controversies, including contestations over military "comfort women," the involvement of Asian Americans in redress claims, and

the controversy that erupted over the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum's planned exhibit of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The thread that ties these various analyses together is Yoneyama's insistence that representations of World War II are always entwined with domestic memory and Cold War or post-Cold War politics. So, for example, rather than view a slate of Japanese revisionist narratives about textbooks, military "comfort women," colonial apology, constitutional prohibitions, and so forth as just the assertion of right-wing extremist ideology, we can assess these rewritings of history as expressions of a "political unconscious of Japan's 'client state' status in postwar U.S.-Japan relations" (38). As Yoneyama puts it, revisionists' "self-pitying narcissistic nationalism" is not only a product of prewar Japanese imperialism but also a "byproduct of expanding U.S. capital and the American military empire . . . [that] . . . deemed that Japan's wartime deeds do not require further redress as long as the Japanese nation remains the loyal procurator of U.S. Far Eastern policy" (142).

One of the important effects of the approach to transcultural critique on display here is Yoneyama's thoroughgoing historicization of just about every topic she takes up. Contextualizing redress actions within the power-knowledge frameworks that define loss or injury exposes their connections to the institutional apparatus that defines justice. And those institutions are in motion. In particular, an analysis of postwar redress history reveals a relentless process of the Americanization of justice that extends at least from the Tokyo War Crimes Trial through the orchestration of postwar reparations to the resurgence of claims that emerged at the turn of the 21st century as US governmental bodies began to legislate a space for juridical actions seeking redress and apology from Japanese state and corporate bodies.

One of the important contributions of this volume, especially for scholars of World War II, is its analysis of the discursive work done by the American "good war" narrative in both the United States and Japan through the postwar period to the present. Observing that historians have aptly described the Cold War as a "competition over racial and colonial discourse" (18), Yoneyama notes the significance of the good war narrative in countering Japanese propaganda about the liberation of Asia Pacific peoples from European colonialism. To be useful in this context, the anticolonial thrust of good war rhetoric had to be linked to the supposed resolution of problems of racism and segregation in the United States. In the racialized context of the Pacific War, the good war narrative would continue to serve US interests in the postwar period by holding up images of the country as a magnanimous occupying power promoting values of racial and gender equality.

Of course, the success of the good war narrative in the Cold War context required a certain amount of forgetting of,

particularly, the violent conflicts, civil wars, and insurgencies that marked the reestablishment of postwar regimes of power in former colonial societies. *Cold War Ruins* is particularly good at exposing the means through which Cold War transitional justice enabled a systematic forgetting of colonial violence—a process evident throughout the postwar postcolonial world. Such structural amnesias are widely evident in the mundane and quotidian ways in which war memory has been normalized, not only in redress actions but in the popular media, museum exhibitions, commemorative practices, and so forth. Readers interested in geopolitical spheres beyond Asia Pacific should find Yoneyama's approach to transnational cultural critique useful in exposing institutionalized forgetting in a wide variety of situations.

As the subtitle suggests, it is the book's examination of the role of memory and the institutions of justice invoked in seeking redress for war crimes that is its most important contribution. At the most fundamental level, Yoneyama argues, the outcomes of normative redress cases are for the most part already decided by the terms and premises of justice discourse. Beginning with the observation that the large-scale war reparations of the 20th century were primarily a Cold War project undertaken by nation-states, she examines more recent claims of injury that have sought redress for populations overlooked because of their marginal status as colonial subjects or as minorities in their own states. Often faced with resistance from the states that once sponsored reparations, these populations have turned to transnational alliances and linkages, as in the case of Asian Americans who have sought to address the claims of Asian "comfort women" within a US legislative context. Yet these efforts find themselves caught up in a juridical discourse premised on assumptions about what constitutes redressable injury. Deconstructing the terms of redressable injustice in the wake of World War II, Yoneyama critically analyzes its separation from the long-term structural violence associated with colonial and racial conflicts, such as the enduring struggles of Okinawan civilians marginalized in the context of the postwar US-Japan treaty alliance. In her eyes, post-Cold War redress culture not only politicizes the distinction between redressable and unredressable wounds, it politicizes the assumptions that define the distinction itself.

This book does such a convincing job of destabilizing the certainties and assumptions in (mostly Western) postwar justice projects that the reader can be excused for wondering whether efforts to address injustice in one arena are fated to perpetuate other, submerged forms of violence in another. The central example here is the manner in which state-to-state arrangements for legal reparations following the war became a critical obstacle to later efforts to obtain redress for persons or collectivities not well represented or recognized in the *longue durée* of colonial history, such as

Pacific Islanders whose only voice in postwar reparations agreements belonged to the colonial authorities who entered into treaty negotiations. But Yoneyama is not dismissive of the possibilities for transitional justice. In her words, the ability to recognize the entanglement of multiple, even incommensurate forms of injustice calls for “critically situated historical thinking” that allows us to see failures of justice as interlinked without assuming “a universal global history” (17). Given the metastasizing violence throughout the post-9/11 world, we can only hope that the methodologies and commitment to unflinching critical analysis evident in *Cold War Ruins* will find a wide audience.

First Strike: Educational Enclosures in Black Los Angeles.

Damien M. Sojoyner. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016. 288 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12579

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Damien Sojoyner's *First Strike* problematizes the School-to-Prison-Pipeline discourse by employing the lens of enclosure to link the social mechanisms stifling black education in the United States, from chattel slavery to the deeply inequitable educational opportunities currently available to black youth. The “first strike” metaphor unites the chapters and carries multiple meanings, beginning in 1994 with California's Proposition 184, the Three Strikes Law, which induced intensified policing in Los Angeles's black community and in its schools. Foregrounding W. E. B. DuBois's discussion of the black southern laborer strike, which ended the Civil War and worked to redistribute economic power from the planter class through a tax-funded public education system, Sojoyner links this moment to the historical derailment of black freedom struggles that have conceived of education as the linchpin within radically democratic social visions for black life. He frames education policy not as a totalizing top-down force but as a distillation of white supremacist undercurrents that have met black mobilization with resistance, violence, and the codification of permanent racial inequalities.

What makes *First Strike* unique is that it tethers this deep history to ethnographic moments from a comprehensive high school in Los Angeles. We first encounter Sidney, a student and emerging artist who struggles to gain access to one of the few black cultural forms, the funk band, offered through its curriculum. Through him, we see the oppressive spatial dimensions of the school, its decades of disinvestment rationalized under the guise of budget cuts, and its antiblack pedagogical approaches. From Sidney and his high school, Sojoyner then provides a historical

throughline that moves to an analysis of black cultural enclosures under European colonial expansion. Particularly poignant is his discussion of Nat Turner's revolutionary interpretation of the Christian doctrine, spread through black cultural practices like slave songs, that undergirded the 1831 revolt, the planter aristocracy's extraordinary efforts to regain control of gospel messaging, and the Catholic Church's forbidding of dancing, drumming, and singing. Cultural expression as a site of possibility for black people has remained under harsh discipline from the planter and Catholic elites who dictated the parameters of religious interpretation to the contemporary educational policy makers who define “legitimate” educational models through the lens of neoliberal whiteness.

Sojoyner goes on to trace the smothering of black genius in public schools and institutions to the gendered production of black respectability and criminality through white patriarchal norms. He is brilliant in his examination of black male capitulation to oppressive systems such as military service and prison guard employment, demonstrating the degree to which a lack of postsecondary options, coupled with the marginal power that boys of color can gain by displaying white normative constructions of popular behavior, forces men to participate in systems that oppress their people yet never fully admit them to membership. By incorporating black men into systems like police departments, military leadership, and prison management, incarcerating structures control racialized threats to the social order while simultaneously normalizing punishment within black communities.

This normalization has come together in alliances between police departments and school districts that serve predominantly children of color. The militarization of police in the mid-1980s and the upsurge of police in the schools precipitated the hypercriminalization of black youth through truancy tickets and drug arrests that have far exceeded those in white districts. This lockdown model, Sojoyner argues, has levied deep psychological violence on black youth, framing punishment and control as the only ways that these students might be educated. Such a framing seeps into pedagogical practices and tropes of students that become part of the School-to-Prison-Pipeline discourse, placing the onus on student behavior instead of on the punitive structures that these youth negotiate daily.

Sojoyner then moves to an excavation of gender and respectability politics as they have affected black girls and women and to the institutional and ideological struggles over black education. He demonstrates the degree to which gendered enclosure models have had a disproportionate impact on black girls and women. Investments in heteronormative, respectable constructions of black masculinity have come at the expense not only of nonconforming black men but also of black women living on the

margins. Unable to access the profits of expanding drug economies in the 1980s, black women suffered from the public health fallout in the black community at the height of the crack cocaine epidemic while enduring the 30-year onslaught on public services. Police and elected officials circulated the stereotype of the welfare queen instead of acknowledging the violence perpetrated against black women.

In his final chapter, Sojoyner returns to the postemancipation South, bringing the book full circle to the metaphor of first strike or the paradox of black education both as an organizational tool for black liberation and as a “reinscription of Black subservience . . . to the racial capitalist state apparatus” (148). Contrasting Booker T. Washington’s industrial education model with DuBois’s critique of its shortcomings, he describes the earliest policies for black education as either mechanisms to segregate black youth from their white counterparts or opportunities for northern capitalists to regain control of black labor. From Reconstruction to the current testing bloc that pushes for accountability for failure, black public education has always been underfunded and employed as a disciplinary apparatus to maintain order and indoctrinate black communities into white heteropatriarchal norms.

Sojoyner provides a gripping counternarrative to the School-to-Prison-Pipeline discourse, shifting the conversation to the historical contests over power, resources, and race that have produced the conditions under which black children currently learn. This ethnography innovates in its pairing of observational moments with their historical archaeology, compelling readers to move beyond nostalgic, golden-age conceptions of public education to imagine a radically democratic educational future for black communities. *First Strike* contributes crucially to theories of black liberation vis-à-vis education, namely, literatures working to disrupt antiblack narratives of cultural failure within educational policy circles. As Sojoyner powerfully argues, only when we locate the problem within a longitudinal structural analysis of black enclosure will we be able to address its roots.

Race and the Brazilian Body: Blackness, Whiteness, and Everyday Language in Rio de Janeiro. Jennifer Roth-Gordon. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017. 248 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12580

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In recent years, there has been an increased consciousness in Brazil that race privilege exists. Claims that Brazil

is a racial democracy or that discrimination there is rarely race-based cannot be upheld in a country where statistics demonstrate vast racial disparities in income, health, and education. In her insightful ethnographic and linguistic analysis of contemporary race and class relations in Rio de Janeiro, Jennifer Roth-Gordon draws on two decades of research in Brazil as well as on other recent scholarship by anthropologists who have written on race in Rio. She provides contemporary examples of the societal tensions that are mounting with the gradual erosion of an aesthetic and value system that has prioritized culturally defined symbols of whiteness.

Roth-Gordon’s research centers on the race and class dynamics among Cariocas residents of Rio de Janeiro in a part of the city, the Zona Sul or South Zone, where members of the working class and middle and upper classes live in close proximity. Despite the functional segregation of residents of low-income communities (including favelas and public housing) from residents of the *asfalto* (referring to those who live in high-rise apartments and condominiums), these groups share certain spaces on a daily basis. Many low-income Brazilians work in the service industry and as nannies, maids, and doormen in the homes of the middle class and elite. The author’s identity as a middle-class North American white woman with three children (two adopted children who are African American and one biological son who is white) informed some aspects of her work; her children attended private schools and spent time in other middle-class spaces where her adopted children were the only children of color present.

Roth-Gordon draws on W. E. B. DuBois’s concept of personal whiteness to explain how Brazilians of different social classes, particularly the middle class today, attempt to achieve or maintain symbolic whiteness through a variety of means, although her focus is on language and bodily comportment. Her innovative research method—she played recorded dialogue and speech, primarily of men who live in the public housing complex she calls Cruzada, to middle-class individuals and asked them to comment—produced compelling examples of how racial biases are embedded in perceptions of dialect and slang terms. She points out that there is not a specific dialect of the black community in Rio that would be comparable to African-American Vernacular English or Ebonics in the United States. However, middle- and upper-class Brazilians associate dialects spoken by people in the Brazilian working class with blackness. One middle-class family seemed shocked by the dialectal features, which they deemed inferior and nonsensical, in the speech of a young man from this community describing an instance when he thought he might be robbed on a bus. Rather than paying attention to or relating to his story, the family mocked his frequent use of emphatic onomatopoeias such as *bum!* (boom!). Family members used both coded language and overt references

that demonstrated that they associated this speech style with blackness.

The book includes a rich discussion of urban spaces that have become more democratized and, as a result, increasingly contested with the expansion of the metro system in Rio that allows low-income Cariocas to make day trips to the Zona Sul beaches of Copacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon. Mere steps away for residents of the elite neighborhoods, these have become sites of anxiety-ridden discourse among white middle- and upper-class Brazilians. Roth-Gordon considers media representations of the phenomenon of *arrastões*, sweeping thefts occurring occasionally on the crowded beaches in summertime that have provoked middle-class panic. Association of the perpetrators of *arrastões* with blackness, coupled with attitudes that the middle class hold about appropriate manners at the beach in terms of clothing, behavior, language and dialect, food, and the material items people carry with them to the beach, reinforces racist attitudes about the supposed outsiders who are invading white social spaces. Middle-class anxieties also focus on those consumers from favelas and other low-income communities who shop and hang out at upscale malls in the Zona Sul. Discriminatory attitudes have been met with resistance in the form of *rolezinhos* (literally translated as “little strolls”), in which shoppers from low-income communities show up in large groups as a form of protest that is not inherently aggressive in practice but that is often read as intimidating by white middle-class shoppers unaccustomed to seeing many darker-skinned Brazilians in these spaces.

Roth-Gordon's research indicates the emergence of an increased valorization and redefinition of what it means to be black in Brazil, at least among some who identify as black or Afro-Brazilian. She includes analyses of rap lyrics and interviews that she conducted with prominent rap artists in Brazil, conversations with Cariocas from Cruzada, and an interesting example of one middle-class young man with darker skin than most of his peers who actively sought a black identity through contact with Cruzada youth and adoption of their dialect and mannerisms. More black Brazilians are calling into question the representation of natural hairstyles and textures as *cabelo ruim* (bad hair). Black activist groups in Brazil have been successful in advancing race-based affirmative action policies that have resulted in successful quota systems for spots in public universities. Yet as the author points out, Brazilian “cordial racism” (3) is still common. In this color-blind model, Brazilians avoid overt displays of racism, but they continue to value certain linguistic styles and bodily habits over others. By highlighting new challenges and forms of resistance to racist ideologies, Roth-Gordon makes an outstanding contribution to a global dialogue on race that illustrates the hegemonic forces at play that maintain racial inequalities.

AIDS and Masculinity in the African City: Privilege, Inequality, and Modern Manhood. Robert Wyrod. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016. 312 pp.

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Uganda is held up as a model for reversing the course of the AIDS epidemic and for promoting women's rights. The early years of President Yoweri Museveni's government made both issues a priority in the 1990s through a proactive campaign to reduce HIV infections and the articulation of explicit rights for women in the new constitution. Robert Wyrod's ethnographic study of Bwaise, a Kampala slum, enters this story shortly after Uganda's successes of the 1990s. For many researchers, masculinity shaped the spread of HIV/AIDS. To Wyrod, by contrast, the AIDS epidemic is a social force that shapes gender, sexuality, and masculinity. How, he asks, has masculinity been remade as a social process, and how is it lived in urban African settings such as Bwaise in the context of the AIDS epidemic?

Wyrod draws on the now-rich literature in masculinity studies to frame his ethnographic material. The Ugandan men he highlights are accountable to hegemonic masculine ideals but must negotiate the contradictions of these ideals, which prescribe male providership, headship, and sexual privilege in an economically precarious environment where HIV infections are once again resurgent. Wyrod begins by exploring the historical roots of masculinity among the Baganda people. In the 19th-century kingdom of Buganda, women were typically family providers through subsistence agriculture, while men were heads of households and decision makers. However, through the monetarization of the economy and new social expectations of men in the colonial period, masculinity began to be associated with earning wages and providing. Particularly in urban settings, unemployment became demasculinizing, and female earners were considered a threat to male authority and work opportunities. After independence, a perfect storm of violent authoritarian rule under Idi Amin and Milton Obote and a declining economy with rapid urbanization combined with an emerging informal economy to facilitate the quick spread of HIV/AIDS. In this period, masculinity was increasingly linked to violence, and men who prospered tended to be involved with an extensive and risky network of illicit trade in the region. Economic hardships have continued through decades of structural adjustment and related neoliberal policies. Wyrod's informants in contemporary Bwaise consistently articulate the tight links that have developed and persist today among masculinity, earning money, and authority.

Wyrod's analysis of masculinity further integrates the intimate terrain of sexuality and male sexual privilege. His extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Bwaise during 2004, 2009, and 2015 opened the door to highly sensitive conversations and observations about HIV/AIDS and sexuality in an environment where many sexual relationships are concealed. The persistence of male sexual privilege throughout the AIDS epidemic, given the successes of Uganda with HIV/AIDS prevention and women's rights, emerges as a perplexing question that Wyrod digs into. While Ugandan masculinity continues to be remade and is lived through diverse forms of sexuality—illustrated by juxtaposing a financially stable polygynist, a sexual escapist coping with defeat, and a man limiting his extramarital affairs due to lack of money, among others—Wyrod finds that male sexual privilege remains largely unchallenged. It is available for men to draw on as needed for comfort, escape, status, pleasure, or marking masculinity. Some men may choose monogamy, but the privilege of starting new sexual relationships is consistently available to them in a way that it is not to women.

To better understand the persistence of male sexual privilege in light of AIDS, Wyrod argues that early grassroots strategies for HIV/AIDS prevention such as zero grazing encouraged men to limit their sexual partners while preserving the privilege to pursue multiple sexual relationships. Grassroots approaches were soon overshadowed by the ABC approach to AIDS prevention: abstain, be faithful, and use condoms. While a discourse of fidelity and monogamy intensified as a result, sexual relationships became more secretive. In a precarious economic environment, Wyrod comes to understand that a man's *amaanyi* (sexual strength, power, virility) is one way to shore up masculinity that is undermined in other areas of life.

Finally, Wyrod explores the framing of women's rights by the Ugandan government, which has focused on individual issues supporting women's advancement, to understand how male sexual privilege has largely evaded critique. Women instrumentally and strategically draw on this framing of rights to work outside the home, yet they also seek to earn respect from their husbands and protect their reputations in the community as married women. While this framing of rights does not emphasize their sexual rights, some women were able to negotiate with their sexual partners to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS. In one case, a woman cohabited with her husband while completely refraining from sex; another woman used her husband's HIV-positive status to negotiate condom use. Overall, however, women were concerned that their partners had secret sexual relationships and that they had little leverage to insist upon condom use or fidelity. Fear of stigma and of negative consequences as a provider and sexual partner led many men into denial about AIDS, although a few were organizing to address this denial.

AIDS and Masculinity in the African City offers nuanced, in-depth stories and lived experiences beneath the master narrative of AIDS and women's rights in Uganda. It also provides essential insights for future challenges and opportunities in HIV/AIDS prevention. Wyrod argues that AIDS programs must pay greater attention to structural inequalities, particularly the persistence of male sexual privilege in gender relations. Certain grassroots Ugandan interventions provide models for opening up dialogue around power imbalances and male privilege in relationships. However, Wyrod cautions that many HIV/AIDS programs are narrowly focusing on AIDS drugs to prevent infection and on changes in individual behavior, which will do little to challenge the persistence of male sexual privilege and the underlying economic problems affecting masculinity in Uganda. His book makes a meaningful contribution to debates on gender relations, HIV/AIDS interventions, masculinity studies, and women's rights. Its uses extend beyond the classroom, including the design and implementation of HIV/AIDS programs worldwide. Yet it also makes one wonder how HIV/AIDS numbers declined so dramatically in Uganda given the continuation of male sexual privilege and the "overlapping, concurrent sexual relationships" (170) that so many men have.

Real Queer? Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Refugees in the Canadian Refugee Apparatus. David A. B. Murray. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016. 194 pp.

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David Murray's *Real Queer?* is significantly about the apparatus—the people, policies, laws, organizations, and processes—involved in determining whether a SOGI (sexual orientation and gender identity) applicant will be awarded or denied refugee status in Canada, not primarily about the lives of SOGI refugees. We learn not about their motivations for or experiences of flight or about their lives as refugees but, rather, about the problems, conflicts, and inconsistencies of the application and approval process itself. Still, anyone working directly with refugees, particularly SOGI refugees, may come to better understand the daunting nature of their quest for asylum and may thus be motivated to advocate for changes in the apparatus.

Murray wants to queer the ideal (straight) story of "queer migration to liberation nation" (3) by which Canada understands the SOGI refugee process. In this story, SOGI refugees (who are viewed as being just like SOGI citizens in Western cultures) flee their homophobic and backward

nations in fear of death, seeking safety and freedom in enlightened, liberal, SOGI-welcoming Canada. This straight version ignores the reality that their lives and identities “are fluid and contextual, shifting and changing over time in relationship to social location and context [and] social, political, and economic forces” (32, referring to Edward Ou Jin Lee and Shari Brotman’s 2011 essay “Identity, Refugee-ness, Belonging”). Murray presents several vignettes that help to queer this narrative, illustrating that some migrants may have misgivings about leaving home, may know little about Canada, and may view themselves as very different from SOGI Canadians they encounter. The expectation that refugees are grateful to be in Canada starting a new life and will quickly become exemplary citizens is a myth that puts an unreasonable burden on the applicants themselves and on the refugee process.

But they are compelled to conform to this myth, so they must demonstrate convincingly that they are gay according to Western ideas of gay identity and culture, that they are members of an endangered community in their homeland, and that they are adapting successfully to SOGI life in Canada. These expectations are often unrealistic, as the required facts may be challenging or impossible to demonstrate. Sexuality is a sensitive and private topic in many cultures, and most SOGI claimants have led lives secret even from their families and friends and thus find it very difficult to acknowledge their LGBT status to strangers in open or official situations. They are almost never members of gay communities at home, as that would have led to ostracism or banishment, imprisonment, or possibly death. Terms for various SOGI identities are used differently in different cities, regions, and nations, and non-Western SOGI applicants often don’t even have the vocabulary for their own identity, using instead such words as “people like me.” Behavior also varies greatly across cultures and communities, so non-Western SOGI applicants do not necessarily recognize or identify with presumed universal understandings of how LGBT people behave. Murray describes a volunteer support group meeting where asylum applicants are being coached to perform as more authentically gay—to walk with “more of a swish” (61), carry a purse, use terms of endearment like “sweetie,” and be more generally flamboyant. They object, viewing those behaviors as inappropriate, embarrassing, and uncharacteristic of “people like them” (as would, of course, many LGBT Canadians).

Conforming to a Western stereotype of gay behavior and experience is only a preliminary step in the asylum process. Applicants face a formal examination by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, for which they are encouraged to provide documents to be used in a hearing at which an officer of the board interrogates them and makes the decision to grant or refuse asylum. These documents must support the claims of SOGI identity and of

imminent endangerment in the home country, as required of all refugee applicants. Murray’s discussion of the refugee apparatus importantly includes the unofficial, usually voluntary participants in the process, such as friends, support group members, social workers, and lawyers who, like the officials, are unfamiliar with the refugees’ cultures and the stark differences between SOGI lives and understandings in the sending and receiving cultures. The task of these volunteers is to help applicants provide credible evidence of authentic gayness and endangerment, and the task of the officials, specifically the Immigration and Refugee Board officer, is to judge that evidence. This is critical because as increasing numbers of people claim SOGI refugee status, arbiters make greater efforts to ensure that the claimants are genuine.

Evidence can include medical and police records, membership in LGBT organizations, news clippings, photos, and so on, but most claimants have no such documents and rely on volunteers for help. Proving endangerment is also difficult, because the dangers faced by SOGI refugees, such as harassment, ostracism (from family, schools, jobs, towns), torture, and ultimately murder, are less reported in the Western press. The main document is a formal letter that the applicant produces with the aid of supporters, who ensure that it conforms to their own understandings of board expectations and to ideas of gayness and imminent danger required by the state and defined by the United Nations. The content of the letter may thus differ from the refugee’s perceptions and may use vocabulary or concepts that the applicant may not understand or may even disagree with. Volunteers admit to writing more positively or simplifying situations so that overburdened adjudicators can get through the material.

The final step consists of the applicant’s formal hearing before the board officer. This can be a confusing and frightening experience, and Murray feels many applicants are rejected because miscommunication or fear leads them to hesitate, forget, or confuse events. If they can’t name gay bars in their home city or recall the date of a specific event or the number of bus stops to a support group meeting, such confusion may be misinterpreted as lying, yet too much documentation is regarded as suspicious. Officers admit that they often rely on their gut feeling, their own understandings of SOGI life.

As with much anthropological work, this book has the potential to serve two important audiences: scholars and the participants in the apparatus. Shaped by theory, informed by current research, and carefully cited, it serves scholars well. Murray also provides much for those involved in the asylum process, both those seeking to help refugees and those tasked with screening for impostors, but his style may be too rarefied for them. Nevertheless, he offers valuable insights through which policies and procedures might be reexamined and revised.

Transnational LGBT Activism: Working for Sexual Rights Worldwide. Ryan R. Thoreson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014. 288 pp.

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Described by Ryan Thoreson as an institutional ethnography, *Transnational LGBT Activism* focuses on the human rights activities of a well-renowned nongovernmental organization, the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC), now called OutRight Action International. The nuances of human rights and, more specifically, LGBT rights are addressed early on, as Thoreson questions their ontological import—that is, what are LGBT human rights, and what do they entail? Or in his words, “how is that category constructed, promoted, and institutionalized by transnational NGOs?” (3). From here, Thoreson makes a compelling case for investigating how legal categories, like LGBT human rights, are put into meaningful practice. With a sustained focus on practice, he examines how seemingly universal rights are not uniformly adopted or rejected but, rather, vernacularized in particular settings and moments. This is quite an accomplishment given the transnational scale of his research, which is situated not only in New York City but also in parts of Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

Thoreson’s fieldwork, which he carried out as a research fellow for the IGLHRC in 2009 and 2010, rests with his actor-oriented approach, whereby he delineates the complex backgrounds, roles, and relationships of brokers. Brokers are a familiar trope in the field of anthropology; however, Thoreson takes it a step further by situating their advocacy work within “larger systemic and structural conditions that constrain agency and shape behaviors, habits, and motivations” (11). Thus, while he provides detailed explanations about the interventions of brokers, he is also careful to situate these within broader social, economic, and political processes.

For instance, Thoreson presents the institutional history of the IGLHRC by drawing on detailed interviews with its founders to learn how their particular experiences, personalities, and publications shape the advocacy interventions of the organization. His attention to interpersonal dynamics is revealed in the work of brokers, which encompasses a broad range of activities such as responding to emergency situations; fund-raising; building, sustaining, and at times foregoing transnational partnerships; and, perhaps most commonly, writing action alerts, letters to governments, and research reports. By highlighting the interpersonal, Thoreson connects his empirical data to a main objective of the book, which is to explore not only

the “frontstage” but also the “backstage of organizational work, including the perspectives and skills that staff bring to their advocacy, the projects that never reach fruition, and the dynamics that shape how decisions are made and priorities are determined” (9). Given its sustained focus on the backstage, his research reveals the internal processes of how human rights categories are constructed and implemented—two developments that are often overlooked or misunderstood by the public at large.

Another major insight concerns the sexual politics of organizations in the Global North and South. Thoreson questions assumptions that NGOs in the North unilaterally dictate the power dynamics of LGBT human rights and advocacy work. “Instead of asking how Southern groups depart from a presumptively Northern baseline of gay and lesbian sexuality or human rights, one might ask whether, why, and how Northern paradigms actually attain solidity and hegemony; where they are and are not perceived to make inroads globally; and whether there is room for creative maneuver that is not apparent in frontstage performances of advocacy” (14). He addresses these questions through a number of ethnographic examples. For instance, he notes the identity politics of acronyms and naming practices like LGBT, SOGI, MSM, WSW, intersex, queer people, and sexual minorities and how they are deployed in different contexts with different implications. He offers additional insights into how “Northern NGOs gather, process, and re-deploy information from the South” (154). Attention to how the Global South shapes human rights categories and advocacy work is a crucial intervention in his work, for it reveals “the ways in which the power of Northern or global NGOs fundamentally depends on engagement, input, and affirmation from the South” (157).

With these insights, it would be illuminating for Thoreson to address such dynamics from a more sustained perspective of NGOs in the South. He refers to his three months of fieldwork with the IGLHRC Africa Program in Cape Town, and while he discusses important case examples of human rights violations in other parts of Africa, like Uganda, Malawi, and Kenya, it would be helpful to learn more about the internal dynamics of the Cape Town organization in particular. This could be utilized as a comparative case study that would also bolster Thoreson’s vital point about the Global South shaping the strategies of northern organizations. Such a perspective would lend further support to his argument that criticisms of northern organizations are often a caricature of their actual practices and do not consider the meaningful and careful deliberations of advocacy work in transnational and cross-cultural contexts.

Much of this speaks to Thoreson’s final point: while the engagements of advocacy work—and the endeavors of brokers in particular—might not be perceived immediately by the public, they are part of a larger process of norm creation, “productively disrupting taken-for-granted understandings

of the violability of LGBT persons” (188). Because his research reveals the successes and challenges of advocacy work with the admirable goal of making “human rights more responsive to human experience” (212), his book has much to contribute to the field of legal anthropology and LGBT activism.

Engaging with Strangers: Love and Violence in the Rural Solomon Islands. *Debra McDougall.* New York: Berghahn, 2016. 308 pp.

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“Get your book out!” Supervisors and committee members have long given this advice to their PhD candidates. Recently, it seems, if a thesis cannot be made publishable without significant revisions and adjustment of genre and audience, it is seen as flawed in its own right. Like all good advice, this is given with the candidates’ best interest in mind by senior scholars who have witnessed the making of many careers—and the breaking of even more. But I suspect that at least part of this tenet has evolved from an experience that is rarely made explicit, namely, return visits to the field frequently destabilize what in a thesis based on monotemporal ethnographic fieldwork appear as clear-cut categories and neatly ordered patterns. So getting your manuscript submitted before you return to the field and start questioning your assumptions to the point where they start to unravel is sound counsel for the furthering of a career. For the furthering of the discipline, however, this inadvertent renaissance of the ethnographic present is undesirable. It is not without justification that the caricature of ethnographic works as the four S’s—Synchronous Single-Society Studies—still sticks.

Debra McDougall, an established scholar with a publication history that spans 15 years, readily acknowledges that her first monograph has been long in the making. It is all the better for it. Her ethnography is based on one long-term and five shorter research trips, mainly on Ranongga in the Solomon Islands, taken over a period of 12 years and complemented by archival sources and other historical works. This enables McDougall to point out both the shifting representations of tradition and modernity as well as the enduring presence of certain cultural themes and overarching values. The most crucial of these is summed up by the book’s title, which introduces engagements with temporary visitors and permanent immigrants, both past and present, as its structuring principle. By emphasizing that “strangers are a focus of moral reflection in all societies,” McDougall

suggests that the idea of hospitality is “a compelling focus for comparison across scales of organization, ranging from the household to the nation-state” (11). This position allows her to take a counterintuitive approach to the years of conflict in the Solomon Islands during the late 1990s and early 2000s: the real puzzle is not why the tension and rioting occurred, but why they did not turn more severe.

Cultural scripts and long-standing practices for incorporating strangers into existing networks of neighbors and kin are crucial factors in this respect, and it is these that McDougall portrays in an ethnographically holistic and historically enlightened manner. After situating Ranongga as a place as well as her own position in it, she presents what outsider analysts have regarded as ethnic tension in a failed state in a causally nuanced fashion, expanding upon existing scholarship on the conflict. The history of this relative ease in modes of engagement with outsiders, be they refugees, missionaries, colonial officers, merchants, or loggers, reveals the intricate relations between people and land, the dynamics of kinship, and the shifting ideological framing of notions of autochthony. McDougall leaves us with an image of a society that possesses many tools for handling change, not only in its social and ideological makeup but also in the literally shifting grounds of this tectonically challenged island, where an upheaval of several meters caused by a 2007 earthquake extended the coastline by up to a hundred meters and reshuffled much of the island’s exterior.

This is more than just a fine contribution to the growing literature on the predicament of place making and relationships in the Solomon Islands. Since McDougall does not take intimate knowledge of the region for granted and also writes in a delightfully unpretentious style, keeping jargon to a minimum, the book invites a readership far beyond Pacific specialists. Each chapter follows more or less the same structure, setting off with an ethnographic vignette trailed by the main argument, an empirical elaboration, and a summary that cumulatively connect to the upcoming chapter, which eases reading and makes the book well suited for introductory-level students. But the book is sophisticated enough to satisfy members of the anthropological community, encouraging comparative engagements with modes and ethics of hospitality, leaving it to the reader to fill in the relevant ethnographies for comparison. Read against a backdrop of responses to the Mediterranean refugee situation, the resurgence of European ethnonationalism, and Donald Trump’s executive orders on immigration, it offers an alternative to the erection of nonpermeable boundaries, showing how Ranonggans manage to maintain both a clear notion of identity as well as a cultural apparatus for the inclusion of outsiders. With its ethnographically nuanced treatment of the Solomon Islands conflict, it is also highly relevant for peace and conflict studies, depicting an apparatus for conflict resolution and even conflict

transformation at the level that matters the most: people's day-to-day interactions.

The example of this book should also trigger some soul-searching for the discipline that prides itself on being closer to human experience than any other. Three returns to the field have taught this reviewer that nothing is as stable as the imperial myopia of a first fieldwork analysis. Multitemporal engagements with field sites make our representations and analyses much less insisting but (or, rather, and) better suited to account for dynamics of continuity and change, anthropology's perennial Achilles' heel. A multitemporal approach definitely makes ethnographies harder to write, not to mention much more time-consuming. However, the results are closer to the complexities of actual lives, which should make us think three times about the "turn your dissertation into a monograph as a prerequisite for a job" precept. The system of academic rewards is so entrenched that we are not likely to find a way around it anytime soon. But we need to seriously think through the epistemological implications of this practice—particularly when we consider how gratifying it is to read a first book like McDougall's.

Making a Good Life: An Ethnography of Nature, Ethics, and Reproduction. Katharine Dow. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016. 248 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12585

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At a moment when reproduction has become everyone's business—with lively public discourse passing judgments on the uses (and misuses) of reproductive technologies—*Making a Good Life* is a timely examination of the understandings of people who have no personal stake in these debates. It is based on a study of residents in Spey Bay, a village in northeast Scotland, where Katharine Dow, a research associate in the Reproductive Sociology Research Group at the University of Cambridge, engaged in 20 months of ethnographic research.

Dow draws primarily upon interviews with white and middle-class transplants to the area. These lifestyle migrants arrive from other parts of the United Kingdom, Europe, and North America seeking "a good life" founded in a shared concern for the natural environment and the species that inhabit it, as well as an earnest desire to live and work in a manner consistent with the values they place on nature, kinship, and community. Spey Bay is one of those places now celebrated for its natural beauty that was once much more industrialized. The buildings of a former salmon-fishing operation house a marine wildlife center

where most of the interviewees work as staff and volunteers. As one woman tells Dow, "A good life is one that is both virtuous and enjoyable—the positive experience of intimate sociality is just as important as the area's beauty, pace of life, and closeness to the natural world" (34). The people in Dow's study are keenly interested in ethics although they are not directly involved with reproductive technologies.

The community members refer to an ideal of a stable environment in their discussions of both the natural world and the homes they want for the future children they imagine. Creating a stable environment is the purpose of their professional and personal efforts, both of which Dow describes in terms of ethical labor. As with the notion of a good life that is both virtuous and enjoyable, work that is both done well and contributes to the greater good is entailed in ethical labor. In particular, Dow considers the gendered dimensions of ethical labor, especially the commonalities between motherhood and charity work, "in which values of care, altruism, flexibility, and dedication go alongside a blurring of professional and personal boundaries and identities" (58).

The future looms as a concern and a motivation for the people in Spey Bay. They articulate connections among what they describe as an endangered future for the natural environment, for other species such as the sperm whales and bottlenose dolphins that frequent the nearby waters, and for humans themselves. Community members express awareness of the impacts of a growing human population on the natural environment. They also are anxious about the environmental damage that in turn affects human health and reproduction, as evidenced by talk about estrogens in the water harming male fertility. They fear that human attempts to control and manage nature can do more damage than good.

Dow begins one chapter with the story of a minke whale calf that becomes stranded in a neighboring harbor, separated from an adult whale that the locals and the national media quickly assume is the calf's mother. They talk about whale and dolphin families, especially mothers and children, as if they are motivated by emotions similar to those of humans. Rescue volunteers successfully reunite the whales. People in Spey Bay interpret the plight of the minke whales as a disruption of nature and of reproduction. They suggest that the number of commercial fishing boats and other human activities in the waters interfered with both the calf's underwater echolocation and its attachment to its mother. The connection between mothers and children, whether cetacean or human, is understood as natural and essential to their survival.

The physical experience of pregnancy is conceptualized as the period of time or process when this bond becomes developed, which figures in considerations of surrogacy. People in Spey Bay hold strong opinions about

surrogacy. Most assume that women must inevitably develop strong emotional attachments during their pregnancies even as surrogates. Thus, what some describe as the nightmare scenario of a surrogate mother refusing to relinquish a child to its intended parents becomes understandable. Dow reminds us that British law recognizes the surrogate as the mother; the intended parents must apply for an order to transfer parental rights and custody within a few weeks after the child's birth. British law also prohibits commercial surrogacy, which the residents discuss along with gamete and blood donation. Care and especially altruism are emphasized as the proper motives for surrogacy, which otherwise poses a challenge to nature. Dow concludes her study by returning to the concept of ethical labor, particularly how and why ethics figure into an ethnography of reproduction—as she explains, “understanding why something might be ethical for someone else requires feeling empathy for their take on the world” (189).

Interspersed between the chapters are short reflection pieces. The final one describes the reaction of local people to Donald Trump's development of a golf course nearby. They felt it was “an example of local government being swayed from taking the ethical course of action, namely protecting the natural world from exploitation” (184).

The overall project here is not an obvious one. First we see reproduction and environment connected through whales. Then we see a connection among environmentalism, activism, and philanthropy. Certainly there is more to be said about the ethics of everyday life. Dow's work offers a place to start.

Schooled on Fat: What Teens Tell Us about Gender, Body Image, and Obesity. Nicole Taylor. New York: Routledge, 2016. 204 pp.

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The scene: Camp Oak Hill, a camp for bougie black girls in mushroom country Pennsylvania, summer 1962. On a hazy August morning, we file halfway down the hilltop from our cabins to see—hoisted on the flagpole—a gigantic bra and bloomers. These are quickly retrieved and the American flag pulled up in their place. We repeat the Pledge of Allegiance, do morning calisthenics, then walk the rest of the way down the hill for breakfast. Later we learn that one of the new campers, a teenager named Ellen, a fat girl in one of the two older girls' cabins, had been mercilessly teased the night before—driven and prodded to the building containing

toilets and showers, made to strip naked and then to take a shower while the other girls chanted, “Don't be a dope, pick up the soap!”

This experience still haunts me after more than 50 years. It is the kind of situation that Nicole Taylor exposes and analyzes in her highly readable ethnography, *Schooled on Fat*. Drawing on research she conducted for her PhD thesis at the University of Arizona, Taylor was inspired by her experiences as a tenth-grade English teacher at a high school near Tucson that she calls Desert Vista, where she frequently witnessed “fat talk” among her students. Mentored by Mimi Nichter, who has written extensively about the ways that white and black high school girls talk about their bodies, Taylor focused on possible differences in self-perception between Latina and white girls. After discovering that the Latinas took on different ethnoracial identities depending on the context—publicly white at school but admitting to be Latina (Mexican American, mostly) in private settings with Taylor—she shifted her focus to look at the differences between the ways that boys and girls expressed their feelings about their bodies both when they were together and when they were in settings segregated by gender. Their statements are eye-opening.

Taylor acquired her data through informal discussions with varying clusters of research participants, one-on-one interviews, participant-observation, and focus groups. She also collected artistic interpretations—artworks, poetry, photographs, music, and essays that helped her understand the world of her research participants. On the basis of this material, she asserts, “Language was the primary medium through which the teens in my study negotiated their beliefs about body image, positioned themselves and each other within the social hierarchy, and worked through their food and exercise-related struggles.” In short, she argues that “fat is fundamentally a linguistic issue” (19). She references symbolic interactionism's emphasis on the subjectivity and meaning making that are coconstructed in social settings. She also relies on Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossic communication, quoting him as saying that “of all words uttered in everyday life, no less than half belong to someone else” (21–22).

Each chapter tackles one facet of her findings. Following the first chapter, “You Can't Have Your Fat Showing” describes how the students at Desert Vista displayed their bodies. It translates the iconography of their clothing choices and deciphers the codes present in the extent to which they reveal or conceal their bodies. The information that these displays conveyed speaks volumes. The wearers and their peers could read the meaning of these choices at a glance. Then “Guys, She's Humongous!” addresses the disciplinary tactics the students use with each other. There were two principal forms of discipline: comparing themselves to other, fatter kids to be reassured that they weren't *that* fat and teasing, either overt or covert, the latter

being expressed through glances, whispers, and out-loud gossiping that got back to its intended victims. The fourth chapter, “When I Run My Legs Jiggle,” focuses on the way that embodied gender identities are expressed in physical education classes and in exercise practices more generally. Chapter 5, “It’s All Going to Turn into Fat,” reports on how students gingerly traverse the minefield of their food environment. Finally, “So What? What Now?” summarizes Taylor’s findings and includes her thoughts on the policy implications of her research.

I found myself repeatedly asking, “What’s new about this?” The tropes of Desert Vista were surprisingly similar to those of my junior high and high school years in the sixties at a coed prep school in Philadelphia. We policed each other in very similar ways. A small group of cool girls determined the ideals in body proportions, clothing brands and styles, hair length and texture, and shoes and accessories. We all participated in fat talk. In some ways, Taylor’s report is old news. What *is* new is her ability to penetrate the mysterious world of boys. She reveals much about how they value, criticize, and display their own bodies in ways that both mirror and reflect differences from the girls’ perceptions.

Indeed, because she was surprised by the extent of body talk that high school kids participate in and are subjected to, Taylor’s surprise sharpened her hearing, and her alertness enhances the thick description of her text. That this book might be able to do this for other readers—sensitize them to the world we all live in, make the familiar strange—is reason enough to encourage others to read it. *Schooled on Fat* needs to be read thoughtfully by all stakeholders in school systems from students to superintendents. Taylor’s discussion of policy implications is crucial. She intersperses observations from interventions that she’s been a part of with her findings at Desert Vista. For example, she discusses such simple fixes as creating more opportunities for physical activity in the form of ten-minute exercise breaks throughout the day and adjusting the offerings in cafeterias by providing more whole grain foods. Similarly, school boards and principals could revise policies around the provision of junk food on school campuses, especially in vending machines.

Taylor notes sadly that schools have been burdened with an array of programs that fall well outside their primary mission, and ultimately she returns to her training as a sociolinguist to point out a variety of ways that parents and teachers, contextualized within their greater community settings, can begin changing the messages that children of all ages send and receive about their bodies. In the end, she suggests that there is much to learn from a broader exploration of the ways in which key social institutions and their cultures reproduce the language that causes much of the problem of fat shaming in the first place.

Our Most Troubling Madness: Case Studies in Schizophrenia across Cultures. T. M. Luhrmann and Jocelyn Marrow, eds. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016. 304 pp.

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Our Most Troubling Madness challenges notions of treatment as usual in the West by providing ethnographic windows onto the experience of psychosis across cultures. In her introduction, T. M. Luhrmann offers a history of schizophrenia in psychiatry and anthropology that eloquently illuminates how diagnosis, clinical care, risks, social norms, and family support have shaped how we understand schizophrenia. What follow are twelve case studies that convey lives lived with psychosis and how complex interactions of gender, power, family, marriage, rites of passage, social traumas, financial insecurities, diagnosis, coping, and recovery fundamentally shift these lives.

Written in a journalistic fashion, the case studies dive deep into lived experience with schizophrenia in diverse contexts. The first case, by T. M. Luhrmann, challenges the concept of schizophrenia as a diseased brain in the United States to fundamentally shift the reader’s perception to the social realities of psychosis and experience. In the next case, Amy June Sousa introduces the concept of diagnostic neutrality employed in India, arguing that lack of diagnosis is not only compassionate but also a source of social survival. In the third case, by Jocelyn Marrow, the double binds of gender, marriage, and psychosis unveil troubling links among women in India who go “mad” as a result of social transitions, fractured identities, and rattled securities. With its fine line between perceived and imaginary, the fourth case by Giulia Mazza reveals how an Indian woman’s inability to work serves as a symptom of psychosis while challenging cultural norms around race, class, and gender.

Johanne Eliacin, in the fifth case, describes how racism and social disintegration situate risk for schizophrenia among Afro-Caribbean citizens in England, illuminating another double bind where fear or insecurity enhances the likelihood of delusion. Next, T. M. Luhrmann and R. Padmavati suggest that the auditory phenomena of psychosis differ across cultures, depicting one Indian woman’s ability to improve once she communicated positively with her internal voices. In the seventh case, Damien Droney reveals how a Ghanaian man drew on Christian explanations of God and demons to navigate the sociospiritual world and how being bewitched is given a more positive light than being mad. Anubha Sood then introduces another Indian woman, who suffered in her early life but found dignity and purpose by engaging in the community of a Hindu temple.

The ninth case, by Jack Friedman, frames the evangelical Christianity that one Romanian woman used to manage her symptoms as oppositional to prevailing biomedical notions that her psychiatrist used to interpret her religiosity as pathology and ignorance. Next, T. M. Luhrmann illustrates why people with psychosis might reject mental health care in the United States, preferring homelessness and living with internal voices to being thought of as crazy. In the eleventh case, by Julia Cassaniti, a woman in Thailand rejects biomedical etiologies of psychosis as a brain disease and instead associates periodic psychotic breaks with the world of Satan, battling between good and evil. Finally, Neely Myers belies US individualism that expects people with mental illness to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, often keep their illness private—even from family—and navigate a broken mental health care system or what anthropologist Kim Hopper calls the institutional circuit.

Luhrmann, Marrow, and their colleagues make the critical point that schizophrenia—itsself a diagnosis not unproblematic—may be muted in experience and advanced in its recovery in developing countries compared to developed countries. Luhrmann states that “the normative treatment for schizophrenia in American culture may significantly make things worse, and possibly even turn psychotic reactivity (the possibility of a brief psychotic reaction) into chronic clienthood, and that it does so by repeatedly creating the conditions for demoralization and despair, and for what we will call ‘social defeat’” (25). In their conclusion, Luhrmann and Marrow contend that “the experience of defeat in a social context is felt, in the body that is vulnerable to psychosis, so profoundly that it can make the body ill with serious psychotic disorder” (198). They indicate that the symptoms representing schizophrenia are not the result of a brain disease but a response to one’s environment, especially to “being on the wrong side of power” (197). Social defeat builds upon common theories in medical anthropology, such as structural violence or social suffering, but differentiates itself as an outcome—felt within the body—that cannot be dissociated from social, spiritual, and biomedical triggers. This argument aligns with the fact that in India people with psychosis often remain integrated into the family and social networks that hold their worlds intact, instead of being institutionalized or separated from loved ones as they so often are in the United States.

This collaborative volume is a must-read for students, researchers, and practitioners working the boundaries of culture, medicine, and psychiatry. It would be essential for anyone engaged in the field of global mental health, especially those working with people who experience psychosis in non-Western contexts. Even more, it may challenge norms by which practitioners of biomedicine interact with patients who experience psychosis, making it an ideal read for medical students and residents in psychiatry. Yet its focus on the social world, as opposed to interactions

between clinician and patient, may be a deterrent to including it in a medical curriculum.

For anthropologists, the book would be ideal for graduate seminars in psychological and medical anthropology. It may serve as a foundations book to orient students to the field with its breadth and depth of analysis—particularly the foreword by Kim Hopper and the introduction by T. M. Luhrmann. It may be added to a graduate seminar in anthropology that takes seriously the impact of culture on embodied suffering. Graduate students in transcultural psychiatry, cultural psychology, and global health may also find the book extremely useful as they grapple with the complexities of illness cross-culturally. The book’s emphasis on the intersections of poverty, culture, and mental illness makes it especially relevant for clinicians working on severe mental illness. By diving deep into lived experience, diagnosed suffering, and collaborative survival, *Our Most Troubling Madness* provides a cutting-edge intervention into the scholarship on mental illness.

Governing Habits: Treating Alcoholism in the Post-Soviet Clinic. Eugene Raikhel. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016. 248 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12588

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Eugene Raikhel’s groundbreaking *Governing Habits*, an engaging and richly nuanced account of alcohol treatment in post-Soviet Russia, highlights the role of therapeutic modalities in the construction of subjectivities within post-Soviet society. Raikhel uses the therapeutic and discursive practices of everyday clinical encounters as they played out over a year in municipal and private medical centers in greater Saint Petersburg in the early 2000s to situate shifting institutional, social, political, and economic structures. Confronted with unfamiliar practices that struck him as unscientific, outdated, and unethical, he undertakes a critical assessment of his own epistemological assumptions and draws attention to the modernist logic underlying conventional interpretations of post-Soviet subjectivity.

The result is a meticulously detailed genealogical excavation of narcology, the Russian discipline of addiction treatment instituted in the late Soviet era, which emphasizes the production of the space of possible ideas, to use Ian Hacking’s term, that shaped current practices and brought forth the meanings they hold for clinicians and patients. Theorizing about the clinical encounter as a “changing domain of knowledge and expertise, as a circulation of changing medical technologies, and as a site where distinct

forms of personhood are enabled” (5), Raikhel illuminates the influence of state socialism on the management of addiction and the implications of the shift to market capitalism. His conceptualization of therapeutic legitimacy illustrates strategies of clinical authority within an emergent political and social order. Rounding out his analysis, he introduces illness sodality to underscore the domestication of 12-step programs in Russia.

When he began his fieldwork in 2003, Raikhel entered a space complicated by deeply engrained ideologies. Prevailing health models theorized about a sharp divide between Soviet and Western subjectivities, premised on a link between Soviet institutions and the constitution of the Soviet person (*Homo sovieticus*), whose initiative and personal responsibility were stunted by the state-dictated provision of health care. Implicated in declining health indicators, policies took aim at socialist relics by cutting spending, increasing privatization, and developing insurance-based health care. Health initiatives promoted exercise, a healthy diet, and the elimination of bad habits. A central concern was the steep reduction in life expectancy for men—from 63.8 years in 1990 to 57.7 in 1994—which was attributed to the abuse of alcohol.

Raikhel’s initial immersion into the Russian narcological system confirmed these critiques. The most popular therapeutic modalities he encountered were forms of aversion therapy that incorporated hypnosis, chemical intervention, and surreptitious application of the placebo effect, each of which underscored the dominant role of the doctor and involved practices largely abandoned in the West. Public facilities with cracked walls and layers of bureaucracy contributed to negative assessments, as did exchanges with clinicians who bemoaned human rights regulations that banned involuntary confinement. Were these holdovers from the Soviet era? Did they signal clinical incompetence, or were they evidence of an enduring Soviet self reflected in paternalistic authority over passive and easily manipulated patients? Perhaps they suggested nostalgia cultivated under the increasingly authoritarian Putin administration?

During the course of his fieldwork, Raikhel welcomed these moments of perplexity as opportunities for reflection, exploration, and analysis. Theoretically and ethnographically innovative, his work draws inspiration from critical interpretive medical anthropology and governmentality—frameworks that explore how neoliberal institutions have inserted themselves through “technologies of the self” (153) into post-Soviet subjectivities, indicated through discourses of agency, responsibility, and individualism. Raikhel builds on elements of these frameworks but adds complexity to them. Attuned to the ways knowledge is actively produced and performed, he traces the multiple trajectories that inform therapeutic encounters, intertwining personal stories, on-site vignettes, and historical accounts

to problematize the indexical link between agency and the neoliberal subject.

To capture “the relationship of these therapeutic technologies to the subjectivity or the self of patients” (109), Raikhel contrasts the aversion therapies with those of 12-step programs such as Alcoholics Anonymous, which was imported in the 1990s from the United States, where it remains the dominant mode of treatment despite meager evidence of its efficacy. Analyzing these practices as “modes of self-governance” (15–16), he suggests that they represent fundamentally different approaches to the self. While 12-step programs aim to transform patients’ identities, aversion methods “work by harnessing their preexisting ideas, beliefs, and affects—with an end result that is experienced as a change in behavior or practice without a change or transformation of the self” (110). Raikhel traces this clinical logic to the legacy of Pavlov and Soviet understandings of “drunkenness as a habit that led to and underlay a physiological addiction to alcohol” (55). Focused on reflexes and behavior modification, he conceptualizes these therapies as “prostheses for the will” (147), underscoring patients’ strategic application in managing their behavior and autonomy over the self.

Raikhel argues that the shift to market capitalism brought about a crisis of authority for narcologists. Budget cuts coincided with the end of the monopoly on treatment and a weakening of clinical authority. The proliferation of treatments led to economic precarity and opened the door to practitioners without professional training. Meanwhile, legal restrictions on confinement limited treatment options. Within this shifting therapeutic economy, practitioners engaged in therapeutic legitimacy that worked to “amplify patients’ responses through attention to the performative aspects of the clinical encounter as well as through management of the methods’ broader reputation as effective therapies” (24). This theoretical device shifts the analysis of therapeutic discourses, which are now conceptualized as strategic negotiations. No longer mere indexes of sociopolitical structure, they “evoke the broader institutional, political, and historical contexts” (183) and serve as a starting point for deeper social analysis.

Raikhel’s work exemplifies the depth of possibilities that arise from the ethnographic encounter. It convincingly argues for reassessing assumptions about Soviet, Russian, and neoliberal subjectivities. I have two minor concerns with the book. Many of the arguments are repeated nearly verbatim throughout, though this reemphasis could be a useful device for introductory students. Raikhel concludes with an analysis of Alcoholics Anonymous as an illness sodality, “a form of sociality and association based on the common identification of members around their experience of suffering” (16). Aptly drawing on Robert Lowie, an early critic of formulaic evolutionary models, this framework shifts analysis from discrete therapeutic techniques

to foreground the layers of intersecting networks that contribute to identity formation and treatment efficacy. I found this framework compelling, but the chapter was not well integrated into the overall argument. These issues do not detract from the significant accomplishments of this ethnography, which is a must-read for any course on post-Soviet society and is appropriate for upper-level medical anthropology courses.

The Law of Possession: Ritual, Healing, and the Secular State. William S. Sax and Helene Basu, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12589

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“‘Spirit possession’ . . . is found in all human cultures and is often associated with healing.” This simple assertion of a human universal, voiced with confidence on page 1 of this beautifully conceived and competently executed volume, conceals a tangled genealogy that runs through the history of modernity. To pick at one early thread, founding arguments about what constituted a proper legal subject, capable of entering into contracts, turned on the essential identity of a contracting person through time, illuminated by contrast to unstable persons, such as African slaves, who might be possessed by spirits other than their own “Corporeal Spirit,” as Thomas Hobbes put it in *Leviathan*. Their lack of a “continuous accountable self” and thus of the capacity to possess under the law meant that slaves could legitimately be possessed by humans as well as by spirits (Johnson 2011, 406). While the historical specifics of this genealogy do not concern the contributors to this volume, they are nevertheless committed to the idea that spirit possession—signaling unstable subjects neither firmly bounded nor always in possession of themselves—continues to be intertwined with the modern civil subject, particularly the subject of law. To explore spirit possession, they insist, is always in some way to interrogate the subject of modernity.

Most of the eight essays are crafted with care, and their ethnography is extraordinarily suggestive. In Gujarat, for instance, the spirit of the saint Bava Gor presides as a judge over trials by ordeal, in which men or women suspected of crimes are tested by being made to run with their ankles shackled (Helene Basu). In Malawi, ongoing endeavors to disentangle law and witchcraft are accompanied by a concern that witches be held legally accountable for their crimes (Arne S. Steinforth). In Tamil Nadu, the deaths by fire of 25 mentally handicapped people near a Sufi healing shrine have given new energy to efforts to “cleanse”

indigenous healing practices and extend the reach of the modern (Bhargavi Davar). In Maharashtra, an antisuperstition organization vigilantly pursues secularization and rationalization with educational programs that stage mock exorcism rituals (Johannes Quack). In western Kenya, a ritual healer supervises courtroom procedures divided into stages of mention, hearing, judgment, and outcome, modeled on the Kenyan juridical system (Ferdinand Okwaro). In the Central Himalayas, Goludev, a Hindu god of justice, accepts petitions from devotees and dispenses *nyaya*, substantive justice, as opposed to the *niti*, or procedural justice, of secular courts, highlighting a contrast between the fluid, unstable subject of divine justice and the contained individual civil subject (Aditya Malik).

This heterogeneous material has been organized through a relatively streamlined set of concepts. The “modern” is not to be characterized by a secular-sacred divide, which would distinguish clearly between secular law, involving self-possessed modern subjects, and quasi-legal practices involving subjects defined by their capacity to be possessed by different others. Instead, following Bruno Latour, the modern is a bundle of concepts, techniques, and procedures as varied as nationalism, electricity, and legal institutions. Elements in this bundle are easily combined with elements outside of it—secular vocabularies inscribed into religious practices and vice versa. Yet if modernity has any overarching characteristic, it is the compulsion of self-consciously modern subjects to “purify” (in Latour’s term) the bundle of elements seen not to belong to it.

The editors use the idea of purification as a conceit to organize the volume into three parts. In the case studies of part 1, triumphant purification is under disintegration; in part 2, practices and discourses of purification are shown to be directly at work; in part 3, purification processes have not been at all successful in disentangling law from possession. While this division is hardly as neat as advertised, it does lend the volume a degree of organizational coherence. This conceptual framework is laid out in a clearly written introduction, which works through classic definitions of modernity, modernization, and modern subjectivity before complicating them with the idea of possession. The introduction and many of the chapters could be excellent teaching tools.

Readers will be attracted to different contributions in this volume, depending on their interests and the varied quality of the ethnographic material. For this reader, two of the case studies are particularly compelling. The first is Dominic Steavu’s thoroughly researched and sharply argued history of exorcism and the state in Chinese medicine. Currently, the Chinese state claims to have seamlessly integrated traditional Chinese medicine and Western biomedicine. This claim depends upon the rigorous suppression of the undesirable side of traditional medicine—its contact with supernatural beings and cosmologies. Yet

this cleavage did not begin with the introduction of modernity. Chinese imperial states and their Confucian allies worked continuously to stamp out the perceived excessive, heretic, and heterodox aspects of local magical healing practices. Indeed, Steavu argues, the founding concerns of the Chinese state during the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–1046 BCE) were managing, overseeing, and bureaucratizing supernatural forces, particularly the force of the dead. In showing such processes of purification operating millennia prior to the introduction of modernity, he provides a trenchant counterexample to the organizing assumptions of the volume.

A second exemplary case study is William Sax's ethnography of the courts of justice of divine kings, gods who rule local polities in the Western Himalayas. Sax describes the court of Pokkhu Devta, a divine king with no territorial claims, and works carefully through a complex case in which a woman accuses her sister-in-law of sleeping with their father-in-law. The ritual to discover the truth and deliver justice fails when the young woman who makes the accusation refuses to participate, yet the failure reveals much. This is compelling ethnography, attentively observed, skillfully delivered, and thoughtfully analyzed—a fitting conclusion to a successful volume.

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Democracy's Infrastructure: Techno-politics and Protest after Apartheid. *Antina von Schnitzler*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016. 256 pp.

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South Africa's apartheid government relied on the everyday techniques of power through administrative capacity as much as it did on the grand designs of racial inequality. This is what Antina von Schnitzler demonstrates by using the unlikely focal point of the prepaid water meter, a ubiquitous feature of poverty in South Africa, to illustrate technopolitics—the seemingly mundane yet inherently political forms of technology that construct and reaffirm difference at the end of apartheid and in the post-apartheid democracy.

Operation Gcin'amanzi ("Save Water" in Zulu) was a multiyear project in Soweto to install prepaid meters. After a set amount of monthly free water, residents would have to pay to refill the meter in order to keep the taps flowing.

For administrators, this was a way to manage the fiscal disobedience, to use Janet Roitman's term, that had become a common part of township life under apartheid and in the early years of democracy. Von Schnitzler argues that "living prepaid" (6) has become a normalized condition of life for lower-income South Africans. While white suburban families can access basic services on credit, because nonwhite residents in the townships are deemed untrustworthy they are forced to prepay for essential goods lest they default on payments. The state has rolled out prepaid technology alongside propaganda stressing environmentalism and efficiency, but community activists and residents have instead read these administrative technologies as new forms of racism that disproportionately affect poor black residents.

Von Schnitzler follows the meters as they become the subject of massive service delivery protests and then wend their way into court, where residents employ the language of human rights and the techniques of bureaucracy to make their case for the continued presence of racism through the meters. Although these movements meet with some success, activists are still treated as objects of the state, unable to reorient the conversation from a quantitative measure of basic needs to a qualitative assessment of human dignity. She reminds us that South Africa's liberation movement of the late 20th century has had to transform into a functional governing body. In order to achieve this, once-revolutionary acts of nonpayment, protest, and sabotage have been recast as criminal. This presents a paradox: at the moment when blacks were finally made into political subjects, the very ways in which they had come to express political subjectivity were rendered apolitical. This plays out in the battle over prepaid water meters, as residents fight back against the administration by damaging the meters, obstructing their installment, and redirecting the flow of water to evade payment. To them, if not to the state, these quotidian practices remain political acts that draw attention to the structural inequalities of the post-apartheid democracy. Though colonialism and apartheid were based on extraction and exploitation, the transition has required a recalibration of the ethical citizen committed to the good of the state.

Von Schnitzler organizes the book chronologically, starting with the advent of prepaid technology in 19th-century London and its diffusion from there to South Africa. She uses Marxist analyses of the industrial machine to show that such devices have a long history of moral suspicion because they curtailed workers' freedom and created slaves to the machine. Here she persuasively argues that the meter was constructed alongside the subjectivity of the meter user. While these technologies have been employed differently in different contexts, South Africa's obsession with numeracy and measurement during apartheid has been recast as a way to quantify democracy in the neoliberal state.

In other words, a basic life necessity is transformed into a quantifiable good that strengthens state power.

At the heart of these changes in administrative practice is the neoliberal economic model with which South Africa aligned after the fall of apartheid. Neoliberalism became a way for the state to rhetorically depoliticize acts that maintained inequalities along previously drawn lines. Von Schnitzler does an excellent job of both tracing neoliberal thought on the international level and reminding us of its varying forms throughout the Global South. For South Africa, neoliberalism has meant the decentralization of basic services and the normalization of debt as a way of life. Here I would have liked to see her more directly address those scholars such as James Ferguson who see South Africa as an exception to the neoliberal model. How does she reconcile the decentralization of services with the massive social welfare programs of the state? As a scholar of the Eastern Cape, I would have liked to see a discussion of the simultaneous administration of basic services and their relationship to democratic politics in rural South Africa as well. How do these material forms of power differently affect rural people?

Democracy's Infrastructure is an exciting contribution not just to scholarship on post-apartheid South Africa but also to more general discussions of political participation vis-à-vis state power. What makes von Schnitzler's book so compelling is its novel argument that the administrative and technical forms of power so often overlooked in political analyses are actually at the core of projects like apartheid. Beyond these political regimes, however, her argument poses a broader question: what does it mean to be a political subject in the postcolony? Von Schnitzler helps us understand this through the lens of infrastructure as it "enables a view of the less visible grounds and experiences of citizenship after apartheid" (200).

Linguistic Rivalries: Tamil Migrants and Anglo-Franco Conflicts. *Sonia N. Das.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. 296 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12591

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In this original and unprecedented study, Sonia Das follows Tamil migration from South Asia to Quebec. Through an analysis of ideologies of language, belonging, and identity, she explores the linguistic rivalries that shape the lives of Tamil Indians and Tamil Sri Lankans established in Montreal, a city marked by Anglo-Franco conflicts that parallel the ones felt throughout Tamil history. Her research's impressive historical and geographical scope also seeks

"connections between literary production and educational initiatives in precolonial and colonial South Asia and contemporary North America . . . highlighting points of convergence and divergence between colonial policies and practices in French and British India and contemporary Québec" (7). Das's ambitious work is an important contribution, bridging linguistic and cultural worlds traditionally studied apart.

While firmly rooted in linguistic anthropology, Das's account of the Tamil diaspora is also informed by research in descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics, sociology, and historical and political study. She draws on ethnographic, linguistic, and textual data collected during language heritage classes, religious ceremonies, associative events, and urban wanderings and encounters in Montreal. Archival evidence taken from colonial India (British and French) also thickens the time-space perspective on Tamil migration. Through the careful use of vignettes, some of which are autobiographical, she provides a voice to Tamil youth, students, priests, interpreters, and teachers to demonstrate that "multilingual practices in Montréal's Tamil diaspora are everyday actions taken to construct divergent pathways of social and geographic mobility and alternative narratives of global modernity" (8).

The book is divided into five thematic chapters, framed by an introduction and a concluding chapter. Das first gives a historical overview of language purism by investigating the multiple times and spaces that affect the ways in which Indians and Sri Lankans construct and perceive the different linguistic varieties of Tamil. By recollecting the emergence of a diglossic taxonomy in precolonial time, she shows that language ideologies about purity and antiquity have come to popularize the idea that spoken and written Tamil are two functionally and grammatically different registers, the former being modern albeit impure, the latter being pure yet older. British and French imperial approaches to publishing and transliteration techniques have accentuated this dichotomy. Meeting in the diaspora, Indians and Sri Lankans have come to use this ideological framework as a means of ethnonational differentiation, intertwined in class and caste distinctions. Indians associate with colloquial Tamil, which fits their conception of being a global elite circulating in a cosmopolitan cultural realm (Tamilagam), while Sri Lankans portray themselves as speaking a literary Tamil, which in return supports their sovereignty claim to a historical and primordial territory (Tamil Eelam).

These distinctive ethnolinguistic identifications echo Montreal's own Anglo-Franco configuration. On the one hand, upper-class Indians attend private English-medium schools through which they learn French, although rarely the vernacular that could properly categorize them as native speakers. On the other hand, Sri Lankans, arriving as refugees, enroll in French-medium schools and

learn through socialization Quebecois French, therefore serving as examples of successful integration into the Francophone-distinct nation. Das shows that trilingual youth challenge the stereotypes held by both elder Tamils and Quebec society, although code switching in Tamil, English, and French is sometimes a perilous way to negotiate loyalties and mobilities.

Linguistic rivalries are exacerbated by the unique division of labor in Montreal's heritage language industry. By way of competitive and differentiated choice of schools, pedagogical materials, and construction of linguistic expertise, Sri Lankans are led to self-identify with literary Tamil, while Indians promote the transmission of colloquial Tamil as their own heritage language. Das shows that this sociolinguistic division also materializes in Montreal's Tamil-segregated networks and neighborhoods and their rivalries in terms of the spatioterritorial, spiritual, and moral inscription of Tamilness. Yet there are potentials for reconciling the Tamil diaspora by stressing points of convergence in homeland narratives. Through an analysis of Tamil civilization conceptions, Das demonstrates that the Indian elite and the Sri Lankan nationalists both inhabit a primordial cosmopolitanism fostered by hopes of continuity and mobility in troubled times.

This overview is only a partial account of the full and rich content of Das's book. Nevertheless, the aim of the chapters is at times overwhelming: the topics are multiple and dense, and the common thread is not always obvious to the reader. The book's main intention thus tends to be lost in the profusion of information and stories. Furthermore, despite its reliance on detailed accounts of interactions and conversations, Das's analysis contains examples of oversimplification, notably with regard to the social meanings of linguistic practices. For instance, the use of nonstandard Quebecois French is often interpreted as equivocal evidence of stances that tend to reproduce linguistic hierarchies and prejudices. There is, however, no convincing argumentation to support these interpretations. The linguistic features Das identifies as nonstandard Quebecois French (which is itself a problematic categorization) are sometimes inaccurate or misleading, particularly when confused with *français oral*.

Moreover, the idea of Anglo-Franco conflicts, which Das claims are echoed in the tensions between Tamil migrants from India and Sri Lanka, would have needed to be further developed in order for the reader to fully grasp the complex mechanisms by which British and French empires and Canadian and Quebec nations draw on ideologies, interests, policies, and practices to influence a semiotic resource such as Tamil. As a result, the expression *linguistic rivalry*, which at first appealed to me, gradually became an irritant as it served to trivialize the inequalities and power relations involved in these imperialist and nationalist conflicts. Although the author demonstrates that Anglo-Franco

dynamics are a fundamental key to interpretation, further development would be needed to render them in a more nuanced and substantial manner.

Beyond these points of criticism, one ought to recognize the colossal task that Das has undertaken. Her book is an innovative and exemplary contribution to the study of language and migration that will be informative to scholars and graduate students in the humanities and social sciences. Readers will undoubtedly find theoretical and methodological inspiration, reinforcing the relevance of language study in understanding the historical and social processes of differentiation.

Migrant Dubai: Low Wage Workers and the Construction of a Global City. *Laavanya Kathiravelu*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 261 pp.

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Media accounts of Dubai regularly emphasize its architectural spectacles as well as the stark social and economic distance between consumers—tourists, Emirati locals, wealthy expatriates—and laborers. As Laavanya Kathiravelu illustrates in her well-researched and richly detailed ethnography, the position of migrant workers and their relationships to others—locals and wealthy and middle-class expats—are significantly more complex than economic disparity or exploitation indicates. Kathiravelu focuses on the everyday lives of low-wage migrants who come primarily from the Indian subcontinent, refuting characterizations that they act only as producers in Dubai's political economy. Instead, she demonstrates how migrants produce and are produced within Dubai's particular form of neoliberal globalization. Chapters explore the ways in which low-wage migrants enact their agency as they navigate complex and precarious contexts marked by structural violence, debt bondage, threats of deportation, and other exploitative phenomena that silence, contain, and marginalize them as well as offer them very limited social, political, legal, and economic rights. Kathiravelu also notes spaces of resistance and contestation that challenge totalizing neoliberal conceptualizations.

Dubai is not just a place but an idea that shapes the imaginations of its migrant populations. Kathiravelu traces this shaping via four ideas or discursive formations: Dubai as the Home of the Neoliberal Corporation, Dubai as Global City, Dubai as Hope, and Dubai as Mirage. She argues that Dubai's allure for migrants stems partially from its ability to present itself as a non-Western modern city. With Dubai

contextualized as a city of the imagination, she scrutinizes relationships between low-wage migrants and both sending and receiving states, paying special attention to how these relationships reinforce structural inequalities with potentially devastating consequences. A local stratified classificatory system “reflects a hierarchy of states within the global market economy, where migrants from the more ‘developed’ West are valued and respected over those from the ‘less developed’ nations of the Global South” (63). Central to the exploitation of migrants is the *kafala* or sponsorship system, which privatizes migration and thus denies migrants a myriad of social, political, economic, and legal rights. Such othering processes engender Emirati nation building and further differentiate locals from migrants. Kathiravelu also implicates additional parties, including the sending states that have vested interests in maintaining large remittances and individuals involved in coethnic exploitation who benefit from recruiting in home communities for Gulf employment.

Kathiravelu devotes a chapter to the impact of neoliberalism on migrant subjectivities. She contends that the production of self-conscious identities empowers migrants to perceive themselves as transnational agents and thereby mitigates the marginalizing effects of state characterizations of migrant labor. Rejecting emasculating narratives that position male migrants as boys, men embrace constructions of masculinity that center around family provider roles and emphasize such values as a strong work ethic and self-discipline. In contrast, because working in Dubai affords freedoms unavailable in their home communities, women emphasize narratives related to autonomy and access to public space. Kathiravelu illuminates the intimate and moral lives of low-wage migrants, illustrating how narratives of the self both align with and contest the migrant identities that circulate within different spaces of neoliberal modernity.

A comparison of middle-class gated communities and migrant labor camps enables Kathiravelu to demonstrate how enclosure functions to keep out migrants (gated communities) or contain them (labor camps). Despite being central to the construction and daily maintenance of Dubai, low-wage migrants are removed from it—relegated as invisible or contained at the margins as producers. Even within the quasi-public space of the shopping mall, migrants are limited in their ability to see and be seen. Space emerges as a defining political actor that both demarcates zones of economic consumption and production and routinizes mobilities.

Kathiravelu delves into the associational lives and social networks of migrants to argue that these kinds of informality directly counter state characterizations of migrants and thus reveal the limitation of neoliberalism as “an omnipresent discourse” (183). She develops the concept of care but with a caveat, suggesting that while

these networks offer coping mechanisms and forms of care, they also hold abusive possibilities. Still, she proposes that through informality, which she links to care as well as to cross-cultural and coethnic networks, Dubai has the potential to be a caring city.

The ways in which class and religion operate within the lives of migrants as well as within popular and official classification schemata are hinted at yet for the most part underdeveloped. For example, what distinguishes the expatriate from the migrant or the middle class from the working class of the migrants? Are these categories decided solely by ethnic and national stratifications, earnings, and occupations, or does class function here in another manner? Similarly, does religion matter in international migration? Is it a moral discourse or a discourse of difference and similarity? Finally, despite her extensive ethnographic research, the words of low-wage migrants appear unevenly throughout the text, which is unfortunate because when they are present Kathiravelu’s text shines.

Kathiravelu excels at portraying the intimate, moral, social, and imaginative worlds of her informants, emphasizing both their humanity and their multifaceted lives. Her interlocutors engage us, encouraging examinations of international migration that go beyond macrolevel discussions to focus on how neoliberalism shapes individual lives, relationships, and communities. They also encourage us to pay attention to the gendered dimensions of migration not only in terms of the conditions to which migrants are subjected but also in the ways that gender informs a range of subjectivities. With its fresh contributions to the literature on globalization, international migration, and neoliberalism, *Migrant Dubai* will appeal to both academic and nonacademic audiences. Kathiravelu successfully positions the everyday and intimate lives of migrants as central to understandings of both neoliberalism and international migration. Her ethnography makes visible some of Dubai’s most marginalized and ignored residents and, in the process, reminds us of the human side of place making even in the global city.

Practicing Islam: Knowledge, Experience, and Social Navigation in Kyrgyzstan. David W. Montgomery. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016. 240 pp.

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Practicing Islam examines the production of religious knowledge in Kyrgyzstan and other parts of Central Asia, a region that still sits at the periphery of anthropological studies of Islam. David W. Montgomery spent years conducting fieldwork on religious practice in Kyrgyzstan, where

Muslims struggle to negotiate aspects of their religious identities and beliefs—what Montgomery, drawing on Michael Jackson's work, calls social navigation—in the changing sociopolitical and economic climate of Central Asia. A clear strength of the book is the rich ethnographic storytelling woven throughout. Through detailed vignettes of everyday life, we hear a range of voices, including a village woman in the mountains who visits a *mazar* (sacred site) every Thursday, an Uzbek blacksmith in the city of Osh who has proudly rededicated himself to Islam, and a young man who is ostracized because he learns more Arabic than the local imam. This is where the book shines.

Montgomery's ethnographic fieldwork took place over several years from 1999 through 2013, primarily in the oblasts (administrative units) of Osh and Naryn. His multi-sited approach, combined with long-term participant-observation, extensive interviews, and a large-scale survey of religious practice conducted in 2005, presents a nuanced picture of Islam in Kyrgyzstan. So that his readers can keep track of the nearly 30 interlocutors he introduces throughout the text, Montgomery takes the unusual but helpful step of including a detailed description of each in an appendix. In another appendix, he outlines his methodology and fieldwork, though most of this description focuses only on the demographic results of the survey administered in 2005.

Montgomery sets out to develop an "anthropology of religious knowledge" (26) by drawing on Fredrik Barth's three-pronged approach to theorizing knowledge—namely, that all knowledge is composed of a social organization, a corpus, and a medium of representation. Three chapters are organized around Barth's three spheres, with each chapter considering the various ways in which Islamic knowledge is forged and acted upon in Kyrgyzstan. Montgomery argues that the organizational structures of Kyrgyz society—for example, how wealth, ethnic identity, and national history are constructed—create restrictions and potentialities that in turn shape how everyday religious knowledge is experienced. He devotes a chapter (which I found to be the most interesting) to tracing the range of knowledge about Islam in Kyrgyzstan and how people know what they know about being Muslim. Such knowledge depends on various histories of how Islam emerged in Central Asia, and how it has become enfolded into other Kyrgyz religious traditions (and vice versa). Because knowledge requires the production of representations through various media, Montgomery examines the means for learning about Islam in Kyrgyzstan and the authoritative power those means hold for different audiences, such as oral storytelling, ritual, textual traditions, and missionary work.

The bulk of the book focuses on the production of everyday religious knowledge, including the relationship of knowledge to religious practice, belief, experience, authority, tradition, history, morality, and action. If that sounds

like a lot to cover, it is. Indeed, at times the book is too broad in scope, and its theoretical framework in turn can be unfocused. What puzzled me is the book's almost total lack of engagement with the rich bodies of anthropological work on knowledge, expertise, and belief—both in and out of religious contexts—and on the anthropology of Islam. If Montgomery's intent is to forge an anthropology of religious knowledge that engages with the everyday, we should get a better sense of how he squares his assertions with other anthropological work. Without this broader engagement, there is little to position this book as anthropology per se, and Montgomery's attempt to elaborate an anthropology of religious knowledge seems underdeveloped.

This limited theoretical positioning may be a deliberate tactic to make the book more appealing to a wider audience, and indeed Montgomery calls for better integrating "the policy frame and the ethnographic frame" (136) in work on Central Asia. He argues that these frames, because they often refuse to interact with one another, ultimately perpetuate misunderstandings about the region and Islam and thereby limit meaningful discussion. He claims that focusing on what he calls "the middle ground of a population—the average, seemingly unremarkable populace concerned more with the daily obligations and burdens of their own lives than with devoted political engagement" (138)—can help alleviate these roadblocks by better reflecting how religious identity and belief are experienced. But because Montgomery is never explicit about it, the reader is left to wonder how he views the potential impact of his research, and whether his book is intended to have any actual policy-related application.

Still, the book has many strengths, one of which is its close tracing of the sociocultural and geopolitical history of Kyrgyzstan and its regional neighbors (in particular, Uzbekistan). Kyrgyzstan is a fascinating amalgam of ethnic groups, political leanings, and extraordinary environmental variance that has produced stereotyped mountain and valley people, with corresponding cultural differences. Montgomery gives us a rich and detailed history of how the Soviet and Russian periods influenced the changing sociopolitical, economic, and religious landscape in Kyrgyzstan, and he points to the ways in which these histories have in turn created particular modes of Islamic knowledge in the region. Another highlight is his focus on the variable nature of religious authority in Kyrgyzstan. His interlocutors are quick to make claims about who counts as a Muslim, but these claims are also a product of changing political, economic, and social environments. Montgomery traces how and why Islamic authority is closely linked to ideas about ethnic difference, nationalism, education, and language, and the result is an ethnographically engaged exploration of the ways in which religious knowledge is connected to social practice and action.

Inside African Anthropology: Monica Wilson and Her Interpreters. Andrew Bank and Leslie J. Bank, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 374 pp.

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If you are studying African religion, ritual, history, community, culture, kinship, or the anthropology of the colonial era in Africa, you are guaranteed to have stumbled upon Monica Hunter Wilson (1908–82) either directly through her work or in notes and bibliographies. *Inside African Anthropology*, an account of Wilson's multifaceted scholarly life, significantly also allows us to see the intimate relationships of anthropologists with their less discussed interpreters in the field. It is one of the recent attempts to give the coproducers of anthropological knowledge their due share—the nontrained natives Wilson referred to as the first interpreters, who at best were relegated to the notes or more usually to the acknowledgements, sometimes as anonymous sources, and who at worst went unmentioned. With their interrogation of the white anthropologists in Africa who undermined and almost negligently discarded the role of the first interpreters—the cultural brokers who could qualify as ethnographic authorities—editors Andrew Bank and Leslie Bank revive the old debate of anthropology's hidden colonialism. This is the central theme of the book.

The story of colonial era anthropology reads like a bedtime thriller. Chronicles of adventures in a native land, experiences of collecting samples from the colony, and a follow-up analysis—all this makes *Inside African Anthropology* an interesting read. The colonial era anthropologist is seen as the Indiana Jones of the scholarly world. Monica Wilson was one of the first-generation insider Africanists to dedicate her life to maintaining Africa's position in colonial anthropology, while her outsider presence simultaneously produced a suave chiasmus in her scholarship. In the middle of the havoc in her motherland of South Africa, she guarded the fort to give a genuine and trusted description of the orientalist space in spite of the criticisms she received from Marxists and liberals alike. She maintained the independent achievements of African anthropology even as its indigenous scholars suffered from the mechanized dissemination of knowledge that was predominantly hypothesized by and eventually published in Euro-American enclaves.

The book is divided into four sections, each linked to different locations. The first is peripatetic, starting in South Africa at Wilson's home in the Eastern Cape, traveling to Cambridge University, then returning to her research site in Pondoland. The second section provides links to and

glimpses of the Tanganyikan research scene and her collaboration on 1945's *The Analysis of Social Change* with her husband, Godfrey Wilson (1908–44), the first director of the prestigious Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. In this section, the relationship between native and nonnative is brought to the forefront with the story of Leonard Mwaishumo, the Wilsons' extraordinarily talented interpreter. The third section is located in Fort Hare and in the academic institutions where Monica Wilson held positions. The final section mediates on structural differences within the disciplines of anthropology and history.

The 10 chapters, by historians and anthropologists, are written with due care taken to demonstrate the sobriety of their scholarship. The generous notes guide the reader through rich bibliographies and inventories of Wilson's archives, housed mostly at the University of Cape Town. It is a pleasant narrative of history and a warm introduction to Afro-anthropology. The book sets out with an ambitious promise not to be just another biography. Because of its careful editing and its timely and critical annotations, it escapes the risk of turning into a hagiography. The volume enthusiastically studies unpublished notes of early scholars in the field. The field notes act as insider perspectives on the process of theory building and indicate the evolving methods of cultural anthropology. For example, Godfrey Wilson lays out suggestions for jotting down narratives and information while in the field “during a ceremony or during conversation with an informant” (150). However, in contemporary times note taking is not as straightforward, and thus readers can see the methods of ethnography evolving. Unfortunately, a lucid yet dense reading balanced by delightful writing is slowed by an overemphasis on notes. Almost every single page and incident include citations, which distract the reader's eye.

The questions raised in this book join the list of long-standing concerns that remain unresolved in the field of anthropology about the significant position of ethnographers' coproducers in the field. Given the obvious divide of race, class, caste, gender, and linguistic diversity, anthropology's embrace of certain traditional codes of research has not been satisfying. Why is this so? Does anyone have answers to this? So far they are yet to be excavated from the clishmaclaver of private discussions. The volume also brings into question the changing market of anthropology and the devaluation of knowledge not supported by northern donors. Thus, even today the likes of Monica Wilson would fail to meet the standards of anthropological proposal writing, as Pamela Reynolds reminds us in her personal account.

Relationships in the field with assistants and informants are theatrical performances. Research marked at the analysis stage develops from asymmetrical negotiations. The negation of any independent valuation of the interpreter remains unexplored. Is the interpreter the one who

is qualified by the anthropologist, or does the research site act as an interpreter that generates layers of animated interpretations? These questions surface in the book but are not developed.

South African anthropology has been one of the most distinguished intellectual exercises among colonized spaces. In the racially segregated colonial society, a handful of black anthropologists emerged only to be ostracized by the settler policies of exclusion. The volume includes stories of Livingstone Mqotsi, Leonard Mwaisumo, Godfrey Pitje, Archie Mafeje, and others whose ethnographic curiosity dovetailed with intellectual rigor made them highly competent indigenous anthropologists. Of these, only Archie

Mafeje was able to make a successful career in academia. The fate of the rest was destined to lie elsewhere. Who is to account for the cruel act?

The questions that Sekibakiba Lekgoathi, Timothy Mwakasekele, and Andrew Bank raise in chapter 5 remain unanswered. Should African research assistants, or interpreters, or cultural brokers, or interlocutors continue to be carelessly acknowledged, or should they become coauthors of anthropological writings? If the latter, then as Pamela Reynolds states, "would joint authorship qualify as justice?" (314). Any measurement of justice within the anthropological laity should prioritize the insider interpreter as much as the outsider's dominating gaze.