



## Book Reviews

**Lions of the North: Sounds of the New Nordic Radical Nationalism.** Benjamin R. Teitelbaum. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 232 pp.

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Benjamin Teitelbaum's *Lions of the North* is as timely and important as it is provocative and troubling. Let's begin with the book's timeliness. Public discourse the world over heralds a new era of hard-line nationalism, through which once-forsaken antiliberal categories of ethnic and racial citizenship have found a new lease on life. In Europe and the United States, this is manifested in an emboldened alt-right movement that appeals to the racialist grievances and objectives of a dogged white supremacy. It is to the ideologues and artists at the vanguard of this movement that Teitelbaum turns his attention, focusing on the works and ideas of musicians and culture brokers in the Nordic region, Sweden in particular.

Sweden is an exemplary location for such a study. Beyond the white supremacist mythos of its Viking past, Sweden is home to a politically ascendant nationalist political party, the Sweden Democrats, which has vociferously opposed the country's historically liberal (though currently curtailed) refugee and asylum policies. Further, as Teitelbaum shows, Sweden has long been a hub for radical nationalist culture, with publishing houses and record labels serving a widespread international public. By charting this community's turn from an overtly racist skinhead culture in the 1990s to what he calls the reformist ethos of the early 21st century, he sheds light on broader sociopolitical and cultural currents, including those that led to Donald Trump's seemingly improbable presidential victory in 2016.

The book's importance lies in Teitelbaum's fine-grained and ethnographically embedded approach to the study of Sweden's nationalist community. *Lions of the North* demonstrates the subtlety and significance of difference among nationalist individuals and organizations, a variety manifest as much in the ideas that such people and groups espouse as in the cultural styles they enact. This is where Teitelbaum's emphasis on music and his status as a knowledgeable insider (about which more below)

matter. With each successive chapter, readers encounter the uncouth, strident, and highly gendered subculture of the "race revolutionaries," the folksy but no less rigorous populism of the "cultural nationalists," and the bookish and sonically subdued intellectualism of the "identitarians" (5). Music—the apparently innocuous object of Teitelbaum's inquiries—allows him to interact with people who remain deeply suspicious of the mainstream academy's interest in their ideas and activities. Yet music is not merely a way into an otherwise closed subculture. Teitelbaum's attention to musical expression, practices of listening, and speech about music reveals the way that sounds and the affects and ideas they evoke animate nationalist social life, whether strategically as a resonant claim on the public sphere or sentimentally through the nostalgic sociability of private listening.

As a work of ethnomusicology, *Lions of the North* provokes in multiple ways. Ethnomusicology has long foregrounded the sounds and sentiments of marginal, underrepresented, and for the most part traditional communities. Generally, ethnomusicological texts tend toward the didactic, describing the making and meaning of music among the *X* people, and emphasize advocacy, in which the preservation and promotion of musical diversity are paramount. In Teitelbaum's study, talk of cultural variety and conservation is also abundant but has a radical nationalist twist. Here "diversity" is swapped for "separate but equal," and "multiculturalism" informs a worldview that looks more like apartheid than a melting pot. As is standard for ethnomusicology, the reader also learns a lot about the practice and meaning of musicking among nationalist groups. Yet if Teitelbaum does not explicitly advocate for this music culture, neither does he condemn or critique it, choosing instead to follow his informants' interpretive lead. Which leads to another provocation, this one directed at ethnomusicology's implicit assumption of music's status as a socially prominent and culturally significant human universal. One of the narrative takeaways of this book relates how, over the past decade, Swedish nationalists took a public step away from their movement's most prominent soundtrack: white supremacist punk, rock, and heavy metal. A good portion of the book is devoted to internal discussions and debates about the use and suitability of various musical genres in public and private nationalist forums, from rock and folk to, surprisingly, reggae and rap. Many in the movement now view music of any kind to

be more of a liability than an asset—at best, a superficial distraction from the complex work of public politics; at worst, an ugly reminder of a violent and raucous (recent) past. *Lions of the North* is, in many ways, a study of an *anti*-music culture, one of several aspects of this text likely to give card-carrying ethnomusicologists pause.

This book will also trouble some readers. Teitelbaum remains committed to a collaborative ethnographic method, which leads him to explicitly refrain from condemning or critiquing his interlocutors and their cultural works. This is not to say that his analysis is dispassionate. There are several moments in the book when we encounter his real enthusiasm for, deep interest in, and intimacy with the sounds he studies, including Swedish folk music (beloved by the radical right though largely practiced by the liberal left) as well as popular nationalist anthems and ballads. For those whose lives are the phenotypic targets of radical right-wing agendas, such proximity to nationalist music culture may strike a foul chord. Still, when I assigned *Lions of the North* to a graduate-level field methods course in 2017, I found its troubling tones to be mostly productive. Our discussion of the book delved into numerous questions of ethnographic ethics. How do we as ethnographers balance analysis and criticism of local lifeways? Are there limits to our commitments to the relative integrity of such worldviews? Does studying nationalist music amount to a tacit endorsement and further its circulation? More pointedly, what does it mean to immerse oneself in a community that espouses, to varying degrees, a racially separatist ideology rooted in a history of intolerance and oppression? Is such work even justified?

To Teitelbaum's credit, *Lions of the North* gives voice to these thorny ethical issues, allowing readers to explore and interrogate the author's (and their own) ambivalence about the nature of this work and its empirical content. Yet such reflexivity does not diminish a basic premise of this research: radical nationalists are not merely embodiments of an ideology but socially complex and culturally productive human beings. To wrestle with the humanistic implications of such a position is, in my view, reason enough to read this book.

**African Futures: Essays on Crisis, Emergence, and Possibility.** Brian Goldstone and Juan Obarrio, eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. 264 pp.

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The “wrongheaded yet amazingly persistent” (117) image of Africa as dark, violent, and desperate has generated a

proliferation of other, more hopeful images to disrupt this incessantly pessimistic story. One trope has been to reframe “grin and bear it” as “suffering and smiling” to celebrate the extraordinary resilience of Africans in the face of myriad difficulties. Another turns away from social problems entirely to highlight the cosmopolitan achievements of the continent's elite in art, architecture, and business. Radical social inequality has led to radically bifurcated accounts of the social world. A stark divide stands between a default pessimism and a mandatory optimism that has made hope into one of Africa's greatest resources, complete with its own extractive industry. The challenge for anthropologists is to hold these multiple extremes in view while describing the nonextreme, everyday, mundane ways they are implicated in the reproduction of social life, economic practice, spatial form, and cultural creativity.

*African Futures* takes up this challenge by attending to the multiplicity and intermingling of modes of time reckoning in post-Cold War Africa. In their introductory essay, Brian Goldstone and Juan Obarrio observe the failure of teleologies like development, modernization, and good governance as both analytic categories and social projects. Yet they note the continuing importance that modernist keywords and their binary pairings (crisis, backwardness, corruption) have as emic concepts in diverse African contexts. The book aims to cultivate a new vocabulary to observe, describe, apprehend, and theorize futurity as plural, open-ended, and nonlinear. Its 15 essays are snapshots of emergent futures that explore the paradox of permanent crisis, the economies of futurity, dreams of permanence in the context of forced temporariness, and the geographically uneven distribution of futures.

Janet Roitman and Brian Larkin call into question the structural-functionalist assumptions that underpin crisis narratives, offering a conceptual history of crisis and pointing out that a term that once referred to a critical turning point has come to define a historical condition. In the wake of crisis, Juan Obarrio argues, Mozambican state-making projects reanimate colonial modes of customary law, locating the future of the nation in the violent colonial fetish of tradition. Describing the life of what he calls rough towns, AbdouMaliq Simone shows that in the face of persistent crisis, it is in fact stability or permanence that requires ethnographic explanation by attending to the labor involved in keeping contingencies at bay. Here transformation is posited as the permanent condition of urban life, not a unique exceptional event. Labeling one's condition as crisis does not strictly subscribe to normative visions of the future but names a sense of possible future foreclosed while holding on to the possibility that the future might be—and should be—otherwise than the present.

Few facts make more manifest the instability of futures and presents than the fluctuating value of currencies.

Jane Guyer lays out an agenda for empirical research into the worlds of currency, asking how devaluations shape consumer economies, how differences in currency values structure migration patterns, and how people deal with money when the future of currencies is radically opaque. The fundamental ambiguity of currency comes to the fore in Charles Piot's description of a Togolese Ponzi scheme in which initial investors of \$850 or more were repaid with highly visible monthly bundles of cash or commodities. In the context of currency devaluation and the state's abandonment of any distributive collective future-making project, the scheme was shuttered by the authorities. Nonetheless, Piot argues, it disclosed the workings of "miraculous time" (115), a simultaneously nostalgic, hopeful, and nonlinear aspiration that the future may differ from the present. More disturbingly, Danny Hoffman theorizes the "monetization of the imaginary" (101) in Sierra Leone, asserting that in the disenchanting aftermath of broken nationalist and revolutionary development promises, cash alone holds the potential to mobilize young men for the violent labor of war. Examining the links between debt and violence, Michael Ralph argues that not only African states' diplomatic standings but their credit profiles have largely become an effect of their willingness to enroll their youth in global military ventures of peacekeeping and the War on Terror.

Writing with a more sweeping register, Achille Mbembe proposes that "one of the most brutal effects of neoliberalism in Africa . . . has been the generalization and radicalization of a condition of temporariness" (222). This perpetual uncertainty, he observes, means that huge amounts of effort and debt are required of the poor and middle class alike to simply produce the lived semblance of permanence, be it of work, of home, or of personal relations. Ramah McKay illustrates how an explicit discourse of temporariness reflected in statements like "we're just a program that will end one day" (57) authorizes nongovernmental interventions that nonetheless become perennial—an important distinction from being permanent—features of public health provision. She documents how aid recipients in Mozambique actively critique this mandatory temporariness and divert food aid into broader familial networks expected to endure longer than humanitarian horizons. Brad Weiss examines the multiple meanings of development in Tanzania, showing how it expresses a precarious sense of growth and asserts the moral value of particular socially beneficial modes of moving forward slowly and under control as opposed to the dangerously hasty and individualized "fast business" (205): antisocial modes of accumulation available to those working in mines or transportation. Thus, development is not simply a straightforward imposition of teleological sensibility but articulates "a form of congealed desire" (49). When used in critiques of corruption, development offers a vocabulary through which people criticize

the temporariness of emergent forms of fast business that destabilize the unfolding of more moral economies.

For many young people, the future is elsewhere. Jennifer Cole describes marriages through which Malagasy women and French men collaborate to renew social reproduction in both provincial French villages (by caring for the elderly and laboring on farms) and coastal Madagascar (by building houses and making sacrificial connections to ancestors). This futurity depends on essentialist gendered and racial self-narration and the ability to navigate ever-tighter European border regimes. Peter Geschiere and Antoine Socpa describe how Cameroonians theorize similar centrifugal quests for futures as "bush-falling" (171), emphasizing the luck required to find oneself a viable future in the context of fatally risky border crossings. Capital also figures the future as existing elsewhere. In his analysis of Kinshasa's charter cities, projects to construct a new urban future and "obliterate the reality of millions of local lives" (153) in favor of Afro-optimistic gated communities, Filip De Boeck shows that futures are a commodity that can be imported en masse.

*African Futures* offers a set of terms that flit between emic and etic to name and theorize the foreign country that is the future. Among others, these include miracle, (broken) promise, hedging, hesitation, shadow, currency, coordination, rooting, and movement. These terms "write the world from Africa" (211) as a mythic charter and an everyday diacritic. But the insights these essays provide need not be contained by African exceptionalism. They reveal the constitutive temporal uncertainties of extractive development and Ponzi capitalism in the world at large.

**Ebola: How a People's Science Helped End an Epidemic.**  
Paul Richards. London: Zed Books, 2016. 192 pp.

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Paul Richards's *Ebola: How a People's Science Helped End an Epidemic* is a tour de force. It is not only the best book on the subject of the 2013–15 West African Ebola epidemic, it is also a stimulating meditation in social theory. While focused especially on the trajectory of the epidemic in Sierra Leone, it covers the situations in neighboring Guinea and Liberia. The book is written in plain English, and though Richards deals with technical subjects from epidemiology to social theory to West African ethnology, he conveys all in a coherent and approachable style. The book should be useful for teaching undergraduates, for nonanthropologists (like medical professionals) looking for a comprehensive

postmortem of the West African Ebola epidemic, and for professional anthropologists.

Richards begins, “Ebola is a disease of social intimacy” (1). The rest of his argument spools out elegantly from there, offering a social anthropological analysis of the epidemic. The outbreak began in December 2013 in southeastern Guinea; by May 2014, it had spread to Liberia and Sierra Leone. The scale of the epidemic dwarfed prior outbreaks in remote corners of Central Africa, leading the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to predict that the 2014–15 Ebola epidemic could infect 1.4 million people. In the end, there were some 27,000 cases (about 15,000 of them confirmed), with mortality rates that ranged from 30 percent in Sierra Leone to 66 percent in Guinea. The total number of deaths was a little over 11,000, a massive tragedy by any standard, yet far less than initial estimates had predicted. Richards thus sets himself the task of explaining what went right in the midst of so much chaos and suffering, as well as how rice-farming villagers and health care professionals collaborated to bring the epidemic under control and offer increasingly effective treatment to those already infected.

Richards insists on the sociological dimension of both the spread and the containment of the disease. Throughout, he focuses on a dangerous misrecognition: the culture concept. While Richards holds Clifford Geertz particularly accountable for this notion of culture, the broader point against which he argues is that culture is a kind of cognitive script that shapes what people do in the world. In the case of situations like an epidemic spread by social intimacy, this is not just incorrect but dangerous, because it leads to epidemiological messages intended to shift behavior by changing cultural beliefs.

The reason such outreach was demonstrably ineffective, Richards asserts, is because it got the equation backward. Culture is a symptom, not a cause. There is no denying that people in different places and times do things in distinctive ways, including caring for the sick and burying the dead, the two primary scenarios within which Ebola is transmitted. Instead of thinking of these as cultural, Richards argues, we should understand them to be “techniques of the body,” borrowing the phrase from Marcel Mauss’s famous 1934 essay. In the neo-Durkheimian framework that he proposes, epidemiologists and others should not think of culture as a cognitive template that enjoins people to engage in harmful traditional practices; rather, these traditions are the visible traces of an ever-changing and often only semiconscious engagement between habitual practices (*habitus*) and the exigencies of everyday life. This subtle shift in emphasis has two consequences. It suggests, first, that practice (as opposed to culture) is relatively pliable and available to be adapted to changing

circumstances and, second, that the terrain of public health engagement ought not to be that of explanation and argumentation but rather that of practical, embodied forms of knowledge.

The most powerful chapter in the book, “Community Responses to Ebola,” offers an ethnography of how these dynamics played out in one Mende chiefdom of Kailahun District, where Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Liberia meet. As it happened, the paramount chief of the district was himself trained as a nurse and a lab technician, and when Ebola first entered Sierra Leone, he cautioned everyone against touching the sick or touching and washing the dead—exactly the advice a specialist in hemorrhagic fevers would have given. Unfortunately, the initial victim was highly respected in the region, and dozens of colleagues and friends came to minister to her. Of these, 27 contracted Ebola and died, and 68 died as a result of touching her corpse at some point during the preparations for her burial. These numbers included the chief’s own wife.

Despite the fact that rumors pointed to the deaths as part of a government plot to decimate the Mende people, the chief insisted on training a team of young men as an anti-Ebola task force. Crucially, when it came to convincing members of the women’s *Sande* power association (into which all adult Mende women are initiated around puberty), he had no authority to force them to change the ways they buried their members, especially their senior members, several of whose funerals had become “super-spreader events” (139) due to the large number of senior members who had come from a distance to pay their respects. The chief offered the best scientific information he could to the *Sande* leaders. His message was met with acceptance by some and opposition by others. When Richards asked him what happened, he responded simply that they had gone to the sacred grove in the forest and “danced a solution” (140). Burial practices shifted, and Ebola infections in the chiefdom dropped precipitously, all with virtually no input from public health officials. Using the parallel example of local practices of hybridizing rice varieties to suit subtle climatic and soil variations, Richards argues that such solutions grow out of embodied practical consciousness, not the deliberative model that organizes public health outreach.

Richards applauds the rapidity with which many international actors embraced and worked with such approaches. It must be said that there was significant variation across the three countries, with Guinea being the least successful at promoting such epistemological ecumenism. The variation in effectiveness and responsiveness by the governments of the three countries is a story not taken up in this fieldwork-based account, but it should be the focus of future studies that build upon Richards’s scholarship.

**The Mask and the Flag: Populism, Citizenism and Global Protest.** Paolo Gerbaudo. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 256 pp.

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In *The Mask and the Flag*, Paolo Gerbaudo attempts to make sense of “the movement of the squares,” a phrase referring to the mass protests that have appeared in national capitals across the world since the late 2000s. These protests reflect an emergent widespread desire among ordinary individuals for rupture on two levels: from the current sociopolitical and economic status quo and from past forms of political mobilizations. Although Gerbaudo discusses both these ruptures, I found the latter to be of particular interest. Using interviews and archival data, he argues that contemporary protests are a departure from the new social movements of the 1960s and the antiglobalization efforts that took place at the turn of the century, illustrating their differences in terms of their scope and scale, ideologies and practices, protester profiles, and demands.

By comparing the Arab Spring in Egypt and Tunisia, Occupy Wall Street in the United States and the United Kingdom, Indignados in Spain, Aganaktismenoi in Greece, Gezi Park in Turkey, Movimento de Junho in Brazil, and Nuit Debout in France, Gerbaudo outlines the core characteristics of these protests and coins a new term to cover them: *citizenism*. The term refers to mass protest movements that synthesize populist and anarchist ideals and methods and are composed of self-organizing individual citizens (in contrast to *the people*, a term Gerbaudo finds to be too closely associated with *the masses*) from across the demographic spectrum. Gerbaudo notes that these citizens come from diverse socioeconomic and political backgrounds, but he puts them into three broad categories: the lost generation of youths facing a bleak future; the squeezed middle, referring to middle-class citizens who have lost their sense of economic stability; and the new poor, those who are homeless or unemployed or who are employed but still lack the financial means to improve their standard of living. Positioning themselves in opposition to the economic and political oligarchies they deem responsible for exacerbating socioeconomic inequalities, these citizens are striving toward the “reclamation and expansion of citizenship” (3) so that democratic practices can be realized in their respective societies.

I appreciate Gerbaudo’s framing of contemporary protests as a form of anarcho-populism, as it takes into consideration the interplay between the centrality of solidarity and national sovereignty within the political discourses of protesters, with these movements’ simultaneous

adherence to notions of horizontality and autonomous self-determinism. The volume is also attuned to the pragmatic dilemmas experienced by citizenism, noting the disconnect between the ideals espoused by protesters and their actual practices. For example, Gerbaudo uses the removal of a feminist banner at the Puerta del Sol in Madrid to show how citizenist movements struggle to embrace diverse “minoritarian factional identities” (101) while maintaining an image of cohesive unity. The banner asserted demands that were not in keeping with the interests of the movement as a whole, so its leaders said it had to go even though they wished to recognize feminists as a crucial constituency. Gerbaudo uses Occupy Wall Street to demonstrate how the “philosophy of horizontality was repeatedly contradicted by the presence of power differentials and a clear division of political labour” (153) among protesters (though this then raises questions of whether citizenism can thus be seen as a horizontal movement comprised of individuated citizens, which he claims to be one of its key attributes). And reviewing protest camps such as Tahrir Square and Syntagma Square, he reminds scholars that these movements’ emphasis on inclusivity and majoritarian participation does not necessarily lead to the long-term amelioration of divisions stemming from the variegated desires and sensibilities of protesters (based on their left- or right-wing leanings, radical or moderate values, class backgrounds).

Yet these issues have already been documented, and the volume falls short of providing novel insight into how they can be resolved, showing only that protesters have coped by increasingly engaging in a diverse range of small-scale campaigns or asserting their views through the very institutional political structures they had criticized, initiatives that have met with variable success and are often accompanied by their own problems. Rather, it would be of interest to readers if Gerbaudo had used this material to further theoretical discussions about what is evidently an uncomfortable and unequal relationship between the anarchist and populist aspects of citizenism.

The volume also raises two methodological concerns. The first pertains to scope. Although Gerbaudo seeks to provide a global analysis of contemporary movements, his omission of the Asian region presents a potential analytical oversight regarding the impact that local sociocultural and political conditions have on contemporary mobilizations, a topic examined by Jeffrey Broadbent and Vicky Brockman in their 2011 edited volume, *East Asian Social Movements*. Although Broadbent and Brockman focused on Asian social movements from previous decades, the role of localized peculiarities remains relevant today, as illustrated by the 2014 Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong. The development of that protest was facilitated by the city’s special political status within Chinese national borders, whereas such mass mobilizations would be unimaginable in other regions of China because of strong government

suppression. There is also the question of how well the citizenist model applies to recent Asian movements, as exemplified by the Red and Yellow Shirt protests that have emerged since 2006 on the streets of Thailand, which are the product of entrenched class inequalities. Instead of a citizen-versus-oligarch dynamic as embodied by Gerbaudo's case studies, in Thailand different citizens are pitted against each other.

The second methodological issue pertains to representation. Despite featuring 140 interviews conducted across multiple field sites, Gerbaudo presents the voices of the protesters as a homogeneous and generic mass. It is difficult for the reader to discern who these protesters are as individuals, why they mobilized and what they hope to achieve, and how they experienced being part of these movements, along with how they define the concepts of citizenship and democracy that are central to definitions of citizenism. And although the protesters are presented as ordinary citizens from various ethnic, gender, and socioeconomic backgrounds, this sense of diversity is missing. Gerbaudo acknowledges that youths and students of the lost generation protester cohort have a disproportionately significant presence in his informant sample and within the movements themselves. It would be worthwhile if he had questioned why this is the case and examined the repercussions this had on the manifestations and ideologies of these citizenism protests.

Regardless of these minor flaws, *The Mask and the Flag* stands apart from current work on contemporary protests in its ambition to go beyond describing the nuanced characteristics of these movements to explore their complexities and contradictions. Gerbaudo encourages scholars to reflect upon the limits of our existing political language and to work toward developing a new way to frame an emergent protest culture.

**Violent Becomings: State Formation, Sociality, and Power in Mozambique.** Bjørn Enge Bertelsen. New York: Berghahn, 2016. 360 pp.

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Although Mozambique has widely been held up as a paragon of postwar recovery since the end of its civil war in 1992 and as a donor darling for most of the ensuing reconstruction period, the country has also witnessed recurring outbursts of violence—from bread riots to episodes of lynching in peri-urban neighborhoods to the resurgence of armed opposition to the Frelimo government by the opposition party Renamo since 2013. Based on years of fieldwork

in the urban-rural continuum between the (anonymized) village of Honde and Chimoio, the capital of the central Manica Province, Bjørn Enge Bertelsen lays out a systematic, careful interpretation of these events as part of a long history of “violent becomings” of the Mozambican state. The author forcefully argues against statecentric and institution-based notions of the state, letting emerge instead a historically and ethnographically grounded, nontotalizing image of the state as perpetually becoming, unfolding, and challenged.

To advance this argument, Bertelsen finds analytical purchase in the Deleuze-Guattarian metaphor of the rhizome, which is antagonistic to “arborescent structures of state ordering” (21). He bases this analysis on a meticulous examination of the “traditional field”—not to be taken as a static, reified, or institutional domain but, rather, as an “unruly and contested entity of potentialities” (18). This field is fundamentally uncapturable by state actors who seek to co-opt, incorporate, or defuse its potentiality. Instead, it allows villagers and city dwellers alike the opportunity to challenge these efforts at ordering by the formation of “lines of flight” (62) and fleeting, often violently contested assemblages.

Bertelsen articulates this argument in seven empirically rich chapters, each tackling in turn central categories by which social anthropology has sought to approach the state: violence, territory, spirit, body, sovereignty, economy, and law. To this reviewer, the chapters on violence, sovereignty, and law stand out. The first reads the bush war between Renamo rebels and the Frelimo government as both deterritorializing the Mozambican state and reinscribing society and the landscape with meaning, with both parties manifesting rhizomic traits of a “war machine” (38) and arborescent tendencies of state structuring, thus appearing as distorted mirror images of each other.

The chapter on sovereignty reveals how the state seeks to defuse the unruly potential of the traditional field by re-ordering it into organized civil society. This tendency to co-opt civil society into manageable associations recognizable to the state is not unique to Mozambique but widespread across dominant-party regimes, especially formerly socialist regimes. In his description of the state-sanctioned Association for Traditional Medicine in Mozambique, Bertelsen moves from controversies about witchcraft accusations and the agency of nefarious spirits, *uroi*, to truth ordeals to imaginaries about the power and body of the president (as a king figure), thereby revealing lines of flight that challenge the state’s “creation of striated spaces and arborescent hierarchies of subjects” (189).

The law chapter follows cases of popular, summary justice in some of Chimoio's peri-urban *bairros*. Bertelsen develops a vigorous critique of the legal pluralism literature as well as a convincing rebuttal of Boaventura de Sousa Santos's reading of Mozambique as a heterogeneous state,

arguing instead for a reading of the overlapping, competing, and shifting formations of power within the postcolonial state as “multiple sovereignties” (257). The conclusion restates his key argument: that the traditional stands in tension to processes of state formation, tensions that often are discharged in unforeseeable, violent processes and that should help us conceive of the state as incomplete—as always contested and evaded by social forces and dynamics, especially from the domain of the traditional.

True to this conceptual inspiration, Bertelsen’s writing is dense and effervescent, and eclectic in its analytical reference points, especially in the chapters on healing and funeral rituals. It is also studded with a great number of very precise vernacular terms in chiTewe for specific spirits, entities, and rituals, which made this reader turn more than once to the comprehensive glossary. Such authorial and editorial choices notwithstanding, this is a rich book, ambitious in its arguments, sweeping in its scope, and offering the kind of comprehensive, painstaking ethnographic observation, description, and analysis of rituals that one rarely encounters anymore. This speaks to the author’s evident familiarity with and deep knowledge of the place and the people he has worked with, as well as the lasting relationships of trust he has built up over the years. This book provides a wealth of new and often fascinating empirical material on the history and social life of a largely underexplored region of Mozambique. More than that, it offers thought-provoking conceptual impetus to a readership interested in recent anthropological debates on state formation, power, and violence in postcolonial Africa.

**Creating Dialogues: Indigenous Perceptions and Changing Forms of Leadership in Amazonia.** Hanne Veber and Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen, eds. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017. 336 pp.

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*Creating Dialogues* is a timely collection of analyses of lowland South American indigenous leadership that attend to ontological perspectives and are situated in histories of tribal relations within the nation-state. Combined they are a diverse series of studies into power and meaning across time and space.

Contemporary studies of leadership in South American indigenous societies are in many ways in dialogue with the works of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Robert Lowie, both of whom sought to understand the politics and power of small-scale groups as a general process. More recently, David Maybury-Lewis and Pierre Clastres characterized

Amazonian political leaders as lacking power and coercive force. In establishing the parameters for the field of study, these classic works defined indigenous leadership in Amazonia as homogeneous and sought to understand general aspects of these social groups and actors as emerging from social groups that were isolated from South American nation-states.

The current volume transcends the limitations of this anthropological history. Amazonian indigenous leadership is no longer, if it ever was, a sphere of action distinct from state relations. Instead, the focus is on how members of indigenous groups create and re-create a field of thought and action that includes state systems. The authors stress that new leaders deploy past political processes in novel contexts to carve out complex dynamic systems. More than simply articulating with larger systems, lowland South American societies reinforce the distinction between insider and outsider while engaging with the state to promote heterogeneous indigenous agendas.

The book is organized around three main themes. The first section explores how contemporary leadership in lowland South America finds meaning in indigenous cosmology. This is not a static vision of a discrete world but a set of meanings that are continually being redefined. Thus, for example, Luiz Costa addresses the suggestion by the Kanamari of Brazil that they are becoming FUNAI, the state-sponsored indigenous agency. He argues that the Kanamari are not assimilating state concepts of social power into indigenous political frameworks but are understanding FUNAI within indigenous concepts of hierarchy that perceive submission as an important aspect of social relations with external others. In a similar case, Hanne Veber examines the Asháninka use of the indigenous concept of strong man to understand the ambivalent aspects of leadership with regard to Peruvian state power, with leaders holding positions that are both egalitarian and hierarchical, both democratic and authoritarian.

The second section of the book is about new forms of indigenous leadership in lowland South America. Moving from the cosmological, this section points to structural changes fostered by relations with the state. New political roles build on state political processes—but in dynamic tension with forms of political discourse within indigenous communities. Terence Turner (who died before the book was published) provides an analysis that considers the case of young Kayapó leaders forming a new political organization. Previous generations had effectively galvanized political consensus around resistance to the Belo Monte hydroelectric dam. When the Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff sidelined these leaders and fast-tracked the dam, Kayapó activists found new methods and leaders to assert novel strategies in relation to the state. The new organization, which included young Kayapó women, upended conventional political leadership by organizing around

generational alliances, gaining power and presence by transcending boundaries of gender, ethnic group, and geography.

José Pimenta, also working among the Asháninka, moves away from state power in the Peruvian Amazon to detail the importance of nonindigenous NGOs in the development of new structures of power and action. The last 50 years have seen a variety of efforts by development agencies and corporations to engage with the Asháninka, but these have had limited success. The social benefit of leaders' economic and political ties with external agencies has been counterbalanced by structures that concentrate power and wealth in the hands of a few leaders to the consternation of many Asháninka and external observers.

Essays in the third section explore the role of indigenous perspectives in local-level participatory politics. Under the multiethnic programs of Bolivian president Evo Morales, for example, the national concept of indigeneity became highly contested. Amazonian groups explicitly resisted the imposition of highland indigenous values and perspectives on local-level organizing. Rather than create alliances between lowland and highland indigenous leaders to the exclusion of nonindigenous power brokers, the leaders in the Amazonian indigenous movement often used the power of white landowners to assert hierarchical relations within their own indigenous population.

The collection moves beyond the national traditions that have limited many previous anthropological discussions of lowland South America. The eleven authors hail from seven different countries and have a wide variety of international training and experience. And the volume is notable for the breadth of its ethnography, ranging from southern Brazil to French Guiana and from the Atlantic coast to the Peruvian Amazon. This ambitious geography suggests boundaries defined by areas excluded (the Andes and Gran Chaco) rather than by commonalities among the case studies. The result is a profusion of conceptual frameworks and perspectives that provide a multifaceted understanding of the diversity of forms that leadership takes in these societies but leave the reader searching for summary statements and more general findings.

The result is also intriguing, however, for the common threads suggested in the growing body of anthropological literature on several specific Amazonian groups, such as the Asháninka of Peru and the Kayapó of Brazil. The extensive and focused literature on these groups might well offer the opportunity to frame tentative findings. For example, Turner's work finds itself in dialogue with a significant body of scholarship over the last two decades on leadership among the Kayapó. Likewise, the three articles concerning the Asháninka (and two others from the original program panel) join a voluminous body of work on political organization among this group. This wealth of individual works about specific ethnic groups raises the possibility that

future analyses might uncover the beginnings of general statements, no matter how tentative.

**Far Out: Countercultural Seekers and the Tourist Encounter in Nepal.** Mark Liechty. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. 392 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12644

#### JASON RODRIGUEZ

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*Far Out* is an at times mischievously humorous book about tourism in Nepal from the 1950s to the present. Mark Liechty explores a broad range of interconnected, historically contingent processes and cultural encounters to illuminate the various places of Kathmandu in the history of Western imaginings of exotic Others and the eventual emergence of Nepal as a player in the global tourist economy.

Liechty's central argument is that the meaning of Nepal as an exotic destination has shifted over time as social relations have changed in the West. Westerners have tended to project their sense of what has been lost in the West onto Nepal and the Himalayas. At different historical moments, these projections have been in reference to industrialization, feelings of cultural alienation, and a longing for spirituality and adventure, often in the form of climbing pristine mountain peaks or killing big game. In each case, Nepal has been produced as a sort of mystical place for Westerners to find the self they imagine they have lost. To generate income and facilitate development, Nepalis learned to perform and sell the Nepal that Westerners hoped to find.

However, since the 1970s, Nepalis have cultivated an image of Nepal as a different kind of tourism destination and incited desires that motivated foreigners to engage in a new form of lucrative adventure tourism. During this period, tourism officials began to conceptualize Nepal as a marketable product and thus set out to change its reputation as a budget tourism destination for hippies. To do so, they created a set of conditions to foster a new kind of tourism and thus rebrand what many Nepalis had come to view as their commodity. This involved new hotels, government guidebooks, trekking agencies, gear shops, and a new tourist district removed from Freak Street, the old hippie district. By attracting a new kind of tourist who spent much more money, this endeavor succeeded in certain respects as a form of development. So successful was it that, one day in 2012, 600 climbers were waiting in line to get to the peak of Mount Everest. "These 'hobby climbers' proved that—with enough money to pay for other people's labor and expertise (and a constant supply of bottled oxygen)—trekkers can buy their way to the top of the world" (321).

To build his argument, Liechty draws on more than 75 interviews, extensive historical research, and a



long-standing interest in Nepal that goes back to a childhood visit with his parents in the 1960s. To help elucidate the changing forms of tourism, he organizes the relevant history of Nepal as a tourism destination into three periods: the golden age from 1950 to 1965, the hippie phase from 1965 to 1975, and the adventure tourism phase from 1975 to the present. Liechty sets out to conceptualize tourism in Nepal through an encounter framework that will be familiar to academics who are versed in postcolonial approaches. He adeptly demonstrates that tourist encounters in Nepal are constantly in flux and involve negotiations among a changing cast of differently positioned Nepali and foreign actors.

As Liechty makes clear, the constitution of Nepal as a tourist destination has not been a unidirectional process where foreigners determined the shape of tourism or Nepal's meaning as a global signifier. Nepalis have been active participants in constituting the kind of destination Nepal will be, a point that is most clearly evident in the third historical period, from the mid-1970s onward. Liechty's analysis differs from some cultural contact approaches in prioritizing the mutually beneficial aspect of encounters rather than highlighting asymmetrical relations of power. This emphasis illuminates unexpected forms of empowerment, such as how budget tourism provided marginalized and low-caste people the opportunity to rent part of their houses to tourists and thus generate income outside of agriculture. This emphasis is evident as well in Liechty's account of the emergence of the Royal Hotel in the 1950s, which was established through collaborations among a Russian ballet dancer, a Danish woman, and Nepali Prince Basundhara and eventually became a destination for the rich and famous. Such collaborations made possible an "Oriental/colonial experience" for Westerners "who wanted to live some of the Kipling-esque fantasies that they had entertained since youth" (92–93). But they also resulted in Nepalis building the infrastructure that would enable their country to become a major tourism destination.

While prioritizing such encounters, Liechty nonetheless presents a critical analysis of foreigners, their misunderstandings, and their practices. He includes an extended discussion of interviews with Nepalis about their relations with foreigners and the disdain that many had for hippies and their behavior. Liechty is nonetheless able to present a nuanced account of the unexpected entanglements as well as the agency, cultural change, and emergent subjectivities that Nepalis experience through tourist encounters. An example of such entanglements that continues into the present is seen in how desires among Westerners for a spiritual Himalayan experience have coalesced with and generated support for the desires of Tibetan Buddhists in exile to maintain their cultural identity.

One aspect of the book that I found particularly compelling is the definitiveness with which Liechty argues that

when we talk about the West and the imagined Orient, we need to attend to the specific manifestations of these discursive constructions at particular historical moments and in specific places. And one of the key arguments that I will take away from the text is how Nepalis succeeded both in capitalizing on orientalist views of Nepal as an exotic Other and in very intentionally creating a more profitable cultural brand. *Far Out* makes important contributions to the scholarship on South Asia, cultural encounters, and emerging cultural worlds and is a must-read for scholars pursuing ethnographic or historical research on tourism, cultural change, and contemporary manifestations of orientalism.

**Forests Are Gold: Trees, People, and Environmental Rule in Vietnam.** Pamela D. McElwee. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12645

**NIKHIL ANAND**

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Forests in Vietnam have been active sites for resource management and protection for more than a century. Why, despite this history of management, do they remain threatened? Pamela McElwee answers this question by taking the reader through the forests of French colonization, the socialist period in Vietnam, the US-Vietnam War, and the postconflict neoliberal regime. These disjunctive yet linked histories of making and ruling forests continue to animate the ways in which they are governed today.

*Forests Are Gold* is based on admirably thorough archival research, interviews with state officials and leaders of NGOs and their donors, coupled with ethnographic fieldwork among residents in rural Vietnam. Central to the book is a focused and well-substantiated argument about the force of what McElwee calls environmental rule. Environmental rule occurs when states or other institutions "use environmental or ecological reasons as justification for what is really a concern with social planning, and thereby intervene in such disparate areas as land ownership, population settlement, labor availability, or markets" (5). Neither forests nor the crises they face are natural. They are brought into being through a set of similar and sequential state techniques of problematization, classification, intervention, and subject formation. This collection of practices, McElwee argues, is not static but continuously changes depending on the political milieu in which forests are mobilized. Nevertheless, an enduring feature of these practices is that environmental threats are constantly misidentified, resulting in a set of outcomes injurious to the very forest ecology that is intended to be saved.

By attending to how different kinds of forests were conjured into being at different moments in Vietnam's history, McElwee reveals not only the fickle continuities and discontinuities between historic projects of what K. Sivaramakrishnan calls state making, but also how the materiality of forests constantly evaded their regulation. As effects of processes of state making, forests are constantly made and remade through history. Far from being a natural form outside history, forests are constantly made with relations between humans and nonhumans. They emerge with (and not just from or beyond) human histories of colonization, war, and subjugation.

McElwee's account begins with French officials misreading the Vietnamese landscape to the advantage of the colonial project. Seeing in the secondary forests a lost past in which seemingly primeval forests were mismanaged by local populations, colonial officials set up reserve forest estates and protected forest estates that not only paternalistically disconnected the forests from the local populations that depended on their use but also enhanced and expanded opportunities for profitable timber extraction. This dual and in some ways contradictory approach to forests persisted through the brief socialist period after reunification, when East German and Vietnamese foresters similarly sought to keep forest-dependent communities like swidden farmers out of forests even as they sought to (legally and illegally) extend and expand the commercial exploitation of forests.

In the second half of the book, McElwee turns to more contemporary, market-based regimes of forest regulation, tracing a similar set of contradictions. Reforestation programs in the 1980s and 1990s as well as the Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) program and a program for payments for environmental services in the contemporary moment, seek to use market-based incentives for communities to protect forests. Paradigmatic of neoliberal regulation at the end of the 20th century, these technologies see households and not the state as the appropriate location through which forests would be regenerated. Yet even in these instances forests were seldom cared for on their own terms. Like state forest regimes, market forest regimes were used to accomplish social or political ends. For instance, programs that paid farmers in rice to plant trees on bare hills—a practice known as afforestation—were used by the farmers to make land claims rather than establish new nature preserves. Afforestation marginalized landless residents who depended on such erstwhile marginal land for their fuelwood and pasturage.

More recent projects to pay residents of watersheds for environmental services also sought to effect a change in subjectivity for Vietnam's rural and forest communities. These programs have been generative in that they redistribute to residents of upland forests much-needed

capital to sustain their lives. Nevertheless, while development entities see these amounts both as an exchange for services past and as a way to cultivate the right dispositions in the future, payments for environmental services and REDD payments have been unable to create appropriate forest subjects. Peasant farmers remain farmers not foresters. Moreover, because these regimes propose to compensate populations for suitable forest cover, they generate significant ontological uncertainty about what counts as a forest. Is a forest defined by its density or its diversity? REDD and environmental services payments both seek to distribute financial resources based on the ecological services provided by forest stands. Yet because of the heterogeneity of forests, both these programs struggle to fix the terms of compensation and the targets of it. They continue to generate political controversy.

*Forests Are Gold* is a wonderful and timely addition to the literature on political ecology. In describing how forests are made with and beyond the different programs of the colonial and postcolonial Vietnamese state over the last century, McElwee vividly demonstrates how environmental rule is accomplished through actions and activities at different scales and with different ideas and practices around the concepts of nature and the environment. Forests are problematized, classified, acted upon, and brought into being for a collection of reasons that are neither singular nor consistent. Yet there seems to be a tension in the book where the author at times treats the environment and forests as a social, natural, and plural coproduction and at other times treats forests as real and singular, outside of human history, as a set of natural relations that exists behind the mask of forest conservation politics. In so doing, the book contains and instantiates a productive tension in political anthropology in general and political ecology in particular around the agency of more-than-human nature. McElwee asks: What is a forest? And what would it be if it was not problematized as such? In presenting the dilemmas and projects of forest conservation over the last century, she convincingly demonstrates that if forests can and do act beyond humans, the generativity of these activities is lost on those who seek to more efficiently administer them.

**Muslim Cool: Race, Religion, and Hip Hop in the United States.** *Su'ad Abdul Khabeer.* New York: New York University Press, 2016. 288 pp.

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**JONAS OTTERBECK**  
Lund University

*Muslim Cool* aims to contextualize Muslims who engage in hip-hop creatively as artists, activists, and fans and put them in relation to the complex, negative narratives

about black culture upheld by white-dominant society and South Asian Muslim communities. To Su'ad Abdul Khabeer, hip-hop culture has the power to overrun these negative narratives and provide the cognitive tools (particularly the knowledge of self) and creative impulses needed for an active, informed citizenship. She draws on material from the Chicago Inner-City Muslim Action Network or IMAN, a Muslim awareness group that she herself has been active in. On the book's cover is a smart rendering of Johannes Vermeer's *Girl with a Pearl Earring*. By reproducing the painting down to the shine on the lips and the color and style of the headscarf but with a more hip-hoppish earring, the author, who I believe is the one portrayed, by posing poses an implicit question: you praise this painting; do you have a problem with me?

The book, based on Abdul Khabeer's PhD thesis, contains a substantial introduction, five chapters, and a conclusion. The theory-driven introduction and the following first chapter develop the concept of Muslim Cool. Abdul Khabeer finds inspiration in critical class and race theories. She is describing an attitude she observes among her interlocutors, but she also construes and promotes that very same attitude in a theoretical, politically aware form that makes it normative. Muslim Cool is a "way of being Muslim that resists and reconstitutes U.S. racial hierarchies" (7). Central to Muslim Cool is the adoption of blackness, understood as black American (adopting Abdul Khabeer's terminology) cultural manifestations of identity in language, dress, and music, especially in its hip-hop guise but also not least as dandyism. Abdul Khabeer details Muslim Cool versions of such manifestations via chapters on stage performance, on what women's and men's dress communicates, and on subversive and racially conscious art in relation to soft power and American hip-hop diplomacy.

Generally, the accounts are rich and the prose engaging. For Abdul Khabeer, the way forward for American Muslim youth is to merge the cultural creativity and styles of blackness with Islam regardless of individual family background and ethnicity, and she provides abundant examples of people who have done so. The problem is that white-dominant culture and South Asian Muslim cultures uphold their respective demeaning narratives about blackness, making it either invisible or hypervisible, that is, "being seen but misrecognized" (107), and thus fail to acknowledge its value. Muslim Cool challenges these narratives and paves the way for a vivid, nonnostalgic Islam.

At times, Abdul Khabeer's preference for and interest in black American culture lead her to draw conclusions that are not entirely valid. For example, she stresses that at the yearly conference arranged by the Islamic Society of North America, black Americans typically complain that their music is policed and prescreened for inappropriate content. This is no doubt true, but it is also valid for other artists,

for example, the British Azeri Islamic singer Sami Yusuf, as she mentions. Throughout, Abdul Khabeer takes shortcuts when representing white-dominant society and South Asian Muslim prejudices. For example, referencing Stuart Hall, she positions music as "an alternative and critique of western logocentrism" (115), ignoring the research and arguments of music researchers like John Street in his 2012 *Music and Politics*, who claims that music itself—not just as sounds carrying lyrics—is central to politics and identity work among the majority population in the very same West.

Further, instead of relying on her genuine field experience, Abdul Khabeer at times construes passages based on narratives that she has picked up from others. For example, some six or seven pages revolve around an anecdote told to her by an imam, a professional speaker who should be expected to know how to tell a story in a fascinating way. Incidentally, he is the good guy in it. Abdul Khabeer interprets the motives of the people in the story without having access to them or a film or anything apart from the story. It is an appealing, intellectual reading. But one can easily come up with other interpretations that do not fit the overall argument of the book. It is puzzling that such a passage was not edited out or exchanged for an instance from her own fieldwork that could serve the same function.

It is clear that Abdul Khabeer's aim has not been to write a book where analysis carefully emerges only from her fieldwork. Rather, *Muslim Cool* is a crossover between academic research and activist normativity. It is a fascinating read filled with engaging ideas and theoretical impulses, but at times its author's broad brush becomes problematic for the validity of the scholarly arguments she makes.

**Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place.**  
Setha Low. New York: Routledge, 2017. 276 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12647

**EMANUELA GUANO**

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Setha Low's *Spatializing Culture* is a comprehensive review of current and recent research on the issue of space and place in the fields of anthropology, geography, psychology, sociology, linguistics, history, and architecture. Throughout the book, Low supports her theoretical arguments with ethnographic examples borrowed from her own research as well as that of fellow anthropologists.

At the core of *Spatializing Culture* is the distinction between the social production of space and the social construction of space. As Low argues in the introduction, the former applies to the creation of built environments; the latter, instead, encompasses the cultural, symbolic, and emotional and affective dimensions of place making.

In the chapter “Genealogies: The Concepts of Space and Place,” she builds upon the definition of space as an abstract and general construct that retains a material origin even as it is socially produced; she also elaborates on the notion of place as defined through personal—though often shared—meanings, emotions, and the senses to situate it as the object of phenomenological (but also social, political, and economic) inquiry. Here Low explores the history of the concept of space from Newton’s absolute space to Heidegger’s place as the basis of human ontology. She then goes on to examine landmark concepts in the study of space and place generated through the contributions of French scholars, mostly sociologists and philosophers but also geographers and architects.

“The Social Production of Space” is devoted to the literature examining the material aspects of place making as well as the ideologies underlying the production of the built environment. Low reviews historical and architectural approaches to the social history and development of the built environment, delving into the multidisciplinary literature on the political economy of space while paying close attention to ethnographic studies of social control and spatial governmentality as well as the social production and reproduction of and resistance to dominant spatialities. In this chapter, she suggests that even though social production scholarship tackles questions about space, much of it fails to provide insights into people’s abilities to give meaning to and appropriate the places of their everyday lives.

This, in turn, is the focus of the literature on the social construction of space, which is the topic of the following chapter. Low argues here that the study of the social construction of space requires an ethnographic approach to the meaning-making practices through which the materialities of everyday life are transfigured into socially and culturally relevant places. The politics of class, race, and gender but also of memory, heritage, and history are among the processes that contribute to shaping the often contested yet always again meaningful places of everyday life. Low enumerates and discusses constructivism and the early studies in the social construction of place that challenged the scientism and positivism of the mid-20th century; scholarship focusing on the struggle over the spatial attribution of meanings; research on memory making and place attachment; and the exploration of the politics of race, gender, and class at contested sites.

Since the experience of place is always again embodied, “Embodied Space” is devoted to approaches integrating microanalyses of social, political, and economic forces with the study of the body as a locus of agency as well as a physical and social entity. This entails exploring how bodies participate in place making through the cognitive, biological, emotional, and social dimensions of their practice and experience. In this chapter, Low observes how a general insight into embodied spatial relations is

provided by proxemics; the study of sensoria that has characterized more recent scholarship, instead, zeroes in on the connection between socially and culturally patterned sensory modes of experience and the understanding of space. Mobility and circulation are also the subject matter of embodied place making, with movement and rhythm being core components of how we both experience and use space even as we shape it.

Living in, and conceptualizing, space require language, and in “Language, Discourse and Space” Low discusses the linguistic and discursive foci of the social constructivist approach to spatial analysis. This kind of scholarship explores how the performative and discursive aspects of language contribute to producing space, but it also investigates the textual dimensions of landscape even as it maps the use of texts in the built environment. Yet place making is unimaginable without an embedded affectivity, and since the 1990s a growing body of scholarship in anthropology and social psychology has focused on the emotional and affective relationship to physical environments. In this vein, “Emotion, Affect and Space” inventories the literature on the role of spatial affect and emotion in the social construction of space, tackling emotional and affective climates and atmospheres as fields that emerge from the relationship between participants and the spaces they inhabit and share.

Finally, in “Translocal Space,” Low reviews the scholarship on how global flows of capital, people, ideas, things, and images contribute to shaping new spatialities. The transnational circuits of people crossing borders and shuttling between countries as well as the translocal spaces shaped by electronic media and the global spaces of capital all contribute to challenging old notions of fixed territorialities even as they shed new light on the spatial dimensions of human experience in the contemporary world.

Written for an interdisciplinary audience of urban anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, environmental psychologists, architects, and urban studies scholars, *Spatializing Culture* is a fundamental resource for anyone with an interest in the study of place-making practices and human-environment connections. It should also be recommended reading for advanced undergraduate as well as graduate students of urban anthropology and related disciplines.

**Living Faithfully in an Unjust World: Compassionate Care in Russia.** *Melissa L. Caldwell.* Oakland: University of California Press, 2016. 280 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12648

**DOMINIC MARTIN**

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This is Melissa Caldwell's second book on the impact on Russia of neoliberalism's economic shock treatment in the 1990s. Then, policy advisers such as the Hungarian economist János Kornai were critical of the close relationships between state and citizen in the former Soviet space and called for the state to pull back from managing the personal welfare of its population. Instead, individual citizens needed to be made responsible for their own well-being. The retreat of the Russian state from providing social welfare left a gap that has since been filled by charitable and benevolent organizations and private citizens. More importantly, this withdrawal has also been an affective one, with the state acquiring a new neoliberal identity of impartiality and nonsentimentality that leaves the work of compassion to private citizens and organizations.

In an increasingly globalized neoliberal order where care has been privatized and outsourced from states to individuals, the motivation to care for others is presumed to exist as an intrinsic part of the good citizen. This new citizen, Andrea Muehlebach shows, is motivated by affect to do the work of supporting and improving society. In this emerging dispensation, the readily identifiable vulnerable subject—the marginalized, disenfranchised bare life individual—is now tightly accompanied by a new subject: the person who provides aid and care. In this anthropological vision of suffering as a human universal, Joel Robbins cautions, lurks the potential for anthropologists to imagine a shared experience, even a sameness, with their ethnographic subjects. His concern is that this imagined sameness might undo and dissolve the unique particularities of what it means to be human. Caldwell only narrowly swerves away from this hazard in her ethnographically dense and defiantly personal account of the faith-anointed custodians and purveyors of compassion to the needy in contemporary Russia, asserting that as the quality that moves between individuals, it is faith that maintains a distinction between them; it is faith that keeps them separate even as it binds them together in a shared project, a shared journey.

In *Living Faithfully in an Unjust World*, Caldwell recounts her participation over a long period in a Christian congregation in Moscow that is actively involved, with other like-minded groups, many of them led or dominated by foreigners, in a wide range of social welfare programs that previously would have been considered the responsibilities of the state. Specifically, it is the emphasis on faith that animates the ideals and practices of these organizations and the many different people who come together through their activities.

Caldwell scrutinizes the various permutations of the practice of faith as a mode of civic engagement, the forms of civil society and civic person that this mode takes, and the uncertainties and precarities that are revealed by the practical actions of faith. The separate compassionate Christian congregations in Moscow that she documents

have managed to create a robust social justice sphere that appears as a cohesive, cooperative community with shared visions and goals where clergy, staff, volunteers, and supporters circulate among projects and groups. By moving beyond theological and historical differences in the pursuit of a shared commitment to social action, these congregations have produced an interfaith or transfaith approach to social justice that has promulgated a revitalized version of Christian religious life. This form of care has flourished in the spaces of intersection and negotiation among diverse religious traditions as the members of these communities forge a broader and more flexible notion of Christian practices through their collaboration on social justice projects. Caldwell calls this phenomenon a secular theology of compassion. These interfaith communities directly challenge perceptions of Christian moral exceptionalism in which some denominations or congregations are accorded special legitimacy as sources and arbiters of moral authority, a tendency that is particularly relevant for attitudes toward Russian Orthodoxy.

Despite the richness of the ethnographic tapestry she sets out, Caldwell struggles to explain the estrangement and sometime hostility of Moscow's Russian Orthodox congregation, clergy, and hierarchy toward the explosion of collaborative ecumenical social activism she details. Yet this attitude is a constant and continuing presence—a specter at the feast. She highlights the tensions inherent in the affective gift economy of compassionate care. The contradictions of being on the receiving end of altruism and aid are keenly felt in the climate of resurgent Russian national identity. The prominent role of Africans in Moscow's compassionate activity discomfords Russians, who were accustomed to a moral hierarchy of aid in which Russia sent assistance to Africa but who now find themselves the recipients of aid from Africans. Caldwell brings a specific focus to the refusal of aid, reflecting upon examples where declining to accept aid can enable members of an organization or a community to promote larger symbolic values by allowing them to save face and not be forced to present themselves and their constituencies as needy, disenfranchised, or dependent on assistance, especially foreign assistance. Critics have suggested that this was one of the reasons behind the actions of the Russian government in expelling such organizations as the Peace Corps and Médecins Sans Frontières, among others, over the past two decades.

Nobel laureate Svetlana Alexievich has identified a collective Putin—a sense of wounded national pride and contempt for liberal values that currently runs deep in Russia, claiming the allegiance of 60 to 70 percent of the population. In this context, whether the compulsion to care comes from a position of power or a position of vulnerability or need, the relationships that pertain between those who provide aid and those who receive it are likely to remain more problematic and contested than the moral

neoliberals whose activities, zeal, and testimony Caldwell documents might wish.

**Endangered City: The Politics of Security and Risk in Bogotá.** Austin Zeiderman. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12649

**FRANK MÜLLER**

University of Amsterdam

National and city governments worldwide claim to treat protecting their inhabitants as a problem of utmost urgency. Threats related to environmental hazards, economic crises, and personal safety are a political opportunity for governments to prove their protective abilities. Austin Zeiderman's study of risk management in Bogotá, Colombia, explores how urgency and its related imaginaries, narratives, and policies also justify measures that go beyond the alleviation of direct threats. Risk management, as Zeiderman cogently demonstrates, is a governing technique in a demanding present that also anticipates a hopeful future. The management of risk thereby binds the state and its citizens in mutual responsibilities.

By locating his empirical study of security politics in peripheral self-built settlements, the slums or *invasiones* of Bogotá, Zeiderman introduces the conceptual framework of endangerment. Endangerment accumulates its social, political, and economic value in risk management as a future bond built on confidence in the other, the neighbor, the state representatives, the local nonstate authority. Who protects whom from what—and in exchange for what kind of material or symbolic resource—is the major currency through which a better urban future is negotiated. In this way, endangerment is not only a condition of daily life but also a political field made up of affective encounters and alliances in which political subjectivities are formed. Taking the perspectives of the internally displaced, the *desplazados*, victims of Colombia's six decades of violent confrontations between paramilitary and guerrilla groups and the state's security forces, Zeiderman traces their struggles to find an at least minimally protected place to live in search of a better future. It is this future, the dialectical intertwinement of promise (of a better life) and risk (of losing life, health, or property), which shapes the on-the-ground interaction of government officials and citizens.

In his lively and ethnographically rich account of resettlement programs directed toward the poorer populations of Bogotá, Zeiderman interrogates common assumptions of what it means to live a risky life. To be a member of a population at risk can for some individuals mean to become a beneficiary of the local state's politics of protection

by relocation. At other times, however, and highlighting the central paradox around which *Endangered City* builds its fine-grained analysis, the same population at risk is treated as a risky, dangerous population. So the environmental threat of climate change, for example—with its increasing rainfall and subsequent landslides—becomes an excuse for a pacifying security politics directed against the dangerous culprits of urban decay.

The book begins with an overview of the intrinsic theoretical and empirical interdependences of (in)security and risk, followed by a sketch of the recent hazardous history of Bogotá. This history is in many ways present in the repertoires that the state uses to reinforce its responsibility to protect citizens. Then, allowing a literal look over his shoulder, Zeiderman takes his readers along when he accompanies government technical personnel on house visits to assess the state of risk of an area. Here we are reminded that risk is inherently a socially negotiated, not a technical, category. Taking us on a tour of the city's outskirts, Zeiderman reads state-citizen encounters against the announcements of threats on the billboards that tower over the landslide-endangered slopes. He contextualizes these encounters in larger, historically established structures or genealogies of kinship or loyalty, for instance. We also learn about how residents respond to their often precarious life stories with political engagement—anticipatory urban politics in the face of the increasing pressures that emanate from global threats, such as climate change.

Dwelling, albeit understood quite broadly in this book, takes a central position. Building, protecting, and defending house and home turn security politics into a multiscale governing principle that shapes the ways citizens negotiate their place in the urban assemblage. In dwelling-based security politics, risk is not only a social construct but a complex set of practices, meanings, and affects, and justifying claims productively informs governmental action and residents' ways of articulating claims toward the state. Rather than treating the house as a confined category in relation to security or insecurity, Zeiderman addresses it as the site of governmental initiatives. He focuses on how the house, rather than the neighborhood or city, becomes problematized as the appropriate scale at which to design or implement security interventions. Looking at these politics of security and risk through the lens of the individual house enables him to deal with the complexity of strategies and performances of being at risk. Conversely, he avoids assuming an unquestioned homogeneous will of the community, thereby de-idealizing conceptions of collective resistance.

Nevertheless, these conceptions can be an essential key to understanding urban politics from below. Scaling up his findings, Zeiderman demonstrates that the invention of risk as a political imperative also permeates urban politics beyond marginalized settlements. Rather than being exceptional urban formations, high-risk areas seem to serve as a

blueprint for governing the effects of increasing weather extremes on the wider city level.

It is here, I find, that Zeiderman's arguments are most vigorous. With insightful and detailed case studies, he traces the discursive strategies emanating from Bogotá's outskirts to a global level. Following calls by AbdouMalik Simone, Ananya Roy, and Jennifer Robinson to decenter urban theory, he recommends taking the megacities of the Global South as prominent and predictive loci of the enunciation of a more than possible urban future worldwide. More precisely, he concludes that urbanists, politicians, and development agencies should not hastily discard the hopes and improvements projected by modernization and development discourses and politics, such as upward social mobility, the alleviation of poverty, and access to adequate housing and education. While we should be cautious about buying into what modernization ideology (and its terminology of Western-like progress as a model of global development) has preached for decades, the protracted futurity that renders Bogotá a not so unlikely model of 21st-century urban change comes as hardly more desirable. An urban future in which risk and security become the dominant and direful predicaments of governing needs to be forcefully and thoughtfully distrusted. *Endangered City* powerfully encourages us to do so.

**Hydraulic City: Water and the Infrastructures of Citizenship in Mumbai.** Nikhil Anand. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017. 312 pp.

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In Bolivia, social movements ousted two neoliberal governments by the year 2006. At the center of such events were water privatization proposals by the transnational company Bechtel that provoked the famous Water Wars. Indeed, water is becoming the blue gold of the 21st century. Its materiality and the infrastructure necessary to make it available to urbanites have shaped the great modern cities of the world—London, New York, São Paulo. And as Nikhil Anand shows in this important ethnography of infrastructures and waterscapes, water—and how to get it and who gets it—is central to the development of the emerging megalopolis of Mumbai. His innovative and extended study presses us to think not just about water's materiality but also about its causal connections to the infrastructures of citizenship in this sprawling city by the sea.

Anand traces how water works as it seeps and leaks into Mumbai's social triangle of exclusion as well as the chorographic ekistics intersected by the entangled techno-

natures, cyber waterscapes, and techno-science of the state agencies that implement and regulate its distribution. Of course, consumption in itself depends on where each of us is situated in a daily saga of being either satisfied or thirsty, so much so that we could read this contribution as a manual of Everyday Forms of Drinking Water.

*Hydraulic City* is composed of six chapters, each of which brings to the forefront a multisited ethnography in which people and water are intertwined in the social life of infrastructures. Anand visited the area for more than eight years before conducting his doctoral fieldwork, a rarity for any young ethnographer; the time from 2007 to 2009, when he lived at Jogeshwari, was the most intensive. Each chapter is accompanied by an interlude—stories, films, dialogues—where he shares methodological observations and narratives engaging theory, neoliberalism, climate change, and biopolitics that help the reader understand the travails of fieldwork.

I venture to say that Anand's familiarity with this megalopolis (he speaks English, Hindi, and Marathi) assisted him in turning over all stones or, rather, pipes as he ambitiously traversed underneath and through Mumbai's social hierarchy, where markers such as ethnicity, language, and gender are critical. Bureaucracies and technicians decide the fate of water kinetics, and the daily struggle to consume water implies disrupting legal formalities or, for that matter, being protected by them. Anand argues that "water infrastructures are generative of a multiple, entangled, nonconstitutive outside to the form and performance of the liberal city" (7). He then gives us "three subsidiary arguments that pertain to how the hydraulic city and its citizens are made": through "an incremental, intermittent, and reversible process that is composed of multiple temporalities," through "the historic, political, and material relations [citizens] make with water pipes," and through the "excesses of Mumbai's water infrastructure—the leaks of water and authority" (7–8).

"Scare Cities," the first chapter, constitutes a historicizing tour de force that helps the reader understand the layered coloniality (Portuguese, British) of urban development, which also implies tracing the engineering of its infrastructure (dams, canals, pipes, purification systems) as a contradictory example of "urban ingestion on the one hand, and disconnection on the other" (33), since more than 3.3 billion liters of water flow through Mumbai every day. And yet issues of scarcity and shortages seem to constitute the regulatory strategy of water delivery, including the management of silence about these issues, since some information—such as information about the impacts of the massive displacement or relocation of peoples who till the land—is not publicly available.

In chapter 2, "Settlement," Anand addresses a rejection of the outdated "trope of two cities and two polities" (76), suggesting a challenge to this Dickensian binarism.

All classes are affected by water insecurity, and all to varying degrees must find ways to negotiate “the fluidity of urban life” (68), where residents “simultaneously combine diverse kinds of social, material, and political subjectivities” (69). Here political society emerges as a disciplinarian entity that works hard to regulate habitation while trapped in the tensions brought about by the il/legality and il/liberalism (settlements, squatting) that reveal its own conceptual vulnerability.

“Time Pé (on Time),” chapter 3, can easily be read as an ethnography of water distribution, since it entails a detailed nominal scheduling of water delivery. This is a problem of synchronicity and cultural concepts of local time and also a problem of citizenship that depends on the *chaviwallas* (key people) responsible for turning on 800 valves so that Mumbai citizens can have (although not be guaranteed) “water time” (116). One would estimate that without correct demographic data (e.g., floating populations, new settlers), a percentage of inhabitants would go thirsty. Likewise, there is a gendered aspect to the story: because of the domestic division of labor, access to water and cooking are inseparable, and women must constantly calibrate their family’s schedules against the often unpredictable availability of water.

The fourth chapter, “Social Work,” is about the works of civil society, in particular about Asha, a community organization whose members “mobilize a variety of social relations beyond those of liberal subjectivity” (133) to achieve their goals. NGOs and community-based organizations encourage full citizenship participation because it is through citizens that these issues are negotiated, underscoring the meaning of participatory democracy. Clearly, this is democracy at work, with all its obstacles, corruptions, and successes.

“Leaks,” chapter 5, questions the measurable, the illusory exactness of the amount of water that is available to use. Water enters the space of leakage, the immeasurable intangible. Despite their trust in Cartesian certainty, technocracy, numbers, and policies, hydraulic engineers are trapped by the “leaky materialities” (188) of inexorable infrastructure decay. While water shortages and scarcity often dominate daily life, Anand travels with water infrastructure technicians and finds out that water leaks are so abundant that they must cover themselves with umbrellas to keep dry as they inspect the underground system of pipes.

Finally, chapter 6 is about marginalization. Appropriately titled “Disconnection,” it foregrounds life in Muslim Premnagar, whose residents “recognize the diffuse, plastic multiplicity and plurality of ‘the state’” (212). Being affected by a system of inclusion by exclusion, they must over and over validate notions of citizenship, since the state deems Premnagar a “zone of abjection” (194). Residents then, performing their “hydraulic and customer citizenship” (149),

must relentlessly struggle to demand and reclaim water services without ever being secure in even partial successes.

*Hydraulic City* is an engrossing contribution to recent ethnographies on waterscapes and infrastructures. Students and scholars of glocality will relish Anand’s ethnography of the intricacies brought about by potable water, techno-natures, techno-science, state structures, precarity, and friction, all entwined in and by hydraulic materiality.

**Markets of Sorrow, Labors of Faith: New Orleans in the Wake of Katrina.** Vincanne Adams. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. 248 pp.

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In *Markets of Sorrow, Labors of Faith*, Vincanne Adams recounts how the power of 2005’s Hurricane Katrina was made even more devastating by the failure of local, state, and federal governments to adequately respond. Throughout the book, she uses the storm to refer to the multiple layers of human trauma resulting from this disaster. She problematizes Katrina in terms of government action, inaction, and neglect; faith-based and nongovernmental agencies and their associated policies, practices, and strategies; volunteerism and philanthropy; and individual initiative. These are all viewed as an interconnected system that allows for contextual critique.

Adams argues that the collective inability to respond in a cohesive, comprehensive, and sustained manner indicates a system that does not work, one that fails people, families, and communities when they are most vulnerable. Yet this systemic failure created opportunities for capitalist success—“markets of sorrow in which the production of profits, like the production of indebtedness among the already poor, [is] integral to the survival of the market itself” (73). Adams wants to tell a story not only about what happened and did not happen in the immediate aftermath of the storm but also about the future of the city of New Orleans and the resiliency of people in the face of adversity.

She begins by introducing us to residents, among them members of the Bradlieu family, who survived a disaster that was in part created by the profit-driven demands and priorities of contractors hired by the federal government at the expense of human well-being and safety. She then establishes a historical basis for the disaster, noting the relevance of issues such as race and class in discussing inequities and accessing the failure of government to manage resources before and after Katrina, and she highlights the limitations and failure of private insurance companies, the



Small Business Administration, and the federally funded Road Home Program in the context of associated vulnerabilities at the community level. Subsequent chapters explore the disaster response strategies of faith-based and other nonprofit organizations as well as private charities, volunteerism, philanthropy, and the recovery economy. Her strongest chapter, “Getting to the Breaking Point,” sheds light on mental health challenges and disaster recovery by introducing readers to specific people and the issues they face as they live through trauma. Throughout, Adams reaffirms her goal, which is to tell a story about the resiliency of people enduring disaster and expose the devastating consequences of profit-driven relief programs.

This book is best viewed as part of an ongoing dialogue about Katrina and the future of a city that was left underserved and overserved as a result of recovery efforts. Adams focuses on those who have been ill served and underrepresented in terms of relief efforts aimed at rebuilding homes, schools, hospitals, and businesses primarily in historically African American communities. She also directs attention to those who have been advantaged and encouraged in the wake of Katrina by government neglect and systemic failure. Organizations like Halliburton and ICF International, for example—private-sector companies hired to do the work of government institutions of public distribution of state resources—were in the big business of charity, “doing a good job for their shareholders” (89) while returning residents who needed funds to rebuild were often denied or underpaid. This is a harsh reality that is hard to address convincingly without applying the insights of critical race theory.

Adams’s analysis, however, emphasizes the role of emotions as fuel for survival and “affective surplus” (123) or the production of affect in recovery processes, especially in light of a rise in volunteerism in response to Katrina. She follows the money and examines the goals and demands for accountability required of charity organizations and philanthrocapitalism ventures—corporations that make money by selling doing good as a service. Although affect is not a substitute for a critical race lens to understand the implications of Katrina, it is a way to call attention to humanism as an organizing principle in constructing solutions and soliciting help in the face of tragedy. Adams’s use of affective value—the gut-level emotional response to a stimulus such as trauma—as a tool of analysis would have been strengthened by referencing the work of leading scholars in this field of study—Sara Ahmed and Lawrence Grossberg, for example, whose work can be found in *The Affect Theory Reader*, edited by Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth. These scholars provide a foundation for much of what Adams examines and would offer additional depth for her use of this analytical lens.

There is much to learn from Adams’s book, especially for those unfamiliar with the production of disaster as a

capitalist enterprise. And the book brings much more to the surface that demands additional analysis. For example, embedded and entrenched forms of inequity and disenfranchisement reflect the historical realities of race and racism in the United States. Because racism informs every aspect of US culture, it requires greater focus in policy applications and activities aimed at disrupting the Katrina effect—the reproduction of limited access to resources and opportunities for economic mobility for racialized others and their families in marginalized communities. As Adams writes, “Katrina is an ongoing disaster; even for those who consider themselves physically recovered, it has permanently changed them and their understanding of an American way of life” (17).

**From Drag Queens to Leathermen: Language, Gender, and Gay Male Subcultures.** *Rusty Barrett.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 272 pp.

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Over the decades, LGBTQ studies scholars have paid careful attention to the complex and multiple realities of differences among those who identify as not heterosexual. Differences informed by race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, sex, class, language, and the body matter concerning how LGBTQ identities are represented, performed, and challenged in historical and ideological contexts. The singular, stable, and homogenized perception of LGBTQ people as one category is always already rejected. Rusty Barrett enters this current landscape through an interpretive analysis of language and gender in “six gay male subcultures: drag queens, radical faeries, bears, circuit boys, barebackers, and leathermen” (3). *From Drag Queens to Leathermen* makes significant contributions to the interdisciplinary field of LGBTQ studies because it explicitly demonstrates the differences within differences.

Barrett’s examination allows readers to understand how language and gender ideologies of masculinities and femininities dynamically affect performances of male same-sex sexual and romantic desire, intimacy, and relationality across cis-gendered gay male subcultures. His methodological emphasis on the intersection of performativity and indexicality helps readers understand such differences. Drawing upon J. L. Austin and Judith Butler, he approaches performativity as a series of citations and repetitions embodying discursive signs and meanings of gender and sexuality in which cultural norms are taken for granted. Such performativity inherently works only through an indexicality that is a nuanced production and

reproduction of specific context in which meanings are linguistically asserted and acknowledged. Context matters with regard to how nuances of gender and sexuality are specifically produced, embodied, performed, and read.

For example, Barrett pays attention to culturally specific nuances of African American drag queen performances that used white women's styles of speech in gay bars in Houston, Texas, during the early 1990s. At that time, the femininity associated with middle- to upper-class white women was a national normative ideal. Consequently, black drag queens aspired to perform such femininity. Simultaneously, their race-crossing performances cannot be simply translated as aspirations to be white. Mimetic performance here is also a parody of the white women's speech that when experienced through the black drag queen body serves as a potential method of resistance against the heterosexism and homophobia rooted in whiteness.

Performance is similarly revealing among gay male radical faeries at the time of the New Age movement during the sexual revolution of the 1970s. Radical faeries emphasize the intersection of androgyny and spirituality to develop their anti-Christian stances. They borrow stereotypical cultural and religious traits associated with Native Americans and Celtic pagans. Such appropriation can be read as an extension of the white male practice of cultural theft in the historical continuum of postcolonialism. Yet the radical faeries' push toward gender-queer consciousness intersecting with secular spirituality challenges the social constructions of heterosexism and homophobia rooted in Christianity.

Bears are another ambiguous category among gay men. Marked as heavyset and hairy, bears take on normative expressions of male masculinity rooted in the idea of naturalness. Their performative aesthetic is easily read as masculine within a heteronormative working-class orientation. As such, bear masculinity is clearly a reproduction of rural white working-class masculinity. Simultaneously, it can resist the aesthetic of gay men privileging urban white middle- to upper-class masculinity. Bear masculinity is not the norm in the gay community. Thus, context matters concerning how contradictory and multiple aspects of bear identity are linguistically asserted and acknowledged.

Following his analysis of bear identity, Barrett turns to circuit boys—gym-obsessed men who attend parties to have casual sex while taking different kinds of drugs. The performance of becoming and being a circuit boy requires social and economic capital. However, the aesthetic of a circuit boy in athletic clothing emphasizing his extreme muscle tone goes against the effeminate gay male stereotype. Yet the orientation of a circuit boy is based on one's aspirations to travel and leisure rooted in elitism. All gay men are not given equal opportunities to experience such luxury.

At this point, I am reminded that whiteness as an ideology, discourse, and institution materializes the productions and reproductions of gay male subcultures in and across local, national, and global contexts. In fact, people of color experience, identify with, and resist such subcultures differently. Barrett unpacks identity performances of barebackers who seek out unsafe sex that emphasizes the act of semen exchange. Such sexual engagement resists the normative discourses of sexual morality and HIV prevention surrounding gay male subcultures. It is also in keeping with typical heteronormative sexual scripts of desiring not to use condoms that inform heteronormative pornography and sexual practices and may be linked to the heteronormative logic of reproduction. Simultaneously, I am left wondering whether men of color such as African Americans and Asian Americans engage in barebacking as potential mechanisms of resistance against gay sexual morality intersecting with whiteness, heteronormativity, and capitalism. Their barebacking practices are always already racialized, gendered, and classed.

Similarly, leatherman subculture is redolent of nuance and ambiguity. This subcultural sexual practice incorporates bondage-domination and sadism-masochism (BDSM) and fetishism. However, leatherman subculture emphasizes three sexual practices: safe, sane, and consensual. Accordingly, Barrett shows that leatherman subculture demonstrates good citizenship rooted in nationalism. Still, I am left wondering how race play operates through BDSM and fetishism. Do BDSM and fetishism potentially serve as a transformative site of performance for people of color to reshuffle existing power relations?

Overall, *From Drag Queens to Leathermen* advances ways of knowing about the multiplicity of cis-gendered gay male subcultures. Although there remain some unanswered questions with regard to how racial and ethnic divisions complicate layers of these subcultures, Barrett successfully creates an additional reference point for LGBTQ studies to identify and critique the local, national, and global circuits of their performances.

**The Value of Comparison.** *Peter van der Veer.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. 208 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12653

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Peter van der Veer draws on the approaches of Marcel Mauss (as viewed by Louis Dumont) and Max Weber (as viewed by Shmuel Eisenstadt and Charles Taylor) to formulate his own vision for cross-cultural comparison in contemporary anthropology. He argues that because

it was replaced with a focus on single-cultural descriptions in the 1980s, cross-cultural research is now pursued only at the margins of anthropology by cognitive science and sociobiology, which in their current form are not yet equipped to generalize across cultures. His goal is to revive cross-cultural comparison by showing that it may be made without the use of evolutionary theories, such as cognitive anthropology or sociobiology, although his definition of each excludes much recent North American cognitive anthropology and relies on a dated vision of sociobiology that fails to acknowledge more current approaches to evolutionary theory in human behavioral ecology.

By evoking Mauss and Weber, van der Veer hopes to revive cross-cultural research within anthropology, but without the incorporation of unified theories or grand generalizations. Though he does not support cross-cultural generalizations, he does champion the concept of thematic generalization within individual cultures. To do this, he differentiates generalism (nations as an integrated whole) from holism (society as an integrated whole). He views anthropology as the translation of cultural differences that serve to critique only Western ideas, which should be based not only upon ethnographic fieldwork but also upon other forms of cultural data, such as material culture, historical texts, and visual representations. Van der Veer argues that cross-cultural research must focus on cultural fragments: the intermediate level between micro cultural traits and societal generalizations of the whole. Fragments, according to the author, are extensions of Durkheim's social facts and Mauss's total social facts that facilitate a historically situated Weberian comparison. In other words, he advocates for analysis in the space between micro and macro levels of cross-cultural comparison.

Van der Veer supports the use of comparison without generalization. Since the holistic approach cannot yield a holistic description and the units chosen for comparison are often determined by the anthropologist's Western intellectual baggage, the comparison of fragments, which are historically situated within each culture yet obviously connected through colonization and globalization, relies upon both translation and interpretation by the anthropologist. Van der Veer illustrates how cross-cultural research on inequality, nationalism, and religion has been problematic when approached through the lenses of political science, sociology, psychology, biology, and anthropology when the research is not situated within the contexts of the societies being studied—forgoing cultural and historical contexts for Western notions of what topics and connections are important.

The center of the book demonstrates van der Veer's approach through four case studies: legitimizing civilization through exclusionary practices of Muslims in India, China, and Western Europe; practicing civilization through

the iconoclasm of religious images in India and China; establishing exclusionary practices against marginalized mountain communities in India and China; and effecting exclusionary practices against the poor in India, Europe, the United States, and China. Each short case study illustrates his approach to the comparison of cultural fragments that are contextualized within each area's history, politics, and connection to the West. These case studies are, in essence, cultural sketches that leave the reader wondering if the author chose only materials that would make his point (confirmation bias), rather than taking a more systematic approach toward data collection and analysis. In other words, the case studies, while seemingly rich descriptions of the cultures being described, also fall into the same trap of being just-so stories that the author confronts from an evolutionary viewpoint.

Although van der Veer claims that the purpose of his book is to show how anthropological comparison can be valuable without the use of evolutionary theory, he makes a stronger argument against relying upon any single theoretical approach in the pursuit of cross-cultural understandings. While he appears to dismiss the adoption of a single theoretical approach—that is, cognitive science, sociobiology, political economy, cultural materialism, interpretive anthropology, political economy, and radical ontology—he adopts a single approach himself through creating cross-cultural comparative narratives of fragments of cultural life based upon his reading of Mauss and Weber. The undeniable value of his argument rests on his attempts to critique cross-cultural comparison from emic rather than Western perspectives, leading to understandings between cultures that are somewhere between micro and macro generalizations, cultural fragments situated within historical, material, and political contexts.

**Fertility Holidays: IVF Tourism and the Reproduction of Whiteness.** Amy Speier. New York: New York University Press, 2016. 192 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12654

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Scholars and individuals who undertake fertility treatments characterize these treatments as quests for conception and journeys to parenthood. *Fertility Holidays* traces the experiences and expectations of North Americans who travel abroad to seek less expensive reproductive care that they perceive to be more caring and thus more likely to succeed. Amy Speier traces their steps from North America to the Czech Republic, which has become a leading destination

for reproductive travel in part because of the availability of anonymous egg donation. The result is a clear and engaging account of the ambiguities and ambivalences surrounding reproductive technologies.

The experiences of the couples in Speier's study complicate a popular perception of medical tourism. Most are married, heterosexual, and middle or lower middle class. They spend their savings and accumulate debt for the sake of growing their families; Speier interviews one woman whose husband is working three jobs. What initially sends these couples abroad is the relative affordability of fertility treatment in the Czech Republic, where one round of in vitro fertilization (IVF) costs \$3,000 or, with an egg donor, \$4,000. (Meanwhile, one cycle of IVF in the United States costs between \$25,000 and \$40,000.) In the broader context of a neoliberal model of consumer health care that has become dominant and globalized, these couples are treated as informed actors making rational choices about their treatment options. Indeed, women and men describe themselves to Speier as empowered to make their own decisions. Yet she also hears them talk about the lure of IVF as what Sarah Franklin and other anthropologists have called a technology of hope and a never-give-up ethic, both of which compel these travelers to pursue repeat cycles and make return trips to the Czech clinics at great economic and emotional cost.

Speier examines what convinces these fertility migrants to travel specifically to the Czech Republic in order to receive reproductive care. First, the idealized notion of a vacation is appealing to these women and men, who have been frustrated, anxious, and stressed about their unsuccessful attempts to start or enlarge their families. A newly emerged industry of brokers who act as travel agents and medical interpreters deliberately cultivates the perception that the trips can and ought to combine the pleasures of sightseeing in Europe with the procedures in the clinic. Their primary means of advertisement, websites, feature photographs of castles and panoramic vistas. Vacation is associated with relaxation, which is widely evoked in popular discourses on infertility as a necessary condition of conception. Thus, a fertility holiday becomes invested with the hope that it will produce results that previous treatments did not—"the best souvenir: a baby" (123). (There is no medical evidence to back this claim.) Interestingly, travel abroad also means that couples face a decision whether to tell friends and family at home why they are traveling. Some found that the experience of seeking treatment for infertility was isolating and stigmatizing at home—especially when it involved egg donation—and so a number of travelers said that they intended not to discuss this. Yet while in the Czech Republic, staying in the same lodgings recommended for their connections to the clinics, many of the couples established friendships with fellow seekers that continued after they returned home.

Second, there is the perception that while US fertility specialists are motivated primarily by money, their Czech colleagues are less so, as the couples inferred from the much lower fees charged at their clinics and the attentive and unhurried manner in which they conducted their appointments. In the Czech Republic, as in the United States, the law allows payment for the discomfort associated with harvesting ova, not for the ova themselves. But Czech egg donors do not receive the same level of compensation as US donors do. North American patient-consumers actively share their testimonials and reviews of the care they receive at clinics and from individual clinicians on internet-based discussion groups and blogs. In addition, they offer recommendations about brokers and advice on where to stay. Speier notes that the US women in her study frequently describe their Czech clinicians, brokers, and even the owners of a pension where a number of travelers lodged in terms of kinship, family, and care, following their visits by mailing cards and letters and, when they were fortunate enough, baby pictures. Czech doctors and nurses are keenly aware that their performance of intimate labor is instrumental to the financial success of their clinics. Yet Czech clinicians and brokers did not always understand the needs and wants of their US clients, whom they sometimes perceived to be choosy and demanding. Local social and cultural values also shape and influence access to reproductive care, as the policy of Czech clinics is to treat only married heterosexual couples. Surrogacy, for example, is a topic that Czech doctors avoided in their interviews with Speier.

Because three-fourths of the almost exclusively white couples in Speier's study were seeking IVF with eggs from local donors, a third enticement for Czech reproductive travel is the promise of a white baby: websites offer "images of smiling white babies" (2). Speier's discussion here is especially interesting because all gamete donation in the Czech Republic is anonymous, and patient-consumers must rely upon clinicians to match them with egg and sperm donors. This stands in contrast to the shopping associated with selecting donor gametes in the United States. In Czech clinics, matching is typically based on an assessment of the gametes themselves and a phenotypical resemblance. Speier remarks that North American couples used resemblance as a cover for a racial or ethnic preference. The travelers in her account go to the Czech Republic with racialized ideas about Europe, so that Czech donors are assumed to be white donors. This seems a necessary starting point for a consideration of the "reproduction of whiteness" that Speier promises in her subtitle, but she does not develop the theme much further—a slight disappointment in an otherwise important contribution to the anthropological study of reproduction that details the global and local contexts and conditions in which assisted reproductive technologies are practiced and pursued.

**Unsettling India: Affect, Temporality, Transnationality.** Purnima Mankekar. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015. 320 pp.

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By deftly drawing together material gathered from multi-sited research, moving back and forth between New Delhi and the San Francisco Bay Area between 1993 and 2005, Purnima Mankekar makes a convincing argument that “transnational public cultures participated in the creation of India as an archive of affect and temporality” (4) that is “constantly re-produced, reinvented, and unsettled” (8).

Affect and temporality have complicated intellectual genealogies, but Mankekar provides a wealth of examples to elucidate the work she is doing with these concepts. For instance, she describes Indian grocery stores in the Bay Area as important sites for creating and maintaining affective constructs of India and Indianness, along with community, race, gender, and family. As one of her interlocutors explains, members of the South Asian diaspora come to these stores for more than just groceries; “they come for India shopping” (75). While for some shoppers the sights and smells of the commodities on offer evoke particular memories of their past experiences in India, a sense of nostalgia for the homeland is not the only form of temporal affect at work. There is also continuity between the past and the present, for instance, reflected in one woman’s practice of eating Glucose Biscuits with her tea every morning, just as she did at her parents’ home in India. Another person claims that the store itself is like a time warp. Visiting the stores enables the (re)production of Indian diaspora communities emplaced in their US contexts. Thus, for instance, some women experience the stores as sites where their behavior as good Indian women is subject to public scrutiny and surveillance, while second-generation immigrants can find resources for performing ethnic identity expressed as cultural difference. As one young man explained, he and his friends liked to hang out at the Indian stores because “it is cool to be Indian now” (93) in the Bay Area.

Much of the book cuts back and forth between the cultural products that Mankekar’s interlocutors consume and the settings in which they live and work. For example, in one chapter she juxtaposes the Bollywood movie *Bunty aur Babli*, in which two ambitious young people change their lives for the better by impersonating a variety of characters, with an exploration of call centers in Gurgaon. As young call center employees move to the city to take jobs that promise both relief from the tedium of small-town life and salaries that will allow them to access a wider range of consumer goods, they also undertake a form of virtual

migration by aligning themselves temporally and affectively with their customers in the United States. Mankekar suggests that learning to talk like an American, from managing one’s accent to consuming Hollywood media, is not merely impersonation. Rather, “impersonation blended into personation” (207) as call center workers’ subjectivities are conditioned by transnational neoliberal discourses of growth and mobility, even as their aspirations for growth and mobility are often thwarted by the precarity of their working conditions; after all, their jobs are subject to the fluctuating demands of global markets. Particularly for young women, the mobility promised by their new lifestyle as call center workers is also limited by social and moral constraints. Because the call center schedule of working through the night can make young women vulnerable both to sexual violence and to moral censure, female employees are subject to special surveillance measures to ensure their safety and reputation, such as company car services to drive them to work and then back home after their shifts.

While some of the nodes in the transnational networks that Mankekar investigates are not particularly novel topics for ethnographic analysis—much has been written, after all, about Bollywood movies and call centers—what she brings to these topics is a finely attuned awareness of the dual movements by which home and diaspora mutually constitute each other. Even for her subjects who have never physically traveled between home and diaspora, Mankekar’s focus on affect and temporality allows her readers to glimpse this mediated process of co-creation. She introduces us to Preeti, a young Sikh woman living in the Bay Area who was born in Indonesia and raised in California. While Preeti experiences a sense of marginalization from the mainstream Indian community on the basis of her religious identity, watching Bollywood movies as she dreams of her own romantic future allows her to engage imaginatively with an India that she perceives as central to her personal identity. “These films,” she says, “allow me to experience what I don’t have . . . no matter where I live, I’m Indian at heart and always will be” (179).

The theoretical intervention of unsettling India has real-world political stakes. Hindu nationalist projects both within and beyond India rely on totalizing narratives of an “authentic” Indian culture to justify marginalization and violence along lines of gender, sexuality, class, caste, and religion. In dealing with Hindu nationalism, Mankekar resists the analytic temptation to dichotomize local-national tradition against global-transnational innovation. For instance, in her discussion of the Valentine’s Day protests in India in the early 2000s, she points out that “Hindu nationalist discourses draw financial backing and affective sustenance from supporters in diasporic communities scattered all over the world” (161). Thus, the Valentine’s Day protestors’ insistence on the containment of the erotic in Indian public life was “an articulation of Hindutva regimes

of morality that were fundamentally transnational” (162). Nor does she stop at unsettling India alone. In the coda to the book, she draws upon her Bay Area interlocutors’ experiences of anxiety and discrimination in the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001, in order to “sketch the contours of a conceptual and political framework that may enable us to unsettle the exclusionary and violent claims of the U.S. nation” (238). It remains to be seen whether the project of unsettling the United States is one that Mankekar intends to take up in her future writing, but it may prove to be a generative challenge for other scholars of nationalism, transnationalism, and public cultures.

**The Precarious Diasporas of Sikh and Ahmadiyya Generations: Violence, Memory, and Agency.** *Michael Nijhawan.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 289 pp.

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Michael Nijhawan explores how Sikhs and Ahmadis in Toronto, Canada, and Frankfurt, Germany, experience and remember the violence that prompted them to escape their homelands and become refugees or other kinds of migrants. These people, he argues, illustrate what he calls precarious diasporas. Sikhs and Ahmadis are both members of religious minority groups, but their experiences are very different. While Nijhawan is careful to state that his is not a comparative case study analysis, he is interested in the South Asian historical experiences common to both religious diasporic communities. Here he avoids positing religious formations that ascribe or assume fixed religious identity parameters—parameters that often work to buttress the liberal state’s ideological formation of model religious communities and minorities. Rather, he pays close attention to “the specific genealogies and forms of religious and political transnationalism, as well as the unique histories of each community’s respective encounters with the postcolonial state and the Western liberal state. Historical experiences continue to affect diasporic imaginaries and transnational social and political engagements in ways that are specific to Sikh and Ahmadiyya communities” (4).

Nijhawan proposes to “examine the interconnected histories through which we can reconsider the societal and cultural processes of global migration as well as the particularities of events and temporalities,” arguing that this is “ongoing labor” (4) for himself, the scholar-analyst. This ongoing labor is evident in the fine-grained analysis of the practices, interpretations, and varied subjectivities of the interlocutors that comprise the ethnographic chapters. These encounters with precarious diasporic

subjects are detailed as emerging processes, and therefore Nijhawan avoids replicating the work of the postcolonial or liberal state and its fixed representations of communities. For instance, in a chapter on the experiences of undocumented Sikh asylum seekers in Frankfurt, he explores the discourses, gestures, dispositions, and genres of practice that emerge as young men navigate detention centers and refugee hostels, immigration bureaucracies, and the local *gurdwara*, the Sikh temple. He closely examines three key Sikh concepts—*sangat* (community organized around shared Sikh values and practices), *dukh* (suffering), and *charhdi kala* (resilient ethos)—as experiences and processes that emerge in relation to Sikh precarity.

Each chapter addresses a different, complicated set of issues, often introducing new theoretical ideas, concepts, and debates; each is well researched and historically contextualized. Nijhawan uses original evidence as well as secondary literatures and bodies of scholarship to produce a core set of arguments about precarious diasporas and their relationship to the normative regulatory regimes of liberal states. He also builds upon existing scholarship on events and their relationship to unfolding structures of violence, memory making, subject making, and agency. Indeed, he is successful in his attempts to link a seminal body of South Asian and diasporic scholarship on violent events with his theorization about precarity and religious diasporic communities in contemporary times. His innovation is to underscore the need to rethink diasporic communities not only in relation to spatiality—to each community’s geographic separation from its homeland—but in relation to temporality or the secular time of liberal nation-states.

This is demonstrated when Nijhawan considers 1984 as a key historical moment for both Ahmadiyya and Sikh communities—one community in Pakistan suffering from the legal revocation of its status as a practicing Muslim religious community, the other suffering from anti-Sikh violence and exclusion by the Indian state. One of the central arguments that Nijhawan makes is that “in the post-Partition state, Sikhs and Ahmads become entangled as religious minorities at the center of a crisis of nation-state formation, which was experienced in each case as a moment of community transnationalization. The demographic and political changes induced by 1984 did not constitute a ‘birth date’ for diaspora, to be sure, but the scope of violence did alter key dimensions of social imaginary significations . . . and of biographies in migration. While diasporas are always emerging, shaped by the political economy of global labor diasporas, political activism, and religious transnationalism, the important changes brought on by 1984 are worth investigating” (8). This innovative conceptualization of 1984 is a major contribution to the more compartmentalized narratives of the events of this year that are linked to national identity formation and methodological nationalism.

Nijhawan also presents the reader with a creative way of structuring and organizing chapters as the reader shifts between the local contexts of Germany and Canada. Because each chapter is quite complex, I would have liked a little more signposting for the reader that connects subject matter back to the core themes and conceptualization of precarious diasporas in the text. In one chapter, for instance, Nijhawan takes the book in new directions by analyzing asylum law in Germany, but this could have been more clearly integrated into the larger arguments and themes of the book. Visuals of cultural productions, artwork, and fieldwork sites could also have helped break up the text for the reader and draw in non-South Asia and non-diaspora specialists. In the chapter that centers around the experiences of Sikh asylum seekers in Frankfurt, Nijhawan examines his own position as a German European deeply invested in Sikh communities in relation to his research subjects and sites most forthrightly. I would have liked to see this reflexivity carried over into the other chapters as well.

Nonetheless, Nijhawan provides cultural anthropologists with an original and fascinating model of conducting long-term research—he carried out his fieldwork over 10 years—that uses transnational methodologies and other skill sets to help study and understand two different religious diasporic communities in two very different contexts. Beyond its use in studies of transnational labor diasporas, this highly original synthesis of precarity in relation to religious subjectivity in contemporary times will help inspire current anthropologists and a younger generation of scholars working on religious communities and diasporas for years to come.

**Metabolic Living: Food, Fat, and the Absorption of Illness in India.** Harris Solomon. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. 304 pp.

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In India and across the Global South, urbanization has negative consequences for the health of those living in the world's largest metropolises. Urgent among these are a rising obesity epidemic and associated metabolic illnesses like diabetes. Harris Solomon's *Metabolic Living* provides a fresh perspective on this phenomenon through its attention to eating and illness in Mumbai. Rather than approaching fat as a matter of overconsumption and (lack of) willpower, Solomon frames metabolic illness through the relationship of bodies to their surrounding environment. To trace the exchanges that occur in the porous borders among bodies,

foods, and cities, he introduces the concept of absorption, which he defines as “the possibility for bodies, substances, and environments to mingle, draw attention to each other, and even shift definitional parameters in the process” (5). By challenging assumptions about agency and illness, his book makes an important contribution to medical anthropology that bridges the fields of public health, urban studies, and environmental studies.

In the first chapter, “The Thin-Fat Indian,” Solomon establishes a medical mystery, what he terms the thin-fat paradox. Research by endocrinologists shows that even morphologically thin Indian bodies show signs of metabolic obesity, a possible legacy of the so-called thrifty gene that was an adaptation to a history of nutritional scarcity. As a response, in 2008 the Indian government shifted the body mass index for overweight status to 23, down from the global standard of 25. Overnight, millions of Indians became officially overweight. Yet instead of reproducing a narrative of a national journey from thinness to fatness and instead of deploying universalizing meanings of those terms, Solomon explores what he terms bad copy, the idea advanced by Indians that mimicking a Western diet results in negative health outcomes because of the particular plasticity of Indian bodies. This notion of biological susceptibility also surfaces in the local concept of *tenshun*, a word that describes embodied stress and one that Solomon, following his interlocutors, mobilizes to underscore this bodily porosity to food, traffic, and pressures of city life.

The following chapter, “The Taste No Chef Can Give,” introduces the reader to *vada pav*, the ubiquitous street fare of fried potatoes and bread that is hailed as a lifeline by Mumbaikars but disparaged as a killer by public health officials. Moving beyond a narrow focus on consumption, Solomon draws on Arjun Appadurai's concept of gastropolitics to foreground questions of commensality and propriety, revealing the ways in which street food encompasses a set of broader political relations in the city. In Mumbai, this entails the efforts of Shiv Sena, the Maharashtrian nativist party, to control the distribution of *vada pav* in order to provide jobs for its supporters. Given attempts by both Shiv Sena and corporate start-ups to standardize and sanitize *vada pav*, Solomon notes that some lament the loss of the individual vendor and taste of the street so vital to urban life. This chapter moves beyond food as mere comestible to bring into focus the material objects, public debates, and power relations that shape how street food is consumed.

In “Readying the Home,” Solomon considers the labor of women as they manage the porous boundaries between home and the outside world in light of widespread fears of food adulteration. He considers the ambiguous status of processed foods, which he defines broadly as “a transformation that imparts value” (106). Although clinicians deride prepackaged foods as unhealthy, women trust them to

protect the family from harm. They must navigate a media environment suffused with advertisements for processed foods that make health claims that often blur the line between food and drugs, such as a brand of rice that helps manage excess weight. Solomon thus reframes consumer choice as a readiness to engage with corporate providers of food in the context of tainted food supplies and multiple threats of undesirable absorption.

In “Lines of Therapy,” Solomon tracks three clinical interventions of increasing severity that target the diabetic body: nutritional, pharmacological, and surgical. Questions of personal responsibility figure in these different clinical encounters. Clinicians and patients talk of willpower and its failure in terms of adhering to diets and controlling weight. They discuss challenges to compliance when sticking to regimes of pills. But when it comes to advanced cases of diabetes, the body is understood to have a will of its own. For example, in a process called demarcation, doctors allow the body itself to assert the line between living and necrotic tissue. Instead of active amputation, the process favors a passive falling away of toes and other extremities, underscoring the way that circulation recedes from the will of doctor and patient. Throughout, Solomon draws on metaphors of lines—lines of patients outside the hospital and lines of arteries in the body—to reflect the connections and boundaries that emerge during therapeutic treatments.

Solomon considers surgical attempts to reshape and reroute internal organs of the overweight patient in “Gut Attachments.” When diet and drugs fall short, these surgeries seek to regenerate the metabolism through biomedical means. Patients who once experienced life as a series of failures of the will find that these interventions create “a possibility for the will to become meaningful” (205). Yet patients’ perceptions of new pathways for agency are also tempered by postsurgical requirements that they maintain regimented diets similar to those they struggled with before.

Threaded between each chapter is a series of ethnographic interludes that bring the reader inside sites of absorption—clinics and waiting rooms, street festivals and slaughterhouses. Taken together, these vignettes capture the restless energy and mobility of Mumbai, revealing food’s affective resonances, rhythms, and embeddedness in this bulging city. What emerges is a cityscape as foodscape, where bodies commingle with substances pleasurable and dangerous in turn.

In a thoughtful conclusion, “Metabolic Mumbai,” Solomon interrogates the oft unexamined *chronic* in the term *chronic disease*. This concern with the temporality of metabolic diseases suggests that absorption is a problem not just of fat but of time, encompassing histories of colonialism and environmental risks that accumulate in bodies. The strength of this book is its attention to bodies, food, and

illness situated in temporal, social, and political contexts. Solomon provides the grounds for rethinking the qualities and meanings of metabolism itself, paving the way for an exploration of bodies’ absorptive capacity and their “diverse metabolic worlds” (233).

**Mixed Messages: Cultural and Genetic Inheritance in the Constitution of Human Society.** Robert A. Paul. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 368 pp.

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In *Mixed Messages*, Emory University psychological anthropologist Robert Paul makes a strong case for the relevance of evolutionary theory to sociocultural anthropology through a consideration of dual inheritance theory. Originally developed in the 1970s by Robert Boyd and Peter Richerson, dual inheritance theory asserts that in addition to genetic inheritance—whereby information coded in the form of DNA is transmitted through sexual reproduction—cultural information coded in symbols is inherited by means of social learning, and the development of fully functioning human beings requires both these channels of information transmission as well as the inevitable interactions between these two systems. Humans are thus hybrid creatures who exist and reproduce as biological organisms and as enculturated members of society.

For biological anthropologists (such as this reviewer), these claims seem impossible to argue with, yet there is a long tradition in cultural anthropology that rejects most attempts at applying biological principles to the study of culture. But because his work is neither reductionist nor dismissive of the central importance of culture to the human experience, Paul may well succeed at convincing cultural anthropologists (as well as biologists) that a synthesis of evolutionary theory and cultural analysis is possible. His insightful reading of the comparative ethnographic literature and his reliance on “an inherently discursive and interpretive practice that . . . stays close to the complexity of the subject under study” (8) will also appeal to cultural anthropologists. This book represents to my knowledge the first significant attempt—and it is largely successful—by an ethnographer (rather than a biologist or a biological anthropologist) to develop dual inheritance theory explicitly from the perspective of cultural and social anthropology.

Paul’s discussion of human cultural systems, influenced by Émile Durkheim and Clifford Geertz, reflects a central concern with the means by which social unity and affiliation are established within cultures through the power of cultural symbols. By analogy with biological systems,



he argues that cultures are also structured hierarchically and possess “emergent properties” (72): higher-level qualities and complexities that are not predictable based on a consideration of their constituent parts. Neither biological nor cultural systems are therefore amenable to reductionist arguments or explanations. In the same way that the behavior of biological organisms cannot be fully understood by recourse to biochemical reactions occurring in cells or physical interactions of atoms, the variation and complexity of human sociocultural systems cannot be fully understood without a consideration of the emergent properties that arise when individual humans come together to form societies, create cultural rules and taboos, and pass their traditions and genes on to the next generation.

Unlike those who argue that specific cultural systems must contribute to the biological fitness of the group (otherwise they would never have evolved), Paul’s version of dual inheritance theory argues that conflict and tension characterize these two systems of information transmission (i.e., symbols and genes), and an analysis of the cultural symbols and social forms seen in the ethnographic record can reveal and explicate these systems. The reason for this is related to the two systems’ oppositional central functions and mechanisms. Genetic inheritance is characterized by selfish and competitive interactions between carriers of different genes intent on maximizing inclusive fitness and leads to affiliated groups of limited size based on close biological relationships. The genetic system obeys Darwinian and Mendelian rules in which DNA is inherited as a result of sexual reproduction, new mutations arise at random with respect to the needs of the organism and are differentially passed on to succeeding generations, and adaptive features appear and spread through populations slowly (relative to life span). Cultural transmission is goal-oriented or purposive; it obeys Lamarckian rules (i.e., adaptive features acquired during life can be passed on), and adaptive features can spread widely and quickly. The social transmission of culture occurs through mechanisms of social learning (e.g., imitation, observation, teaching) in both horizontal and vertical directions, and the units of cultural transmission (e.g., symbols) are embodied and manifested in the public arena.

Much theoretical and empirical work in population genetics, evolutionary theory, and ethology suggests that cooperation tends to be limited under conditions of purely genetic inheritance, being restricted mainly to close kin or occurring rarely where the potential for reciprocity exists between nonkin. Cultural transmission within human societies uniquely allows forms of cultural kinship and solidarity to be created between unrelated individuals through their common identification with a set of cultural symbols that define a potentially much larger social group than is possible with genetic inheritance and biological kinship. From this, then, arises the power of culture, since it allows individuals and groups (e.g., religious or other

special interest groups, villages, tribes, states, nations) to transcend their genetically determined self-interest to form affiliative bonds and relationships inscribed in cultural symbols and passed on through mechanisms of social transmission to potentially millions of other, biologically unrelated individuals.

In the final chapter of *Mixed Messages*, Paul provides a cogent example to demonstrate how dual inheritance theory can enrich our understanding of ceremonial yam exchange in Micronesia, as well as the processes by which commodities (like yams) can be symbolically transformed into prestige items of great social significance. Men on the island of Pohnpei spend an enormous amount of time growing giant yams (10–15 feet in length and weighing 100–200 pounds) to give away at communal feasts and thereby gain prestige among their peers. Finding scant evidence that Pohnpei men gain reproductive advantage via the mechanisms of natural or sexual selection as a result of the prestige they can attain, Paul provides an alternative that is both convincing and psychologically insightful.

Ceremonial feasts of this sort create a shared, public arena in which the work ethic, loyalty, and communal spirit of men are symbolized through the enormous size of the yams they grow and then give away. It is not a stretch to see the growing of giant yams as a performance of male reproductive prowess, but since this symbolism belongs to the realm of culture rather than genetics, it can occur in an asexual, harmonious, and prosocial manner. Dual inheritance theory thus explains the complicated social structure and symbolic performance of yam exchange in a small-scale, hierarchically organized farming society in Micronesia by suggesting that cultural inheritance allows Pohnpei men to sublimate the self-interested and competitive instincts intrinsic to genetic inheritance and create functioning, cooperative societies that transcend biological imperatives. By presenting this kind of rich ethnographic detail within the context of dual inheritance theory, Paul succeeds in creating a new model for understanding societies in all their biological and cultural complexity.

**Is Racism an Environmental Threat?** Ghassan Hage. Cambridge: Polity, 2017. 140 pp.

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Ghassan Hage, professor of anthropology and social theory at the University of Melbourne and author of *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (2000) and *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society* (2003), now seeks to connect

racism to environmental degradation in *Is Racism an Environmental Threat?* Evident in both this work and his earlier books is the clear influence of the theoretical architecture of Pierre Bourdieu, the biopolitics of Michel Foucault, and the critical science arguments of such theorists as Bruno Latour and Donna Haraway. In this brief book, Hage extends his earlier arguments by drawing attention to connections between racism—illustrated by Islamophobia—and the world’s current ecological crisis. He navigates around the academic assertion that Islamophobia is not actually a type of racism (i.e., based on a misguided idea of biological, phenotypic difference) by indicating that constructions of race are malleable and are applied in the vernacular to Arabs, Roma, Jews, and Muslims. Public discourses of Islamophobia broadly incorporate racial phenotypes, ethnic stereotypes, and Huntington-like religious generalizations.

Hage’s major theoretical argument here is that racism (and speciesism) *causally* reinforces and reproduces the dominant foundational social structure that has resulted in the world’s ecological crisis. As he explains, “The racial crisis manifested by Islamophobia and the ecological crisis not only happen to have an effect on each other, they are in effect one and the same crisis, a crisis in the dominant mode of inhabiting the world that both racial and ecological domination reproduces” (14). He refers to a generalized domestication as the generative structure of racism and speciesism that assists in reproducing harmful consequences for the environment. This generalized domestication involves taming and dominating both the Other and nature. To provide a historical context for linking race, Islamophobia, and the environment, Hage draws on Aristotle’s discussion of slavery and Gustave Le Bon’s racialized analogies between humans and other animals, as well as contemporary examples of multicultural racial hegemony such as blindness toward the suffering in factory farms and sweatshops, which reveals the enduring history of the hidden logics and relations of domination. Connecting aspects of nature and the environment with racialized characterizations, he notes how specific animal classifications become metaphors and metonyms, such as identifying a suspected Muslim terrorist as a lone wolf.

Citing Claude Lévi-Strauss’s comments on how European classical colonialism resulted in plundered resources, the spread of diseases, bondage, and a contemporary racialized division of labor, Hage emphasizes that this domination engendered multiple forms of racism against blacks, Asians, and Muslims and provided the apparatus for neocolonialism. Classical colonialism led to policies such as the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, which both fragmented and contained ethnic groupings in the Middle East and reflected Orientalist notions of how the Muslim Other was incapable of being governed and integrated. Alluding to

the current refugee crisis, he reflects on how persistent orientalist and Islamophobic reactions inform state policies regarding multiculturalism and aggressive assimilation. He describes the remarkable similarities between the image of asylum-seeking Muslims as ungovernable waste—the remnants of late colonialism, conflict, and neoliberalism—and plastic toxic waste, both floating in the same oceans. Hage argues that current global waste-management strategies are the late colonial projects of European regimes in relative decline that practice politics driven by the fear of losing control over both the historically dominated regions of the world and their respective exploited environments.

Hage discusses the concept of primitive accumulation used by such Marxist theorists as Samir Amin and Andre Gunder Frank to describe how neocolonial strategies have transformed black economies into “white,” legally apartheid-like territories subject to the unregulated extraction of resources such as minerals and vegetables. The currently popular term for this era of human domination, the Anthropocene, is not morally charged enough for Hage, who suggests that neocolonialism has resulted in what he calls the Necrocene—an era marked by the tremendous loss of biodiversity and by escalating extinctions. Necropolitical strategies in the Middle East have led to oil plunder, resulting in the invasion of Iraq and tragedy for Libya. Additionally, Hage emphasizes the affective dimension of decolonization for white Europeans (i.e., the fear of reverse colonialism) and the flood of seemingly ungovernable Asian, Arab, African, and other indigenous, nonwhite immigrants along with the impending catastrophe of climate change.

In his chapter “The Elementary Structures of Generalized Domestication,” Hage focuses on his central thesis, which relies on the classical Maussian descriptions of training the body and on Foucault’s biopolitics to demonstrate how necropolitical strategies involve not only the unequal domestication of space but also the taming of both nature and the “wolfish” Muslims. In his conclusion, he argues that because of the ecological crisis, generalized domestication has been transformed from hidden forms of symbolic violence into a more explicit and recognized orthodoxy. In this respect, he points to counterhegemonic voices, including that of Pope Francis, and new practices of eating, agriculture, and moral critiques of colonial racism that are challenging such orthodoxy.

Like the late Pierre Bourdieu, Hage wants to demonstrate how external objective structures influence subjective dispositions; he also wishes to become a fierce public critic of racism, neoliberalism, and neocolonialism. Yet his anthropological project needs clarification. In his analysis of Islamophobia, he seems to be targeting the individuals involved in the populist and neonationalist

movements of Europe in the same manner that Marcus Banks, Andre Gingrich, Nitzan Shoshan, and Ulf Hannerz have initiated. Surely Hage is not suggesting that generalized domestication is creating a fixed and determinative false consciousness for all Westerners. Rather, it appears that he wants to raise our awareness about the subjective dispositions of the white nationalists supporting Marine Le Pen, Geert Wilders, and the Pegida, AfD, and related movements in Europe as well as similar developments in Australia and the United States. If so, a less muscular approach that carefully analyzes the heterogeneity of the cultural dispositions of such movements is needed. Regarding Hage's major thesis on the entanglements of the structure of generalized domestication, racism, and the environment: correlation does not equal causation.

**Bodies of Truth: Law, Memory, and Emancipation in Post-apartheid South Africa.** Rita Kesselring. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017. 272 pp.

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*Bodies of Truth* is essential reading for anyone interested in victims' quests for financial reparations since the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission finalized its work in 1998. Grounded in extensive transnational ethnography with a national victims' group that participated in class action lawsuits in the South African and US courts, Rita Kesselring's inventive monograph identifies the limits of law in recognizing and ameliorating harms committed by official agents of the avowedly racist apartheid government. Yet it also makes a compelling case for the transformative potential of new forms of shared sociality forged by victims as they seek reparations from businesses such as IBM and the Ford Motor Company that benefited from apartheid. Crucially, because *Bodies of Truth* integrates recent developments in the anthropology of the body with long-standing concerns about vernacular understandings of the law, this imaginative combination makes it a groundbreaking work.

In the 1990s, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission gained international acclaim for bringing the voices of ordinary South Africans into the public space in a way that had not occurred before, for promoting an expansive idea of national reconciliation and restorative justice, and for adjudicating more than 7,000 applications for amnesty for human rights violations. However, one of the weakest elements of the commission's mandate was how to ensure that financial reparations be distributed to

individual victims. Although they were promised regular pensions and a sizable one-time payment from the government and the President's Fund, to which international governments had donated, in the end the approximately 12,000 victims received payments of only several hundred US dollars in today's money.

Kesselring worked closely in the Cape Town area with a national victims' organization, the Khulumani Support Group, which counts more than a hundred thousand members. Inspired by the successful legal campaign of Holocaust survivors, in 2002 Khulumani embarked upon a program of seeking financial redress in the US and South African courts. Its members signed on as plaintiffs in a lawsuit against multinational corporations in the Eastern District Court of New York under the US Alien Tort Statute, alleging that the corporations had aided and abetted violations of international human rights law that included extrajudicial killings and torture between 1960 and 1994. From 1980 onward, this statute had permitted foreign citizens in hundreds of civil suits to seek remedies in US courts for human rights violations committed outside the United States.

*Bodies of Truth* charts the ups and downs of Khulumani's case as it moved glacially through the US courts, making surprising progress given the antipathy to the plaintiffs' claims that was expressed by both the US and the South African governments. Ultimately, the plaintiffs' case against the corporations for complicity in apartheid-era violations was undone by the US Supreme Court's decision in *Kiobel and Others v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Company and Others* in 2013, which denied noncitizens relief in the courts for violations that occurred outside the United States and its territories. What matters for this study, however, is not the terminal legal outcome but the experience of the victims in a legal campaign that engendered a sense of solidarity and a set of aspirations that had been obstructed by the formal political process and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Kesselring reiterates the time-honored anthropological observation regarding the constitutive power of the law, reshaping as it does political subjectivities and the very grounds for social and political agency. Yet in its emphasis on the embodiment of suffering and its reminder of how "the body is both the condition for and the limit to the formation of a social or political collective" (11), *Bodies of Truth* offers a new dimension to the conventional analysis. Reworking Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus, Kesselring details the bodily states of victims as they communicate their suffering through theatrical performances and public testimonials. Victims involved in these forms of social recognition inevitably connect to dominant discourses of victimhood that are sanctioned in the public realm. In so doing, victimhood changes, to use Kesselring's terms, from a nonpredicated to an articulated status of a politically

oriented victim subjectivity that allows Khulumani members to transcend their individual and immediate experiences of suffering and thereby to become more politically and socially effective.

Shifts in the subjectivities of victims are created not by resounding legal success but by a collective solidarity of a mundane kind that includes mutual aid associations, commemorative events, neighborhood childcare, and other everyday forms of sharing and cooperating. And as Kesselring takes care to point out: “All these practices are fragile and easily disrupted, but . . . through new social and bodily experiences, people try to add new layers of habit memories to their subjective and social beings. The tentative forms of sociality that emerge may help them to assume a new social position. Many of these practices rely on the continuous performance of a new subject position, for which at least some minimal form of a public is necessary” (21).

Even when legal recourse is not successful, new forms of emancipatory political agency may still emerge, as victims adopt the discursive practices of leaders in the victims’ groups. This has the disadvantage of detaching them from their own experiences, but it is necessary nonetheless if they are to gain a broader perspective on their condition and partake in collective political and legal actions. Although *Bodies of Truth* employs various typologies of social experience and although social science typologies often suffer from overgeneralization and categorical rigidity, the concepts of victimhood and victim subjectivity make sense here, emerging as they do from concrete ethnographic encounters.

In *Bodies of Truth*, Rita Kesselring demonstrates convincingly how the outcome of legal actions may matter less than the new forms of sociality and emancipatory bodily habitus that they engender. This extraordinary book advances our understanding of the role of law in people’s everyday lives, injects Bourdieu’s theory of the body into the anthropology of human rights, and freshly reframes the relationship between law and society.

**An Ethnography of a Vodun Shrine in Southern Togo: Of Spirit, Slave and Sea.** *Eric J. Montgomery and Christian N. Vannier.* Leiden: Brill, 2017. 316 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12661

**DOUGLAS J. FALEN**

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In their account of the intimate relationships and interactions between humans and gods—Vodun—in the coastal Ewe village of Gbedala in Togo, Eric Montgomery and

Christian Vannier use narration of religious ceremonies and testimony from priests, practitioners, and other friends to portray a world where humans and gods live, suffer, and celebrate together within a single community. Amid the struggles for survival in a poor, postcolonial nation ruled by a dictatorship for 50 years, Ewe people turn for support to imported Gorovodu: kola nut gods associated with former domestic slaves sold to southern Ewe families several generations ago. These gods are envisioned as quintessentially Other because they originated with slaves from the “wild” Muslim regions of northern Ghana and Togo, and they are fed northern foods, like kola, and dressed in northern styles during possessions.

With its detailed ethnographic and linguistic information as well as its theoretically sophisticated analysis, this monograph is a valuable reference for specialists in West African religions, particularly for scholars of Vodun and related Vodun traditions. Half the book is devoted to the theoretical framework, Ewe history, an overview of the village of Gbedala, and the names and characteristics of deities in the Gorovodu pantheon. While this information may be useful for some, it is less captivating than the second half of the book, in which the authors narrate their experiences at various ceremonies and provide exquisite ethnographic details about the composition of shrines and the ritual procedures involved in the four pillars of Gorovodu: prayer, sacrifice, divination, and possession.

The book’s primary theoretical arguments center around the authors’ elaboration of two concepts: ritual economy and mimesis. Ritual economy refers not only to the exchange relations between humans and gods but to the economic activities (e.g., fishing, commerce, borrowing) that provide the resources to sustain these relations. All gods in the Gorovodu pantheon have their own tastes in food, drink, music, and sacrificial animals, and adherents are responsible for satisfying the deities’ demands in exchange for health, luck, success, and protection from witchcraft. For all rituals, priests and adherents must buy liquor, kola nuts, and animals to be offered to the deities. In addition, priests are responsible for constructing and maintaining the shrines and the various altars within them. One of the strengths of the book is that it offers us extensive details about the material, financial, and ritual obligations that religious leaders must respect in order to tend a shrine and nourish its spirits. This ritual economy creates reciprocal obligations by which gods and humans are bound and through which these different beings interact and form intimate relationships of mutual support.

Mimesis reflects the embodied link between divinity and devotee. Possession, an especially poignant form of mimesis, is deeply symbolic, as the arrival of northern gods in southern bodies calls up images and memories of slavery and the forced displacement of northern peoples. Drawing

on Judy Rosenthal's application of Michael Taussig's conceptualization of mimesis (making their own theoretical treatment a mimetic production of mimesis), Montgomery and Vannier emphasize that in possession rituals, Ewe reinvent the northern Other by reproducing Muslim culture, reinscribing memories of slavery, and re-creating a northern-inspired image of an ideal society characterized by cooperation, justice, and goodwill. Although mimesis involves imitation, the authors maintain that each ceremony, with its offerings, animal sacrifices, possessions, and dances, is a unique creation, a variation on a theme, allowing for cultural production and change. Furthermore, through mimetic possession and the honoring of northern slaves, Ewe express remorse for their ancestors' role in slavery. All Gorovodu are believed to derive from northern slaves, but Mama Tchamba is associated with female slaves who became wives to Ewe men and gave birth to Ewe children. Possession by Mama Tchamba, who wears Muslim garb and (mimetically) performs Muslim ablutions, is a response to Tchamba's demands for slave wives to be remembered and honored, making this a form of ritual atonement for sins of the past.

The shame of slavery and the admiration for honorable northerners reflect Gorovodu deities' obsession with justice and morality. The spirits routinely possess adepts in order to diagnose social tensions or reprimand community members who steal, lie, or commit adultery. When the community experiences widespread illness, death, or poor fishing, this is a sign of social tension provoked by envy, jealousy, or ill will. Animal sacrifice and possession ceremonies enlist the gods' assistance in ironing out rivalries and grudges, thereby restoring health, order, and well-being. This perspective recalls a functionalist tradition whose popularity has ebbed, but it is consistent with how Ewe repeatedly say that Gorovodu provide for the material, social, and psychological needs of their adherents and the community. For Ewe, however (unlike functionalist anthropologists), gods are envisioned not as tools of society but rather as part of society. Thus, harmony and social order are enjoyed by a community composed of gods and people.

In their conclusion, Montgomery and Vannier reflect on the future of Vodou at a time when evangelical Christianity is on the rise and when the costs of serving the spirits discourage many practitioners. Consequently, some adherents fear that Vodou's popularity is declining, but there is perhaps a future for Vodou, since its mimetic nature and embrace of others and otherness make it dynamic and adaptable in a globalizing world. Indeed, the authors tell us that Vodou is spreading, not only through the migration of Togolese but through European, North American, and Japanese visitors who come to Togo seeking healing, balance, and solutions to their own struggles.

**America's Digital Army: Games at Work and War.** Robertson Allen. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017. 228 pp.

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Robertson Allen's *America's Digital Army* is at once a description of the decade-long foray of the US Army into the production and deployment of video games as recruiting tools and, more tellingly, an analysis of how the production of militarized labor is increasingly diffused throughout US society. In the development and distribution of *America's Army* and related products, the institutional army does far more than recruit soldiers. As Allen puts it, "military-funded and -themed gaming technologies . . . take part in a militarization of American society that constructs everyone, even nonplayers of games, as *virtual soldiers*, whose labor is available for deployment" (10).

*America's Army* is a remarkably successful first-person shooter video game launched in 2002 and made available for free. In 2009, it had nearly 10 million registered users, about eight times as many as the US Army had actual soldiers. Allen, himself an avid gamer, conducted a multisited ethnography that took him from an obscure army think tank at West Point's Office of Economic and Manpower Analysis to the headquarters of the Software Engineering Directorate at Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. He eventually found a home base at the game development studio of America's Army Public Applications in Emeryville, California, where civilian designers, animators, and software techs produced the game.

Ostensibly developed to tap "into an already militarized gaming population" (63), *America's Army*, Allen argues, does not only attract candidates for recruitment. The game in its production, distribution, and consumption—even in how it is criticized—is part of the creation of a widespread subculture within which militarized subjectivity is ordinary. Recruitment, in other words, is not only to the formal institution but to a kind of embodied sympathy for all things military.

At various points in the text, Allen's efforts to deconstruct distinctions between the "very real physiological and emotional responses" (22) undoubtedly felt when playing a game like *America's Army* and the embodied experiences of soldiers in the field seem to overreach. This is most obvious in an interview with Tommy Rieman, a soldier and Silver Star recipient assigned to help promote related US Army recruiting efforts through its Real Heroes program. The differences between the "realistic" video game and actual soldierly experience could not be more starkly rendered than in Rieman's description of both his physical suffering as a

soldier in the field and the bureaucratic neglect he faced after being injured.

Distinctions between gamer and soldier, however, dissolve into a continuum of soldierly-civilian experience when we think of the wide variety of each. The drone operator's sensory experience is closer to that of a game player, even if the potential for moral transgression—and subjection to the Uniform Code of Military Justice—is exponentially higher for the former. But Allen's point is not that virtual soldiering is the same as actual soldiering. Participatory activities such as gaming—I would add sports, fitness, scouting, and most fundamentally the particular character of US masculinities that have been with us a long time—diffuse militarization throughout society, weaponizing entertainment and escaping the bounds of the institutional military. The game facilitates recruitment but also provides an introduction and a habituation to militarized norms: not just of violence but of teamwork, mission orientation, and hierarchy. Finally, the game accomplishes a participatory involvement in the military, for the game itself is an army product.

For Allen, the army's use of digital media to both normalize and rebrand itself as just another corporate player in the market, headhunting the best talent, indicates the way in which militarization has become deinstitutionalized. Militarization is part of a Deleuzian control society in which “the formation of military subjects . . . no longer happens only at the military base or on the battlefield (wherever that may be), but now happens across institutions and in less institutionalized settings such as state fairs, air shows, *Thriller* dance parties, and three-on-three basketball tournaments” (108). Nor is this, of course, just a question of actual or virtual recruitment. The military is a dominant agent of the US political economy, driving not just weapons manufacturing but biomedicine, computing, materials technology, and too many other industries to mention.

Early on, Allen describes a scene in a version of *America's Army* that he plays as part of his fieldwork: “PJ checks his flanks and squares off, bringing up the iron sights of his M16A4 machine gun” (2). His specification of the exact model of weapon indexes the quality of immersive authenticity in the game that the army promotes. Allen reports being told, over and over, that “this is as close to realistic combat as you can get outside of going to war” (97). For a veteran reading the description, however, it is a moment of incoherence. Every soldier and former soldier of appropriate vintage knows that the M16 is an assault rifle, not a machine gun per military terminology. Yet the annoyance of military insiders at recognizing the misclassification only serves to reinforce one of the author's main points about leakage between the real and the virtual. Here Allen stands in for the majority of nonmilitary players, who intuitively classify any fast-shooting weapon as a machine gun. The veteran's correction, even the accompanying annoyance, becomes another moment of militarized labor, reinforcing the separation of civilian and military contexts but doing so with classificatory trivia. The blurring of contexts itself becomes blurred.

Players of the earliest versions of *America's Army*—released shortly before the beginning of the Iraq War—“used the game as a means to more closely draw an experiential connection to the invasion” (128). The civilian developers of the game were sent for a mini Basic Combat Training course at Fort Jackson to help them make the game more realistic. The team subsequently developed a squadlike sense of loyalty in the face of shared adversity and worked 80-hour weeks while the army deprived them of needed resources. Militarized logics met the neoliberal workplace, substituting loyalty and cohesion for compensation. Allen warns, “we are all virtual soldiers” (10). *America's Digital Army* will take you into one corner of the participatory processes through which we both produce ourselves and are produced as militarized subjects.