



Book Reviews

Model Behavior: Animal Experiments, Complexity, and the Genetics of Psychiatric Disorders. *Nicole C. Nelson.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12916

ELAN ABRELL

Wesleyan University

Expanding on research in science and technology studies, in *Model Behavior* Nicole Nelson turns an ethnographic lens on the role that nonhuman animals play in the processes of scientific knowledge production in the laboratory. Specifically, Nelson examines the use of mice as a model organism for studying human psychiatric disorders.

Model Behavior is motivated by the desire to understand both why rodents, as the most widely used animals in biomedical research, have become the preeminent models for producing new knowledge about humans and how scientists respond to the limitations of these models. Noting the ubiquity of mice in biomedical stories about humans in journals, magazines, and newspapers, Nelson opens with the question, “How did we arrive at this place, where so many of our hopes for understanding human biology are concentrated on this small organism? And how do we expect to extract knowledge about our own addictions and anxieties from those tiny pink mice?” (1–2).

Conducting her fieldwork largely with laboratory researchers in a neuroscience department at a university on the West Coast of the United States that focuses on genetic and neurological mechanisms of susceptibility to addiction, Nelson discovers that researchers often ask themselves similar questions as their work is shaped by their self-reflexive interrogations about the applicability of lab-generated data to real-world human experiences. She draws rich ethnographic vignettes to illuminate what laboratory research with mureoid stand-ins for humans looks like in the context of the deep epistemological ambivalence her interlocutors express regarding the value and reliability of mice models for generating accurate knowledge about humans.

Model Behavior is composed of six chapters divided into three sections as well as an introduction and a conclusion. Following the introduction, the first section explores the role that the concept of complexity—specifically as it describes human psychiatric disorders and animal models—plays in shaping the epistemic community of the

lab. Chapter 1 considers how a range of challenges related to complexities of behavior and the environmental effects on it leads to what Nelson identifies as a complexity crisis for novice researchers, a generative experience that enables them to refine their understandings about the limits of the scientific knowledge that can be produced by this kind of research. Chapter 2 further elaborates on the role of complexity in shaping ideas about the future trajectory of research into genes’ effects on behavior based on previous methodological controversies in the field.

The second section of the book focuses on the processes of experimentation. In chapter 3, Nelson employs the example of a maze used as a model for rodent anxiety to theorize the concept of epistemic scaffolds to explain both the foundational significance of the methodological work that precedes the generation of specific knowledge products and the provisional nature of that knowledge production, which consists of repeatedly building and revising claims or dismantling them. Chapter 4 introduces a particularly useful concept for future ethnographic work on knowledge production through laboratory experiments: epistemic by-products, knowledge about how laboratory conditions shape mice behavior, which can be used to inform the development of subsequent experiments.

In the third section, Nelson builds on her analysis in the preceding chapters by examining how animal model experiments actually contribute to understandings of human psychiatric conditions. Chapter 5 describes the interpretive flexibility afforded by the experiments she observed, illustrating how scientists were able to use research to gain insights into the structural as well as the biological factors affecting human addiction. Finally, in chapter 6, one of the most illuminating chapters, she explores how scientists’ efforts to communicate knowledge to broader audiences through popular media torque the epistemological grounding of their claims while running up against the limits of their ability to control their audiences’ interpretations.

Model Behavior—either as a whole book or as individual chapters—is appropriate for undergraduate science and technology studies or medical anthropology courses. It may also work in some animal studies courses, though Nelson gives relatively little space to the issue of animal ethics or mouse subjectivity. For example, she briefly discusses the impact of animal activism on how scientists frame their research for the public and how this activism makes them suspicious of outsiders to the lab. Given the

central role of the violence inflicted on mice by experiments, the idea of mice as subjects with interests worthy of consideration is likely too underexplored to be particularly useful for many animal studies courses, unless the goal was to provide an example of such blind spots in the ethnographic literature on animals in science and other human industries.

Although the human scientists conducting research on mice, not the mice themselves, were the primary subjects of Nelson's fieldwork, her erasure of nonhuman animals as subjects reflects a broader moral dilemma related to ethnographic work involving animals, including some work that is explicitly situated in the genre of multispecies ethnography, which—to be fair—*Model Behavior* is not. Nonetheless, as Helen Kopnina, among others, has suggested in her 2017 article, “Beyond Multispecies Ethnography: Engaging with Violence and Animal Rights in Anthropology,” it is long past time for ethnographers who work on topics related to the human use of other animals to reflect on what their moral obligations may be to their nonhuman as well as their human subjects, especially in contexts in which the former are subjected to violence. Despite these concerns, *Model Behavior* provides valuable insights into the epistemological complexity and uncertainty of scientific knowledge production through animal experiments, which will interest a wide range of scholars, students, scientists, and activists.

Threshold: Emergency Responders on the US-Mexico Border. Ieva Jusionyte. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018. 296 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12917

ANGEL AEDO

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

In the hazardous materials manuals used by emergency responders, the term *threshold* refers to the moment when, for example, nitric acid vapor burns the eyes. In her conceptually refined study of the US-Mexico border, Ieva Jusionyte argues that the state reaches its threshold when its border begins to produce harmful effects. This becomes especially visible when, as she eloquently writes, “the desert ceases being a landscape and becomes a killing field; when the fence stops being an infrastructure of protection and turns into an amputation machine” (24). As Jusionyte develops the insights contained in this reasoning, her ethnographically grounded approach reveals the heterogeneity of the actors, things, and phenomena that perform the border and sharpen the structural violence it produces. By focusing on the role of first responders and the extreme experiences they encounter on both sides of the border, she shows the

power of ethnography as a form of knowledge production about the threshold of the state.

Jusionyte addresses the production of the US-Mexico border as an ongoing state of exception. With a delicate sense of balance, she develops an ethnographic description of firefighters and paramedics together with a conceptualization of the border as a securitarian mechanism that produces legal exception and social exclusion. Her immersion in the social world of these first responders becomes, in her writing, an analysis situated literally on the threshold, where the state apparatus simultaneously wounds and cares. By dismantling the intrinsic ambivalence of this state of exception, Jusionyte exposes how the extralegal punishment of migrants for their intrusion into a territory and the legally mandated aid they receive after this punishment, rather than pointing to an anomaly in the state, constitute complementary dynamics of sovereign power.

Threshold carefully incorporates the growing interest in the study of the role of materialities in human life without, however, entering into digressions far from the ethnographic situations encountered. In this sense, it is notable for the way in which Jusionyte shows how the so-called accidents suffered by countless migrants and refugees trying to cross the border reveal the political implications of topographical forms. This is an approach to materiality that challenges public anthropology by explaining how the tactical infrastructure of the US-Mexico border simultaneously produces victims and marks them as criminals. Jusionyte shows how the terrain becomes tactical by operating as a mechanism of injury that obliterates US Border Patrol responsibility for injuries and disguises state violence in the form of accidents.

Engaging her ethnographic findings in a broader citizen debate, Jusionyte closes her work with an epilogue titled “The Great New Wall.” In it, she discusses the implementation of President Trump’s campaign promise to build a “big, beautiful wall” on the US-Mexico border. Through incisive writing that brings together ethnographic fragments, political statements, and larger-scale social phenomena, she develops a critique of the securitarian logic of sovereign power. She does so by exposing the state’s handling of fears and anxieties through the symbolism of the border fence, which contrasts with the harmful effects on residents of binational border communities such as the split town of Nogales in the states of Arizona and Sonora.

Threshold makes a remarkable contribution to the anthropology of borders by challenging the securitarian logic of the state, which makes defense its driving principle and the wall its most ostensible symbol. Living in Nogales, Jusionyte learned that people on both sides of the border are better off when the line that separates their countries is more and not less permeable. By questioning the narrow definition of security as public safety, this ethnography strives for an understanding of security in borderlands as

involving, first and foremost, the social well-being of their residents. Porous borders leak aid and allow solidarity to emerge. This is the engaged sense that Jusionyte claims for the term *threshold*: the opening through which the light passes.

Footbinding as Fashion: Ethnicity, Labor, and Status in Traditional China. John Robert Shepherd. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12918

SUZANNE BARBER

Union College

In *Footbinding as Fashion*, John Robert Shepherd brings together a wide array of sources to examine and ultimately disprove previous theories about the proliferation of footbinding in late imperial China. Earlier studies have sought to explain it as a form of Han ethnic boundary marking against the Manchu ruling class of the Qing dynasty. The other major explanation put forth by scholars has focused on the cost-benefit analysis of female labor in accordance with each region's primary economic resources and agricultural systems. Instead, Shepherd successfully argues that the rapid growth and eventual demise of footbinding are best accounted for by a combination of unique local social hierarchies, the influence of elite culture, competition for status, and a fear of being shamed by one's peers.

Shepherd brings together data gathered from surveys, ethnographic reports, and footbinding censuses to examine case studies from Taiwan as well as Liaoning and Hebei Provinces. While he acknowledges that taken alone each data source has a number of shortages, by combining them he has been able to create a thorough exploration of footbinding. His eight chapters build upon each other to systematically challenge previous studies and corroborate his conclusion.

Shepherd opens by tackling the question of whether the Qing dynasty issued a law in 1645 banning footbinding; he ultimately concludes that there is no historical proof to validate the purported ban. Focusing upon this ban is critical for debunking the argument that the continued proliferation of footbinding was a reaction against Manchu rules and laws and establishes the basis for the coming chapters.

After this first chapter, Shepherd moves from the Qing dynasty to Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule. In "The Taiwan Census of 1905," he considers two different ethnic groups that settled in Taiwan: the Hoklo from Fujian Province and the Hakka from the mountainous regions of Guangdong Province. Shepherd uses census data collected by the Japanese colonial government to further test and disprove the hypothesis that footbinding continued as

a form of ethnic boundary marking. While the occurrence of footbinding was divided along ethnic lines, with the Hoklo practicing footbinding and the Hakka leaving feet natural, it was the fear of ridicule from within their own ethnic communities, rather than the need to reaffirm their ethnic identity, which created this pattern.

In his third chapter, "The 1915 Prohibition," Shepherd continues to examine the effect that the colonial Japanese government had upon footbinding in Taiwan. The growth of antifootbinding groups combined with an eventual 1915 ban resulted in a dramatic drop in the numbers of bound women as different notions of fashion and respectability began to take hold.

Next, in "Footbinding for Marriage," Shepherd investigates the long-standing belief that footbinding was carried out primarily as a way to gain status above one's peers and increase marriage prospects. By looking at marriage patterns, he is able to demonstrate that in populations where footbinding was ubiquitous, binding feet was done to prevent a loss of respectability.

In "Regional Variations among the Hoklo Fujianese," Shepherd combines census data with interviews of elderly women who had their feet bound to dive deeper into footbinding patterns by geographic region. By breaking these data down by region, he further shows that the pressure to be respectable played a predominant role in the prevalence of footbinding. Where there was no alternative model of respectability and given the pressure of fashion and the fear of stigma, the girls themselves would often eventually want to have their feet bound despite the pain. In areas where there were a greater number of Hakka, alternative ideas of beauty and respectability were available. In these regions, fewer Hoklo women were bound, and when they were the binding was less severe.

In the next two chapters, "Women's Labor in Agriculture" and "Women's Labor in Handicrafts" respectively, Shepherd moves his focus to theories of economic influence. Previous works often argued that agricultural styles could explain the binding patterns of women, yet this argument is not supported by the Taiwan example. Hoklo women had their feet bound with the same consistency regardless of local agricultural styles and changing economic patterns. Similarly, data from Hebei also indicate that the type of handicrafts practiced in a particular region did not influence the rate of footbinding. Shepherd does point out that the economic consequence of binding (or not) a daughter's feet was not irrelevant. If the economic loss of binding a daughter's feet was unbearable for the family, the daughter would remain unbound.

In his final chapter, "Bannerwomen and Civilian Women in the Northeast," Shepherd moves from Taiwan to Northeast China. Once again, ethnicity takes center stage. This chapter returns to the question of Manchu influence

on footbinding. In Beijing and surrounding areas, where wealthy and politically powerful bannerwomen left their feet unbound, this fashion slowly took hold. Yet footbinding was used as an ethnic marker in certain areas. In regions with predominantly Han and Mongol populations, footbinding did become an indication of ethnic distinction wherein both groups would deride the other over cultural traditions. In cases where there was a greater mix of Han and Manchu, however, the styles of the Manchu banner elites influenced the Han to gradually abandon footbinding.

Footbinding as Fashion offers a fascinating study of a practice that has long been oversimplified in previous works. Shepherd's work is important for scholars of 19th- and 20th-century China and Taiwan, gender, and fashion. It will also be of interest to both scholars and students of historical anthropology.

Words of Passage: National Longing and the Imagined Lives of Mexican Migrants. Hilary Parsons Dick. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12919

JUDITH A. BORUCHOFF

Universidad Autónoma de Guerrero

Whereas the image of birds of passage has been used in popular and scholarly discourse to refer to migrants, in *Words of Passage* Hilary Parsons Dick hearkens back to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1845 use of the metaphor to refer to words representing "pleasures, and pains, and wrongs" (10) that beat like bird wings in the poet's mind. As such, far from a mere analysis of the phenomenon of Mexico-US migration, this book offers a novel approach with broad implications: instead of focusing on migrants per se, it is their imagined lives that take center stage in this study.

Dick makes the unorthodox move of centering her research on nonmigrants in a working-class neighborhood of Uriangato, an industrialized provincial city in the Mexican state of Guanajuato, primarily in the decade spanning the turn of the current century. Concerned mainly with nation-building processes of interpellation through which state-promoted imaginaries seek to differentially include and disenfranchise these citizens, she explores the ways that social actors reproduce, resist, and reconfigure these powerful representations of Mexicanidad (Mexicanness), especially through discursive practices.

The ethnography begins by tracing the historical genealogy of the "state-endorsed imaginaries of moral mobility" (32) that stipulate reputable ways for Mexicans to

be socioeconomically mobile. Specifically, in various moments from the late 19th century to the present, the working class and other marginalized groups, including migrants, are faced with the same paradoxical dilemma: they are called upon to preserve the traditions that are the essence of Mexicanidad, yet they are subject to the imperative of progressing and becoming more modern. Their inability to achieve this impossible task is deemed to be a result of individual failings and weaknesses of character, rather than of political-economic constraints, and hence is used as a justification for denying these social sectors full belonging in the national polity along with corresponding rights and access to resources. This double bind and the efforts of Uriangatenses to respond to it are fleshed out in subsequent chapters, each of which details a different expression of the problem.

Dick anchors her analysis in a discussion of the challenges of conducting ethnographic inquiry where the requirements of fieldwork draw the researcher into social situations that, according to normative ethico-moral expectations, are potentially inappropriate for people endowed with her personal characteristics. While the author's treatment of this common predicament is of interest in its own right, it serves a greater purpose in her account. Through it, Dick elucidates the culturally specific understandings of proper manhood and womanhood that individuals strive to embody as a means to reassert themselves as ethico-morally right and deserving of full citizenship. In the case of Uriangato, these consist of gendered forms of "gracious personhood" (83) defined in accordance with cultural concepts of *voluntad* (will), *confianza* (trust), and *respeto* (respect). These are of signal importance because they undergird processes of interpellation and serve as a yardstick in designating collectivities, kinds of agency, and the evaluation of persons and governments alike.

Dick's argument is further elaborated through her analysis of interconnected linguistic and material practices of homebuilding. While migrants prioritize building a house in their hometown to assure that they have a place to return to in an imagined future, Dick stresses its significance for nonmigrants as well. Homebuilding demonstrates moral mobility, since it integrates the value that working-class Uriangatenses place on *siguiendo adelante* (getting ahead)—reflecting a concern with progress and modernity—and creating *una vida bonita* (a beautiful moral life) sited in a structure that embodies the traditional virtues of familialism and communitarianism. Dick's account adds dimensions to our understanding of transnationalism. However, rather than highlighting the connections across borders captured by this term, she underscores the sense of displacement, fractured belonging, and perpetual alienation and longing that is lived not only by migrants but by people who never

leave home, a circumstance she encapsulates with the concept of diaspora at home. Homebuilding then becomes part of a repertoire of mechanisms that marginalized working-class citizens employ to claim their place in a variegated national order and to contest semiotic erasures of aspects of their realities that don't square with state-endorsed discourses.

The same problematics are then addressed in tellings of migration histories that detail individuals' relationships to lived or imagined migration, regardless of the speaker's actual movements abroad. Dick emphasizes acts of stance taking, calibration, and other gender-specific discourse strategies. Then, recognizing the centrality of Catholicism to defining, imposing, enacting, and challenging Mexicanidad and nation-state building, she examines how *promesas*—through which believers commit to delivering verbal and material expressions of their faith in exchange for divine aid and protection—and Marianismo—through which women emulate the virtues of the Virgin Mary—are efficacious ways of making appeals. Through all these practices, Uriangatenses promote alternative perspectives that position themselves as ethico-morally virtuous persons and critique the failure of state governments to fulfill their obligations to all Mexicans, wherever they may reside.

As Dick makes clear throughout, these words of passage are deeply political. She drives this point home in her conclusion, which points to their broader implications, especially north of the border. She deftly reminds us that the production of imaginaries that criminalize and “other” migrants is fundamental to policies that enable violations of human rights. These representations occlude the global political-economic transformations that disenfranchise native-born workers in the United States, who then blame their own conditions of diaspora at home on the migrants who, along with their stay-at-home compatriots, grapple with the displacements caused by these same forces.

These complex arguments are conveyed in writing that makes heavy use of specialized terminology, especially that drawn from linguistic anthropology. Although Dick thoroughly explains and illustrates her concepts and assertions, at times to the point of unnecessary repetition, this will likely not make the book easily accessible to less advanced students and general audiences. Nonetheless, *Words of Passage* masterfully and creatively expands our comprehension of the ethico-moral dimensions of social imaginaries, the centrality of migration even beyond the act of movement across borders, the effective pragmatics of gendered discursive strategies, and the ways these all intersect in processes of nation building that feature variegation at their core. It will likely be a touchstone for an array of scholars concerned with analyzing and theorizing each of these issues.

Religion in China: Ties That Bind. Adam Yuet Chau. Cambridge: Polity, 2019. 250 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12920

SUSANNE BREGNBÆK

University College Copenhagen

Chinese people “do” religion more through ritual practices than through interiorized reflections. Such is the overall approach of Adam Yuet Chau's detailed study of religious practices in *Religion in China: Ties That Bind*. Chau takes a relational approach to understanding Chinese religious life as it plays out within the country's five main religions: Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Islam. He answers such questions as: How do Chinese people practice religion? On what occasions do they engage in rituals? What culturally specific desires and concerns inform Chinese religious life? And how is religious life embedded in Chinese society?

Following Talal Asad and others, Chau seeks to get beyond what he sees as a confessional approach to understanding religious life, which has been dominant in the West. His relational approach is invoked through the trope of *guanxi*. Chau connects *guanxi*—social relationships in the form of gift exchange, which for the past two decades has been very influential in studies of Chinese society and politics—to a crucial area in which it is also influential: religion. Here religion is defined broadly as any form of interaction among spirits, be they gods, ancestors, ghosts, or evil spirits. The subtitle of the book, *Ties That Bind*, refers to this field of relationality among kin, covillagers, neighbors, colleagues, superior-inferior, patron-client, briber-bribed, party comrades, and friends of former schoolmates as well as social media groups. In this way, Chau focuses not on religion per se but on how Chinese people in various contexts create their lifeworlds through doing religion.

As a way of framing the book, in his introduction Chau presents part of his own lifeworld, enabling his readers to understand the biographical and existential backdrop to his long-term scholarly to the study of religion in China. Chau informs us that he was born in 1968 during China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976 and that he grew up in the iconoclastic period of high Maoism when religion was strictly forbidden. Besides witnessing various political rituals of the time, such as the parades on October First National Day, he did not have any exposure to religion at all. We learn that his mother was an Indonesian Chinese who grew up in Sumatra when Indonesia was under Japanese occupation; she received Communist-leaning, Chinese-language education. At the age of 15, she went to China to help “build the socialist New China” (12). She married Chau's father, a Shanghainese, and because of

her overseas status, in 1980 the whole family was able to leave China and move to Hong Kong, then a British crown colony.

When he was 12, therefore, things religious suddenly appeared to be omnipresent in Chau's new context. He attended a primary school that was run by the Church of Christ in China (Zhonghua Jidu Jiaohui), an ecumenical Protestant organization that became active in Hong Kong after being forced to leave China after the Communist takeover. Suddenly he was required to pray to God, and the contrast between his atheist childhood and his adolescence—surrounded by religion in school and many other public spaces—left a deep impression on him. He started praying and quite quickly became a devout Christian. However, in 1989, when he went to college in the United States, “the changed environment cooled my religious fervor considerably” (14), he writes. A great majority of the students in the liberal arts college he attended were Christians, but they were Christians by upbringing, and few of them shared a similar experience of conversion. “I prayed and read the Bible less and less” (14), he tells us. A course he was taking in cultural anthropology made him wonder why there were so many different religions, and he gradually told himself that he would no longer be a Christian.

After college, Chau started graduate training at Stanford University, and he went to rural Shaanbei Province for preliminary fieldwork in 1995. “This was my first encounter with rural China, and I was captivated by the vibrant religious life in Shaanbei, especially its temple festivals” (15), he writes. From then on, he has continued to teach and do research about religion in China. A testimony to a life spent learning about Chinese religious practices, his book gives us deep insights into various dimensions of Chinese religious life that can be anticipated by reading the titles of his chapters: “Understanding Religious Diversity,” “Interacting with Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors,” “Festivals and Pilgrimages,” “Ritual Service Providers and Their Clients,” “Communities and Networks,” and finally the ambiguous “State-Religion Relations.”

Religion in China is an impressively comprehensive and lucid book. We are presented with a thorough overview of the varieties of Chinese religious practices as Chau skillfully connects ethnographic details to the bigger picture of China's diversity and societal transformations. His account of temple festivals is particularly vivid in its sensory descriptions, which capture the congestion, competition, and *re'nao* (hot and noisy) atmosphere of Chinese rural life. Reading it, I could sense the particular passion that Chau has for this red-hot social phenomenon. At the same time, since its topic is so vast, at times I felt like I was reading a textbook instead of a monograph. Either way, Chau's book is ideal reading for undergraduate and graduate students of Chinese religion or religious studies in general.

Channeling the State: Community Media and Popular Politics in Venezuela. Naomi Schiller. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018. 296 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12921

AMANDA DANIELA CORTEZ

University of Notre Dame

“Creating representations of the world is part and parcel of constructing the world” (xi). This line from Naomi Schiller's preface to *Channeling the State* resonates with my reading because of the way it captures the essence of her book. Drawing on ethnographic research from 2006 and 2007, she describes the role of community-based media production in the process of statecraft in Venezuela. The quoted sentence speaks to how the producers from Catia Tve—a community-run television station—actively made space for themselves in the process of statecraft. Central to Schiller's main argument is a reconsideration not only of how we construct the state in our questions and analyses but also of who actually creates the state. As we come to find, community media producers such as those at Catia Tve make space for themselves through media in order to craft the state in the interests of the poor.

Statecraft, Schiller notes, is a process of daily power-laden interactions between the poor and the elite. Together they create the state at the local, regional, and global level. In her account, Catia Tve's media production is a form of statecraft. Rather than resist the state through community media, Catia Tve producers work to ensure that they have a role in shaping the emerging state in the interest of the poor. In other words, rather than abandoning the idea of the state, community media production acts as a way for the poor to participate in the creation of a more just society and the possible future of the state.

Even as Schiller complicates the society-state dichotomy, she addresses the tensions inherent in classed and gendered interactions at all levels of society. In remaining skeptical about this dichotomy, she articulates the ways that Catia Tve aligned with the Hugo Chávez government and the Bolivarian Revolution. Her work provides a notable divergence from scholarship of social activists who abandoned the state as a lost cause.

Schiller does a brilliant job of disentangling the complicated politics of her collaborators. In one memorable vignette, a Catia Tve producer—in a moment of working through the station's own place in statecraft—pulls out a dictionary to read and think aloud about the labels used to describe the state. Reading Schiller's book felt like an extension of this moment. Over six chapters, she grapples out loud with the meaning of the state, marginalized people's participation in statecraft, and the tensions of class and gender differences. More specifically, the state that

Catia TVe stakes a claim to and thus attempts to restructure is that of the liberal capitalist democracy that organized Venezuela. The question for these producers was not media versus government but, instead, the economic motivations behind elites and their allies. Catia TVe maintained a complicated relationship with liberalism, challenging some of its norms while simultaneously backing others.

Catia TVe producers negotiated various tension-filled relations with both the state and other community media projects. In some cases, they navigated the possibility of co-opting relations with the state in order to participate in statecraft, while at other times they navigated cross-class alliances where classist attitudes underpinned interactions. These negotiations were necessary as their participation in statecraft enabled them to create a platform for the poor to hold Chávez accountable. Further considering the imperfect process of statecraft, Schiller illuminates how both community media producers and state officials of the Bolivarian Revolution undermined women. While many were able to consider class oppression, they maintained a blind spot when it came to gender oppression, thus relegating women involved in media to the background. Catia TVe experienced the state as an uncertain process, not a fixed entity. This fluid view allowed the producers to shape the future of the state.

By looking at the role of community-based media production, Schiller complicates the dichotomous narrative between society and state. Community media producers see themselves as part of the state, not as “society” in conflict with the state. Schiller’s story is not one of a struggle for sovereignty; rather, it is an illumination of the “radical interdependencies” (17) that her collaborators worked to create with state institutions in order to include the poor in statecraft. Ultimately, Schiller is convincing in her aim to complicate our understanding of grassroots efforts, the dichotomous from above—from below articulation of statecraft, and the society-state binary.

Media is, in part, a process of intervening in the world. In this way, media is not a reflection of the world but a creation of it. While Schiller considers statecraft and the role of poor people rather than the medium of media per se, I’d encourage anyone thinking about media as a channel for social justice to take up *Channeling the State*. I further recommend this book to anyone considering the relations between the marginalized and the state and the specifics of Venezuelan politics at a particular moment in time.

Border Brokers: Children of Mexican Immigrants Navigating U.S. Society, Laws, and Politics. Christina M. Getrich. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2019. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12922

REBECCA CROCKER

University of Arizona

Christina Getrich’s *Border Brokers: Children of Mexican Immigrants Navigating U.S. Society, Laws, and Politics* went to press at a time when the mixed-status immigrant families whom she researches face multiple threats to their safety and well-being. As Getrich and others make clear, broad-scale deportations and the formalization of police cooperation with immigration authorities have eroded public safety and vastly increased the number of family separations over the past several decades. President Trump has targeted the health and unity of mixed-status families even more concerted by attempting to repeal Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, threatening sanctuary cities, broadening the priorities for deportation, and proposing to evict undocumented people from public housing.

Getrich focuses on how children in mixed-status families—the fastest-growing segment of children in the United States—experience the political and social realities of their families’ complex and evolving immigration status. While other authors have documented the insidious impact of fear of deportations, family separations, and barriers to services faced by the children of immigrants, Getrich’s fifteen years of ethnographic work among mixed-status families in San Diego yielded other important contributions. First, by following her study participants from adolescence into young adulthood, she fleshes out the lasting “deep imprint of the state on their lives” (13) as they work to navigate their education and vocations, stabilize their family lives, and maintain transborder ties. Second, she presents evidence against prior assumptions that children in mixed-status families are victims with poor chances for positive adaptation, showing instead that “they are active strategists and brokers—border crossers par excellence—who advocate for themselves, their family members, and their community and who possess a unique skill set that enables them to do so effectively” (173).

In the first chapter, Getrich conducts an impressive literature review of US immigration policies, tracing a well-known trajectory of labor recruitment, forced repatriations, and selective enforcement of border regulations. She offers a clear presentation of US policies that specifically target Mexicans, including imposing numerical quotas and closing the door to future legalization avenues after 1996’s Immigration Reform and Control Act, which “set in motion the large-scale condition of immigrant illegality” (44). The policies of the ensuing decades served to strip immigrants of their legal rights, limit their access to services, and make them objects of racial and ethnic hatred vulnerable to sudden deportations and family separations, “further hardening the boundaries of social belonging” (39). This

concept of belonging serves as the backdrop for Getrich's book.

In chapter 2, "Conceptualizing Citizenship and Illegality," Getrich explores how youth in mixed-status families understand and conceptualize belonging by highlighting youth activism following the passage of House Bill 4437, which intensified the criminalization of illegal presence. This served as a defining moment for many young people, reinforcing the benefits of citizenship and solidifying their Mexican and immigrant identities. Getrich reveals important nuances in their social definitions, most notably the way that they collapse the complex array of immigration classifications into a binary comparison between those who have papers and those who do not. In addition, she demonstrates how their social definitions are at once inclusive—"she's one of us, someone that we hang out with" (86)—and marked by dominant notions of deservedness—"they don't break any laws and they give back to the community" (78).

The following two chapters consider how the constraints of illegal status change and distort family roles and inextricably intertwine the state with family life. As the ones capable of free movement and possessing stronger language and cultural skills, children in mixed-status families often assume caretaking roles for parents and siblings. This added responsibility contributes to how illegality is experienced intersubjectively, leading participants to share "in their family members' status-related vulnerabilities" (99). Moreover, Latinos of all statuses living in the highly patrolled and enforced border region are frequently asked to defend their rights to belonging, which produces sometimes severe embodied effects of fear, stress, and loneliness.

In the second half of the book, Getrich moves into largely new territory. In chapter 5, her ethnography shines as she describes the intimate and nuanced ways in which parental immigration status and distance of hometowns from the US border affect young people's ability to engage in transborder life. Importantly, she dispels the prior assumption that transborder connections fade and disappear with the second generation, showing instead that many children in mixed-status households find new freedom and independence through their ability to navigate cross-border travel and relationships, with many maintaining deep ties to Mexico well into adulthood, visiting family, accessing care, and even relocating to Mexico by necessity or choice.

Getrich concludes with the heart of her argument: that children and young adults in mixed-status families become skilled brokers, guiding parents through their engagements with US authorities and services, teaching them how to navigate cross-border environments, and ultimately applying to regularize their parents' status upon turning 21. This brokerage role has its negative ramifications, including the bur-

den of added family responsibilities, stress to sibling and parental relationships, and constraints to their ability to stray far from home. Yet it also foments a deep commitment to family and instills dedication, decision making, and arbitration, skills that many participants later apply to service-oriented professions.

The plausibility of Getrich's hopeful assessment of the potential for these young people to act as personal brokers and professional advocates is tempered only by her failure to fully consider the potential bias of her results—her sample was drawn from a college preparatory after-school program that likely attracts particularly motivated youth. Nonetheless, as a fellow anthropologist who has studied the emotional toll of migration from Mexico to the United States, I find her arguments to be convincing. Moreover, her conclusion that "brokering skills are also translatable job skills that have situated them well for service-oriented careers in the public sphere" (173) bodes well for the mobilization of future political and social change. This book is well suited for all readers at the advanced undergraduate level and beyond.

Hemispheric Indigenities: Native Identity and Agency in Mesoamerica, the Andes, and Canada. *Miléna Santoro and Erick D. Langer*, eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018. 450 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12923

GUILLERMO DELGADO-P.

University of California, Santa Cruz

A nonessentialist and heterogeneous concept, indigeneity deals with understanding the persistent survival of the native peoples who have inhabited the Americas since Europeans arrived five centuries ago. A provocative study of the complex subject of indigeneity, this ambitious volume informs readers about the inventive approaches that now enrich this field by juxtaposing the current work of indigenous and nonindigenous scholars. Focusing on three demographics—Mesoamerican, Andean, and Canadian indigenous peoples—the contributors demonstrate the historically shifting evolution of their self-representation regarding indigeneity. While the native scholars speak from their emic perspective, self-perception, and precolonial intellectual sovereignty, the nonindigenous scholars are concerned with conceptual and historical clarity apropos of indigenous agency or, for that matter, marginalization in relation to the coloniality of power.

These comparative texts stimulate hemispheric dialogues and also synthesize the locus of enunciation by covering the colonial, the republican, and the modern

historical periods in the three cultural areas. By concentrating on cradles of civilization in the Andes and Mesoamerica and, for the first time, Turtle Island, namely, Canada, the essays lead readers to an appreciation of the different approaches to indigeneity. And by deconstructing the history of otherness hidden behind the term *Indian*, especially when such inquiry privileges emphatic indigeneity as this volume does, they present an assertive appraisal of the coloniality of power.

Three of the book's 10 essays are by indigenous scholars, who provide us with the ontological and chorographic affluence of their from-within perspective. The remaining scholars synthesize earlier debates dwelling on attempts to understand the convoluted and prejudiced classificatory state-inspired demographic legibility of "the Indian." In doing so, they strengthen the ongoing rich dialogues that events in 1992 triggered throughout the Americas when the descendants of native peoples re/membered their own processes of being and becoming indigenous. This ontological and chorographic re/membering of the Indian body politic moves the struggle over self-representation forward by offering readers an intricate historical narrative.

Contributors in the first part historicize the early tensions prompted by colonial-settler politics, reminding readers that the so-called conquest of the Americas was in no way one synchronic phenomenon. Susan Kellogg, Susan Elizabeth Ramírez, and David McNab advance the difficult task of systematizing an Indian historiography. Kellogg offers an early notion of colonial "Indianism," suggesting with this term Mesoamerican self-representation in the form of an indigenous assertiveness that challenged colonial powers. Ramírez coins the term *ancestralities* to illustrate the Andean pluriverse that nurtured the sense of identity deployed to resist colonial rule. Emphasizing Mi'kmaq *oraliture* and what he calls spirit memory, McNab examines the ethnohistory of the Mi'kmaq people of Atlantic Canada vis-à-vis multiple deceitful treaty-making interactions with Europeans. While stressing the process of becoming indigenous as a nonessentialist and dynamic entity, he narrativizes a saga of First Peoples unbroken injustice and dismemberment similar to the Mesoamerican and Andean cases, bringing these issues into the very present.

Essays in the second part revisit the long 19th century and its distressed agnatic process. Luis Fernando Granados, Erick Langer, and Karl Hele each offer reappraisals of early modern state relations with indigenous peoples. Granados emphasizes the dismemberment of Mesoamerican peoples by focusing on exploitation, domination, and marginalization—epistemological genocide—a leitmotif that inspires him to analyze the top-down taxonomizing of peoples who claimed indigenous heritage

then and today, taxonomizing that did not engage them on their own terms (or languages). In the Andean area, Langer privileges distinctive indigenous trade routes as proof of economic agency and autarchy. Studying census records, he tabulates concrete achievements and prosperous livelihoods to show that exchange networks gave Andeans unmeasured commercial control of specific economic activities but that simultaneous processes of land dispossession, displacement, and ecological depletion pushed them to the margins, prompting lasting economic poverty. Hele echoes similar themes when he meticulously details the dismembering of aboriginal lands through mining and the persistence of the aboriginal-settler history of infamy.

The third part, mainly about the 20th century, reevaluates Indianism as a decolonized issue, as revitalized self-representation rising from earlier, barely known indigenous autonomic struggles that challenged the state radically. Focusing on the Mayan areas that rebelled in 1994, Lynn Stephen documents "lived autonomy through practice"—land, health, communications, and education—as the Zapatistas and others implement it within the state's "legal limbo" (256). Relying on a myriad of indigenous legal practices preserved in native sources and community and family archives, Aymara historian Waskar Ari-Chachaki narrativizes the literate and cosmicentric precursors of contemporary Katarismo and Indianismo in Bolivia. By upholding Aymara and Quechua nomos, he re-centers a persistent decolonial legal project that invigorates contemporary struggles. Miléna Santoro's work on the appropriation of film technologies by native artists of Canada seeking to decolonize the indigenous image offers a chronological account of three historical periods of visual sovereignty, converging on rekindled spirits that, at last, control the image.

Needless to say, throughout this volume landscape and hylozoism are lively. Both concepts reappear in David McNab's stories of dispossession and survival. Coining the term *spirit memory*, he reclaims an autobiographical indigeneity based on his own experiences that crisscrosses Abiyala, the Kuna name for the Americas, portraying a re/membering act that reaches out by acknowledging the vibrant indigenous nomoi he finds alive. In Mesoamerica, indigenous healing is cosmicentric and hylozoistic, a commonality of indigenous socionature since nature is not dispirited.

Reasserting contemporary, decolonial indigenous thought, the authors in *Hemispheric Indigeneities* are determined to dissect and critique previous homogenizing uses of the term *Indian*. Readers are exposed to the multifaceted heterogeneity of indigenous peoples' agency and their ethnic, gendered, historical, and multinatural complexities as an autonomous, sovereign subject.

Second World, Second Sex: Socialist Women's Activism and Global Solidarity during the Cold War. *Kristen Ghodsee.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018. 328 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12924

JENNIFER ERICKSON

Ball State University

Kristen Ghodsee's new book on socialist women's activism and global solidarity during the Cold War encourages us to recognize the organizing strategies of women in Bulgaria, Zambia, and the United States after World War II. Ghodsee uses feminist historiography and ethnography to recover forgotten local histories of the socialist and postcolonial women who were active in the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975 and, later, the United Nations Decade for Women. She brings attention to feminist leaders in the United States, who mostly looked for Western-style women's movements in other parts of the globe, which meant movements that were grounded in civil society (not the state) and that challenged sexism (but not necessarily racism or colonialism). These countries make for interesting comparisons in terms of their different political economies, roles of the state and civil society, and intersections of gender, race, and sociopolitical status. A key argument running throughout the text is that "women's issues were just another front on which the superpowers competed" (128). Nevertheless, the book concentrates on issues that mattered to women during the Cold War and the strategies created by women for women, even as men tried to thwart them.

In the first part, Ghodsee highlights gains for women in communist states: their incorporation into the workforce, maternity leave, access to education, collective ownership of the means of production, and the ways their status as both workers and mothers shaped their activism. She suggests that "a significant disjuncture might exist between what state socialist women's committees did and what they said they were doing when they explained their actions to their male comrades" (52). For example, the Committee of the Bulgarian Women's Movement used a popular women's magazine to covertly address women's issues. Feminists in the United States often held anticommunist beliefs, and Ghodsee stresses that their religious conservatism and ethnocentrism toward women's activism in other parts of the world led to a blindness or an unwillingness to recognize intersectional aspects of women's lives. Zambian women, in contrast, struggled against colonialism, racism, and patriarchy and their activism reflected this, which is why, Ghodsee explains, women in Zambia aligned more with "the socialist ideals of cooperation" than "the competitiveness embedded in capitalism" (137). In part, this had to do

with the superior organizing skills of communist women compared with US women in postcolonial countries.

Ghodsee then shows how the Cold War shaped women's activism and women's activism shaped the Cold War. As she builds toward the events of International Women's Year and, later, the Decade for Women, she highlights "the affinities between the women from Africa and from the Eastern Block, who found common ground in their condemnation of the economic imperialism and neocolonialism perpetuated by the capitalist countries—especially the United States" (138). She provides a nice overview of the global political context that shaped the events in Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, and Nairobi in 1985, including how the locations were established and who would be encouraged or permitted to represent their country at the meetings.

The book centers on the global importance of the 1975 conference. Despite the enormous rate of participation—125 of 133 member nations of the United Nations sent government delegations to the conference, and 73 percent of the delegates were women—"in all cases women sent to the official meetings represented their governments and thus were directed by the policies of male politicians back home" (146–47). The first conference also demonstrated to the world that women in the so-called second world had more legal equality than women in other nations, especially with regard to maternity care and access to education, employment, abortion, and social welfare. Bulgarian women in particular promoted these ideals by engaging women in Africa, the Middle East, and beyond through international conferences. Even the US delegates acknowledged that the organizing capacities of communist women had been more successful than their own when it came to establishing a wider women's network during the first Decade for Women.

The 1975 conference addressed a long list of global issues: the right of newly independent colonies to choose their own path to economic development without Western interference, the challenges for women trying to find solidarity across differences, and the right of women to have access to family planning and contraception. Bulgarians supported their own access to abortion, but Zambian women worried that access to Western forms of birth control would lower morality standards and population growth and believed that "only married women should be eligible for maternity benefits" (169). Women in the United States differed markedly in their approach—or their country's approach—to racism.

By the time of the 1980 conference in Copenhagen, Ghodsee reveals, Bulgarian women had begun organizing an all-expenses-paid six-week training school for women from nearly 30 countries. Meanwhile, women in the United States had become increasingly divided over the politics of neoliberalism, the NGO-ization of feminism, and the influence of religious conservatism on women's movements.

Zambian women, for their part, showed their commitment to end apartheid and other forms of racism and colonialism throughout the world and to incorporate women's issues into larger geopolitical contexts and struggles. Though global politics was never far from the events at the 1985 conference, "relationships among women were somewhat more civil in Nairobi than they had been in Mexico City and Copenhagen" (211). Throughout, Ghodsee skillfully traces both the conflicts and the solidarities that formed among women in different parts of the world because of these conferences.

Ghodsee beautifully describes the relationships that she established with women's activists throughout the course of her research, especially in Bulgaria, and the difficulty of finding information on women from this time period in postsocialist and postcolonial countries. This is why her book is so important: it challenges hegemonic accounts of both Cold War politics and the international Decade for Women.

When the State Winks: The Performance of Jewish Conversion in Israel. *Michal Kravel-Tovi.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2017. 320 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12925

RACHEL FELDMAN

Franklin and Marshall College

Using empirically grounded research, anthropologists have greatly expanded the applications of Michel Foucault's theory of biopolitics, attuning us to the diversity of material and discursive life-regulating practices through which nation-states exert disciplining power. The role of religion, however, in secular state management and regulation of the social body remains underdeveloped. *When the State Winks* is a landmark ethnography that takes a significant step toward addressing this gap by examining the role of Jewish conversion in Israel in fulfilling the Zionist biopolitical goals that Michal Kravel-Tovi defines as "the maintenance of a Jewish majority" as "the basic condition for the existence of a Jewish-nation state" (69), where Jewish hegemony is preserved in all spheres of political, cultural, and economic life.

Zionist biopolitics has guided the development of strong pronatalist policies in Israel aimed at overcoming the "demographic demon" (69), the fear that Palestinian reproductive rates will outpace Jewish ones. State-sponsored conversion to Orthodox Judaism—the only form of Judaism officially recognized by Israel—has become another strategy for mitigating these demographic concerns. Kravel-Tovi centers her ethnography around the experiences of first- and second-generation immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) in the conversion classes and rabbinic courts

where they undergo conversion hearings. While they hold Israeli citizenship, may be well integrated into Israeli society, and serve in the army, the inclusion of FSU Israelis into the Jewish nation-state remains incomplete as long as they do not meet the definition of a Jew according to halacha, Jewish law: having an unbroken maternal Jewish lineage. Members of the FSU population, especially women in their childbearing years, are targeted by the state as reproductive resources who, following conversion, can produce Jewish children and help ensure a Jewish majority.

Drawing inspiration from Erving Goffman and the field of performance studies, Kravel-Tovi skillfully captures what she terms the "dramaturgical winking relations" between the state conversion agents—rabbinic teachers and judges—and the FSU conversion candidates, who work together "collaboratively crafting performances of sincerity" (9) even when it is well known that most converts will not maintain an Orthodox level of observance following their conversion. Candidates are coached to present a "persona sufficiently worthy of conversion" (19): they must convey the correct signifiers of a religious lifestyle through attitude, modest clothing, and biographical script in order to pass as Orthodox. By presenting the conversion performance from both onstage and backstage rehearsal vantage points without ever obscuring her own positionality as an academic participant-observer in these venues, Kravel-Tovi demonstrates the subtle but potent micromaneuvers that sustain biopolitical spheres of state power as conversion agents and candidates cultivate interdependent relationships, agreeing to meet each other somewhere between sincerity and deception.

Through precise and lucid observations and insightful transcriptions of dialogue, Kravel-Tovi leaves us with a fine-grained portrait of the reciprocal state power enacted in the conversion arena. In the end, the Israeli state gains a reproductive resource, FSU converts gain cathartic closure to an often long-desired full national inclusion, and the Zionist rabbis who are in charge of the process fulfill their own mission of sacralizing state biopolitical goals. This case study of conversion in Israel reveals the secular state's profound reliance on religion to facilitate the production of ideal citizens. A spiritual journey (or at least a convincing performance of one) that ends in the purifying mikveh, the ritual bath, is needed to fully transform FSU citizens into consecrated members of the Jewish nation. Through their service to the state, Zionist state actors imbue political goals of land annexation in the West Bank, the maintenance of a Jewish-majority population, and exclusive Jewish right to the land with redemptive messianic meaning.

Kravel-Tovi thoroughly explores the gendered dynamics of conversion biopolitics but does not explicitly address the question of race that seems to linger in the background, leaving room for future research to attend to this question. Citizens from the former Soviet Union are targeted for

state-subsidized conversion because they are racially desirable bodies who can easily be incorporated into the Jewish national collective, one that has been fashioned according to a normative Ashkenazi image. As Kravel-Tovi notes, “the greatest barriers” to conversion in Israel occur when the candidates are coming from “third world or developing countries” (81). These candidates are *racialized* ones whose desire to become Jews is met with suspicion and deemed problematic; they are often turned away from conversion courts for fear that they will “exploit conversion” (80) to receive citizenship or economic benefits. While candidates from a former Soviet background are viewed as potentially sincere enough, candidates from developing countries are presupposed to be deceptive and are not considered to be spiritually motivated actors.

Desire for Orthodox conversion has grown in recent years especially in Judaizing communities across the Global South of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Barriers to conversion for nonwhite candidates have led to the emergence of conversion underground markets where aspiring converts may pay exorbitant fees to rabbis to complete conversions that are often not recognized by the Israeli state, thereby foreclosing the possibility of immigration and national inclusion that is eagerly offered to FSU candidates. Kravel-Tovi’s work, I suggest, might serve as a very productive springboard to broader comparative examinations of Jewish conversion politics and conversion economies that reveal the entanglements of religion, race, gender, and biopolitical strategy operating in Israel today. In addition to its contributions to the fields of political anthropology and the anthropology of religion, *When the State Winks* is a model of a methodologically and theoretically rigorous ethnography written in an accessible language that would make an excellent addition to undergraduate- and graduate-level syllabi.

Managing Multiculturalism: Indigeneity and the Struggle for Rights in Colombia. Jean E. Jackson. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019. 328 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12926

KATHLEEN S. FINE-DARE

Fort Lewis College

On the final page of this rich work, which considers the conundrums and complexities of indigenous representation, activism, and multiculturalism in Colombia, anthropologist Jean Jackson enjoins the reader to consider something nonintuitive. How, she asks, did a mere 3.5 percent of the Colombian population come to be collective owners of almost 30 percent of the country’s territory, changing over the course of a relatively short span of time national attitudes

and policies from the largely negative to the astonishingly positive and constitutionally guaranteed?

Other questions rise from this to frame the direction of this important book. How might the success of Colombia’s indigenous movement provide an instructive comparative model for understanding ways of organizing human and other rights activism as well as the struggles of indigenous movements around the globe? What more might those interested in the processes of indigeneity—both long-standing and emergent—learn by focusing on what a small population has accomplished by building alliances, raising cultural and historical awareness, and contributing to the reduction of violence in a country where violence was assumed to be some kind of national trait for most of the 20th century? And how did the Latin American multicultural context from which the Colombian indigenous organization emerged serve the interests of elites as well as some (but not all) of those who invoke the idea of “unity in diversity” (13) and some (but not all) of the indigenous groups increasingly managed by (and benefiting from) this ideological trope?

Jackson, who began working in Colombia in 1968, addresses these questions in five well-framed and compelling chapters centering on her longitudinal engagement with and insights into Colombian indigenous (and, to a lesser extent, Afro) peoples, particularly those of Tukanoan ancestry in the Vaupés region. Jackson looks at the evolution of Colombia’s indigenous movement over the course of nearly five decades of research spent in the field, archives, and government offices as she explores how the indigenous organizing began, found its voice, won battles against the government and the Catholic Church, and contributed ideas regarding indigenous identity within what are often dark shadows of global neoliberalism. Throughout these well-connected chapters, she interweaves elements of her intellectual biography over the course of her career and her observations of ways that a variety of anthropological concepts have been useful or have fallen by the wayside, such as the slippery utilities of the culture concept and some of the essentializing problems of indigenous studies.

From approximately 1969 until 1987, Jackson was forced to retreat from working in her original field sites in the Vaupés because of local violence and exclusionary policies that the government imposed on foreign researchers. Although she returned in 1989, 1991, and 1993, security concerns prevented her from working at any but a national level in Colombia. Unfortunate as these circumstances were, they served to broaden Jackson’s already-remarkable scholarly corpus. By stepping back and working horizontally, she has been able to demonstrate some of the successes resulting from interactive engagements between Colombians from indigenous, Afro, and mixed backgrounds. These gains—which include securing territory, peace, and constitutional rights—provide key elements of a comparative model for those interested in knowing more

about building alliances, securing recognition, and participating in processes often labeled as ethnogenesis. While these acts are bound up in what she calls reindigenization, they also offer guidance for those looking to develop community and achieve recognition through coalition building, representational control, legislation, and cultural politics. They also run the risk, as Jackson deftly discusses in chapter 5 and the conclusion, of falling into contradictions and ironies that, among other things, involve policing identity claims and challenging authenticity as they “define and dissect that diversity” (216) celebrated by multiculturalism.

While multiculturalism is often considered a rather innocuous if circular concept that “does” what it “is,” Jackson deftly illustrates multiple ways that it is edgily ideological and often cynically governmental, focused as much or more on containment and control as on acceptance and plurality. The management of laws, policies, and practices consonant with constitutional claims comes also with the manipulation of terms of engagement and the definitions of persons entitled to rights. These controls can range from the crassest of questions—such as “Are you really an Indian?”—to the sticky complexities of what kind of indigenous person one is, attached to what territories, entitled to what rights, and observing what concomitant limitations in areas as diverse as urban cabildos, rural peasant communities, and tropical forest zones.

In the course of writing this essay, I thoroughly dog-eared my copy of Jackson’s book as I returned to many passages for review and reflection. That the book is densely populated with historical and local details is less a distraction than an invitation to make it required reading for activists for whom notions such as being indigenous may seem attractively romantic and straightforward. Jackson’s work is instructive in many ways, reminding us that identities “emerge within, not outside, discourse” (11) and are often performed in ways that can seem to conflate the traditional with the touristic or the inauthentic. As she suggests, “there is no simple and inherent antagonism between *the indigenous*, *the cultural*, and *the neoliberal*” (16).

Rather than be troubled by this fact, Jackson asks us, through her fascinating case studies—eco-ethno-tourism, a shaman school, government office occupations, coca rights, and incidents involving suffering and even murder, among others—to recognize this management as occurring in multiple fields of power, including that of indigenous peoples themselves, who have been able “to strike their own bargains with national and international corporations and NGOs, bypassing paternalistic regional and state agencies” (16). Although I would like to ask if perhaps even more comparative insights might have been achieved by bringing in more of the experiences of the indigenous movement in neighboring Ecuador to add to those she offers from the United States, Mexico, and Bolivia, *Managing Multiculturalism* more than succeeds in illuminating the value of re-

flective and engaged anthropological work over the long span of a career that provides intellectual, analytical, and testimonial dimensions to cultural survival and indigenous human rights in the Americas.

The Gray Zone: Sovereignty, Human Smuggling, and Undercover Police Investigation in Europe. Gregory Feldman. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12927

KAROLINA FOLLIS

Lancaster University

Gregory Feldman’s accomplished new ethnography offers an original consideration of action, ethics, and sovereignty informed by fieldwork within an undercover investigative police unit. Through his willingness to “listen and watch before I judged” and to “answer their questions and accept their challenges” (xvi), Feldman achieved an unusual level of access to a group of police officers whose daily routines take place in the gray zone, that is, in the murky shadows of the state security system. The privilege of interacting with them was conditional on preserving full anonymity of the unit he studied. Thus for context we are offered only the most general of parameters: the action unfolds in a cosmopolitan city in a southern maritime state in Europe, where the securitization of migration has become the norm. Beyond these identifiers, abstracted from its environment, history, and language, Feldman’s investigative unit is presented to the reader as a nearly generic entity.

Working on the margins of the normal legal order, the ethnography’s protagonists are agents empowered to enforce the law. It is because the gray zone is a structural feature of the modern state, Feldman asserts, that we must understand the implications and potentialities of the conduct that occurs within it. In relation to the crimes under investigation and in the relative absence of hierarchical control, what are the officers’ ethical choices and their justifications? What is the significance of the relationships within the unit and among the investigators and their targets, their office-based colleagues, and their supervisors? In answering such questions, Feldman develops a sophisticated argument about sovereignty’s dual nature. Sovereignty, he claims, can be understood as consisting of two distinct forms, which he conceptualizes as the first sovereign form, that is, the nation-state which is premised on a hierarchical arrangement of atomized and abstracted subjects, and the second sovereign form, which is fleshed out, in an Arendtian fashion, as the “sovereign spaces through which [people] come to life as particular persons” (xvii).

The gray zone, situated beyond the “top-down vertical imperatives of the first sovereign form” (xviii), emerges

as the locus of the second form, enabling the officers to conduct themselves as full persons rather than as the abstract subjects of the first sovereign form. In other words, we are encouraged to see the world of undercover policing as a sphere that is less rule bound than that of official law enforcement. It thus offers subjects the opportunity to engage with each other as sovereign persons, even when they remain in relationships that are profoundly unequal, contentious, and ultimately violent.

In a useful move, Feldman opens the book with a page-long précis of this argument, followed by a discussion of its philosophical complexity in the introduction. While a short review cannot do justice to these reflections, suffice it to say that what seems central to Feldman is not the sovereign state's capacity to declare exceptions (and thus to wield extralegal violence per Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben) but, rather, the constitutive power of joint action—the ability to “initiate new beginnings” and to “(re)constitute political space ... and break from the old order” (8–9). This latent capacity and the signs of its exercise interest Feldman as he tracks the work of the investigative team. Indeed, the most compelling parts of the book are those where the team's members, introduced through rich biographical detail, confront situations in the field where rigid legal frameworks are of no use, and where their own choices must determine outcomes for suspects, victims, and themselves.

In the first chapter, we learn about the team's place within the national Immigration Service and about its own internal organization, horizontal arrangements, and egalitarian values. Feldman draws a sharp contrast, explored further in the next chapter, between his protagonists and the office bureaucrats in the organization. Removed from the fast-paced realities of the street, their desk-based work is the embodiment, for the purposes of this ethnography, of the first sovereign form. In contrast, Frank, Brian, Vincent, and the four other men who make up the team instantiate the second form, struggling “to carve out an alternative sovereign space” (180) within or on the margins of the security apparatus. Investigating outlaw groups, they cultivate their identity as a tight-knit, honor-bound unit that draws on the particular talents of its members under well-respected leadership.

In chapter 3, Feldman explains the mechanics of an investigation through surveillance, the recruitment of informants, and the breaking of official codes in the gray zone. Chapter 4 will particularly attract those readers who were drawn to the book because of Feldman's 2012 *The Migration Apparatus*. The team's investigative work is situated in its transnational context, showing the intertwining of licit and illicit flows, the criminal exploitation feeding off the irregularization of migration in Europe, and the globalization of the gray zone. Throughout the book, Feldman fleshes out examples of the team's casework that highlight how the second sovereign form is manifested in the reflexivity and self-awareness of the team's members, in their ability to see their

criminal targets not as objects but as persons, and in their measured rather than gratuitous use of violence.

There is a gendered dimension to Feldman's ethnography that may deter some readers. His fieldwork hinged on the possibility of his partaking in the type of male camaraderie that involves shooting guns (as in the opening scene) and shooting the breeze during stakeouts. His insights come from a place of affection for his subjects, with whom he spent more than 600 hours in work and social settings. He is transparent about the fact that his sympathies lie with the gutsy investigators, whom he got to know well, and not with the anonymous bureaucrats who get the short end of the stick in this book. This is not to criticize Feldman for being faithful to his own project but to pick up on a point he makes himself in the conclusion: the gray zones that give rise to the second sovereign form obtain in most modern institutions, not just the action-packed world of undercover cops. Even bureaucracies cannot be reduced to atomizing vertical organization, something ethnographers are in a position to grasp once they can situate such institutions in context and decode their cultural superstructures. In spite of prevailing conformism, staid officialdom too retains interstices where people can exercise their capacities for thinking and joint action.

The Gray Zone may be underestimating this fact, but this is a minor issue in an overall rewarding and inspiring read. It could inform projects on subversions in many fields, including those far removed from policing. It will also be of interest to those in anthropology and beyond who are on the lookout for fresh contributions to debates on sovereignty.

The Palace Complex: A Stalinist Skyscraper, Capitalist Warsaw, and a City Transfixed. Michał Murawski. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019. 366 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12928

KONSTANTY GEBERT

Gazeta Wyborcza

Warsaw is probably the only European capital that does not have an identifiable downtown. Instead, at the center of the huge Parade Square and its surrounding grounds, in the area that had been the downtown until the Germans razed the city after an unsuccessful uprising during World War II, there stands the 42-story Palace of Science and Culture. A 1955 gift from the Soviet Union that then Communist Poland could not refuse, its base covers more than 8 acres, and at 778 feet it is still one of Europe's tallest buildings and remains the most recognizable feature of the Polish capital. With its multiple theaters, cinemas, museum, swimming pool and sports center, Congress Hall, cafés, restaurants, colleges, and offices, the Palace has become an

irreplaceable element of everyday life; with its domineering socialist realist architecture, incongruously decorated with so-called Polish national-style attributes, it is a permanent reminder of both the fallen dictatorship and the foreign power that had stood behind it.

The city has developed a very complex love-hate relationship with this astonishing building. In his *Palace Complex* Michał Murawski, a British leftist social anthropologist of Polish extraction, analyzes this relationship with great sophistication, playing on the double meaning of the word *complex* that signifies both something multifaceted and comprehensive and something indicative of a deep emotional entanglement that is only partially conscious. He starts by describing the building's history and the way Polish culture reacted to its erection (since it is colloquially referred to as Stalin's prick, phallic allusions are quite appropriate), reactions ranging from the officially worshipful to the oppositionally denigrating with all conceivable positions in between. He penetratingly observes that "the Palace of Culture does not merely 'stand for' Stalin in a symbolic way; for all intents and purposes it actually *is* Stalin" (66). Murawski skillfully identifies how the building, completed after the Soviet leader's 1953 death, gradually lost its Stalinist attributes—yet Stalin's ghost still lingers. He could have added to his proofs the full name of the edifice: the Joseph Stalin Palace of Science and Culture, still visible under the added-on letters of the later, Stalin-free name if you know how to look. And, possibly even more tellingly, the cover of a book carried by the educated worker in a larger-than-life sculpture on the building's facade lists the names of Marx, Engels, and Lenin—but inexplicably the cover's bottom quarter is jarringly blank.

If the Palace still carries its Communist-era message of oppression, Murawski competently brings to light the facts that its supreme utility to all citizens, its triumphantly non-commercial nature, and its attempt to infuse architectural experience with beauty, albeit contested, are no less part of its Communist legacy. "The Palace's gifting to the city," he convincingly argues, "was accompanied and made possible by the mass expropriation of private property [of the land on which it stands].... The Palace's extraordinary intransigent publicness ... is made possible precisely by the continuing existence of this spirit of expropriation" (21). After the fall of Communism, the Palace became municipal property; attempts at privatization failed, which allows it to largely continue its multiple social and cultural functions. The Museum of Technology it had housed has gone bankrupt, however, and Congress Hall, which had hosted party congresses and a Rolling Stones concert, has decayed. Attempts at establishing a Museum of Communism have failed as well: it was to be set up in the sinister cellars suspected to lie under the building, but their existence, as with many other "Palaceological" (to use Murawski's apt neologism) beliefs, proved to be a myth.

The author is at his best when he analyzes the mythical and myth-inducing nature of the edifice. I very much liked his discussion of the Palace as *hau* and of its *mana*. Conscious of the building's quasi-sacral use as backdrop to the altar of the mass held by Pope John Paul II during his visit in 1987, he nonetheless failed to appreciate its functional transformation into a cathedral: photos exist of clerics filing toward the edifice, which soars up to heaven. And when the surrounding grounds became the site, in the early 1990s, of a huge open-air market, the first association was to the markets that grew around cathedrals in the Middle Ages. A public lighting of a huge Hanukkah menorah took place in front of it in 2005, obviously another attempt to own a sacred space earlier reclaimed by others. Murawski, who had become an employee of the Palace and had participated in its activities, is at his observant and ironic best when he describes and discusses debates about the Palace in post-Communist Poland, skillfully dissecting layer after layer of meaning. In particular, he shows how successive attempts to de-emphasize the building's visual impact on the city by surrounding it with new construction only ended up highlighting the importance of that which was to be negated and were, therefore, abandoned.

Murawski concludes with demands by ordinary people and government ministers that the building be altogether removed—blowing it up being the ultimate symbol of liberation. This is apart from the obvious paradox involved, however: if blowing it up would be liberation, then as long as this does not happen, and citizens continue to obsess over it, they are not free. An even deeper contradiction resides in the fact that, had the absurd and criminal act (the building is a registered monument) been committed, the city would not get its downtown back; only a void would remain. The author missed the most revealing of such statements, made in 2018 by then defense minister Antoni Macierewicz: the Palace should not only be blown up, but a pillar with a statue of the Virgin Mary Polish commander in chief, the *Hetmanka Polski*, should be erected instead to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Poland's victory over the Red Army. The grandness of the exorcism would pay homage to the power of the spirit to be exorcised. That power is the subject of Murawski's excellent book.

Mental Disorder: Anthropological Insights. *Nichola Khan.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017. 144 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12929

KATHRYN L. HALE

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

In a mere hundred pages of text, Nichola Khan incisively shares a wealth of knowledge about the theoretical

perspectives and debates on the subjective, social, and structural bases of mental illness within our globalized political economy. The book is explicitly intended for pedagogical use, and each chapter ends with discussion questions and assignments to stimulate further engagement with the material. Chapters flow elegantly from one to another and provide a surprising number of linkages between topics that will be useful for applied anthropologists and critical medical anthropology students.

From the outset, Khan underscores the fact that her cross-disciplinary work sits at the intersection of anthropology and psychology and focuses specifically on mental health and mental illness rather than broader psychological theory. She carefully pinpoints mental disorder as her object of study in accordance with the terminology used by *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, the DSM. This term also aligns conceptually with Byron Good's 2012 category of disorder as subject to individual, societal, and political forms of madness, signaling Khan's sustained emphasis on the disordered subjectivity and social suffering that can result from colonialism and the establishment of modern political and moral orders.

In the first two chapters, Khan gives a broad theoretical overview of the culture concept as it was historically used to define someone as different or abnormal, as well as its current role in the variability that exists in illness presentation, course, and outcome. The concept of culture also led to an evaluation of the exotic Other and an analytic swing of the pendulum to the opposite pole to study universal human suffering across cultures. These chapters may be too dense for those who are new to anthropology, but Khan makes strong connections among anthropology, psychology, and the sociological factors that affect health.

After Khan sets the scene, the book becomes more grounded in specific debates and disorders, with each chapter containing concrete examples to digest. Chapter 3 details colonial definitions of culture and madness, equating them with being inferior and uncivilized, and then challenges notions of psychiatric disorder as pathological when they may reflect reasonable, specific responses to racialization and oppression. In addition to reviewing the heterogeneous nature of some disorders and the development of the cultural formulation interview (which is cross-referenced in the main text of the DSM), Khan revisits connections between colonial contact and exploitation in a series of culture-bound syndromes. This provokes questions that should spur lively class discussions: for example, do these localized disorders represent psychopathology, or are they expressions of idioms of distress linked to disparate environmental and socioeconomic factors? Readers may also question whether anger is a cultural blind spot in US psychiatry, which is especially relevant in light of recent and repeated mass shootings.

In chapter 4, Khan lays out the politics of recognizing and responding to trauma, including what the diagnostic label of PTSD affords and what it leaves out—such as trauma sometimes being a chronic condition baked into everyday life or the possibility that social factors may mitigate the individualizing consequences of coping with trauma. She pushes us to consider whether a return to “normal” working and social conditions in all cases indicates recovery, and whether the prefix “post-” in PTSD accurately reflects the social and neurological effects of brain trauma. In the next chapter, she walks the reader through the important—but sometimes unfeasible—translation between psychiatric criteria and cultural labels for expressing social suffering. She considers what she calls the big three—schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, and depression—in turn alongside metaphors used to characterize how rationality, mood, motivation, and social support influence stability and recovery from each disorder.

Chapter 6 unpacks the rise of global mental health agendas (and their basis in colonial medicine) to export psychiatric medications and Western psychotherapy to low- and middle-income countries. Khan disputes the notion that modernization directly increases the prevalence of mental disorders and introduces the issues of medicalization, health and human rights, and social determinants of health, generating the potential for vibrant discussions about health equity versus equality in treatment fit and implementation.

In her final chapter, Khan reviews historical trends in institutional and outpatient care, positing that treatment modalities are now focused on an ever-present management of chronic health risks rather than pharmaceutical cures. She details available treatment modalities—both biomedical and nonbiomedical—and their goals, which can include not only recovery but also cognitive and performance enhancement or personal transformation. This chapter would be especially effective presented alongside a writing assignment or an ethnographic film juxtaposing symptom alleviation with transformation and meaning making.

I highly recommend this book and can imagine assigning chapters week by week along with an ethnographic film or a piece of popular media that can dive deeper into the debate or disorder discussed. Among upper-division undergraduates or graduate students, this could be supplemented with material that Khan, notably, omits, such as Janis Jenkins's 2015 book on how culture shapes the onset and course of and the recovery from mental illness; Lisa Capps and Elinor Ochs's 1995 book about the linguistic and social construction of agoraphobia; the 2000 and 2008 research by Thomas Csordas and his colleagues on depression and Navajo religious healing; and Stefan Ecks's 2006 and 2011 publications on pharmaceutical citizenship and the side effects of prescribing psychotropic medication not only on

patients' moods but also on their relatives' social dynamics and economic situations. I encourage instructors to provide additional scaffolding regarding the disciplinary backgrounds of authors whose work Khan synthesizes as well as the implications of the DSM-5 in its transition to a dimensional approach rather than the five-axis approach that she presents.

Khan encourages us to reconsider the role of anthropologists. "Will anthropologists 'simply' observe, or will they use anthropological expertise and methods to consider the question, What would make life better for patients? If so, it will be important to stretch anthropology's traditional contribution" (xx). She closes with a call to marry anthropological inquiry to the practical intervention surrounding mental disorder, as demonstrated by clinicians and anthropologists working together to design the cultural formulation interview in the DSM-5. Her voice is a welcome addition to the chorus insisting that constructive criticism do more than debate the social versus the biogenetic basis of mental disorder. Such anthropological critique is helpful only insofar as it lets us identify the real fight we need to wage—against the human suffering that mental disorder causes—and Khan's book contributes to that end.

The Erotics of History: An Atlantic African Example. Donald L. Donham. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018. 152 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12930

JUDITH LYNNE HANNA

University of Maryland

There is a substantial literature on colonialism and postcolonialism in Africa and on sexuality worldwide. Although there are studies of white European men going to Africa to seek relationships with indigenous females and engage in postcolonial sex tourism, missing has been a study of white European men having sex with black indigenous men that does not involve the former exploiting and controlling the latter. Donald Donham's *The Erotics of History* fills this lacuna by reporting that such relationships subsidize traditional African marriages and families, provide mutual emotional and sexual satisfaction, promote African self-fashioning through the acquisition of Western cultural knowledge, and demonstrate African sexual versatility. The book is an eye-opener for those of us who have been immersed in African studies for decades.

Donham also explores the range of thought in many disciplines with controversial, historical, and contemporary concepts that have framed our understanding of erotics. He challenges the rigid categorizations of sexual behavior that overlook its fluidity as well as how erotic attachments are affected by memories of historical and cultural patterns,

broadening the terrain of the erotic beyond just the sex of an object that arouses to include race, wealth, language accent, and transgression of sexual taboos.

In Donham's approach to the erotic, the sex and gender of a chosen object are seen as only another fetish, namely, the attribution of "a power to something that objectively it does not have" and a "description of social actors' own experience of an attraction that they cannot fully explain, that overpowers and 'subjects' an individual otherwise considered 'free'" (11–12). Donham suggests that his concept of the fetish makes sex sexy by misrepresenting "reality."

History records centuries of men from different cultures interacting sexually. During colonialism there was European-African face-to-face communication in domestic realms: houseboys, gardeners, or caddies for European golfers, for example. The knowledge that Africans thusly gained circulated by word of mouth.

But the internet has created a new arena of contact. The internet mediates interactions between African men and white gay European men by linking people with radically different definitions of the erotic, roles to be taken in sex, and love. African men educate themselves about Western gay customs, encompassing tops and bottoms as well as sadomasochism and master-slave relationships, especially through pornography. The internet increases the role of fantasy and the opportunity to gain broad cultural knowledge and understanding of gay European men's desires. Consequently, African men's profiles on the internet reflect sexual superiority, animal-like racialized masculine power, and interest in a long-term relationship. Gay romance usually begins with several months of internet chatting followed by the white gay European man visiting an African community as a tourist. Scams occur, but so do matters of love, relationships, convenience, money, historical circumstances and reversals, local social pressure, cultural views of the erotic, and the possibility of escape abroad that affect sexual arousal. Donham claims that European fetishes of sexual and racial stereotypes in African contexts put African men in control of their relationships with gay European men.

Some Africans in the last decade have adopted a Western discourse of antihomosexuality. However, since the 16th century, European missionaries and anthropologists have recorded homosexuality in Africa. For example, E. E. Evans-Pritchard reported in 1970 on the boy-wives' tradition of the Azande ethnic group of North Central Africa, which provided sexual satisfaction, companionship, and service. Warriors not only practiced homosexuality and bisexuality but actually married boys or young men before eventually marrying women. Women were scarce because noblemen had harems. Men married to women also had relationships with boys. Homosexuality is also part of ritual practice among some groups. Donham notes that there is same-sex intercourse among Shango priests in Yoruba-derived religions in the New World.

Donham analyzes a small case in the cultural context of what he calls Atlantic Africa. He shows that sado-masochism or bondage-domination-sadism-masochism is part of the scene, with bondage-domination being more of a focus among African and Western white men. Ironically, the logic of racialization tends to place African men in the role of tops in sado-masochistic fantasies; this “inversion of the actual historical pattern—accompanied by the fantasy that the upending was motivated by black revenge for past white oppression—created a particular erotic experience for both Europeans and Africans” (7). It appears more common for “Europeans to come to Africa looking for a master, not a slave” (75). European men tend to fetishize African men’s race, and a few do seek to become slaves. White partners are attracted by the idea of surrendering to the foreign and a sense of danger within the protection of a foreign passport.

Sexual intercourse, according to Donham, “is always associated with feelings of power. After colonialism, when African men penetrated white bodies, they also imaginatively reversed colonial interdictions that had excluded them from wider cosmopolitan worlds. And to the extent there was some ruse involved, the humor that resulted must have added to the pleasure” (62).

African men in long-term relationships with European men experience an expansion of personhood in addition to the pleasures of cosmopolitan connections and foreign commodities. They engage in a world that had excluded them during colonialism. European men are feminized, and like women they are not supposed to stray, whereas an African man might have multiple sexual partners. Many of the African partners have wives and are expected to support them and their families.

Donham’s discourse in *The Erotics of History* richly invites valid and reliable research. For example, given that Africa has 1,200 to 1,500 language groups, how widespread are his phenomena and generalizations based on a small sample in a single ghetto? Urban neighborhoods tend to be more tolerant of diversity than rural homogeneous villages. Are some groups hostile to such activity? Do the type and place of colonial power make a difference? The broader question, as Julia Monk et al. posed in a 2019 article in *Nature Ecology and Evolution*, is what are the costs and benefits of same-sex behavior across the species?

Being with the Dead: Burial, Ancestral Politics, and the Roots of Historical Consciousness. Hans Ruin. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12931

KRISTIN HANSSEN

Independent Scholar, Oslo

Humankind everywhere struggles with predicaments regarding the dead, but the humanities and social sciences

have failed to fully come to terms with and recognize the inner necessity and universal logic of burials. Hans Ruin’s eloquent book examines the question, Why is it important to maintain relations with the dead? It is also a critique of the humanities, particularly history, archaeology, and anthropology. Tracing the trajectories of these disciplines, Ruin uncovers their fundamental bedrock, highlighting their past ties with colonialism and imperialism, and explores the concerns and motivations that sparked their interest and development.

Ruin contends, “it is in the existential-ontological analysis of *historicity* and of historical existence that the full implications of this existential predicament of being with the dead” (9) are brought to the fore. His theoretical insights are not confined to Martin Heidegger, but as he notes the title of his book is taken from Heidegger’s work, and his thesis is inspired by Heidegger’s hermeneutics, particularly “his concept of *Dasein* as ‘having-been’ (*Da-gewesen*)” (9). The nature of being is that of being *with*, of transcending one’s self by directing one’s conscious experience toward other selves or beings. In this sense, death does not belong to the past; it is not a closed and final chapter where the dead are set apart, cut off, and isolated from the living. A more fruitful approach is to perceive death as the “having-been” that constitutes a bridge or an intermediary domain between those who went before and those who still live in the present. “To be historical is to live with the dead,” and at the heart of this relationship, which is intergenerational and intersubjective, is burial—understood as a “generic term for caring for the other in and across death” (9).

The play *Antigone* by Sophocles captures this predicament. When Antigone’s brother is condemned to death for treason, she chooses to conduct his funerary rites against the edict of the ruler, and in so doing she fulfills her obligation: the duty of the living to perform the burial. Ruin notes that a burial is not just a structured ceremonial means of disposing of the dead but that it conveys the quintessential truth that the past has a claim on the living. Being present at a burial is to be present at the original site of our ontological destiny.

Ruin argues that while anthropologists provide ethnographical descriptions of the great diversity of funerary rites, they have not confronted head-on the existential and phenomenological meaning that people everywhere are up against as epitomized by Antigone’s predicament. He writes that mortuary rites are not just about healing the wounds of the bereaved or repairing society’s ruptured social fabric. Nor should we treat burials solely as rites of passage by which the living assist souls through a crisis. We need to move beyond anthropological limitations in order to ponder the ontological reality of death—the significance of communicating with persons who are not there but who have been, of keeping their legacy alive, and of affording them the dignity we owe them.

Those who are alive interact with and inhabit a shared space with those who went before. The dead influence the living, and we too shape and transform the work the dead have left behind. What keeps society from unraveling are the reciprocal relations between the living and their predecessors, the implication being that the dead are *involved* in the ways in which society constitutes and reconstitutes itself.

Remarking on the self-critical turn in the humanities leading scholars to assign agency, power, and work to artifacts and to the dead, Ruin warns that in so doing we run the risk of focusing our discussions on the not so interesting issue of whether the dead and inanimate objects do in fact have agency. We risk being sidetracked from the more complex and profound truth that to be historically grounded is to recognize the existential and ontological predicament of being with the dead. History as a space of living with the dead is a contested space, evidenced by our working and reworking of the traumas of the Holocaust and African American slavery through public memorials established to commemorate and honor victims of atrocities. Our ties with those who went before are never severed; history is not a finished project but is always negotiated and renegotiated, built and rebuilt through our reciprocal relations with the dead. The past plays a crucial part in structuring the present.

We are accustomed to thinking that monuments honoring the dead came into existence with the emergence of agrarian society, but in reviewing the vast research on this topic Ruin notes that it is likely that they arose with the development of concepts and symbols pertaining to time. Ideas of the past and present came to be experienced as a continuum allowing humans to recognize their reciprocal relations with the dead. Secondary burials, such as mummification, indicate that burials were “not only localized events in time but sites for the experience and production of time” (134). They show us how the dead were disposed of and represented, but they also give us windows onto ancient views of the past.

In addressing the politics of repatriation, Ruin discusses the violence of colonialism, the legitimacy of excavation, and the dignity we owe ancestral remains. Arguably his assessments are primarily directed at historians and archaeologists. As an anthropologist, I was struck by his contention that restricting our discussions to representing other peoples’ lives and their relations with their dead in terms of alterity is to end up where we began: in the position of our armchair colonial predecessors. This is somewhat unfair, not least because it fails to address the value of ethnography derived from long-term participant-observation and the understanding to be gained from holistic accounts. But for Ruin the act of highlighting distinctions and stopping at that is to inadvertently juxtapose one cultural domain as being superior to another, thereby

failing to address the shared ontological destiny that humans everywhere ultimately face: being with the dead.

Surrogate Humanity: Race, Robots, and the Politics of Technological Futures. *Neda Atanasoski and Kalindi Vora.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019. 256 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12932

BARBARA HERR HARTHORN

University of California, Santa Barbara

In this new collaborative work from two feminist race and gender scholars, Neda Atanasoski and Kalindi Vora embark on a critical cultural analysis of the technocratic ideas that nonhuman, robotic, automated labor—aka surrogate humanity—can or will free all humans from the drudgery of racialized and enslaved labor. They develop this set of ideas under the term *technoliberalism*, and their analysis situates this process squarely at the heart of capitalist projects of advancement. Their volume draws deeply from the intellectual well of Cedric Robinson’s work on racial capitalism, updating it with a new feminist science and technology studies perspective on the central role of technological innovation in capitalism. Indeed, they argue compellingly that “it is urgent to assess the ways in which technology has innovated upon capital’s dependence on racialized and gendered labor” (29). Such automation fantasies and cultural values, they assert, depend intrinsically on slavery and the concept of a thoroughly subjugated worker who cannot rebel; these ideas also reproduce current labor exploitation along colonial and racial lines. As anthropologists (and feminists), we should not be surprised that the public imaginaries about a postlabor world probed in this volume are found to reproduce the “racial-colonial structures of unfreedom” (35) that so permeate our society at every point.

The authors are in part addressing a key but systematically avoided tension in our society between constructs of technological innovation as the techno-utopian unquestioned good—the sole engine of economic prosperity and job creation—and the techno-dystopian, deep-seated fears and already realized prospect that new technologies are not bringing job growth but rather accelerating job loss and the erosion of social position and power. Atanasoski and Vora directly engage these paradoxical ideas by reminding us in vivid detail about labor’s essential relationship to capitalism deployed in the context of the imagined work of surrogate humans in industrial, military, and domestic spheres. Technoliberalism with its utopian visions and dystopian underpinnings encompasses the contradictory ideas of robot revolution both as freedom and as displacement, the latter being seen as particularly threatening to white males (the authors refer to Trumpian politics). The

book gazes on the numerous seemingly paradoxical and contradictory elements and logics involved in technoliberalism, including ideas of freedom and unfreedom; of society as being postlabor, postgender, and postracial while nonetheless being utterly dependent on the “uneven racial and gendered relations of labor, power, and social relations” (4) essential to capitalist production; of the human and the posthuman as well as the liberation and obliteration of the human subject; and many more.

The methods and scope of the volume are impressive. Atanasoski and Vora begin their account in the post–World War II era, tracing the history of automation and its associated values and logics of practice through the Cold War to the present-day drones and killer robots and the technological imperialism that lies beyond. For their understandings of the many forms of past technological imaginaries, they draw on a broad array of feminist, Marxist, race theory, and philosophical approaches to considering the boundaries of what it means to be human (e.g., Hannah Arendt) as well as historical sources (e.g., the depiction of the robot as slave and the delicate Cold War positioning of US automation as an enhancer of human freedom in contrast to its communist counterparts, which were defined as intrinsically mechanistic and unfree). They consider a wide range of cultural media and products, including films, novels, television shows, news stories, and online media to illustrate contemporary cases of robots as “enchanted technologies”—that is, ones that can “intuit human needs” and “serve human desires”—all the while examining their basis in “unfree and invisible labor” (6) that operates in the background. And they also seek out and engage ethnographically with technological innovators in situ at MIT robotics and media laboratories. In the end, they consider possible paths forward to a genuinely more just future than liberal humanist visions enable.

For anthropologists, the numerous rich and evocative examples throughout the volume, read through the lens of technoliberalism, will be particularly enticing. For example, in chapter 3 the authors’ discussion of the private subscription-based errand service, the Alfred Club, and social robots for domestic use shows how the construct of an invisible butler that provides “automatic, hands-off service that hums along quietly in the background of your life” (93) behind the scenes in the domestic sphere in fact depends entirely on the invisible work of human beings, operating with no genuine interaction with the subscriber and supporting the norm of the household as an “autonomous and self-sufficient economic unit” that is also white and heteronormative, even as it requires “invisible support labor” (88–89) and reproduces a structure derived from the colonial division of labor. In chapter 4, they delve deep into the “racial scaffolding” (132) of artificial intelligence’s colonial, neo-Darwinian approach to both thinking and feeling in creating robotic sociality, drawing on examples

from feminist, decolonial artist-engineer Kelly Dobson’s project Omo, which explores bridging companion robots—carebots—that are experienced as both part of humans and separate from them, transitional objects that are by design *not* always soothing, subservient, and predictable.

There are a few surprising omissions, perhaps understandable in a work of this scope and vision. The volume explores the trope of freedom and freed labor as a fantasy that all feminists should question since feminist historian of science Ruth Schwartz Cowan’s groundbreaking *More Work for Mother* and the associated broader feminist historical critique in science and technology studies of the concept of labor-saving devices, which showed whose labor is and is not in fact saved through technological innovation. However, by bringing a much more nuanced reading of race, gender, and difference to science and technology studies, Atanasoski and Vora provoke us to think more deeply about how our imagined technological futures always already serve to reproduce our most problematic pasts—and what forms or processes can disrupt and transcend these. This is a vital project that should speak to us all.

Emotional Worlds: Beyond an Anthropology of Emotion.

Andrew Beatty. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. 314 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12933

HYANG JIN JUNG

Seoul National University

Andrew Beatty’s *Emotional Worlds* is ambitious in that it traverses diverse anthropological and literary territories to put emotion back into anthropological writing. It interweaves ethnographic vignettes, theories of emotion, classical anthropological works, and literary examples to make a claim for an emotionally alive anthropology. It also includes a critical assessment of what its proponents call affect theory. Beatty advocates a narrative approach to emotion for both fieldwork and writing, in which emotional episodes become the guide for the ethnographer in the field or in a writing phase afterward. Foremost, his aim is to promote the kind of anthropological writing that is faithful to life as lived by individuals in specific cultural worlds—emotional worlds—to promote ethnographic “deep description” rather than Geertzian “thick description” (15) by way of narratives centering on emotional episodes. The author claims that this narrative approach is useful not just for an anthropology of emotion but for anthropology in general.

Beginning by presenting the problem of emotion in anthropology, Beatty introduces the concept of the emotional episode as the minimal unit of description. In the

first three chapters, he lays out the theoretical and ethnographic grounds (from Nias and Java) to argue for a narrative approach to emotional worlds. His central arguments are presented progressively in the next four chapters. In chapter 4, he makes a strong case for why we need a narrative approach to delve into emotional worlds. In chapters 5 and 6, he teases out the intertwining of emotion and narrative: emotional experiences are intimately tied to personal biographies—the narrative construction of emotion—while understanding others' emotions requires knowing their biographies—the narrative understanding of emotion.

The ethnographic task is, of course, to write emotion into ethnography. In chapter 7, Beatty addresses this challenge through a critical review of hitherto standard ethnographic approaches to writing about emotion. Next, he assesses the research program and case studies of affect theory, asking whether it is a “wrong turn” (221) with regard to the aim of affectively enriching anthropology. Then, in the two remaining chapters, he examines two indispensable if often unreliable fieldwork resources—language and empathy—to illustrate a narrative approach to emotion. The book concludes with a call for a “change in ethnographic practice” in order to “recover the complexity and immediacy of emotional worlds” (278).

Beatty's thrust is that emotions as we live them are first-person, inner experiences born out of our particular biographical trajectories as persons embedded in the sociality of a given cultural world. As such, emotions are pregnant with dramas even when they are enacted only within ourselves. While the ethnographer, unlike the novelist, does not have the option of ventriloquizing the subjective dimensions of emotion, literary classics still hint at a working model for an emotionally engaging ethnography: the ethnographer can make use of emotional episodes that include “within a relatively small scale all that interests us in human behaviour—feeling, meaning, relationship, circumstance, action, implication, history” (20).

Beatty's emotional episode can be compared to Victor Turner's social drama in his 1957 *Schism and Continuity in an African Society*. Beatty himself acknowledges Turner's concept as a key intellectual inspiration, but of course their analytical concerns are different. If Turner's concern is about the dimensions of the social structure in motion in a given community, Beatty's is about emotional experiences and communications, verbal or behavioral, that give shape to and are shaped by the sociality of a given community. Whereas a social drama has a series of identifiable phases, an emotional episode, I surmise, can be low-key yet still explosive in its interpretive potential. The ethnographer's job is to identify and capitalize on such episodes.

This necessarily brief outline does not do justice to the theoretical discussions about emotion and the judicious reviews of major anthropological works that Beatty provides throughout the book. I can only say that as a reader, I found myself frequently nodding in agreement, entertained and even amused by his critical evaluations of the many anthropological classics. Note that his retrospective appraisal includes discussions of what Beatty considers to be model cases of emotionally engaging ethnographies.

While this book is extremely resourceful overall, I offer some critical caveats pertaining to the concept of emotional episode and narrative approach to emotion. Although the concept of the emotional episode is central to Beatty's narrative approach to emotion, he stops short of giving any clear definition, despite explaining the concept several times. Perhaps that was intended, given that we are advised to look to literary examples for inspiration. As the book progresses, it is possible to get some sense of what he means by this concept, but I wish that he would have set an example in chapters 2 and 3 by presenting emotional episodes when he introduces readers to the emotional worlds of Nias and Java. By the time I finished reading chapter 3, I wondered whether the book was really “a Benedictine *Patterns of Culture* argument in the making” (74). I hasten to say that it is not. Yet the central concept merits a more focused analytical and ethnographic treatment in order for Beatty's proposal of the narrative approach to be implemented more readily.

Although I largely agree with Beatty about the usefulness of narratives, his approach in general appears to favor cognitively appraised emotions, leaving the slightly understood bodily processes of affect, including those of psychodynamics, less well accounted for. He does discuss ethnographic cases of unemotionality, most notably from the Chewong, but it is not clear whether and how such cases can be dealt with by his narrative approach, beyond simply making “a plea for deeper narrative, a dramatic engagement” (256). If the Chewong live in an unemotional world, a “chilled-out cosmos” (255), is it even possible for the ethnographer to work with their emotional episodes? It could be the case that the Chewong in their unemotionality tell bodily stories of their emotional lives rather loudly when they “get depressed or ill rather than angry” (253). If emotions as we experience them are intimately linked to our own stories about self, and self is not just a matter of the brain but one of the whole body, a narrative approach, then, needs to be more mindful of the body and its cultural if not emotional idioms.

As Beatty says, this is “not a conventional textbook” (278) in its writing style. It is often witty, fast-paced, almost rhythmic, like listening to a talented storyteller. For this reason, it may not be reader friendly to an international audience whose native language is other than English.

The Politics of Love in Myanmar: LGBT Mobilization and Human Rights as a Way of Life. Lynette J. Chua. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019. 232 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12934

NEIL NORRY KAPLAN-KELLY

University of California, Irvine

It can be difficult to remember the “human” in human rights. As LGBT activists in Myanmar combat political suppression and transform cultural understandings of identity while entangled in a rigid social hierarchy, Lynette Chua captures the emergence of their social movement as a uniquely human endeavor. Chua argues that this social movement shows how human rights practice has been transformed into a way of life. As she explains, human rights form modes of being that are facilitated by “emotions and interpersonal relationships” (8). For these LGBT activists, human rights are developed through three stages in social life: formation processes, grievance transformation processes, and community-building processes.

Chua begins by discussing how activists “infuse human rights, *lu akwint ayay*, and accompanying LGBT identities with their own meanings” to create new understandings of “dignity, responsibility (of the rights bearer), and social belonging” (28) through a lens of gender and sexuality. Chapter 1 broadly engages human rights as a conceptually lived practice that is both constrained and constructed by the social frameworks of post-2011 Myanmar and the ever-growing emergence of alternative meanings of sexuality and gender. Rather than moving toward an institutional explanation for these modes of being, Chua turns to affect theory in chapter 2 to clarify how individuals and communities become attached to the practice of human rights in the same way they identify with queerness. She uses the life histories of two leaders in the LGBT movement, Tun Tun and Tin Hla, to show how formation processes of community are affectively and politically connected. Formation processes brought activists together to create a grassroots movement against state oppression. Further, these interactions led to mutual emotional connections that morphed into larger social movement collectives.

This discussion continues in chapter 3 as Chua explains how activists make human rights relevant by transforming grievances or juxtaposing cultural understandings of human dignity with the social reality of suffering that LGBT people experience. As Tun Tun tells her, “Our people know human rights from their suffering.... The human rights concept comes from their lives. It comes from their real life, real suffering” (68). Affective understandings of real life are articulated by activists who seek rights as a means of proving themselves equal to others in society. While Chua

does not label this an ontological argument, she provides key insights into how individual understandings of being and being real are conceptualized as part of larger questions of social transformation.

Building community is taken up in chapter 4. Chua focuses on how international conceptions of human rights and LGBT identity are adapted or rejected to fit the affective needs of individuals and current political issues. Here it is “the feeling of the words” (91) that make up community by transforming identities and issues through localizing them to fit with current social discourses. Chua returns to one of her main points: in all these examples, human rights as a way of life are related to many political, social, and cultural processes. The next chapter further underscores this point by showing how difficult this localization process is both as a form of translation (whether linguistically or conceptually) and in the complex nature of the local itself. Chua reminds us that the LGBT community is not monolithic, just as Myanmar is not, and that individual agency must also be considered. Again, the layers of culture, identity, and social movements are all formed and informed by a multitude of processes of social life. The limitation of human rights as a way of life, Chua explains, is the same reality that propels it: the unevenness of these processes and the new politics of agency that they establish.

Chua concludes by making an impassioned case for why human rights matter. Returning to the life history of Tun Tun, she captures the magnitude of this movement and the deep humanity behind it. Human rights are a way of living just like queerness is a mode of being. The book ends with a call for further empirical research into these areas that is both locally sensitive and rooted in new understandings of humanity.

Thought provoking and well organized, *The Politics of Love in Myanmar* is an important example of how to conduct fieldwork with politically sensitive populations. The necessary ethnographic distance meant that there was more repetition of concepts and fewer examples of how human rights are lived specifically. While Chua gives very detailed life histories of many of her interlocutors, I wanted to know more about specific campaigns and responses to collective action. Yet this book demonstrates, and I acknowledge, how difficult it is to tell certain stories when personal situations are politically precarious and must be protected.

This timely book comes as a larger conversation about the politics of human rights as everyday practice is taking shape within ethnographies of sites of political transition. Chua contributes significantly to this conversation by clearly articulating how and why human rights matter so much. As she argues in her conclusion, activists “straddle multiple worlds. But they do not romanticize the traditional and the local as the solution to queer suffering. They fell in love with someone different: human rights” (141). The

subject of human rights as everyday life is a growing site for empirical research and intellectual dialogue. Telling neither a globalization story nor one simply embedded in local difference, Chua explores lived human rights in a social movement that is rapidly transforming and engaging massive political stakes. This is a brave book.

State of Health: Pleasure and Politics in Venezuelan Health Care under Chávez. Amy Cooper. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019. 216 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12935

CHARLES H. KLEIN

Portland State University

State of Health is a compelling ethnography on the interconnections among health care systems, pleasure, and radical politics during Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution. From her opening description of a government-sponsored dance party for seniors to her concluding reflections on the current Venezuelan political situation, Amy Cooper provides a window onto a seemingly vanishing world where receiving health care was both a source of intense joy and a vehicle for political engagement. Focusing on the positive dimensions of health care, she boldly asks us whether the predominance of what Sherry Ortner calls dark anthropology has caused us to underestimate the importance of positive emotional affect in reducing inequalities through progressive political movements. Using a well-developed conceptualization of pleasure that encompasses biophysical health, sensual and social pleasure, and sociopolitical empowerment, *State of Health* offers critical insights into how poor and working-class Venezuelans experienced the Chávez years and intimately demonstrates "how feeling valued by state institutions can transform people's sense of themselves" (22).

Cooper's analysis centers on the Barrio Adentro (Inside the Barrio) community-based health care program during 15 months of fieldwork in 2006 and 2009, a time when the Chávez administration enjoyed overwhelming public support. Although many prior administrations had promised to translate Venezuela's oil wealth into prosperity for all, it was only with the election of Hugo Chávez that the state began to effectively reduce inequalities and integrate historically marginalized groups into the body politic. With these major changes, Barrio Adentro emerged as the centerpiece of the Bolivarian Revolution's efforts to "repay the 'social debt' owed to people after the ravages of [prior neoliberal] government austerity" (19).

In the book's first half, Cooper considers the simple if provocative question, "why were Venezuelans so happy to go to Barrio Adentro doctors?" (22), by developing a mul-

tilevel portrait of how the Barrio Adentro program broke down long-standing class divisions in health care delivery. In chapter 2, "Moving Medicine Inside the Barrio," she describes how patients positioned Barrio Adentro within the popular religious and healing tradition of doctor-saint José Gregorio Hernández, a late 19th- and early 20th-century physician who is still invoked today as the doctor of the poor. Recalling Henri Lefebvre's tripartite production of space, Cooper reveals how the Barrio Adentro health care system resignified stigmatized communities as deserving of recognition and social inclusion, thereby promoting personal transformation, improved health outcomes, and political participation.

In chapter 3, "Clinical Intimacies as Macropolitics," Cooper builds on extensive participant-observation at clinics to illustrate the everyday dynamics of Barrio Adentro. Both patients and providers emphasize how health care at Barrio Adentro clinics is more caring than the emotionally distant, technology-based consultations of most middle-class and elite Venezuelan physicians. In theoretical terms, Cooper characterizes this transformation as a shift from the medical gaze to a moral economic of medicine characterized by care as well as biophysical and sociopolitical holism. A key component of this care-centered medicine is the predominance of Cuban rather than Venezuelan physicians, with patients positively describing the Cuban doctors as *humanitario*—humanitarian—and, in contrast, criticizing the Venezuelan doctors as *materialista* and *mercantilista*—focused more on profit than on patients. In chapter 4, "Beyond Biomedicine," Cooper highlights how the Chávez-era health care policy fully embraced medical pluralism and simultaneously expanded community-based biomedical services while formally recognizing and encouraging the use of popular medical traditions. As she persuasively argues, popular-class Venezuelans interpreted the state's active support of medical pluralism as a form of valuing their lives and belief systems as well as symbolizing their new sense of belonging within the nation-state.

In chapter 5, "Pleasures of Participation," the analytical scale shifts from clinics to a training course for health outreach workers and a Grandparents Club. In these narratives, health care activists and other community members recount how their participation started as an extension of their political engagement with the revolutionary government and gradually resulted in personal transformation and the resignification of public spaces. Once again, pleasure is a key feature in this health-related activism, as captured in the "Revolutionize yourself with physical activity" T-shirts worn by the older women at Grandparents Club dances. Given the predominance of women in these activities—and, indeed, throughout the book, where the majority of interlocutors are women—I would have liked to have seen more analysis of the gendered dimensions of Barrio Adentro and Bolivarian Revolution politics.

Having presented many of Barrio Adentro's successes, in her final chapter, "The Limits of Citizenship," Cooper uses a case study of a health care outreach mission to examine some of the limitations of the Barrio Adentro program and the ability of the health care system to incorporate extremely marginalized individuals within the revolution. Named after a 17th-century Afro-Venezuelan slave who served as Simón Bolívar's wet nurse and who remains a nurturing icon for the nation-state, the Negra Hipólita mission focused on reaching what the government defined as "at-risk groups including the homeless, extremely poor, or drug-addicted people" (129). If initially extremely positive about their work, many volunteers became disillusioned with these "unsuitable citizens" (133), who were not interested in receiving help or in becoming integrated within the participatory democracy of the revolution.

State of Health will appeal to a broad readership interested in Latin America, health care, radical politics, and the anthropology of affect and would be an excellent choice for undergraduate and graduate courses. I did at times find Cooper's portrait of anti-Chávez Venezuelans and US health care systems unidimensional compared to her nuanced analysis of Barrio Adentro patients and providers, and I remain curious to learn more about how Venezuelan physicians responded to the Barrio Adentro program. But these criticisms do not detract from *State of Health's* power and ability to help readers see both health care systems and revolutionary changes in a new light.

Homely Atmospheres and Lighting Technologies in Denmark: Living with Light. Mikkel Bille. London: Bloomsbury, 2019. 192 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12936

DENISE LAWRENCE-ZÚÑIGA

Cal Poly Pomona

The Danish concept of *hygge* ("coziness") is the central focus of anthropologist Mikkel Bille's well-written and focused experiential ethnography, a work that could easily be included in course readings for advanced undergraduate or graduate students aimed at expanding anthropological awareness of conceptual frames. *Hygge* describes a vague but positive feeling brought about by the effects of particular household lighting strategies. Even before the most recent revelations about global climate change and the necessity for more energy-efficient lighting, the domestic and cultural centrality of *hygge* in Denmark was well known. *Hygge* is not a natural phenomenon but a cultural construction, a skilled practice, that consciously aims to use artificial lights to achieve a feeling of relaxed togetherness. *Hygge* is cultivated and produced by

careful attention to the qualities of domestic lights that distinguish between more utilitarian task lighting and a broader concept of ambient lighting. In fact, in crafting and staging *hygge*, Danes also create atmospheres, more expansive arenas in which to explore attuning—making adjustments to bring about an affective or sensuous experience.

Bille devotes considerable effort to explaining the intentional vagueness of *hygge*, which allows for the inclusion of diverse attitudes. Danes describe *hygge* as a process with a goal and a motivating factor associated with positive things. They regard it as an expression of middle-class values and use incandescent lighting technologies to perform class identity, the success of which is judged by others. They also see *hygge* atmospheres as expressions of a homemaker's personality in contrast to just buying things at IKEA, where lighting is used to stage an air of relaxed informality. In Denmark, lighting a welcoming candle or using tea lights for visitors can set the stage for *hygge*, which contrasts with the cold light from energy-saving bulbs. Cozy lighting is essential to the home's identity as middle class and Danish. *Hygge* is about promoting the experience of cozy lighting to create an affective condition that is ontologically identified with being together in Denmark.

Because lighting techniques are not simply applied to spaces but engender reciprocal interactions among users, space, and objects in that space, they must be examined closely. Bille uses a variety of phenomenological theories about atmosphere to frame a context for understanding how lighting and other social and material qualities of space come together to create, through a balance of practices, the attunement or moods of *hygge*. Her ethnography emphasizes attunement to focus on how people engage with different atmospheres, how feelings are experienced in a particular space, and how people are transformed by them. While atmospheres are construed as spatial phenomena, attunement describes emotional qualities or moods felt both in those spaces and toward the objects in those spaces. Attunement aligns the body in a space or with a space. Atmospheres are what is felt in a space but also what should be felt there, thus complicating the strategies focused on making a place feel right.

An ethnographic chapter describes a sense of community that is coproduced to achieve *hygge* by residents whose domestic lighting practices aim for coziness. Bille conducted field research, including participant-observation and 70 audio-recorded structured interviews, in the Islands Brygge area near central Copenhagen. The location is a one-square-kilometer site of recent urban renewal with a dense population of around 12,000 inhabitants. Rather than actual social relations among neighbors or the inclusive significance of a territorial boundary, the sociality of the neighborhood appears to be based on the coproduction of a performative domestic atmosphere. It is the identity

of neighborhood members living together in the glow of *hygge* projected from their homes, not their personal relationships, that creates shared norms and expectations of community. Notwithstanding some concerns for interior privacy that can cause variations in exposing interior spaces to the street, residents design and project a cozy ambience in which to attune feelings. The phenomenon is like an “imagined community” (99), a vague atmospheric community formed cognitively and symbolically without any foundation in actual social relationships. More than individuals being in space, community is based on being with space, which engenders a consciousness of potential interpersonal connections. The community is bigger than the individuals who live there.

Although *hygge* is a Danish concept, it is not embraced by all Danes. Recent immigrants from Pakistan, Morocco, and the Philippines living in Denmark use other domestic lighting strategies. They live in a separate multicultural area of Urbanplanen in homes distinguished by bright interior and exterior lights. The lights promote bringing people together in order to feel safe. More importantly, when asked about *hygge*, immigrants responded by saying that they worry more about strangers seeing inside their homes and so resort to curtains to obtain privacy. Bright lighting also marks a clean house—it emphasizes the importance of lighting for materializing one’s social position and shows formality and the offer of hospitality. A bright light is a clean light that does not try to conceal anything.

Bille’s research is (obviously) set against a backdrop of changing lighting technologies prompted by new restrictions on the sale of high energy-consuming incandescent bulbs. Residents discuss how their own shopping research has failed to help them choose the correct and appropriate new technologies that would still allow them to achieve *hygge*. The differences between what the lumens of incandescent lights mean for creating *hygge* and how they compare to CFLs and LEDs indicate that the learning process is a long and not very well-marked uphill climb. The challenge for residents is how to acquire sufficient competence, involving continuing trial and error, to make choices that enhance coziness and provide atmospheres in which to attune one’s senses to new lighting technologies and practices.

The problems encountered by Danes and, increasingly, others worldwide in adopting new lighting practices find expression in what the author calls the new sensory politics because of the difficulty of and resistance to attuning one’s feelings to new atmospheres. After tracing late 19th- and early 20th-century developments that linked aesthetic concerns to the moral order of the home and the subsequent training of housewives in hygienic housekeeping practices, Bille makes clear that lighting practices are deeply embedded in culture and slow to budge. Will Danes be required to articulate a totally different aesthetic regime? Will the rest of us also need to do so?

Marrying for a Future: Transnational Sri Lankan Tamil Marriages in the Shadow of War. Sidharthan Maunaguru. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019. 202 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12937

MURRAY J. LEAF

University of Texas at Dallas

Sidharthan Maunaguru’s *Marrying for a Future: Transnational Sri Lankan Tamil Marriages in the Shadow of War* is more narrowly focused and less morally engaging than its title suggests. He defines transnational Sri Lankan Tamil marriages as marriages arranged between Tamil families in Sri Lanka and other Tamil families elsewhere in the Tamil diaspora. But he does not describe the full scope of this diaspora, and the marriages he describes cannot be representative of those within it.

The “shadow of war” refers to the Sri Lankan civil war of around 1972 to 2009. This is commonly attributed to ethnic conflict between Tamils and the majority Sinhalese. In fact, it is a much more darkly tragic story of how a few elite families in the two dominant political parties were able to exacerbate ethnic differences by using the electoral system to enhance their own wealth and power and drive the country into increasing authoritarianism and instability. They could do this because so many other Sri Lankans similarly placed their parochial family and kinship group interests over the requirements for democratic cooperation. The same parochial values are enacted here.

Maunaguru’s descriptive focus centers on the activities of three Sri Lankan Tamil marriage brokers, two marriages they arranged that he attended, and a few cases of judgments about marriages in Canadian immigration decisions. The marriage ceremonies took place in Chennai and involved brides from Sri Lanka and grooms from Toronto. After the ceremonies, the brides returned to Sri Lanka to apply for spousal immigration visas.

The “shadow of war” provides a historical frame. Maunaguru divides the history of transnational Tamil marriages into three phases. The first began in colonial times and continued into the 1980s. Privileged-caste Tamils who worked in overseas communities such as Singapore and Malaysia married and maintained their families in Sri Lanka. The second phase began when the civil war was intensifying. Many Tamils became refugees, and in this context a type of marriage brokerage evolved with communal “agents who trafficked people for large sums of money and had extensive global networks” (25).

The third phase began in the early 2000s, when many of the refugees had been granted either permanent residence or citizenship in their host countries. In this phase, according to Maunaguru, “grooms traveled to India, Malaysia, Singapore, or even Sri Lanka to marry Sri Lankan Tamil

brides (my research indicates that brides' families preferred Tamil males who were citizens or permanent residents in a foreign country)" (25). The marriage brokers Maunaguru describes represent this phase. They arose not from the previous types of brokers but from "retired government officials and accounting staff" (29). Their job is not to manage anything illegal but rather to arrange marriages and document their conformance to Canadian law.

Maunaguru does not discuss the anthropological accounts of Dravidian marriage that began with Lewis Henry Morgan, and in his conclusion he dismisses them. These characterize Tamil marriage patterns as subcaste endogamy in which relatively small groups of localized lineages exchange women through time in accordance with a rule of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Maunaguru describes the marriage preferences of the brides' families as being associated with caste and *ur*, *ur* being rendered as a "ward," meaning a section of a city. He says nothing about kinship terminology but does say that the marriage brokers he describes are especially well regarded for being able to identify eligible marriage partners in these terms. It seems likely that they are finding partners according to traditional Tamil terms, but we cannot be sure.

Maunaguru provides a much fuller description of what the brokers do to meet the criteria for "genuine" marriages used by Canadian immigration authorities. He devotes an entire chapter to the services the brokers provide, another to what the photographers do, and two to Canadian criteria for "genuine" marriages.

What Maunaguru is describing is clear although his language is not. Canadian immigration law reflects Canadian cultural and legal concepts. Tamil concepts are very different. The Canadian idea is that a marriage is a relationship between two individuals that is established at some moment during the ceremony. The South Asian concept is that a marriage is an arrangement between two families that grows over time, beginning with a ceremony usually translated as "engagement" in some form—in Maunaguru's account it is *ponnaruku*—and culminating in the establishment of the wife as a mother in her husband's house.

To say this plainly would involve recognizing the brokers and the families as moral agents. Maunaguru does not do this. Rather, invoking mainly Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, he attributes different types of agency to various abstract entities in a way that obscures such questions.

For example, a section titled "Standardizing Sri Lankan Tamil Marriages" follows a section describing uncertainty in the visa application process. Maunaguru concludes that "the marriage process, moving through different legal and administrative spaces, shows that the state's imagination shifts and changes according to the various assemblages of humans, documents, and spaces to prove and measure intention. The uncertainty and certainty of an imagined

future by the couple in the present, at the site of the in-between marriage process, is mingled with the state's imagination of a future for its citizens" (154).

In the same vein, Maunaguru begins his conclusion by noting that "women and their families desire foreign grooms, who offer social mobility and a possibility of chain migration for family members" (156), but he ends by saying that "entering the study of marriage as a process, and analyzing relatedness as it is worked out, imagined, and lived while people travel through such a process—rather than through assumed perceptions, categories, and rules of kinship and marriage—will tell us a different story of the making and unmaking and remaking of relatedness" (161).

The language appears to be drawn from Deleuze and Foucault. The apparent intent is to legitimize the Sri Lankan participants' view of marriage and delegitimize the Canadian view without coming to grips with the different systems of social values that they entail.

Social Movements: The Structure of Collective Mobilization. *Paul Almeida.* Oakland: University of California Press, 2019. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12938

L. A. LEE

California State University, Fullerton

Social movement scholar Paul Almeida has shaped the field of movement studies with his extensive research on Latin American social movements. *Social Movements: The Structure of Collective Mobilization* can be added to his repertoire. Almeida tackles specific questions around the organization of social movements, including how to study them and how to understand their emergence and their recruitment strategies, to name a few. He does an excellent job of walking the reader through the structure and behind-the-scenes organization of contemporary social movements. Additionally, each chapter is strengthened by the use of case studies that help place its contents in context. Most of the movements discussed in this book are based in the United States; however, Almeida does provide a much-needed analysis of transnational social movements.

One of the things that makes this book stand out from others in the field is Almeida's emphasis on understanding social movements through three core elements—collective and sustained mobilization, social exclusion, and real and perceived harms—which he argues form his definition and comprehension of social movements in the 21st century. His chapter on transnational movements also makes this work unique compared to other scholarship in the field; the field of transnational movements is currently growing but has long been overlooked by scholars.

Almeida opens chapter 1 by exploring four social movements: the Women's March of 2017 and 2018, immigrant rights, movements around the globe for economic justice, and the transnational movement for climate justice. He makes the argument that these are admirable movements because they have transformed the social and political landscape in the United States and across the globe. Using these four movements and building on the work of social movement theorist Sidney Tarrow, Almeida defines a social movement as an "excluded collectivity in sustained interaction with economic and political elites seeking social change" (6). He also gives definitions of the common terms that will be used throughout the text as well as an overview of the book chapters.

In chapter 2, Almeida asserts that it is important to specify and classify popular movement activities on a micro to macro scale for conceptual clarity—from least intensive to most intensive. Least intensive movement activities include everyday forms of protest, such as work slowdowns, and most intensive activities include transnational social movements and larger acts of resistance. Notably, Almeida describes the various methods used by investigators in studying social movements, including interviews, surveys, observations, archives, protest event analyses, and the mixed-methods approach, as well as the possible biases of these methods.

Almeida provides an extensive overview of theories in the field in chapter 3, beginning with early sociological theory and the theorists who understood social movements to be large-scale transformations. He also explores the evolution of social movement theory from classical theories to the resource mobilization perspective and the political process theory. In addition, he considers the theoretical perspectives used to understand social movement mobilization, including rational choice, multi-institutions, new social movements, emotions, intersectionality, and right-wing mobilization. The section on right-wing mobilization is quite informative, since this field often gets overlooked or dismissed in the larger literature on social movements.

In chapter 4, Almeida focuses on the organizational building blocks and collective identities that shape the formation of and drive social movements. He argues that social movements are more likely to emerge from already-existing organizations and institutions and, further, that collective identities often promote sentiments of group belonging, solidarity, and shared definitions and experiences. He studies the proliferation of social movement activity by analyzing the Fight for \$15 campaign to illustrate how that movement encapsulates theories of collective identity and movement emergence and diffusion.

The framing of a social movement allows its organizers and actors to control the discourse and narrative of the movement. Additionally, it shapes whether people will believe in a movement's goals and, therefore, want to be involved in it. In chapter 5, Almeida examines the importance of framing, arguing that it allows social movement actors to discuss the purposes and expected outcomes of their movement. Significantly, Almeida analyzes how protest music is a tool that can shape social movement framing, recruiting, and resilience.

In earlier analyses, social movement scholarship focused on participation, beginning with the sympathy pool. However, in chapter 6, Almeida addresses what motivates people to join social movements. In recent scholarship, the conversation has shifted from the sympathy pool to other explanations, including biographical availability, beliefs and ideology, social networks, membership in other organizations, collective identities, previous movement participation, and social media. Using Fight for \$15, the Women's March, and Occupy Wall Street, Almeida demonstrates how these movements establish various recruitment and participation practices.

Almeida uses chapter 7 to examine movement success, often referred to as movement outcomes, since the concept of outcomes refers to both failures and victories. He notes that analyzing outcomes helps us understand the long-term consequences of social movements, including the benefits received by the population.

Almeida makes a point, in chapter 8, of exploring the challenges that movements in the Global South may face, but he refrains from essentializing social movement dynamics since the contexts and circumstances in each country are diverse. Importantly, he notes the challenges for these movements with an emphasis on state repression, globalization, neoliberal development, and transnational movements.

Easy to read, this extensive review of social movements will benefit new scholars to the field as well as seasoned scholars interested in the organization of more recent movements. Almeida's use of case examples and his suggestions for future research enhance his analysis of contemporary social movements. An analysis of the tactics used to sustain movements, including sit-ins, teach-ins, letter-writing campaigns, digital petitions, and attending or disrupting town halls, to name a few, would have been valuable. In addition, an analysis of horizontalism or horizontalidad, a popular leadership strategy used in contemporary social movements that emphasizes nonhierarchical social arrangements, would have enriched the discussions of the strategies that shape the organization, framing, and longevity of social movements.

Remembering the Present: Mindfulness in Buddhist Asia.

J. L. Cassaniti. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018. 316 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12939

LEEDOM LEFFERTS

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

With *Remembering the Present*, J. L. Cassaniti continues her explorations of Lanna Thai Theravada Buddhism in daily life, begun in a series of notable articles that culminated in her award-winning 2015 book, *Living Buddhism: Mind, Self, and Emotion in a Thai Community*. In the volume under review, she focuses on the Pali word *sati*, usually glossed in English as “mindfulness,” in its localized forms: *sati* (Thai), *thati* (Burmese), and *satiya* (Sinhalese) in cross-cultural context.

Charles King, in his critical review of Franz Boaz’s students, cites Margaret Mead’s letter to Ruth Benedict, “I’m more than ever convinced that the only logical place for the anthropologist is in the field—most of the time—for the first ten years, or even fifteen years of his [*sic*] anthropological life.” Cassaniti has been working with Thai Theravada Buddhists since at least 2001, garnering an outstanding reputation as an ethnographer, commentator, and perceptive critic of facile generalizations about Buddhist concepts. Her initial appearance in *Seeds of Peace* in 2002, “Meditation at the Mall,” showcased her ability to capture the words and understandings of her interlocutors on complex topics: in this article, reactions to the shock of surveying one of suburban Bangkok’s supermalls. Her capabilities showed further refinement in her prizewinning essay “Toward a Cultural Psychology of Impermanence in Thailand” in *Ethos* in 2006. Altogether, her extensive research and consummate observations and writings have significantly added to our understandings of Thai Theravada Buddhism in situ.

This record of her continuing work is important not only because Cassaniti intelligently observes, discusses, and explains how Theravada Buddhism works in Thai daily life but also, and equally importantly, she reflexively brings these findings to bear on issues in the West. She couples the two decades she has been considering Theravada Buddhism with her immersion, by birth, in Western culture. This allows her to direct her—and our—attention to those who appropriate Buddhist words and concepts without a full command of their meanings, thus resulting in a loss of the increased understandings that a more nearly complete comprehension would give them.

Cassaniti telegraphed the agenda of *Remembering the Present* in her 2017 essay, “Wherever You Go, There You ... Aren’t? Non-Self, Spirits, and the Concept of the Person in Thai Buddhist Mindfulness,” in David McMahan and Erik

Braun’s edited collection *Meditation, Buddhism, and Science*, which took the renowned Jon Kabat-Zinn’s 1994 *Wherever You Go, There You Are: Mindfulness Meditation in Everyday Life* to task. But the volume under review adds greater depth to her earlier elegant ethnographies at the same time that it concludes with a detailed constructive critique of current Western, “scientific” appropriations of Theravada Buddhist concepts.

Remembering the Present adds significantly to Cassaniti’s earlier perceptions and descriptions of Lanna (North) Thai Theravada Buddhism. As she did earlier, she based her work on detailed understandings of people’s lives but broadened her methods to include “two years of data collection gathered from over six hundred research participants” (ix) in Thailand, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka. However, even with this massive amount of data, Cassaniti presents few quantified statements. Most of her material was collected in extensive interviews and open-ended questionnaires that do not lend themselves to quantitative reduction. As before, she includes extensive quotations laced with her own observations and comments. Her words, with their meanings and expositions, make reading this multisited ethnography a distinct pleasure.

Half of *Remembering the Present* continues Cassaniti’s Lanna Thai explorations, focused on *sati*, with the other half about equally divided into considerations of *thati* and *satiya* and an extremely perceptive “Conclusion: Asia and the United States.” Even when working with these words coming from a common stem, Cassaniti carefully teases out variations. For example, after spending time with Gananath Obeyesekere at his home, she reminds herself that “my job as an anthropologist is to draw out ideas and show their relevance to both [those with whom she was working] ... and to people in America... gathering perspectives on mindfulness among people who find it obvious doesn’t just tell us about mindfulness. It also shows how concepts about mindfulness in their local variations reveal cultural components normally cloaked under the guise of universality” (199–200).

While it may be obvious to ethnographers that we talk in two directions, we must constantly remind ourselves of this Janus-faced objective. Cassaniti not only talks to “us,” but she brings into the conversation three variants of an expression with which we have become, perhaps overly, familiar, an expression that we have loaded with our own understandings and biases, presented in our own contexts of power.

To structure her findings, Cassaniti proposes an acronym, the TAPES of mindfulness: Temporality, Affect, Power, Ethics, and Selfhood. She employs TAPES at the end of each exploration to summarize her findings for that culture and to compare and contrast them with the others we have encountered. The cultures and assumptions in which we participate are constantly in her and our minds.

Cassaniti concludes this ethnographic tour de force by focusing on power. Unfortunately, even though terms for “mindfulness” originated from and exist in Buddhist cultures, physicians and mental health practitioners both in the West and in these cultures tend to use Western, “scientific” concepts of “self-empowerment and self-care” (16) stripped of the luxurious body of meanings present in local terms. Power—the power of “science” and of Euro-American culture, including the medical professions—deletes rich local meanings from “mindfulness” for us as well as for Theravada Buddhists.

Remembering the Present is a formidable volume. It follows in the proud ethnographic-anthropological tradition of bringing the wisdom of others to bear on our own understandings of commonly accepted tropes. Equally important, because this volume concerns significant populations and their approaches to mindfulness, it deserves to be translated or at least appropriately adapted into Thai, Burmese, Sinhalese, and other Buddhist Asian languages to enable these people to bring to their mindfulnesses the more prosaic presents of their cultures.

Harvests, Feasts, and Graves: Postcultural Consciousness in Contemporary Papua New Guinea. Ryan Schram. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018. 276 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12940

DAVID LIPSET

University of Minnesota

Harvests, Feasts, and Graves draws upon fieldwork Ryan Schram did between 2004 and 2010 with the rural Auhelawa people on Normanby Island in the Massim region of Papua New Guinea. His rendering of the Auhelawa world recalls institutions, yam houses, matrilineages, mortuary rites, and distinctions among types of exchange, which Bronislaw Malinowski made famous in 1922 in his Trobriand ethnography and Annette Weiner subsequently elaborated upon in 1976 in her women-centered research in the same location. But Schram’s project differs from their emphases on functional integration and the relationship of gender to culture. Rather, he seeks to conceptualize the moral subjectivity arising from how customary norms do and do not fit with modernity in this particular corner of PNG and, by extension, more generally in this part of the world at large. In his view, no last word exists in the current Auhelawa sociopolitical and discursive environment and all norms are open to question. Such a setting he calls postcultural, not because customary or contemporary norms no longer exist but rather because they coexist in a way that would recall Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism. Schram, however, eschews Bakhtin and stresses a kind of anomie. “Auhelawa people today,” he writes, “cannot orient themselves toward

either a past horizon of tradition or a future horizon of modernity” (18).

Let me browse through the ethnography of the tiny coastal hamlets that domicile localized Auhelawa matrilineages, *susu*. The mother’s matrilineage is described as the decisive basis of Auhelawa identity, and membership affords residential, garden, and burial rights, shrines of the ancestors’ skulls, and migration stories. It also establishes deference and avoidance relations with affines in the father’s matrilineage. Death is a key moment that defines *susu* boundaries. Indeed, should a wife predecease her husband, he will be evicted from her village. An important dimension of custom dictates that when they attend mortuary rites, hosts and guests must not eat food they have cooked but must offer it to their affines.

Women’s gardening is interesting. Seed yams are family and lineage property, but should circumstances require people to buy them, having to do so is considered to be “so shameful that one should never speak of it” (108). Yams are both “children” who must be nurtured and “persons” who should be respected. Women greet the plants upon arrival in the garden and watch them grow. The yams then “decide” whether their “mother” has respected them, and they answer by being abundant or dying. Women ought to observe avoidances of other peoples’ gardens, neither looking at nor asking about them. Neither should they talk about their gardens, lest jealousies arise. The harvest is a time of diffidence: no one wants to go first. The harvest is divided into separate piles inside yam houses, which are locked spaces into which no one other than their “mother” may enter. The yam house signifies her agency and her struggle to balance obligations to feed children with the ceremonial needs of the lineage.

The Auhelawa have a declension narrative that has to do with money, which they view as the opposite of the yam house. Money is greedy, selfish, and a sign of poverty. Although money is a sign of moral degeneration, everyone raises cash crops, but they refrain from talking about them. Women sell betel nuts, food, and cigarettes (called *gimwala* exchange), and men do various kinds of wage labor. Aloof market women display their wares, in contrast to the secrecy of the yam house, and must regularly forsake their families in order to attend them. The market is a “displacement of their own agency as individuals” (121). People set aside the money they make from marketing “in a secret bank, a pocket yam house for money” (127). Kinsmen make the whole day’s voyage once a year to the provincial capital to sell betel nuts, which they view as a “doubly odious” (117) duty because of the idleness and discomfort it involves. But they need money to pay for school fees and so forth. A less estranged attitude about marketing is held by church groups, whose members stage “pot to pot” fund-raising events during which decorated containers of food are ostentatiously presented to random exchange partners who feign mock horror as recipients. These exchanges,

Schram observes, also reduce agency because no relationships are at stake during them.

Auhelawa communities are split between the Methodist and the Catholic churches, which seek to unify their congregations by inspiring a classic kind of mechanical solidarity they call “one mind” (134). They pray often for this purpose. Ritual precision is also viewed as a means to this end. But people straggle to church. Leaders leave early or come unprepared for services. Fund-raising initiatives are meant to show love for the church. But targets are not met due to indifference and so forth. Achieving one mind, in other words, is a challenge, and in Auhelawa Christianity “the ‘one mind’ frame is always incomplete” (162).

Mourning and mortuary rites put the division between the customary taboos involved in them (*bwabwale*) and the more abridged Christian version (*masele*) in stark relief. But however death is celebrated, “everyone avoids making direct reference to” (171) the deceased. The Auhelawa are very aware that changes to their mortuary practices are taking place and see contemporary institutions and daily life as a mix of historical and modern practices. Auhelawa people, Schram argues, live in this kind of neither/nor context. They question custom but see modernity as “permanently on hold” (212). Multiple narratives sustain custom but simultaneously call it into question, leaving people with an excess of skepticism about both the present and the future.

It is a credit to Schram’s ethnographic honesty that the data presented in *Harvests, Feasts, and Graves* permit more than one interpretation. From how I read his material about lineage membership, yam gardening, money, death rites, and even Christianity, I am not at all persuaded that the Auhelawa repudiate—or at least question—customary assumptions about moral personhood and agency to the extent that he imagines. It is notable, for example, that there are numerous topics about which people keep silent, and their silences apparently derive from Auhelawa reasons that they go on taking for granted. If so, I think that the post-cultural trope Schram places in the center of his representations of Auhelawa subjectivity muddles rather than clarifies the degree to which custom is up for grabs. However, his book can be read and appreciated independent of its theoretical framework, making it a useful contribution to upper-level courses on the contemporary Pacific.

Borders of Belonging: Struggle and Solidarity in Mixed-Status Immigrant Families. Heide Castañeda. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019. 334 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12941

WILLIAM D. LOPEZ
University of Michigan

Borders of Belonging: Struggle and Solidarity in Mixed-Status Immigrant Families is a meticulously researched and deeply insightful exploration of the day-to-day lives of mixed-status families in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas, an area in which an estimated 12 percent of the population is undocumented. Heide Castañeda draws on repeated interviews with members of a hundred mixed-status families, 62 interviews with representatives of social and community service agencies, and five years of ethnographic work to present the most thorough account to date of the challenges, opportunities, negotiations, and risks experienced by mixed-status families. Supplementing rich qualitative analysis with vivid sensory imagery, she has written a beautifully crafted and profoundly informative volume that will appeal to immigration researchers and antideportation advocates alike.

The notion of mixed-status families—families whose members have different immigration statuses, often undocumented parents of US-citizen children—has been a central theme in research for decades. However, much of this research has focused on these families’ demographic characteristics rather than their nuanced and varied experiences within particular social and political moments. Castañeda’s work contrasts sharply with these strictly demographic representations, as she concerns herself less with quantitative measures of im/migration and more with the context-specific dynamics of local immigration law enforcement and the families who experience these dynamics directly.

While Castañeda provides the necessary quantitative data to help readers better understand the book’s geographical region and the scope of the issues, the core of her book considers the complex lives of mixed-status families and the ways in which local law enforcement disrupts and alters these lives. For example, in chapter 4, “*Estamos Encerrados: Im/mobilities in the Borderlands*,” she describes the ways in which the immobility that stems from Immigration and Customs Enforcement checkpoints on major highways that lead in and out of the Valley traps residents within a radius of only a few miles, preventing those who are undocumented from moving about even within their own state lest they be pulled over and asked to show documents. She then extends her analytic lens outward from individuals to families, and we are reminded of those whose lives are shaped by their undocumented family members’ inability to move beyond these border checkpoints. In a notable example, college-goers’ willingness to attend schools outside these checkpoints is influenced by the impossibility of their undocumented parents visiting them. This kind of writing, with its rich analysis of the fallout from immigration law that is not seen at first glance, is among the book’s many strengths.

In perhaps her greatest contribution to immigration literature, Castañeda solidifies the mixed-status family as a unit of analysis but does not reduce the family unit to a

trope or a caricature or strip the family of voice and agency. Certainly, in an era of mass deportation, it would be easy to essentialize the family unit as a mother and a father with three children and evoke rage and sadness through descriptions of family fragmentation through deportation. But real families are more complicated than this, and the effects of deportations are more varied. Castañeda describes families as they are: straight and queer, empowered and overwhelmed, celebrating college success and coping with suicide. As described in chapter 3, family members maintain secrets from each other by telling “little lies” (70), or they negotiate who will get what medical service based on different statuses within the family. Sometimes this necessary creativity and innovation makes them stronger as a family, but at other times the tension can be too much to bear. Castañeda captures these intricate dynamics better than any authors before her, and we are left with a far better understanding of the united yet divided families who are the targets of the immigration enforcement regime.

As an immigration researcher myself, I believe *Borders of Belonging* to be an informative and a necessary read for anyone wishing to understand the reach of immigration enforcement or the lives of those who live under the threat of deportation. Yet while hers is a critical addition to immigration literature, this is not where Castañeda’s work shines the brightest. As the child of an immigrant mother who grew up north of the Rio Grande Valley, I was struck by the beautiful and human portrayal of a community not far from my hometown. Castañeda’s writing is steeped not only in analytic insight but in empathy, compassion, and an obvious concern for the well-being of mixed-status families throughout the Valley and beyond. I found her representations sensitive and accurate, and while the descriptions brought me back to my childhood, I also learned a great deal about the neighboring regions in my home state and the experiences of the people—and families—who live there.

Nightmarch: Among India’s Revolutionary Guerrillas. *Alpa Shah.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. 348 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12942

CYNTHIA MAHMOOD

Central College

In this stunning account, London School of Economics anthropologist Alpa Shah shares her seven-night journey with the Naxalites—the guerrilla fighters of India’s Maoist-leaning Communist Party. The fighters’ name comes from the village of Naxalbari in West Bengal. Launched in 1967, the Naxalites have gone through ups and downs since then,

finding alliances with various dissident Indian groups. This movement, though not well known outside the subcontinent, is actually one of the longest-running social movements. Today the Naxalite movement is particularly strong, controlling up to a fifth of India’s total territory. Adivasis (members of tribal communities), Dalits (castes once known as untouchables), and other dispossessed sectors are joining the movement, including many whose leaders are intellectuals from India’s major cities.

Shah’s major ethnographic contribution is to show in fine-grained detail what the everyday lives of communist guerrillas on the run actually look like. She explores the many ways the platoon she travels with hides from its pursuers and how it makes camps that disappear the next day. Importantly, she inquires into how the coexistence of various constituencies is managed, and how hierarchy (disavowed by communist ideology) is suppressed. The reader gets to know particular individuals, none of whom appears to be heroic. Corruption is exposed on all sides. But however flawed, these fighters are ready to suffer much for the cause. “The only woman, and the only person not carrying a gun” (xviii), Shah dresses as a man for much of her journey, but women’s lives among the Naxalites are well described here. Indeed, anyone who wants to know what a Maoist guerrilla insurgency really looks like from the inside would do well to read this book. It is obvious why *Nightmarch* was shortlisted for several major literary prizes.

I have worked with the Adivasis of Jharkhand, the region Shah describes. One part of the book that will be most interesting for anthropologists is the author’s insights into how indigenous tribal values of egalitarianism, cooperation, sharing, and mistrust of the state flow easily into the Naxalite platform. Many Adivasis, at risk of losing their homes and their land, joined the Naxalites readily and found their values not difficult to appreciate. This is a fascinating transition, and so is the nexus between the Dalits and the Naxalites. The most disadvantaged and disempowered populations in the country are seeking some measure of power through rising communism. The Jungle Raj or forest kingdom that the Naxalites have now created across several states in central and eastern India has become an intriguing mixed cultural phenomenon in its own right, and anthropology is the perfect discipline to illuminate it.

As I read Shah’s compelling ethnography, I found myself wondering whether she couldn’t have made more of a contribution to theory. This question was answered in the appended annotated bibliography. Her extensive review of relevant books and articles is alone worth the price of the book and demonstrates Shah’s mastery of the literature around her topic. I marked many entries in the bibliography for further review. I wonder, however, whether these academic notations might have been better integrated into the text itself. Certainly they would make the book more difficult to read, but they would enhance its level of

contribution to the field of anthropology as a whole as well as to the wider arena of political economy.

In addition to the literature on Naxalism in India, it would have been useful to include—at least as background—an overview of how different cultures affect and are affected by socialist movements. Adivasis in India are not the only people who have found hope in communism. Having just a general sense that this is a wider phenomenon would have made the stories Shah tells of Gyanji and other individuals that much more meaningful. There are hints of this wider world in the bibliography. Within India, at points even the Sikhs, now known for their religiously motivated resistance to the Indian state, celebrated Naxalism as a key idiom through which the oppression of the state can be successfully challenged.

Gyanji, Shah's major interlocutor, said that the main problem facing the Naxalites was the fact that their capacity "has been reduced to the military needs of the war" (192). On constant alert in terms of war planning, Gyanji feared that the band had lost something of the political side of its soldiers' education, the ethical foundation of Marxism, and the deliberate creation of community. This is a complaint of many military leaders, who would like to maintain a breadth of view that is simply not possible in the conditions of battle.

As a red-diaper baby in America—a child of socialist parents—I grew up surrounded by the international lore of socialist derring-do. Shah's volume rings true to everything I know about this world and debunks the myths pro and con about underground fighters, activist workers, and radical intellectual leaders. They are just people figuring out how to do the best that they can to evolve a better future for themselves, their families, and their people. Myths about communists in the United States are certainly as strong as those regnant in the Hindu nationalist India of today. I heartily recommend Alpa Shah's *Nightmarch* as an introduction to the actual reality of lives devoted to socialist ideals. From here, delve into her marvelous bibliography to find further sources for exploration on this very current topic in a corner of the world all too little known in the West despite its regional power.

Upstream: Trust Lands and Power on the Feather River.

Beth Rose Middleton Manning. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018. 256 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12943

RICHARD MEYERS

Oglala Lakota College

Narratives and history are inextricably intertwined so that our views and outlooks often seamlessly frame what we can

or cannot see. Beth Rose Middleton Manning's *Upstream* explicitly fills the void that often follows such woke statements of American history as "America was built on the back of slavery and land theft from Native Americans" by fleshing out the latter part of that statement with respect to the terrain of northeastern California. Based on extensive archival research, inclusive of maps and historical documents, her book concretely addresses the ways in which their lands were taken from Native Americans.

Middleton Manning illustrates issues that have been alive and well throughout the history of US capitalist expansion by providing well-researched particularities of the ongoing methods of scavenging land, in which settlers were hungry to grab land and privatize it. This phenomenon, a part of manifest destiny intended to demarcate the lands that Native Americans had, is not unique to the context of California and is, sadly, still occurring across the globe to tribal peoples. In her own words: "This book weaves together related struggles for land and human rights in the face of neocolonial conservation and development.... I write this book also with the prayer that history will not repeat itself with ongoing exclusion and ignorance of non-European ways of relating to the land and that we, as a collective society, will improve our human ability to respect one another, to recognize the impact and importance of history, and to build equitable and inclusive systems of responsible land and water stewardship" (x).

To anchor her views and explain her inspiration for becoming a nonnative advocate for the Maidu tribe, Middleton Manning sets out to show the very conscious and deliberate acts involved in confiscating tribal lands and erasing tribal cultures in the construction of the national narrative. She writes: "Nearly every place in the United States where there is a man-made reservoir, lands and waters were and are being appropriated from Indian people by illegal and quasi-legal means, leaving a painful legacy of displacement and cultural and community disruption" (4).

The history of the country is often painted with broad strokes that do not reveal the painstaking details that Middleton Manning puts forth—one could make the case that US history is a narrative that shapes the positive by omitting the multitude of negatives. *Upstream* is based upon extensive archival engagement, participatory research, and a commitment to justice. The central argument is that the concept of progress pushed forward in the validation of America as a nation-state falls short of anything but tragic: the social and cultural disruption and the outright destruction of tribal communities led to incalculable and irredeemable consequences for First Peoples. Middleton Manning is incredibly successful in showing us why there are solid reasons to stand up for the marginalized when trying to engage in America's continuing history. Yet I'm not sure that her book can provide the scope and scale of an argument that encompasses what I feel is essential in artic-

ulating indigenous resistance: that is, societies that are organized on the principles of reciprocity and societies that embrace capitalism are at polar opposite ends of the ideological spectrum.

Middleton Manning's first chapter examines the California State Water Plan alongside the state's history of Indian land and water rights. In doing so, she lays the foundation for understanding how difficult it is today for tribes to engage and participate in conservation planning within their traditional homelands. She argues that the ways the State Water Plan was developed helps us understand the current organizational structures involved in California's environmental issues. The second chapter feeds into the next two, which focus upon public domain allotments as essential points for understanding the ways indigenous allottees were dispossessed of their respective lands. However, Middleton Manning shows how these allottees consistently tried to advocate for their rights. Extensive correspondence within the archives of the Bureau of Land Management and the Bureau of Indian Affairs helps readers trace the allotment fiasco.

In the third chapter, Middleton Manning draws on yet more archival allotment data as well as current policies to ground the discussion about how land was and is valued and by and for whom. The next chapter furthers her exploration of how natural resource companies, in particular, worked to monopolize Indian lands by using government policies to acquire vast tracts of former allotments. The final chapter details Maidu participation in hydropower conservation issues in the upper watershed of the Feather River system of the State Water Plan. It serves to tie the analysis from chapter 3 on the structures of value placed upon land into the insertion of Maidu agency within the hegemonic space where they are forced to operate.

All the chapters constantly underscore the ways that the historic Maidu and other Native American allotments confer tribal identity and community grounding. Middleton Manning successfully examines the historical and contemporary institutional exclusion of indigenous histories and the ways in which this process has left so many stakeholders ignorant of the fuller context to contemporary problems. She attempts to provide a positive potential solution to these problems by describing two grassroots indigenous entities that support the voices of those who were historically excluded.

I am not sure I share the optimism of the author about the future of indigenous justice. Reconciling the dilemma of articulating a marginalized history within a larger narrative that has co-opted the smaller narrative since the initial cultural collision, to me, requires a broader argument of even greater scale that contends with cultural and communal realities based on kinship reciprocity versus a capitalist society and its neoliberal individualistic realities.

Coral Whisperers: Scientists on the Brink. *Irus Braverman.* Oakland: University of California Press, 2018. 344 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12944

AMELIA MOORE

University of Rhode Island

Coral Whisperers is, unfortunately, a timely book. International awareness of the plight of corals is at an all-time high, in part because coral reefs are showing dramatic signs of decline the world over, even in places previously thought to be impervious to large-scale marine degradation. Reefs of the world are still recovering from the last global coral-bleaching event, if they can recover at all. In the Bahamas, where I have spent the lion's share of my research time, Hurricane Dorian has just destroyed coral nurseries and damaged reef areas that are already stressed from rising temperatures, sedimentation, and marine pollution. Never before has so much care gone into coral conservation, and never before has all this effort seemed so precarious. Irus Braverman deftly captures this fraught moment as it is being experienced by some of the best-known coral scientists in the world.

Written in an accessible style that will appeal to both the avid scholar of science and technology and the merely coral curious, Braverman's book is a great achievement of science studies, evocative of work by Paul Rabinow, Stefan Helmreich, Donna Haraway, and Anna Tsing. The book clearly sets up the problem of coral decline and recovery as an emblematic issue for the Anthropocene, guiding readers through what Braverman sees as the key points in the coral crisis: scientific oscillations between hope and despair, the unprecedented and increasing extent of coral decline, the growing phenomenon of coral restoration, the inadequacies of law and policy concerning corals, and the cutting edge of assisted evolution and coral bioscience. Each chapter takes up one of these themes, explaining them in detail and in dialogue with interviews with coral scientists.

Readers who like to hear directly from scientists will enjoy the six full-length conversations that fall between each topical chapter. They will especially appreciate the interview with the late Ruth Gates and the visual images the scientists have chosen to represent their relationship to corals. These interviews provide a window onto each scientist's research experience, emotional attachment to corals, and sense of the crisis as well as a window onto Braverman's thought processes through the inclusion of her interview questions. In fact, in addition to the insights the book offers about the practice and experience of coral science, Braverman's text offers insights into her personal experience of the coral crisis and the ideas and questions she has marshaled to address that crisis in a way that is meaningful to her. *Coral Whisperers* is therefore Braverman's attempt to come

to terms with what is happening to living processes on the planet, and it is an example of engaged research that does not obfuscate the personal and emotional connections of the author to the Anthropocene.

The points in the book that were most poignant for me, an Anthropocene anthropologist, do not directly concern the continuum between hope and despair that frames Braverman's analysis. Instead, I was struck by the idea of the brink from the book's subtitle—by the idea that corals and their scientists are facing not only the brink of death but also the brink of reason, the brink of obvious forms of being, and the brink of clearly defined problems and solutions past which conservation business as usual breaks down and ceases to make sense. Even if it is possible to be optimistic about saving coral ecologies from extinction through hard-line climate policy, pragmatic large-scale restoration practices, or experimental evolutionary science, whom are corals being saved for, which coral ecologies and where, and for what imagined future? These are far from settled questions, and Braverman shows us that this brink feels like both an interminable limbo for scientists tasked with doing something and a rhetorical tool to leverage various forms of action from unexpected actors. Enter the artists, the private funders, and the geoengineers.

I am confident that Braverman's work will become a seminal example of the growing social study of coral relations—what she calls coralations. I am further convinced, because I have used her book in courses myself, that *Coral Whisperers* is an excellent teaching tool for Anthropocene studies, studies of multispecies worlds, conservation studies, marine affairs, and science and technology studies of expertise. However, in terms of tales about corals or research directions about the future of conservation in the Anthropocene, it cannot stand alone as the beginning and end of coral studies. This is not a criticism so much as an invitation.

My own work on community-based coral restoration interventions in the Bahamas and Indonesia and my awareness of up-and-coming graduate students and colleagues with research projects around the world have led me to realize that there is so much more to understand and so many more stories to tell. Although Braverman mentions the Red Sea and deep-sea corals in her text, the majority of her examples come from the most famous sites of coral degradation to date: the Great Barrier Reef and the wider Caribbean, where most coral science takes place, undertaken by North American, European, and Australian scientists. As important as this work is, we need still more coral ethnographies of existence, decline, resilience, experimentation, and restoration from many more perspectives. We need to understand the social impacts of scaled-up restoration projects, intervention politics, and biopolitical ethics in specific places, and we need the analytical tools to perceive the changing quotidian negotiations of lives with corals

in the ongoing milieu of neocolonialism and supremacist knowledge production. In other words, we need to continue to follow coralations beyond the populations with the most social capital and global visibility. Marginalized experiences of living and dying with corals may hold more keys to the art of living and dying in the Anthropocene than leading scientists may currently be capable of imagining. *Coral Whisperers* leaves me wanting more in the best way: I now want to know, What else beyond hope and despair may be possible in the great watery world of corals?

Dream Zones: Anticipating Capitalism and Development in India. Jamie Cross. London: Pluto, 2014. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12945

SRIPAD MOTIRAM

University of Massachusetts Boston

In 1991, in the wake of a serious balance of payments crisis, India embarked upon a sweeping set of economic reforms that curtailed the role of the state and provided a larger role for markets. Efforts were made to encourage private, particularly foreign, investment and spur manufacturing. Special economic zones (SEZs), inspired by the Chinese experience and characterized by a more liberal regulatory framework, were seen as important elements of these policy changes. India had implemented similar ideas, such as export processing zones or EPZs, in the past. However, SEZs are different in crucial ways; for example, they include both industrial facilities and necessary services like hospitals, whereas EPZs included only the former.

Advocates of SEZs see them as domains free of state intervention that can attract investment, whereas critics see them as land grabs or instances of accumulation by dispossession, to use the term popularized by geographer David Harvey to describe a process akin to Marx's primitive accumulation. While taking a critical stance, in *Dream Zones* Jamie Cross offers a novel perspective on SEZs. His purpose is not to assess their performance: "Rather than attempt to evaluate the successes and failures of India's SEZs by subjecting the claims that are made for them to empirical scrutiny this book has asked what it means to think of them as generative social and cultural spaces" (188). Instead, he conceptualizes SEZs as sites where the dreams and aspirations of multiple individuals and groups—farmers, corporate executives, planners, bureaucrats, youth seeking greater social mobility, and so on—collide and play out: "In this book I have attempted to bring the diverse dreams that converge on India's large-scale infrastructure projects into the same analytic frame without attempting to derive from them a single logic, rationality or coherence" (188).

Drawing upon recent currents in anthropology, Cross argues that such dreams are similar to political ideas. By continuously shaping and reshaping SEZs, they constantly transform them into unfinished products: “As they take shape on the landscape of rural India special economic zones emerge out of this economy of anticipation. These projects are shaped by the diversity of futures invested in them and the articulation of these different futures with each other” (91).

Dream Zones is based upon five years of ethnographic fieldwork in the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh. In 2014, this state was divided into two states: Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Cross’s fieldwork site is currently in the latter state. Different chapters focus on different players whose dreams intersect with SEZs. For example, how does the process of acquiring land for SEZs unfold, and what are the implications of this process? Cross addresses these questions by examining two villages, Atchutapuram and Rambilli, where land was acquired. He describes the impact on land relations and the consequences for a gamut of players like bureaucrats, members of lower castes, and enterprising youth. Supporters of India’s economic reforms have argued that better exposure to markets would transform traditional social relations for the better, but Cross documents that while caste relations witnessed some change, it was hardly radical. Land acquisition provided avenues—such as speculation in real estate—for landed upper-caste members to reinforce their position: “... communities of farmers sought to harness and manipulate the land acquisition process in ways that concealed their illegal occupation of land redistributed to the poor or guaranteed higher compensation payouts for their families. For some the process was managed in extraordinarily advantageous and lucrative ways and higher-caste farmers, Velamas and Rajus, converted their assets into new forms of social and political capital or accumulated new property. Of course, not all farmers benefited equally” (90–91).

A growing body of scholarship has emerged in response to land acquisition in India for various purposes: SEZs and industry, infrastructure projects like highways and airports, and, in the case of Andhra Pradesh, its new capital of Amaravati. *Dream Zones* makes a valuable contribution to this literature by emphasizing the role of aspirations and dreams as factors that have real effects and deserve serious analysis.

Another body of scholarship to which *Dream Zones* makes a significant contribution involves the labor process: the organization of work, workplace relations and conflicts, and so on. An abundant literature on this subject exists for the United States—with seminal contributions by Harry Braverman and Michael Burawoy—and other developed countries. The corresponding literature for India is sparse, and Cross’s analysis in *Dream Zones* of work in a diamond factory in a SEZ in Visakhapatnam addresses this important gap. This portion is quite complex and difficult

to summarize in a few sentences, but two insights can be gleaned: consent on the part of workers is crucial, even in the case of low-paid jobs, and traditional Indian notions like kinship and ritual hierarchy play a role even in the modern workplace.

Dream Zones offers a rich picture of both the internal dynamics of SEZs and the external context they are embedded in. It also illustrates the strengths of an anthropological approach toward understanding SEZs and the larger changes that India is going through. I believe that such an approach complements very well a political-economic approach, which has been the dominant one in the understanding of land acquisition in India. However, I do have two criticisms of the book. First, while creating tensions and conflicts, SEZs have been unsuccessful in providing an impetus to manufacturing output and employment. Land acquisition for other purposes has also led to turmoil without larger social benefits, for example, for the capital city of Andhra Pradesh (which is being reconsidered today). Therefore, the politics of resistance against SEZs (and land acquisition in general) has a strong legitimacy, even if activists lack a nuanced understanding of it, as one can infer from *Dream Zones*. I would have liked *Dream Zones*, while retaining its critical perspective, to elaborate on what a more sophisticated and fruitful politics against SEZs would look like. Second, Telugu is my native language, and I found the translation of some words inappropriate.

Elite Malay Polygamy: Wives, Wealth and Woes in Malaysia. Miriam Koktvedgaard Zeitzen. New York: Berghahn, 2018. 268 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12946

AYAMI NAKATANI
Okayama University

In Malaysia, a man can legally marry up to four wives, but this right is a Muslim prerogative. The actual increase in cases of polygamy is hard to establish due to the lack of statistics and the often secretive nature of the marriages themselves. Yet “the psychological impact of polygamy far outweighed its statistical presence” (3) in the lives of the elite Malay women who are the focus of this book.

Drawn into a social world where almost obsessive accounts of polygamy, both real and imagined, prevail, Miriam Koktvedgaard Zeitzen decided to explore her interlocutors’ perceptions and experiences of polygamy and to elucidate the nature of their constant anxieties despite their success in other aspects of life. The core of her research data draws upon the narratives of 17 women who live and work in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia’s federal capital, or its suburban vicinity. Their life circumstances are diverse in

both age (ranging from 26 to 60) and marital status (unmarried, monogamously married, polygamously married, or divorced). Some of them grew up in polygamous households; some are or were first wives; others are second or third wives in their own marriages.

What they have in common is their established position, both financial and social, in the circle of the urban elite population. Typically they are well educated, often having degrees from abroad, and they hold professional jobs with independent incomes. They are also unanimous in their view of polygamy as a potentially oppressive and threatening situation for Malay wives. But ambivalence and ambiguity can be found throughout their narratives. Some of them contemplate entering into polygamous marriages for various reasons, while others outright reject such a possibility. The challenges that these and other women face in their life choices are gradually revealed throughout the book, which is divided into relatively short chapters with separate yet interconnected themes.

As Kocktvedgaard Zeitzen notes, one of the striking features of Malay elite polygamy is its secrecy. Husbands often secretly marry other women in other states or even in other countries to avoid applying for permission to have a polygamous marriage, which requires the consent of their first wives. Why does a woman want to enter into such a union, then, when her marriage cannot even be celebrated by her own family and she cannot appear in public as an official wife? For some professionally successful women who have remained single by prioritizing their careers, secret polygamy may work as a “time-management strategy” (121), we are told. These women find it important to obtain a marital status and a life companion after their professional achievements but are too busy to devote themselves to full-time married life. There are also widowed or divorced women who want to secure their position in society by pursuing remarriage even in polygamy.

These decisions are made against a backdrop of social ideals that see marriage and motherhood as the defining feature of adulthood for women. The well-educated urban women in contemporary Malay society enjoy greater freedom in choosing their partners and timing their marriages compared with the past, when arranged marriages were the norm. Nevertheless, they cannot get away from conjugal and mothering ideals. Also, the strict application of Islamic laws against sex outside marriage drives some women into secondary marriages, as this is seen as the only legitimate way to secure a love life.

These detailed accounts of the women themselves and their friends and families make it clear that the actual or potential polygamous unions exert a devastating effect on every party involved, as far as the women are concerned. First wives justifiably resent the fact that they must share their husbands with other women, while second wives, despite

their own ambitions and strategies, endure a precarious position due to the secrecy of their marriage or, when it's open, antagonism and even abuse from first wives and their families.

From a male point of view, engaging in polygamy can be a sign of newly gained affluence and social status, partly because polygamy was traditionally practiced by the ruling class with its power and wealth. In the current social climate in Malaysia, however, men in the elite circle may also see it proudly as a distinctly Muslim practice. Indeed, the increasing prominence of polygamy, Kocktvedgaard Zeitzen argues, is closely related to concomitant changes in the conventional notion of complementary gender relations as a result of Islamization in Malaysia—changes that are detrimental to women because they face more pressure to be contained in domestic lives despite their economic success. In fact, husbands may even see their wives as too successful and try to keep them “in check as well as assert their masculinity and sexuality through polygamy as a male privilege” (101).

As Kocktvedgaard Zeitzen acknowledges, this book misses the direct voice of men who do or do not practice polygamy. I do not see this omission as a vital defect, but the overall discussion could have benefited from even partial accounts put forward by married or unmarried men precisely because of the accelerating changes in gender relations in contemporary Malaysia. In addition, some statements are too repetitive and could have been written in a more organized manner.

On the whole, however, *Elite Malay Polygamy* successfully portrays the subtlety and complexity surrounding polygamy in contemporary urban Malaysia. I highly recommend this book to those interested in gender, Islam, and marriage practices in Southeast Asia. Polygamy is not just about love, jealousy, or sexual desire—women's fears and anxieties are situated in a much larger framework, including the state's project of promoting Malaysian modernity coupled with Muslim identity. The current social climate supporting Islamic discourse makes women reluctant to voice their views against polygamy vis-à-vis their husbands, who may bring the issue right into their married life.

Uprising of the Fools: Pilgrimage as Moral Protest in Contemporary India. Vikash Singh. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017. 256 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12947

ROBIN OAKLEY
Dalhousie University

In *Uprising of the Fools*, sociologist Vikash Singh follows poor and lower-middle-class migrants—young men whose

work lives put them at the periphery of neoliberalism's prosperity—on the Kanwar Yatra pilgrimage across northwestern India. Referred to as *bholā*—simpletons, fools, or idiots—the millions of pilgrims travel hundreds of miles from their rural and urban homes in Delhi, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Punjab to the city of Hardwar to gather sacred water from the Ganges River, stopping along the way at various shrines dedicated to Shiva. They carry the Ganges water with a *kānwar*, a highly decorated device constructed of metal vessels hanging from a wooden pole. They observe strict ritual cleanliness of the body as well as rules that center around the heavy *kānwar*, such as not allowing it to touch the ground, not letting animals walk under it, and when shifting it ensuring that it never goes over their heads and that the water inside does not spill out.

Engaging in participant-observation supplemented with interviews, Singh took part in the pilgrimage himself and captured the vows the pilgrims took, the ritual cleanliness they observed, and their array of ritual abstinences before, during, and after the pilgrimage, although he is careful to note that he did not smoke marijuana, something most of the pilgrims do along their arduous journey. Invoking Gayatri Spivak's charge that first and third world intellectuals cannot claim to represent the subaltern, Singh himself draws upon Western philosophy and existentialism through nuanced theoretical considerations that at times get in the way of his descriptions of the pilgrims. The challenge for the reader might be to easily move between the descriptions and analyses of what Singh observed and experienced and his equally detailed theoretical discussions, which occupy a significant portion of the book. This said, moving between these different worlds of words can be fascinating since the discussions underscore the rich examples even when they sometimes diminish the human face of Singh's existential perspective.

Most of the pilgrims are young men on the cusp of adulthood in an economic world characterized by extreme inequality. By and large they are that world's "rejects" (55); they will face job insecurity and humiliation in the economic system and will suffer nightmarish lives. Many will engage in the pilgrimage multiple times; some have older male gurus—mentors or teachers who give them advice and assistance—and many also reminisce about their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers who went on the pilgrimage. They are proud to participate in what they see as a sacred tradition, yet they are despised by the hierarchy-conscious middle classes for smoking marijuana and for the carnivalesque mood of the pilgrimage with its loud Bollywood music and sexualized dances— aspects that the English-language media deploys to depict the pilgrims as unmannered thieves and the pilgrimage as a "poor, botched, illegitimate version of religion" (135).

Religious participation challenges the configuration of time and space of capitalist economy and morality, yet the pilgrims imagine themselves to be acting on behalf of their loved ones to ensure their well-being. The pilgrimage in Singh's view challenges methodological individualism hinged on notions of the self as a discrete entity; to him, participation is all about guaranteeing the safety and health of family members. Such caregiving also requires for many people spiritual forms of care embedded in the self. Singh argues forcibly that one cannot speak of the self without speaking of its connection to others, and he disputes the salience of Cartesian individualism in India very convincingly in the numerous case studies peppered throughout the book.

The life stories that Singh provides are very generously detailed in terms of descriptions of place and emotions and are woven skillfully between deep theoretical insights into suffering and the dread of daily existence for people confined to "dead-end futures" (79). Many of these life stories provide thumbnail sketches of the pilgrims' desire for prosperous, healthy, and successful lives amid the contradiction that they won't ever have those kinds of lives in any shape or form. For example, we meet Shailesh, whose father's mutilated corpse was found on the railway tracks when he was a young teenager; Omkar, who lost an eye but was thankful he didn't die; Bhimkumar, whose father died and who has worked in a factory since the age of 13; Kamarpal, the black sheep of a family of government servants who was unable to find a job; and Shyam, a poor upper-caste Brahman, although most of the pilgrims come from lower-caste groups. Then there is Bhavan, whose studies proved useless for getting a job and who made the pilgrimage six times, yet whose taxi was stolen in broad daylight, or a man who began working at the age of 12 and is now 40 but looks well into his 50s. Whatever their age, all these men believed that engaging in the pilgrimage would secure their families' well-being. There are also some women who embark on the pilgrimage, like Kshetrapal's wife, who planned a pair of pilgrimages but died before the second one, and whose husband said her children will complete them for her once they are old enough.

Singh compellingly views participating in the pilgrimage as an essential challenge to the dominance of the risk perspective in a society where the market logic of success becomes a universalized matrix for all behavior. For him, the pilgrimage represents the endless tribulations of life, which like the journey itself is filled with sacrifice, pain, suffering, and excess yet is a way to defiantly challenge fate. In this way, he provides a notable counterpoint to stereotypical depictions of men, selves, and forms of caregiving. Singh's ethnography conveys strong empathy for the pilgrims and provides a more thorough understanding of the relationship between neoliberalism and the tangibility of the divine that he contends is the hallmark of India.

How Lifeworlds Work: Emotionality, Sociality, and the Ambiguity of Being. Michael Jackson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12948

GERHILD PERL

University of Bern

“She who does not understand society becomes a sociologist; she who does not understand herself becomes a psychologist; she who does not understand both becomes an anthropologist.” These words—supposedly uttered by Margaret Mead—reflect anthropologists’ deep concern with understanding the complexities of social life. However, few truly engage with human beings as social *and* psychic beings, and one rarely finds evidence of the desire to understand intrapsychic life in anthropological literature. Considering the fact that everyone experiences such conflicting emotions as love and hate, trust and disappointment, hope and fear, one wonders why the depth of people’s inner worlds is commonly overlooked in anthropology.

In *How Lifeworlds Work*, Michael Jackson successfully combines the sociological and psychological realms, proving that understanding the human condition involves more than social analysis alone can ever fully capture. In a subtle ethnographic exploration of the vital interplay of emotionality and sociality, he goes beyond the social and takes intrapsychic processes seriously by acknowledging that they are simultaneously independent from and interdependent with the social order. For Jackson, the distinction between the social and the emotional is always ambiguous: “each is a transient figure against the equally transient background of the other” (137). In other words, emotional life and social life constitute one another.

Jackson takes the reader to the Kuranko people in Sierra Leone, where he first did fieldwork in the 1960s. He describes the village of Firawa and other places in the West African country as a “laboratory in which I continue to study the human condition” (191). Etymologically, a laboratory is a workplace, and it is commonly associated with experimenting, searching, and being responsive to unexpected phenomena. These processual qualities correspond with Jackson’s notion of lifeworlds. Following phenomenologist Edmund Husserl, for Jackson lifeworlds are genuine, prescientific, and untheorized human worlds comprising intersubjective relationships; they are “open, complex, and never self-contained” (xi). Lifeworlds are continuously being worked upon. Echoing the Kuranko meaning of the word *wale* (work), which encompasses the re/production of social life and individual life, Jackson understands work to be an “active engagement in creating a life that is *emotionally* satisfying” (xi). Accordingly, making a lifeworld viable (and satisfying) requires the continuous work of harmoniz-

ing “the tension between emotional compulsions and social imperatives” (ix).

Structured around the core anthropological themes of ritual and kinship, the book explores the ambiguity of being that materializes in the difficulty of harmonizing emotionality and sociality. The first part casts light on emotional ambivalence, intensification of affects, and social efforts to control them within rituals. The second part focuses on how social order regulates affect and how passions correct inflexible social systems in kinship relations. In particular, Jackson’s account of people’s struggles to reconcile affect and order in the face of war atrocities and everyday hardships brings to the fore the ambivalence of being that emerges due to overpowering emotions and impersonal political power.

Almost 50 years have passed since Jackson first arrived in Firawa, and most of his research participants and friends have died and the village has changed dramatically. Nevertheless, this book is utterly timely. Ironically, its timeliness is grounded in the timeless struggle of being. *How Lifeworlds Work* speaks to the longevity of Jackson’s way of doing anthropology, to his relentless engagement with the abiding question of human existence and the intersubjective dimension of being in the world. Jackson is a humble polymath skillfully combining anthropological, philosophical, and psychological insights to approach the question of how lifeworlds work. He interweaves vignettes from classic ethnographies and his own research in Australia, New Zealand, and Europe; Kuranko tales and Greek mythology; and literature and poetry with his ethnographic account of Kuranko lifeworlds to illuminate people’s struggles to balance inner passions and outer demands.

Situated in the phenomenological tradition, Jackson not only describes Kuranko lifeworlds and invokes abstract concepts to explain them, he also unveils how the tension between the personal and the social is worked through in concrete situations and critical events as well as within particular relationships. Thereby, he shows that it is not the repression of unruly affect that makes lifeworlds viable “but the cultivated and controlled *expression* of feelings” (181). Although lifeworlds are formed by the intertwining of affect and order, the “conflict between emotionality and sociality can never be settled but only struggled for” (200). Consequently, the question of how lifeworlds work remains open.

In the last part, the book’s argument condenses when the young, vulnerable, and anxious ethnographer’s world is revealed. We see a man whose existential foundations are shaken, who struggles with the tension between inner fears and outer obligations, whose anxiety about being in an unfamiliar place and nagging doubt as to whether he can meet the demands of the academic world haunt his dreams. Putting himself and his worldview at risk, however, made him realize the ambivalence of being that he shares with his Kuranko friends. Both the analytical and

the emotional work of ethnography allowed him to explore the human condition in ways that would have been impossible had he not left his comfort zone. Being with others made him see “the copresence of what is culturally distinctive and what is definitive of our common humanity” (87).

Jackson not only argues for an awareness of emotional ambivalence and its entanglement with social norms, he also finds the words to describe them. His precise use of language makes his writing beautiful. No word is superfluous, and his unpretentious tone communicates the vulnerability of being. Jackson guides the reader into the depths of human experience, sometimes tightening the cord to the social and political world, sometimes loosening it, never dropping it completely. By giving equal weight to the intrapsychic and the intersubjective and showing the human struggle to balance them, he reveals the ambivalence of being. This is an optimistic book that encourages us to acknowledge humans as social *and* emotional beings. What makes Jackson’s writing so remarkable is the fact that each word is carefully chosen, and the reader can trust in his literacy, his capacity to listen, and his intimate knowledge of what it means and feels like to be with others and oneself.

Being and Hearing: Making Intelligible Worlds in Deaf Kathmandu. Peter Graif. Chicago: Hau Books, 2018. 234 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12949

RIK PINXTEN

Ghent University

In this innovative ethnography of deafness and sign language in Nepal, Peter Graif manages to combine meticulous empirical detail with reflections that could guide reconsiderations of the nature of language in different cultures. He takes the reader on this trip by using rich ethnographic cases that make his book extremely accessible.

Deaf people in Nepal existed as second-rate beings, considered closer to animals or empty on the inside, for ages. With the development of a sign language center in Kathmandu in the 1960s and the rise to power of deaf political activists, this is gradually changing, at least in the larger urban areas. Graif aimed to understand what Nepalese Sign Language amounted to, how it developed, and how it was received in different parts of this linguistically diverse country—Nepal has more than a hundred different languages. He learned to sign himself.

In his encounters with deaf interlocutors, Graif observes how a self-made dictionary for Nepalese Sign Language is used and promoted throughout the country. Gradually he comes to understand why deaf people are seen

as basically non-Nepalese rather than disabled, as is more common in Western cultures. He runs into strange and harsh (to the Westerner) views of deaf people as empty, incapable, somewhat subhuman beings. Moreover, he shows in concrete cases how deaf people can be treated as disconnected people, with no understanding of Nepalese culture, and at the same time can be held to be heroes. The key to understanding these double and often contradictory views of deaf individuals lies in the linguistic intuitions of Nepalese culture (and probably Asian traditions in general): whereas Western linguists focus heavily—if not exclusively—on the cognitive and denotative character of language, the Nepalese focus on the efficiency of communication as basic to language. The intuitive emphasis is on ways of functioning rather than on connecting with a world of objects or subjects to which properties are attached. This is a difference in ontology, Graif states.

Exploring the cultural language traditions of Hindu ways, Graif then analyzes how the sound Aum is the basic foundation of all Hindu traditions, since the sound itself represents the creation—the emergence—of the universe. Because deaf people are thought to be incapable of relating to this sound because of their particular disability, they are thus barred from access to the Hindu universe. Only through the rituals (*mudras*) that accompany recitations of mantras that include this sound could they have a secondary access. In Graif’s words: “Through proper and correct speech, it is thus possible to realize one’s coidentity with totality” (159). Thus, deaf people are empty because they are excluded from participating in this cultural universe based on and in sound. This philosophical issue has implications for genuine comparative perspectives on knowledge as well as education, personhood, and the like. Graif is to be commended for staging such a fundamental philosophical theme by using the ethnographic detail of his empirical experiences as a sort of stepping stone toward deeper comparative reflections.

This is a great challenge to any scholar: you start out with the lore, the tools, and the concepts of your discipline and gradually develop a deeper understanding of the preconceptions, the intuitions, and the ontology (as Graif calls it) of your view of the world and of other traditions along the way. This road to deeper understanding shows us that any empirical study should be a comparative study if it aims to have scientific validity. Graif does not discuss this consequence of his analysis but, rather, presents his insights into each case and leaves it to the reader to draw the more philosophical conclusions. Nevertheless, because his book is important beyond the regional studies level or the literature on deaf people, in my opinion such deeper critical discussions will follow. The best description always leads to comparisons.

The latter statement has a double ring to it. It has an impact not only on ethnographic or so-called positivist and

phenomenological approaches to cultures and humans but also on what is still framed as disability studies. The first impact links up with the criticism on the epistemology and methodology of social and human sciences so strongly centered on the critical philosophical analyses of Pierre Bourdieu's praxeology or Johannes Fabian's claim of coevalness. Graif does not go into their work at all, which is a pity. On the other hand, this will be the subject of further debates on the comparative nature of description, I am sure.

In terms of deaf studies in particular and disability studies in general, Graif's analysis calls to mind the recent claims to deaf cultures. Here again references to such work are scarce in the book. It strikes me as a bit odd that research at Gallaudet University, the world's first university devoted to deaf students, is not mentioned here. In addition, Donald Moores and Goedele De Clerck have published very explicitly on deaf epistemologies, adding strong philosophical support to Graif's detailed ethnographic insights. One wishes that both lines of research would meet in the near future to allow for an extensive and indeed revolutionary rethinking of the ways that people with so-called disabilities can be understood to be expressing diversity rather than being seen as dis-abled. The intelligibility of all would be enhanced by this discussion.

Of course, saying that a study did not concern itself with *X* and *Y*, while it already and very powerfully did work on *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*, is not altogether fair. In the end, I can only applaud the work done already. Graif has written an important book that also sets the stage for a significant inquiry into the nature of anthropological work and its concepts and intuitions.

Creative Urbanity: An Italian Middle Class in the Shade of Revitalization. *Emanuela Guano*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017. 248 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12950

MARTHA RADICE

Dalhousie University

Genoa may not be one of Italy's great tourist destinations, but after reading this book urban anthropologists will want to go there. Emanuela Guano tells tales of a city whose fortunes in the last 70 years have been uneven at best through the experiences of its declining middle classes—people whose livelihoods and lifestyles are invested in Genoa's cultural fabric in one way or another. This is not the upwardly mobile creative class of Richard Florida but, rather, the classes that get creative about ways to make a living in their city (recalling David Wilson and Roger Keil's 2008 article, "The Real Creative Class"). The chapters cover Genoa's postwar history, its role as the forum for the 2001 G8 sum-

mit and protests, the gentrification of its old quarter, its women antique sellers, its tour guides, and its multicultural festival, the Suq. Three strong themes emerge across these topics.

First, *Creative Urbanity* brings much-needed nuance to dominant analytical models in North American urban studies. In chapter 3, for instance, Guano demonstrates that the revitalization of the old quarter, the centro storico, goes against the grain of North American accounts of gentrification. It begins later, with more marginal gentrifiers (to use Damaris Rose's phrase), and involves more homeowners and small businesses than renters and corporate capital. Moreover, it is limited by historic architecture originally designed for a social mix, with spacious, airy upper floors destined for nobles and dimly lit, low-ceilinged lower floors for their servants. Similarly, chapter 6 shows that Genoa's multicultural Suq festival cannot be reduced to the commodification of otherness (although that dynamic is present). In the context of Italy's ethnic chauvinism, the Suq constitutes a subversive and sensually appealing forum for reframing intercultural relations and creating grassroots alliances across difference. For example, using existing buildings as material evidence, an architectural historian explains medieval Genoa's debt to Arabic urbanism, thereby folding Arabs into the historic heart of the city instead of banishing them outside its walls.

Second, *Creative Urbanity* foregrounds chronotopic accounts of the city in which vivid narratives anchor time in space. Aligning with recent anthropological interest in hope, chapter 1 travels the ups and downs of Genoa since the 1970s, when postwar prosperity began to give way to deindustrialization. The syringe-littered, crime-struck alleys of the centro storico concretize the economic dependency and political unrest of the 1970s and 1980s. The waterfront's makeover for Expo '92 manifests the (ultimately unfulfilled) promise of a transformation of Genoa's prospects through the affective urbanism of the new urban economy. Guano grew up in Genoa, though she left alongside many of her peers, and her insider-diasporic insights make this chapter quite entrancing. Chapter 2 continues in a chronotopic vein but over a shorter time frame as Guano describes how the brutal state repression of protests against the 2001 G8 summit shattered the hopeful image Genoese had begun to have of their city.

Third, *Creative Urbanity* is an ethnography of everyday urban poiesis, showing how ordinary city dwellers are involved in reshaping their city through acts of (re)imagination that change people's urban experiences. They might uncover the unknown history of a piazza in a walking tour or add patina to the streets with antiques for sale. Again, this is not corporate Disneyfication of the city but grassroots world making. Nor is it just

symbolic: it has material motivations and effects. Guano's attention to both political economy and gender politics enriches her analysis. The feminization and subsequent deprofessionalization of a humanities education in Italy meant that women could put their newfound cultural capital to use by selling antiques (chapter 4), leading walking tours (chapter 5), or organizing multicultural festivals (chapter 6), rendering Genoa's hidden treasures visible to tourists and Genoese alike. Yet these endeavors are more precarious than profitable, and women must navigate expectations of their place in the gendered division of labor: their work is supposed to be just a hobby, and they are supposed to navigate relations in public space with care and decorum. Moreover, as the 2008 recession takes hold in Italy, making a living from cultural bricolage in Genoa has become increasingly difficult.

Creative Urbanity is beautifully written and sparkles with apposite, concise references to anthropological and sociological theory. The introduction makes a good primer for urban studies, setting out Genoa's particularities in relation to the familiar narrative of the rise of postwar industrial urban prosperity followed by deindustrialization and economic restructuring and their often grim consequences for urban lives. (The *sopraelevata* highway junction and the downtown Plastic Gardens park are recognizable as the kind of 1960s urban planning mistakes that plague many European and American cities.) I found Guano's use of classic theory compelling and original. For instance, she likens the zone closed off by the G8 summit to Johan Huizinga's magic circle, enclosing extraordinary acts of "the elimination of normal social life and the spectacularization and militarization of political action" (63). She characterizes the mysterious Black Bloc—protesters or agents provocateurs?—as "tricksters" who "simultaneously violate and establish boundaries" (70). Conversely, my main criticism of this ethnography is that sometimes the stories and voices of the Genoese themselves seem to disappear, as if they were scurrying out of earshot down the alleyways of the centro storico. This is especially so in the first three chapters, which seem surprisingly unpopulated. Material from local novels helps compensate but doesn't quite satisfy. I think this is an understandable risk, however, of doing anthropology of the city and of disparate urban practices rather than with a certain community. Fortunately, flesh-and-blood participants with fuller stories return in the last three chapters.

Guano's book would be an excellent addition to urban-oriented graduate-level courses and comprehensive exam reading lists. It would also make a good core ethnography for an undergraduate urban studies course, particularly one focusing on creative cities, because it stimulates discussion of different kinds of creativity. Finally, it is a lively and thought-provoking read for urban anthropologists—whether they get to visit Genoa or not.

Designs for the Pluriverse: Radical Interdependence, Autonomy, and the Making of Worlds. Arturo Escobar. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12951

J. MONTGOMERY ROPER

Grinnell College

Can design play a role in the changes necessary to sustain the earth, or is it trapped by the modernist ways of thinking and being that got us into our current predicament? To explore this question, Arturo Escobar engages critical and metaphysical theory as well as Latin American indigenous, peasant, and activist movements. He argues that while some design has become more introspective, it lacks the kind of radical change necessary. It needs an ontological redesign, enabling a shift from the worlds-destroying dominance of modernist dualities to a more relational pluriverse. This could be informed by and build on current transition design efforts as well as the notions of autonomy and communality common in many Latin American social movements.

Escobar defines his approach as politico-ontological. He asserts that Mother Earth is under assault and that the core problem is modernist ontology—its conception of being, the categories that we make of the world and the relations among these. Central to this model are rationalism and Cartesian dualisms of nature-culture, us-them, and subject-object (or mind-body) as well as the notion of the individual and the belief in the primacy of science and logic. Most problematic is that modernism both destroys nature and seeks to eliminate other ontologies.

Design, by which Escobar refers to both product design and policy and development planning, is ontologically occupied. It has primarily served capitalist interests and contributed to the destructive project of modernism. Tools designed for interacting with the world work to design us in terms of the way we experience and understand the world, creating positive feedback for modernist ontology.

Escobar contends that design must be reoriented ontologically by recognizing its role in the creation and destruction of the world as well as by shifting to a relational ontology that recognizes the interdependence of all things and the emergent nature of being (Buddhism serves as an example). An ontological design would recognize that everybody designs and would reject the one-world world, thus enabling a more convivial pluriverse and the liberation of the earth.

I found Escobar's argument through the first two-thirds of the book thought-provoking though unnecessarily complex. His evidence against modernism and for an ontological design is primarily theoretical and philosophical. Scholars of critical theory or the ontological turn will

likely be familiar with his jargon and may disregard his labored writing. I find it disappointing that those who would most benefit from his insights—designers and development practitioners—will likely find the text unapproachable. For me, the contentions themselves connected with ideas from ethnoecology, indigenous social movements, and development, leaving me to question further the necessity of much of the jargon and complex prose.

While I agree that the dominant approach to the environment and indigenous peoples (among others) is untenable, I would have liked a more robust case that modernist ontology is the problem. How do we explain the destructive behaviors to the environment and to one another that existed both before the Enlightenment and outside of European cultures? I found Escobar's assertions bordering on romanticization of indigenous and relational cultures. I also found it disconcerting that his reasoning for eliminating dualisms relies on building one between relational and modernist ontologies and on a very homogenized notion of modernity, even though Escobar recognizes that indigenous peoples often live with one foot in the modernist world and one in the relational.

In the final section of the book, Escobar examines specific efforts and movements that might reflect or inform a new design approach. One set, transition visions, can be seen in the Global North with the degrowth and relocalization movements and in the South with movements critical of development. These transitions are emergent, involve a multiplicity of actors, and emphasize the interdependence of all beings as well as the need to reconnect with the non-human world. Design has the potential to learn from them and to further catalyze them, allowing many small efforts to connect and grow.

Escobar also examines the notions of autonomy and *comunalidad* found in many Latin American social movements. Autonomy refers to a state of being in which the "conditions exist for changing norms from within" (172), or autonomous design (or the unnecessarily complicated idea of *autopoiesis*), and autonomy movements serve as a design for a pluriverse. The notion of communal as a mode of living in integral fluidity reveals alternative worlds and reflects a mechanism for genuine interculturality.

I am not certain what to make of the final section of the book. Escobar seems to suggest that these movements themselves *are* design, proving that a more relational design is underway in parts of the world. Additionally, a broader reformulated design must allow space for the ideas of such movements and serve to support and strengthen them, presumably enabling more relational ontologies. The question of whether this is possible, how it might be brought about, and what this new design approach might look like is largely left unanswered.

My confusion is exacerbated by a brief section in which Escobar imagines a new design approach for the Cauca Val-

ley in Colombia. He states that "while the region is ripe for a radical transition, this proposition is unthinkable to ... most locals" (191). Thus, many must be left out of the initial planning processes while designers work to "destabilize the folk discourse about the region and position the new one in the collective imaginary" (198). The exercise seems to violate many of the premises identified elsewhere in the text on the importance of emergent design, distributed agency, autonomy, and community. The vision sounds like an old-school participatory planning exercise driven by outside experts who have already decided what things should look like and who are poorly informed by current best practice in the approach.

Ultimately, I wish the book were written in a more accessible format. It raises interesting and important questions and seeks to draw connections between southern social movements and global design. While it leaves me with more questions than answers, perhaps this is Escobar's purpose. In concluding, he lays out "questions that will undoubtedly remain," acknowledging that these act to "make the book unravel as it ends, hopefully to be re-woven by others" (203). For me, it never really raveled to begin with, and since I agree with Escobar's view of the urgency of the situation, I believe we need answers more than questions as well as texts that invite others into the debate.

The Archive of Loss: Lively Ruination in Mill Land Mumbai. Maura Finkelstein. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019. 264 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12952

PREETI SAMPAT

Ambedkar University Delhi

Maura Finkelstein's *The Archive of Loss* is a finely theorized ethnographic archive of what she calls lively ruination that pushes methodological boundaries in novel ways. Dhanraj Spinning and Weaving, Ltd., a still productive but dying textile mill in the massively deindustrializing and redeveloping city of Mumbai in the state of Maharashtra, is the book's principal anchor. The mill doubles as a front for its owners' illegal economic activities as a shrinking force of formally employed workers await its inevitable closure and resist this finality. The mill workers' nostalgia for the foreclosed future of industrial modernity defies sentimentality and instead finds embodiment in the accumulation of a lifetime of bodily aches and pains.

The workers' residential chawls are elliptical spaces that inhabit "queer time" (25), where both industrial modernity and postindustrial modernity are incomplete. The chawls flaunt the modernist dichotomy between private

and public space, and in refusing to move to private apartments, the workers resist the city's shift to a postindustrial future without them. Their memories of the great strike of Mumbai's mill workers in the 1980s reveal fissures in worker identity through diverging accounts by Maharashtrian and North Indian workers. Accounts and rumors that the mill owners intentionally set fires in textile mills, including a 2009 fire in Dhanraj, enable all workers to remain at the center of (and resist) a story with a foregone conclusion.

Building on research from 2008 through 2017, Finkelstein weaves an evocative narrative of loss, (be)longing, and vital ruination in a city that is no longer industrial but not quite postindustrial. She maps five archives around Dhanraj and the Mumbai textile industry: of the mill, the worker, the chawl, the great mill strike of 1982–83, and the mill fire of 2009. These archives trouble the notion of an archive as a location or a space of storage by including bodies, infrastructures, and events as archives: the “invisible” (25) repositories of time, experience, affect, and memory. The Dhanraj workers are invisible to the textile unions struggling for compensation for mill workers laid off by deindustrialization. The only way to be seen as a worker by a union is to be laid off; to remain working is to be in a state of “nonrecognition” (40). At the same time, the Dhanraj workers are the visible workforce employed in the mill. They provide legal legitimacy for the mill owners to operate extralegal sweatshop factories and a high-end lifestyle store for more viable income from the mill land. Caught in a legal contract with the mill workers' union, the mill owners bide their time, selling the mill land to developers over time. Settling the pensions of all employed workers is financially unviable, and the owners plan to eventually relocate the mill to the outskirts of the city. The Dhanraj workers' existence and their desire to be seen as workers are thus anachronistic. The message from the postindustrializing city of steel, glass, asphalt, and concrete is one of exclusion. The industrial and postindustrial cities are coeval; they inhabit the same space and time, but each is invisible to the other.

The Archive of Loss is a study of “the unseen remainders of Dhanraj: lively and vital” (188). The workers' bodies form the archive of an industrial cyborg that—through breakdown—experiences decay in parallel with the mill and the industrial city. Sushila feels young and mobile with her work at Dhanraj, but soon after she is laid off following an “accidental” industrial fire in 2009, her body begins an uncanny process of catching up with the ruins of accumulated industrial time; she sits for hours and rarely moves out of her house. The mill and the chawl are an archive of temporality not only through processes of material disintegration and obsolescence but through the anachronistic aes-

thetic and affective relationships of industrial modernity they inscribe. The chawls queer the recognized temporality of rapid urban transformation in the postindustrial city by escaping and resisting linear narratives of development. Life in the chawls is thus lived elliptically; the denial of the fulfillment of industrial modernity and the threat of postindustrial erasure render life in the chawls “nonaspirational” (96). Chawl time is thus queer time, outside industrial and postindustrial time and inhabiting both at once.

Finkelstein innovatively mobilizes untrue accounts by Kishan, a North Indian worker, of North Indian dominance in the textile industry before the great strike of 1982–83 to perform a negative dialectic within the archive of the strike. Kishan's accounts subvert the dominant accounts of the Maharashtrian workers, index the insecurities of the North Indian workers, and resist the latter's marginalization within the industry. For Maharashtrian workers, the tragically heroic union leadership of Datta Samant (who was later assassinated) catalyzed Maharashtrian worker dominance in the textile mills. North Indian workers conversely view Samant's leadership as a catalyst for their marginalization in mill work. Maharashtrian worker identity is itself fissured along caste and regional lines among Ghati (mountain) and Konkani (coastal) workers.

Mill fires enable the mill owners to sell mill land profitably for nonindustrial development. Finkelstein examines the work that rumors perform in the archive of the mill fire. The official narrative around the 2009 fire in Dhanraj claims it was accidental, but workers' rumors of premeditated arson by the mill owners to hasten the decay and closure of the mill allow the Dhanraj workers to remain at the center of an industrial narrative that is already outmoded. More workers are laid off and production activity shrinks after 2009, but the slow process of vital ruination continues with newly purchased secondhand machinery well into 2018.

The Archive of Loss interlaces rich theoretical discussions with vivid literary references, but the ethnographic material the chapters build on is sometimes thin, and it does not always live up to the promise of its theoretical and literary ambitions. The “affectsphere” (21) of workers' sensorial relations around the mill, the chawl, and the changing city draws upon notions of collectivity, but the collectivities are refracted through a few individual narratives that are inadequately integrated into their social collectivity. The arguments are at times repetitive, and multiple iterations of key insights across chapters distract from the otherwise engaging flow of the text. That being said, *The Archive of Loss* is an insightful and innovative account of lively ruination with substantial conceptual and methodological implications for archival interpretation.

Decolonizing Extinction: The Work of Care in Orangutan Rehabilitation. Juno Salazar Parreñas. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018. 288 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12953

GENESE MARIE SODIKOFF
Rutgers University–Newark

With *Decolonizing Extinction*, Juno Salazar Parreñas gives us a groundbreaking and beautifully written multispecies ethnography that explores the entwined lives of human and nonhuman primates. Deftly combining primatology, political ecology, and postcolonial and feminist theory, her book will interest biological and cultural anthropologists alike and has the potential to foster deeper cross-disciplinary engagement.

Parreñas investigates the daily intimacies between workers and residents of two wildlife centers in Sarawak, a state of Malaysia on the island of Borneo, where wild orangutan populations are declining precipitously. She situates orangutan conservation and rehabilitation efforts in the period spanning the end of Sarawak's British colonial period to its 1963 incorporation into the Federation of Malaysia and into the present. The chapters trace the practices of caring for injured and endangered animals over the course of Borneo's political-ecological history. The ethnography focuses on the lives of Sarawakian, Chinese, and expatriate workers of the wildlife centers as well as on the author's own experiences in the centers.

For Parreñas, "decolonizing" refers to workers' views of what constitutes best practices for rescuing endangered species from the brink. All this takes shape in a context of protracted political limbo, in that Sarawak is a postcolonial, semi-autonomous state whose inhabitants have long sought full independence. The workers negotiate a spirit of colonial resistance and reliance on historical strategies for animal rehabilitation. Decolonization requires them to embrace uncertainty and ambivalence, which are reflected in the workers' acceptance of their vulnerability vis-à-vis confined and terrifyingly strong animals and their awareness that their steady devotion to other creatures' welfare may all come to nothing.

Analytically, Parreñas makes another kind of decolonizing move. She reveals with shocking clarity how inequalities based on race, ethnicity, class, and gender spill over into interspecies relations. By extending social theory into the orangutan world, she demonstrates why our frameworks ought not to fixate on the ways that power relations, brute force, and language shape *human* subjectivity. We ought also to investigate how our constructs insinuate themselves into nonhuman socialities and subjectivities. Granted, apes seem easier than other species for us to read. Yet *Decolonizing Extinction* compels us to reflect on the ways in

which violence and intimacy as social constructs have been so thoroughly colonized by humans that scientists persist in interpreting the present-day behaviors of nonhuman primates as protohuman, immune to the forces of human history.

In part 1, "Relations," Parreñas considers both the physical intimacies between humans and orangutans that are essential parts of conservation labor and, on a larger scale, the physical labors and gender relations of tending to a wildlife reserve. One chapter focuses on Barbara Harrison, the childless wife of a museum curator in Sarawak who began caring for displaced infant orangutans in the 1950s as the surrounding forests were being decimated. The chapter brilliantly interweaves themes of colonialism, motherhood, wildlife conservation, and resistance to colonial social norms.

Harrison's ethic of coldness or tough love continues to serve as the standard by which today's wildlife center employees interact with orangutans, though contestation over this approach persists. By and large, caretakers discourage a nurturing relationship between human mothers and orangutan infants that would leave mature orangutans unable to cope on their own. The behavior of Gas, a needy juvenile orangutan, illuminates how the tough love policy demands steeling one's heart. Employees opt for nonintervention when they see animals dying or female orangutans being traumatized by forced copulation since, after all, nature is brutal.

Part 2, "Enclosures," examines the sex and gender relations between humans and nonhumans in the wildlife centers. It also describes what exigencies lured some of the humans and orangutans there. In the 1980s, the construction of a large dam compelled certain employees and orangutans to migrate to the region of the wildlife centers. The dam caused flooding and food shortages, a disruption of river trade, and untold animal deaths. People and orangutans had to start anew, eking out a living in a wildlife refuge.

Findings suggest, however, that the drastic reduction of the free range of orangutans due to deforestation has resulted in what one might call an alloprimate rape culture. The so-called rape of the forest has exacerbated episodes of forced copulation of prepubescent female orangutans as well as violence against human caretakers by male orangutans. We also learn that orangutan-on-human violence has a gendered dimension. Malaysian, Chinese, and other women who look like they are from the region (including Parreñas) are at greater risk of attacks by orangutans than are men from these same groups.

Efforts to redress orangutan endangerment also play a part in this culture. If juvenile orangutans cannot adapt to the wild, then wildlife center workers arrange mating opportunities for them in cages. The sexual

dimorphism is stark, and young female orangutans cower before their flanged aggressors. Parreñas's descriptions evoke not only transspecies empathy for the victims but also a sense of moral ambivalence about the conservation mission.

In Part 3, "Futures," Parreñas further navigates this ambivalence by showing us why there are no easy answers. Caretakers aim to make orangutans relatively nondependent on humans in order to promote their survival. This aim comes with the tacit acknowledgment that orangutans' relative autonomy hinges on constant human labor and is therefore a form of dependency. Parreñas likens this contradictory position to that of Sarawakians, who have sought to break free of outsider governance (first the British and later the Federation of Malaysia) since the late 1940s.

A wildlife center is an artificial refuge amid the damages of extractive enterprises, where caretakers face mortal risk to themselves by cultivating wildness. Conservationists strive to maintain vestiges of otherwise destroyed worlds. Many of the caretakers feel that despite its problems, the wildlife center is better than the zoo since the animals can enjoy relative independence if they acquire certain skills. Although no one seems entirely satisfied with the status quo, there seems to be no better alternative than to bravely march onward, neither hopeless nor hopeful, for survival's sake.

Shanghai Sacred: The Religious Landscape of a Global City. *Benoît Vermander, Liz Hingley, and Liang Zhang.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018. 328 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12954

ALEXANDER STEWART

University of California, San Diego

Those living in cosmopolitan and dynamic global cities like Shanghai find themselves at the nexus of so many global and regional flows that it can be challenging to develop shared senses of place and community and even more challenging for ethnographers to study the disparate and mobile cultures that evolve in such spaces. Benoît Vermander, Liz Hingley, and Liang Zhang address this problem by focusing on the sanctification of urban spaces as one key modality by which individuals work out shared meanings, express ties to local traditions, and participate in transnational religious movements.

A survey of the various spaces associated with China's five officially sanctioned religions—Daoism, Buddhism, Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism—in a city of 24 million would be ambitious in itself, but this book also includes faith traditions seldom studied in China, such as Bahá'ism, Orthodox Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, and Sikhism. To

meet the challenge of such a broad topic, Jesuit sinologist and scholar of religion Benoît Vermander teamed up with photographer and anthropologist Liz Hingley and graduate student and Shanghai native Liang Zhang to conduct three years of fieldwork in religious communities strategically selected from around Shanghai. With the help of 48 full-color photographs, the authors offer portraits of an array of sanctified spaces, objects, and times and the activities related to them in order to capture the city's overlapping and interacting sacred spaces.

Shanghai Sacred contributes to the growing literature on global cities by showing how notions of the sacred both unite and divide foreigners, native residents, and migrants from other parts of China. It also complicates understandings of globalization and religious revival in modern China by showing how certain religious modalities persevere and cut across various faith traditions. In doing so, it captures modern manifestations of traditional faith communities as well as hybrid forms of individualized religiosity typical of cosmopolitan consumer-subjects.

Focusing on the sacred, as defined by Émile Durkheim, rather than on religion per se allows the authors to incorporate forms of spirituality that do not easily fit within the latter category like yoga, ancestor worship, and reverence for revolutionary martyrs. Most of the book concentrates more on description than on theoretical analysis, but the introduction and conclusion move from a universal Durkheimian understanding of the sacred to accommodate the Chinese context; they also distill certain tendencies that cut across Shanghai's various religious communities that can ostensibly be used as modes of analysis for the study of religion anywhere.

The chapter following the introduction, "Mapping Shanghai," gives an overview of the history of Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, and Daoism in Shanghai, with special attention to the repression of religiosity in the mid-20th century and its subsequent resurgence. This chapter insightfully introduces the idea of civic sacredness, rather than civic religion, in a way that incorporates both the official narrative of foreign domination followed by socialist liberation and local forms of religiosity centered on sacred spaces, city gods and Confucian temples, and temples to historic local heroes.

The chapters gradually zoom in from broad overviews to more narrow considerations, with the next one, "Calendars and Landmarks," covering temporal and spatial landmarks important to Shanghai's various faith communities with an eye to how they affect interfaith relations and the sense of sacredness in the city overall. The following chapter, "The Wall and the Door," ventures inside various religious compounds to explore the spaces associated with different faiths and the ritual and more mundane functions that go on inside them, paying notable attention

to contrasting large and officially sanctioned institutions with smaller, often underground congregations. The chapter ends with an interesting note comparing these religious communities to the socialist *danwei*, the work unit, as communities united by mutual trust and commensality. While this chapter is already packed with detailed ethnographic description, it could use a little more of such comparisons to relate religious communities to other modes of sociality in modern and historic Shanghai.

The following chapter, “A Shrine of One’s Own,” continues the same trajectory from public spaces to more intimate ones by examining individualized shrines within homes, house churches, and sacred spaces that emerge inside restaurants and small businesses. And in order to draw connections among these and broader movements, the next chapter, “Religious Waterways,” uses waterways as a metaphor to capture various local expressions of national and global religious initiatives, including Catholic healing through foot massage, LGBTQ Christian fellowship, and Daoist pilgrimage and educational networks.

As can be expected with a work of such broad scope, the reader is sometimes overwhelmed by the sheer variety and volume of data and detached from individual humans as the authors jump from one sacred space and associated community to the next. But the conclusion does offer refreshing profiles of a couple of remarkable individuals and uses native Chinese concepts of resonance, movement versus quietness, orthopraxy, efficacy, and emptiness to tie the diverse forms of sacredness under discussion together. However, the authors could have made better use of such unifying concepts throughout the book to provide more structure to their analysis.

Due to the rapid growth of Christianity in China, its historic importance in Shanghai, and perhaps the authors’ own scholarly interests, the book is particularly strong in its coverage of Christianity. And probably due to my own interests, I would have liked to see more on the sectarian differences and international movements present within other traditions, particularly the Muslim community. However, a work on such a broad subject will necessarily lack some level of detail, and overall the authors do an excellent job of providing numerous fine-grained snapshots—both literal and figurative—of Shanghai residents sanctifying small portions of their lives and their environments as individuals and communities enmeshed in modern times and ancient spaces.

Creativity on Demand: The Dilemmas of Innovation in an Accelerated Age. Eitan Y. Wilf. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12955

PATRICIA L. SUNDERLAND

Cultural Research and Analysis, Inc.

In *Creativity on Demand*, Eitan Wilf provides an ethnographic window onto the contemporary practice of business innovation consulting. Drawing on four years of fieldwork, which started in 2012 and included four innovation consulting firms, he has structured the main narrative and analysis in this ethnographic account around two of these firms. These two firms, given the seemingly apt as well as slightly humorous pseudonyms Brandnew and Newfound, use very different approaches in their innovation work. Wilf mines these differences to good effect, simultaneously alerting us to differences in innovation practices and using each as a wellspring for salient examples to make analytic arguments while pointing to underlying similarities.

Brandnew, founded in the 1990s, is the older of the two firms. Taking inspiration from cognitive science, engineering, and business management, Wilf makes a strong case that Brandnew’s approach to innovation in its idea generation workshops is one of routinizing and taming creativity. The workshops teach participants procedures and rules that can be applied to challenges in new product and service innovation; in so doing, they are relying on and reinforcing a professional ethos that embraces systematic problem solving, rationality, reliability, and predictability. Importantly, however, the modern-romantic ethos of creativity, in which notions of spontaneity, bursts and flows of insight, and inspiration abound, is not absent from but, rather, is contained within the product and process. Wilf argues that with Brandnew’s method, the romantic ethos of creativity is displaced from the person to the product, and thus Brandnew is not only able to manage the innovators’ creativity but is also able to achieve innovation results without ever actually speaking to or researching consumers or users, instead focusing solely on innovating from existing products. As Wilf reasons, “they both retained the promise of these [modern-romantic creativity] notions and discarded their potential threats—including the unpredictability and unruliness of human inspiration” (81).

In contrast Newfound, founded in 2012 and based on design thinking, builds on the creative ethos with its reliance on brainstorming. In analyzing Newfound’s workshops, Wilf includes a number of perspicacious observations on the materiality of their nonmaterial process, in particular regarding the properties of the Post-it note, that nearly ubiquitous artifact and index of contemporary innovation practices. He makes a very good case that while using Post-it notes in the innovation workshops at first seemed akin to using an immutable mobile, in Bruno Latour’s term, in reality they served more as an artifact of distillation and decontextualization. As such, the Post-it notes actually became quite mutable, and in fact that is a large

part of their magic. While the one idea, phrase, or word contained on each Post-it was originally derived from observations and insights gained from research with consumers and users, in the course of the workshops these became decontextualized—moved and shuffled into different orders and frameworks as part of the process. In this process, Wilf notes, the Post-its were so ambiguous and detached as to become “pseudodata” (17). Importantly, however, these pseudodata, while empty of referential content, nonetheless reflected and indexed the ideals of contemporary business innovation. In so doing, the Post-it notes were also invested “with the creative potential to help the innovator quickly generate ideas for new products and services under post-Fordist normative ideals of speed and instantaneity” (103).

As Wilf outlines them, the processes of these two types of innovation workshop were very different. Differences were also evident in the settings and particulars of the participants. Brandnew’s workshops were described as comprised largely of participants from C-level positions, for instance, chief innovation officers, and they were held in a nondescript hotel conference room. Newfound’s participants, on the other hand, were largely garnered from the world of start-ups and the creative industries, and the workshops were held in the glass and whiteboard workroom in the center of a shared work space.

The commonality that crosscuts the workshops, nonetheless, is the degree to which the innovation processes, whatever their exact contents, are governed by rituals. These workshops are not devoid of innovation outcomes, but the processes and the outcomes are managed by the rituals. Wilf makes a compelling case, for example, for the practical as well as the moral lessons encoded in Brandnew’s use of its origin myth. For Newfound, he argues, placing the distilled Post-it notes on conventional templates such as a two-by-two table is a form of ritualized insight production that yields an instantly believable and visible insight. And in both cases, ritual is the means by which the holy grail of “consumer needs and desires” (49) is both incorporated and expunged.

While the ethnographic and analytic illumination of the contrasting innovation approaches of Brandnew and Newfound makes up the backbone of this book, the final two chapters are perhaps the most thought provoking. In his penultimate chapter, Wilf takes on the issue of life design, the use of design thinking as one of the latest forms of self-help and self-perfection. Primarily using Bill Burnett and Dave Evans’s 2016 book *Designing Your Life: How to Build a Well-Lived, Joyful Life* as analytic fodder, he makes one think about whether the self really can and should be likened to a high-end technological and aesthetic object. In his concluding chapter, he takes on anthropology’s embrace of business innovation and design thinking, also giving us reason to pause and reconsider some of Lucy Suchman’s

concerns about design as a model for knowledge production in anthropology.

Given its ethnographic focus on business innovation, *Creativity on Demand* is an important addition to the growing literature in business anthropology. Given the impact of design thinking on everyday life as well as anthropological thinking in and about the contemporary, this is also an important book for all anthropologists. What are the consequences of the migration of design thinking into how we frame our own lives as well as anthropological knowledge? That is no small question.

Plant Kin: A Multispecies Ethnography in Indigenous Brazil. *Theresa L. Miller.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019. 328 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12956

DAVID SYRING

University of Minnesota Duluth

The social lives of plants have recently emerged from the margins of ethnography to occupy center stage for a small but growing body of anthropological writing. Positioning her work squarely within what has been dubbed a plant turn in social science, Theresa Miller presents a thoughtful portrayal of shifting ideas about the human place both in the world and in relation to plants in our era of changing climate. She provides a careful description and analysis of relationships of affection between plants and the Canela people of Maranhão State in the Cerrado, a vast region that makes up 22 percent of Brazil and is the largest savanna in the Western Hemisphere’s tropics.

Miller centralizes the metaphor of emotional entanglement between plants and people with the title of her work. She unfolds this entanglement through chapters that include “Loving Gardens: Human-Environment Engagements in Past and Present,” “Educating Affection: Becoming Gardener Parents,” “Naming Plant Children: Ethnobotanical Classification as Childcare,” and “Becoming a Shaman with Plants: Friendship, Seduction, and Mediating Danger.” Each chapter on its own could be read as a unique contribution; taken collectively, they convey what she calls a sensory ethnobotany perspective that is interdisciplinary in scope.

Miller writes, “Sensory ethnobotany is therefore a dynamic framework, open to change and modification as new developments emerge regarding human and plant sensory capacities, human-plant relationships, and their valuation and transformations over time” (7). This sense of the dynamism of culture in a time of environmental change enlivens the book and makes it valuable in a contemporary moment when human societies must become more attuned to changes on local and regional scales if we hope to

adjust our behaviors to preserve the species and worlds we are enmeshed within. Miller's message of the Canela's engagements with plants as a process she calls "becoming with" provides a meaningful alternative to the standing reserve approach that underlies capitalism's drive to convert all the world's spaces and species into money-making machines.

A strength of the book is Miller's recurrent return to lessons about the emergent nature of being. The Canela have suffered centuries of structural violence through colonialism and globalization, yet members of this indigenous society have dynamically grappled with changes to their landscape and ways of living by shifting from being semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers with some intermittent horticulture to becoming master gardeners with large and biodiverse gardens. In this they have remained true to their cultural beliefs and practices of seeing the world as animate and worthy of affection. Whereas in the past, cultural beliefs and practices of kinship focused on animals, in the current era plants have emerged as the beings most cultivated as kin.

Miller's careful ethnographic work leads her to unpack Canela classifications of garden and forest sectors and soil types as well as the history of Canela relationships to gardening over centuries. She shows a long history of gendered roles in plant care, with men traditionally clearing garden spaces, women weeding and harvesting most crops, and both men and women planting. Women have always been seen as the owners of gardens, and this continues into the present.

Miller connects to well-known ethnographic insights into Jê-speaking indigenous people of the region, such as an emphasis on dual organization of spatial and symbolic worlds. This is apparent in the Canela practice of having both riverbank and forest gardens, each of which requires a different set of crops, a different layout, and a different conceptualization of the relationships and work necessary to maintain it. The qualities of both gardens are articulated as complementing each other, reflecting dual organizational thinking. The Canela also reveal key ideas about happiness, wellness, and strength (*ih̄t̄ȳi*) and truth, beauty, and goodness (*impēj̄*) through gardening, especially in the process of teaching boys and girls how to care for plant kin.

Throughout, Miller delineates how Canela gardeners enjoy working with their plant kin, not just for the sake of growing food but for the real pleasure of knowing, naming, and relating to the diversity of life in which they are enmeshed. For example, in the chapter on ethnobotanical classification as naming plant children, she writes, "There is a Canela 'pleasure of naming' as people 'notice the diversity of life' ... seeds and cuttings in the Canela life-world are named and loved as alive, growing fetuses or infants.... Naming crops is a caring, affectionate act, as Canela gardeners draw from a variety of multi-sensory experience in

the life-world to give names that reflect the individuality and significance of their diverse crop children" (147).

An Anishinaabe acquaintance once said to me, "Native people have already been through several apocalypses. If you want to know how to survive the end of the world, just look at what indigenous people have been doing the last few hundred years." *Plant Kin* pays careful attention to what Canela indigenous people say and do in order to survive in a changing world that has long seen both the people and their places as sacrifice zones to be scoured for resources to feed global wealth.

Listening to and learning with indigenous people about resilience in the face of structural violence offer one of the few viable pathways toward sustaining the human and other lives remaining in this global era. As Miller writes, "Canela multispecies resilience offers a way forward for sustainable use and management of the Cerrado that is simultaneously new and old, a result of past and present human-environment engagements and their adaptations over time. Policy makers, governmental officials, and conservationists should take seriously Canela multispecies resilience if the Cerrado is to survive (and perhaps even thrive) in the Anthropocene" (47).

Indeed, all those actors should listen, as should anyone looking for models of more connected ways to listen to the plants that, to use Mary Siisip Geniusz's phrase, have so much to give us if we can only break out of our circumscribed ways of ignoring our plant kin and begin to talk with them.

Governing Gifts: Faith, Charity, and the Security State.

Erica Caple James, ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12957

CHRISTOPHER B. TAYLOR

George Mason University

Charity is inherently political. The word *philanthropy* was first employed to describe an act of treason and rebellion, when Aeschylus described Prometheus's gift of fire to humans in defiance of the gods. Anthropologists have long held that the gift signifies the givers' power and status and the recipients' social debt. Yet *Governing Gifts* breaks new ground regarding the power of the gift and "faith-based nonprofits as agents or surrogates for governmental action" (13). The contributions—a vivid mosaic of cases from nearly a dozen sites worldwide—illustrate how faith-based charity emulates aspects of state services but also poses challenges for its governance.

My lone unmet desire in this collection was for more precision in the objects of the contributors' research, and

the volume suffers from an overly broad definition of charity. *Governing Gifts* would have benefited from more use of terminology that anthropology has already standardized: generalized reciprocity versus out-group hospitality, gifts of (volunteer) time versus gifts of money, moral volunteerism versus religious obligation, or entitlements and long-term development versus emergency humanitarianism. That said, until this effort no collaborations have examined religious charity and the state—and certainly not this comprehensively.

Erica Caple James organized colloquiums at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 2012 and at a seminar at Santa Fe's School for Advanced Research in 2013 to assemble the contributions. These various intersections of faith, charity, and the security state are framed by her analytically rich prior work on aid in Haiti and Islamic charity under US law. Clear unifying themes bind the collection, including three that I found most notable: faith-based charity as governance (even policing), charity as transformative, either by humanizing state bureaucracy or by relaunching charity workers as activists, and charity as a source of "alternative models of citizenship" (4) to state ideologies.

On the first theme, we learn how governance by charity occurs when state practice and official ideology leverage beliefs shared by its citizens. Elisabeth Clemens finds that US foreign policy benefits from perceptions of America as a "believing and benevolent nation" (21), although the Cold War heyday for the expansion of US power via Christian service had died down by the 1970s. Today, this narrative is tenuously sustained by individual missions and nonprofits with fragmented links to US statecraft, rather than by strong interdenominational church collaborations with the government.

The Buddhist organization Tzu Chi is a remarkable example of the Taiwan government's success using charity to mold more governable citizen-subjects. C. Julia Huang narrates how people see (and see through) government's instrumentalization of it. Indigenous disaster survivors at times did reject the "charity bully" (40) when as a "surrogate state" (57) it built churches without their input and banned betel-nut chewing and civic demonstrations on the properties.

In Iran, the Islamic republic has adroitly been able to "employ the notion of Islamic charity" (67) to govern the population, Arzoo Osanloo argues. This political economy of wealth redistribution operates through two prongs: the semiprivate charity foundations (singular: *bonyad*) for the poor and marginalized and the state's entitlements such as health care and pensions. These entitlements, as official welfare patronage, are what most bolster state ideology and middle-class support.

Second, the transformative potential of faith-based charity is evident in the oscillation between its prostructural

and antistructural roles. Catherine Besteman's essay best captures the real tension between the gift and the "hostility that is always contained within the hospitality" (133) in analyzing debates over welfare for Somali refugees in Maine. Sarah Tobin also shows faith groups, such as Islamic banks in Jordan, as transformatively polyvalent. Jordan's monarchy and publics participate in a transnational governmentality in perceiving the Muslim Brotherhood either as an Islamic charity that conforms to royal ideology or as potential political opposition.

Egyptian charity workers, in Mona Atia's chapter, view *zakat* alms giving as being at risk from "charity schemers" (182). Islamic quantitative teachings on charity, however, lend authority to "calculative regimes" (195) that statistically govern them and transform them through neoliberal ethics of entrepreneurial empowerment. Daromir Rudnycky's groundbreaking study of an Indonesian steel plant illustrates how Islam's social teachings aid the management of individual enterprise and accountability. The factory's trainings exhorted employees to view "work as worship" (18) in merging Islam with neoliberal governmentality, although here the role of religious charity is metaphorical—as "strategic collaboration" (208) between employees—rather than being based on literal transactions or voluntarism.

In the book's third notable theme, alternative models of citizenship and critiques of the state emerge from charity—especially faith-based charity—wherever the (neoliberal) state is in retreat or absent. All the contributors emphasized this "resistance to hegemonic tendencies in religious governance" (222), such as Elisabeth Clemens's point that religious antiwar activism has also long been a persistent challenge to US interventionist policy. Arzoo Osanloo best articulates this by showing that charities can subject the state to seeing the dispossessed—homeless people, addicts, prostitutes, and persons with HIV—which then increases the likelihood and power of citizens' demands upon the state.

Chris Garces explores a religious charity working in prisons in Ecuador. Its surrogate enforcement practices and rhetoric that "we're all prisoners" help sustain the state ideology of criminal justice. But the charity also served as "a singular vehicle" for prisoners to "decriminalize themselves and decarcerate" (literally) when it won prisoners the right to freely regulate themselves in their own "prisons of charity" (96).

Maurizio Albahari also argues that faith-based agents are not unwitting or uncritical actors, even when Catholic charities are surrogates of the state in implementing refugee services in Italy. Catholic social teachings exemplified by the writings of Pope Francis denote "active political participation" as "one of the highest forms of charity" (114). Albahari highlights how the voices of "faith-based and charitable civic actors" (117) become more authoritative and credible by virtue of their religious and selfless motives.

Although we often think of church and state as separate, the book's remarkable conclusion is that "faith-based interventions render state processes visible" (219) while also perhaps exposing the status quo to critiques. Taking a theoretically incisive view of the state as a set of processes, we see state power made more tangible (but less attributable) through the workings of individuals and non-governmental organizations driven by faith. *Governing Gifts* reminds us of the age-old anthropological truth that we see something more clearly via its Other.

Giving to God: Islamic Charity in Revolutionary Times.

Amira Mittermaier. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019. 248 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12958

PETER W. VAN ARSDALE

University of Denver

Marcel Mauss's 1925 book *The Gift* continues to inspire anthropologists and other social scientists interested in the process of giving. Yet not until now have the subtleties and dynamics surrounding Islamic giving been so crisply analyzed and so sensitively portrayed for a Western audience as in Amira Mittermaier's book *Giving to God*. In classic ethnographic fashion, most of its information is derived from participant-observation, key informant interviews, and literary—including Qur'anic—sources. Mittermaier's knowledge of Arabic allows nuanced interpretations to unfold. Her knowledge of charity writ large is masterful. There are some thematic repetitions in *Giving to God*, but this is a minor critique. The book is beautifully written.

With this bold and seemingly counterintuitive quote, "I don't care about the poor" (1), Mittermaier introduces the reader to one of her most intriguing protagonists: Madame Salwa of Cairo, with this city being the setting for this book. Continuously, almost relentlessly, Madame Salwa prepares food for the poor while claiming—without irony—that she doesn't care about them. She berates the "fake" street sweepers who spend more time with their hands out to passersby than they do sweeping. Yet she often helps them, too. Madame Salwa gives because she has no choice; she gives to the poor because she must give to God.

Mittermaier portrays charitable giving in the context of a nonhumanitarian ethics. That is, she deconstructs charity as conceived by many Western analysts—and everyday Western folk who help those they perceive to be in need—and reconstructs it in an Islamic (especially Sufi) context where the role of God is pervasive. Giving is done for God, not solely or primarily for the earthly recipients.

There are large numbers of impoverished people in Cairo. A claim variously made by givers and receivers alike is that the Egyptian state has a responsibility toward the poor but usually fails to deliver. It is not an adequately funded state mandate but a social welfare aspiration. Because poverty is perceived as a pious virtue in Islam, and because the poor are guaranteed a place in paradise, both givers and receivers benefit from generous acts. Because the state is not a giver in this sense, it is often derided.

Resala is a fast-growing charitable NGO, with offices in Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt, that Mittermaier plumbs in depth. It attracts large numbers of volunteers, many of them young adults. It assists the needy with food, clothing, blood donations, medical services, and small business development, among other activities. Resala walks a fine line between political and nonpolitical engagement and between an "ethos of development and more traditional forms of charity" (84). For most participants, their volunteering is ultimately about God and the afterlife. "The poor are our gate to paradise" (75), they frequently report. Complementing Mauss's insights, their earthly gifts to others will be reciprocated by God's expected counter-gifts to them. It is gift exchange.

At key junctures, therefore, Mittermaier builds on Mauss creatively in a point-counterpoint fashion. "The idea of exchange—giving food to erase one's sins—stands in tension with the idea that God gives *through* [someone], that he is merely a channel (*magra*) for God's generosity" (63). For Resala volunteers, "the counter-gift comes from God in line with an eschatological logic that urges believers to 'sell' their life on earth for life in the afterlife" (76). "Many of the volunteers hope for a divine counter-gift—secretly or explicitly, humbly or with exigency. The constant evocation of paradise marks volunteers as pious, as striving" (100). Complicating this interpretation is the concept that "the pious ideal coexists with a parallel, more this-worldly ideal of giving that is based on human reciprocity and mutuality" (135).

While Mittermaier frames much of her text around Cairo's Tahrir Square uprising of 2011 and what it meant to the thousands of protesters who sought—through various means and diverse manifestations—more equitable lives and greater social justice, for me this is less resonant with her overall theme than is her analysis of the *khidma*. The *khidma* is a Sufi space for food distribution, often located near the shrines of saints. As the author learned through her key informant, Shaykh Salah, the *khidma* exemplifies the Sufi ethic of giving. Giving is directed by God, not by man or woman, with food being "the divine minimum wage" (54). To the extent that a recipient's food insecurity is reduced, a divine social justice is achieved.

It proved easier for Mittermaier to deconstruct and reconstruct the lives and aspirations of those Cairo residents who give than it was for her to do this for those who receive.

Yet she gained tremendous insights about Egypt's charitable economy from a woman she calls Amal. Amal had not always been poor, but challenging circumstances led to a life as a single mother with five children and few resources. She often went to an office of the Ministry of Social Affairs to plead her case, but to no avail. She was one of those who believe that the state has a responsibility toward the poor. Yet to survive she relies on a tiny sum from her father's pension, on various gray economy resources, and on distributions from NGOs like Resala. She also volunteers and helps others in need.

In a real sense, poverty for many is a performance. "Amal and others like her are keenly aware that they have to perform their suffering, poverty, and need, over and over again" (121). Their audience consists of government employees, staff of and volunteers for charitable NGOs, and other everyday citizens—including those similarly impoverished. With effort and a bit of luck, the performances (i.e., the petitions) allow the performers to get enough to get by. As with other kinds of performance, the petitioner's narrative often shifts with circumstances. The impoverished dervish Mittermaier calls Shaykh Mahmoud delivers not performances of suffering but, rather, performances of entitlement. His Islam is centered in Sufi traditions where everything belongs to God. At a Sufi *khidma* where he can expect to receive a meal, he is "always a guest, hosted by God and the saints" (130). He does not need to prove his poverty, to say please or thank you, or to reciprocate.

Without Amira Mittermaier's insightful interpretations, Western-oriented NGO volunteers would find Sufi reciprocity difficult to understand. She dissects giving and receiving in ways that reflect the best in ethnographic interpretations and in ways that allow both NGO volunteers and academicians concerned with humanitarian outreach to understand the complete picture. She is a superb descendant of Marcel Mauss.

There Is No More Haiti: Between Life and Death in Port-au-Prince. Greg Beckett. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12959

YVON VAN DER PIJL

Utrecht University

Much has been said and written about Haiti and its history of ongoing crisis. Scholars from various disciplines call it a weak or a failed state. They say it is underdeveloped, corrupt, and ungovernable. President Donald Trump referred to Haiti as a "shithole country." As alarming as all this may sound—in many ways—these labels have become

platitudes. That is why Greg Beckett set himself the task of writing about crisis in Haiti differently. Instead of giving just another account of "the Haitian crisis," he aimed to give a *Haitian* account of crisis. And fortunately this is not the same as a story about resilience and agency—a frequently walked anthropological route. Rather, Beckett retells stories that capture the emotional experiences people have as they struggle to make sense of what is happening to them. Moreover, he renarrates the stories of interlocutors, mainly male friends and acquaintances, from both sides of Port-au-Prince's polarized spectrum: nonelite migrants, who fled the rural crisis in the countryside, and elite intellectuals, who are plagued by a growing distrust and fear of these urban poor. Their stories are intimate and personal but at the same time social and political; told from different class positions, they reveal how it feels to lose control in a crisis that seems to last forever.

The book is roughly chronologically structured and organized in five thematic chapters, starting in 2002 and finishing with the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake—a disaster that has not really ended. The first chapter focuses on environmental and urban crises through the story of a forest in the city of Port-au-Prince. Once a colonial estate and later a private residence, the forest was at the beginning of Beckett's research the site of a proposed botanical garden. Imagined as both a natural and a symbolic space of regeneration, it soon became contested territory when it was gradually taken over by squatters and armed gangs and, eventually, got caught up in a national political crisis. Beckett shows that rural environmental degradation, land conflicts, and demographic pressure not only triggered rampant urbanization but reflect long-standing power struggles over space and political participation.

Chapter 2 moves on with the stories of urban migrants. It follows Beckett's main protagonist, Manuel, and a handful of his colleagues, mainly tourist guides and fixers, in their attempts to make a living in the city's informal economy. Beckett describes how they navigate networks of support and solidarity that are built upon reputation and respect. Simultaneously, he demonstrates the fragility of these networks and how these men, amid mounting political crisis and growing inflation, lose their grip on their economic survival as well as their social and moral lifeworlds.

The experiences of loss and ontological insecurity become increasingly concrete in the chapters that follow. Chapter 3 tells the story of the making of a political crisis that led to the coup against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 2004. Beckett uses the Haitian concept of disorder (*dezòd*) to recount how people across classes perceived the political instability as a dividing and deadly game yet not an exceptional one: they knew, from former experiences of disorder, that the coup was coming. It was "a well-orchestrated transfer of power" (150), staged by elites creating chaos to protect existing power structures.

In chapter 4, Beckett explores the violence after the coup and the amplification of disorder due to rising tensions among the national police, UN military forces, and armed gangs. He applies the concept of blackout (*blakawout*), a term frequently used by his interlocutors, to bring together the various meanings of the loss of power, ranging from the literal loss of electricity and the loss of agency to the loss of political power and sovereignty. As such, the concept ultimately refers to matters of life and death and “how crisis feels when it happens to you” (170).

In the final chapter, Beckett places the 2010 earthquake in a broader context of recurring disasters, such as hurricanes and floods, and a related history of social vulnerability. Building on critical disaster studies, he argues that seemingly natural disasters are not singular or sudden physical events but, instead, part of long processes of displacement, inequality, and intervention that (might) produce new disasters.

Beckett’s overall emphasis on continuity, ordinariness, and reiteration contributes to a profound understanding of everyday Haitian realities amid devastation, chaos, and violence. “Repetition reveals a structure” (150, 235), he argues more than once, by which he expresses the experiences of his interlocutors that crisis, disorder, and disaster are not isolated events or exceptional ruptures. Rather, they are deeply entwined, amplify one another, and

follow already existing scripts. It is worth noting that Beckett explicitly positions his interlocutors as theorists of their own experiences. This is demonstrated by the book’s title, *There Is No More Haiti*, which is a quote from Manuel. It expresses his personal loss and disenfranchisement but also “a widely shared structure of feeling” (8), and as such it functions as a sensitizing concept throughout the ethnography. Other examples are the already mentioned terms *dezòd* and *blakawout*, which serve, together with other theorized Haitian terms and idioms, as critical concepts in Beckett’s writing of crisis.

In this writing, finally, a sad story is told. But Beckett refuses to tell a fatalistic one. In the introduction and postscript to the book, he leaves room for an open future that can be imagined—a future full of possibility and without crisis. This is the hopeful story that, if we close our eyes a bit, also appears on the book’s cover: *There Is Haiti*. Although I miss this sense of hope in the five thematic chapters described above, the book is a great contribution to Haitian and Caribbean studies as well as disaster studies and the anthropology of humanitarianism. Beckett not only shows us how to write crisis, he shows us how to write ethnography in lucid and appealing prose that prioritizes the storytellers and theorists whose lives and deaths we seek to understand.