



## Book Reviews

**Rainforest Warriors: Human Rights on Trial.** *Richard Price.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. 280 pp.

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Richard Price and his wife Sally Price have lived with and studied Saramaka maroons, descendants of self-liberated African slaves, who live in the rainforest of the Republic of Suriname, for over 40 years. Price uses that long experience to add depth to a gripping account of how Saramakas resisted the government's logging and mining concessions that threatened their livelihood and produced severe environmental damage. They had already experienced the destruction of many villages by a hydroelectric dam and reservoir project.

Suriname is located near the bottom of the heap with respect to enlightened approaches to indigenous and tribal peoples' rights. Corruption, hypocrisy, and near-total disregard for its citizens when there is money to be made seem to rule in the only country in the Americas that has failed to legally recognize and guarantee some measure of protection for its indigenous and tribal peoples. Nor are there laws that protect indigenous and tribal peoples' traditional knowledge. Indeed, the state maintains that it owns all biological and genetic resources.

Price's account of the remarkable Saramaka struggle in this horrible context moves from what life is like for local villagers all the way up to transnational treaties and the 2008 Inter-American Court trial *Suriname v. Saramaka*. The plaintiffs amassed evidence from international organizations that the country was not taking human rights, especially the rights of the indigenous and Maroon peoples, at all seriously (p. 132). Depositions were taken, expert witnesses (including Price) were called, and documents (including several of Price's books) were filed. The case established several significant precedents with respect to indigenous and tribal rights to traditional territories and resources, in part because of antecedent rulings by that court and other bodies, for example, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People.

In places the book reads like a rip-roaring adventure story, with heroism, violent standoffs, cronyism, and sinister actors. Price comes across as a role model of an an-

thropologist engaged in long-term research who also wants to advocate on behalf of a vulnerable people. The Prices' activism came at great cost: in 1986 they were awakened in their hotel room, taken on a frightening ride, locked in a room until dawn, hustled onto a ferry to French Guiana and told to never return (p. 122). Since then they have conducted research in French Guiana, interviewing Saramakas who leave and return to Suriname.

The human drama is hard to take at times, particularly the violence and suffering during Suriname's civil war. Especially moving is the courage and brilliant strategies of two main leaders, Headcaptain Wazen Eduards and law student Hugo Jabini, who were subsequently awarded the Goldman Prize for the Environment.

The government's interactions with the Saramakas began with a 1762 treaty, while the country was still a Dutch colony. Sovereign entities sign treaties; the Saramakas' ancestors were de facto sovereign because they had the strategic advantage in their forest redoubt, making raids to apprehend runaway slaves very costly. One question during the trial had to do with whether such treaties "were and remain international instruments" (p. 75). As the treaty included several articles specifying the return of fugitive slaves, the government argued that "an agreement of this kind cannot be invoked before an international court of human rights" (p. 81).

The state denied that it violated any rights of the Saramakas: "there are no [logging or mining] concessions granted without the consent of the Saramaka people and authorities" (p. 151). Notwithstanding these assertions, free, prior, and informed consent was simply never obtained. The state also set up familiar—and spurious—oppositions, for example, traditional versus modern. It argued that while traditional rights should be recognized, development was paramount, and the specter of permitting states-within-a-state seriously threatened the country's fragile political and democratic stability.

In adjudicating between the state and the Saramakas, the court ruled that the state should pay the Saramakas material damages, moral damages, and costs, as well as offer other forms of reparation (p. 147). So, it is a victory, but only up to a point. Suriname, not surprisingly, while mindful that loans from the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank might dry up, has subsequently done little to meet the court's demands, apart from rhetoric.

Because the issues are so timely and relevant to so many cases worldwide, *Rainforest Warriors* offers plenty for readers not very concerned with what happened in a small South American country. There is the broader significance of the court's 2007 decision: for the first time the court addressed a people's "corporate" (collective) rights, instead of viewing them merely as an aggregation of individuals or as a community-village. The Saramaka people's right to recognition as a corporate legal identity was established, despite the lack of such a possibility under current Suriname law. The court also awarded monetary damages for the first time to an indigenous or tribal people because a state had caused environmental harm to its lands and resources. The court's ruling that the right to self-determination "cannot be restricted when interpreting the property rights guaranteed under Article 21 of the American Convention" meant that the Saramakas had right to manage, distribute, and effectively control their territory. Such legal decisions will have repercussions well beyond Suriname.

It will be up to the reader, however, to supply this wider significance to the narrative because the book has little theory or comparative analysis. Price could have mentioned the considerable scholarship on territorial claims-making in South America—or the entire hemisphere. A discussion of antilogging struggles in, say, Borneo would have strengthened the book, as would a discussion of the definitions of *indigenous* and *tribal*. In addition, Price's discussion of the legal status of indigenous collectivities is too brief. He also should have paraphrased some of the long quotes. Providing full text at times is warranted; those that matter here come from the transcript of the trial. Most readers won't be interested in the long quotes that appear earlier, so why not include them in the endnotes? The space freed up would have allowed Price to provide more biographical information about Eduards and Jabini. Also, given the plethora of acronyms, a glossary is needed.

Such shortcomings aside, the book will interest scholars and advocates interested in human rights, environmentalism, social movements (in particular Latin American Afro-descendant campaigns), the evolution of international human rights law, and the increasingly important role of international institutions like the UN and the Inter-American Court. It is a superb example of the value of long-term ethnographic research.

**The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity.** *Yael Navaro-Yashin*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. xix + 270 pp.

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Much of the recent scholarship on Cyprus relies on the narrative of two competing nationalisms in trying to make

sense of the dramatic events following the island's independence from British rule in 1960. Especially after the birth of the illegal state of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC) in 1983, the study of the island's politics and peoples was for the most part confined within the limits of an imaginary and a vocabulary borrowed from the realms of international relations and peace and conflict studies. In her remarkably rich and innovative book on northern Cyprus and its Turkish-Cypriot community, Yael Navaro-Yashin begins by asking two perceptive questions that go against the current: (1) how is the sense of statehood produced and sustained in a polity whose sovereignty is not internationally recognized? and (2) what are the manifest ways of feeling and sensing shared by the members of this polity? She then goes on to document and investigate the administrative practices, material items, and the affective states informed by the efforts for carving a monoethnic presence out of, what was until the Turkish Armed Forces' invasion of the north in 1974, a multicomunal existence. The fantasy involved in crafting the northern part of Cyprus as a distinct spatial-political entity despite its lack of recognition by the international community is recognized by some of the Turkish-Cypriots through the notion of the make-believe state (*uyduruk devlet*). And, yet, the ghostly presence of the Greek-Cypriots retained in the spaces and objects that they left behind withstands this make-believe quality to haunt the current inhabitants of this postwar geography. The phantasmatic practices of bureaucracy and everyday life for statehood and nationhood, in other words, are countered by the phantomic forces exerted by the places and people that they intend to obliterate in the first place.

This strained relation between the phantasmatic and the phantomic, however, is taken only as the departure point of a much broader intellectual project aimed at locating the anthropology of the political at the heart of a nuanced antihumanist philosophical trajectory. Throughout the book, Navaro-Yashin thinks through northern Cyprus and its unusual legal and political status by critically engaging with various philosophers (Derrida, Latour, Tarde, Spinoza) and research agendas (affect, subjectivity, space, law) to go beyond the analytical separation between the categories of the interior and the exterior; the tangible and the spectral; and the human and the nonorganic. Two immediate theoretical contributions of this endeavor are worth mentioning: first, enacting statehood and nationhood in northern Cyprus and elsewhere is construed as much a product of imagination as an actual material manufacturing. A map prepared by the Maps Department of the TRNC to replace the Greek street and village names with Turkish ones or an installation of whitewashed stones erected by the soldiers on the slopes of the northern territory to visualize writings such as "Loyalty to the Army is Our Honor" are studied to demonstrate that sovereignty is realized through the entanglement of human subjects, material instruments,

and the properties of land and territory. Second, affect is conceptualized as an effect of this interaction between people and their material environment. Following Spinoza, it is rendered as a residue of the ontological unity between humans and things (i.e., objects and spaces) rather than an energy that merely belongs to the interior and is acted on by outer social forces.

Navaro-Yashin is particularly interested in the affects transmitted by phantom objects and places. In part 3 of her book, she discusses how material objects such as a house or a piece of furniture that once belonged to a Greek-Cypriot produce discomfort, eeriness, or disturbance for their current Turkish-Cypriot possessors. Moreover, based on her strolls especially along the border areas full of war debris, abandoned buildings, and no-go sites, she asks if some parts of the postwar geography itself—what she calls the “ruined environment”—are charged with sensations and sensibilities. In chapters 6 and 7, arguably the most inspiring yet equally problematic parts of the book, she argues that the Turkish-Cypriots’ abandonment of and indifference toward such places and areas entail a relation of abjection. In her psychoanalytical analysis, Julia Kristeva defines *abject* as a radically excluded object that nevertheless does not cease to haunt the subject that carries out this exclusion. Navaro-Yashin reads the abject spaces as constitutive and representative of the symbolic and political system in northern Cyprus for being the marks of the foundational violation and violence committed against the Greek-Cypriots. However, she partly overlooks the intensity of abjection that Kristeva graphically describes with the metaphors of gagging and vomiting.

“Ruination,” another concept invoked for exploring the relation between the abandoned places and the affects that they exude, captures the simultaneous material and psychic states of devastation. In her everyday conversations, especially with left-leaning Turkish-Cypriots, Navaro-Yashin comes across the notion of *maraz*, a word for depression or mental unease in local parlance used when asked how they feel about the Cyprus problem. She translates *maraz* as melancholy and in tune with her broader approach that seeks to dilute subjectivity studies with object-oriented methodologies; she considers it as an affect discharged as a result of people’s interaction with the “rusty environment” that animates the lost people in material objects. This interpretation, as well as the proposal to speak of melancholic objects and spatial melancholia are welcome, but one is still left with additional questions: how do we make sense of the fact that those Turkish-Cypriots feeling melancholic the most—union activists, socialists, or left-liberals who appear only tangentially in Navaro-Yashin’s account—are the same people who perform the acts of political contestation against the TRNC? Does political agency as it is displayed by human subjects have any place within her interpretive framework?

*The Make-Believe Space* is a genuinely important and lucidly written book. The theoretical originality that oozes from every single chapter renders it a very inspiring political ethnography. At times, one feels that this richness is achieved at the expense of thinning the ethnographic material and muting the voices of her informants. Even if this is perhaps understandable given her methodological priorities, one still cannot help wondering what an ethnography of affects, which does not only name and theorize but also vivifies its subject matter, might look like. This is, let’s hope, something that her next book will dwell on.

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**Hope Is Cut: Youth, Unemployment, and the Future in Urban Ethiopia.** *Daniel Mains*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012. xiii + 193 pp.

### DATA D. BARATA

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An important background to Daniel Mains’s ethnography is the excessive focus by journalists and academics alike on episodic events of violence in which youth are usually implicated. Mains, by contrast, sets out to examine the less visible but no less important struggles of young men to find work, attain economic independence, and raise families (pp. 3–4). *Hope Is Cut* is a moving ethnographic account of educated but unemployed urban youth in Ethiopia. The book is based on 18 months of ethnographic field research conducted in the Ethiopian city of Jimma between 2003 and 2005, and additional months of field research in 2008 and 2009. The main empirical question Mains explores in this book is: what happens when hope is cut, that is, when young people are unable to attain their desires for the future (p. 4)? Mains’s exploration of this question in this particular place (Jimma) relates to broader theoretical debates pertaining to space, time, capitalism, class, status, and reciprocity.

Mains begins by providing a very useful summary of the historical and cultural roots of unemployment and stratification in Jimma and urban Ethiopia. Crucial here is his claim that today’s Jimma is a secular metropolis as though Jimma has been immune to fissions and factions associated with religion and ethnicity widely reported elsewhere in the region. I would remark that even in the metropolis of Jimma, both ethnicity and religion are probably more important than Mains affords a space for in this book.

Once he has sketched the terrain of youth in Jimma, Mains provides a nuanced analysis of how unemployed

young men construct hope—“imagine possible futures for themselves” through chewing *chat-khat* (a mild stimulant) and watching Indian films (p. 40). For these young men, “unemployment was not simply an absence of work but a problem of time” (p. 47). To this temporal problem the unemployed young men constructed a spatial solution—international migration, especially to the United States through the Diversity Visa (DV) lottery—but this remained a fantasy as none of Mains’s youth informants actually won the lottery.

The next substantive issue *Hope Is Cut* explores is education, which, Mains argues, raises these young men’s hopes only to brutally crush them. In the past, completing high school guaranteed employment in the prestigious public sector. In the Jimma of the old days, it was mostly the children of the privileged Amhara and Oromo (ethnic categories), Orthodox Christian, and urban residents who completed high school. Then things changed. An important change, as Mains tells, is that education became democratized and people of lower-class backgrounds started completing high school. At the same time, the postsocialist state’s neoliberal policies led to job cuts in the public sector. Thus, these young men, who grew up expecting to find government work after graduating from high school, were faced with the brutal reality of being unemployed.

Although Mains has economized on his ethnography, at times coming close to rendering it too thin, *Hope Is Cut* covers a lot of thematic ground that is both regionally and theoretically important. Like much of recent anthropological scholarship, Mains’s study is firmly located in the context of neoliberalism. Here, Mains takes to task recent works (e.g., Ferguson, Comaroff, Weiss, Harvey) that analyze social processes in early-21st-century Africa in relation to neoliberal capitalism. His main critique of these works is that “by categorizing the present as ‘neoliberal’ they still pose the danger of closing off potential avenues of inquiry that may be valuable for hope” (p. 16). In the end, Mains opts for an eclectic theoretical synthesis that systematically draws on relevant insights of the works he critiques and combines it with insights from Weberian and (neo)Marxist literature, but he ultimately advances J. K. Gibson-Gram’s thesis that capitalism is not a unified structure and that it coexists with other forms of economic exchange (pp. 17, 166).

*Hope Is Cut* makes an important contribution in terms of challenging existing conceptualizations of the social category “youth.” In the classic anthropological literature, “youth” was understood to be a transitional and transient category between childhood and adulthood. As elegantly documented in classic anthropological works on Africa, a timely and linear transition from childhood to adulthood was chronologically guaranteed as long as a young person performed socially sanctioned youth roles. In contrast, *Hope Is Cut* shows that in early-21st-century Jimma, this transition to adulthood was not only indefinitely delayed for

most of Mains’s subjects but the category “youth” has also degenerated to something of a social anathema. “Youth [in social discourses in Jimma] refers to a young unemployed urban male and is synonymous with *duriye* [vagabond or even a street gangl]” (p. 65). In much of *Hope Is Cut* there is no room to see anything good in being young in Jimma, much less to see anything good happening in Ethiopia.

Yet in the concluding chapter Mains provides reasons for optimism in Jimma. The chapter begins with his return to Jimma in 2008, at which point most of his youth subjects were either physically gone or had moved on with their lives: some did find their desired employment, especially in the somewhat booming construction industry, and gained financial independence; others started a family anyway and, thus, had transitioned to adulthood; and still others continued with higher education. Hope seems to be very much alive, except for one archetypal khat addict (Haile), who is perennially unemployed and who seems to have given up. Of all the cases Mains analyzed brilliantly, it was Haile who fits the title *Hope Is Cut*, and, yet, his trajectory is not the most common one. Thus, it remains a puzzle to me why *Hope Is Cut* is the main title of the book, unless it was meant to sensationalize a negative African reality. However, this should not overshadow the immense importance of this book as a well-documented study of an urban African youth. *Hope Is Cut* would be excellent ethnographic material especially for undergraduate courses but also for some graduate classes. The book would be an important reading for both academic and applied anthropologists, Africanists of all social sciences backgrounds, development practitioners, government policymakers, and anybody interested in the everyday life of ordinary youth as they confront the realities of growing up in global times.

**Labor Disorders in Neoliberal Italy: Mobbing, Well-Being, and the Workplace.** Noelle J. Molé. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012. 212 pp.

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“Mobbing” is the practice of isolating and demoralizing employees to persuade them to quit their jobs. In the Italian context, this English word is indicative of an imaginary whereby workplace harassment is perceived as a foreign import: more specifically, as a strategy borrowed from the Anglo Saxon world of ruthless capitalist practices and of profit maximization at all costs. As Noelle Molé persuasively argues, however, in Italy *mobbing* cannot be simply defined as a tool for increasing workers’ productivity by getting rid of inefficient employees. Instead, it is a practice that indexes the fragmented nature of the neoliberal workplace.

Drawing on ethnographic research conducted mainly at publicly funded mobbing clinics in Veneto, Molé worked with mobbing victims but also counselors, unionists, and lawyers to demonstrate how this “disorder” is, in fact, closely tied to the declining value of labor in neoliberal Italy. Even though the Italian Constitution defines Italy as a “democratic republic founded on labor,” this country has always suffered from high rates of structural unemployment. In 1970, Article 18 of the Workers’ Statute sought to mitigate the impact of Italy’s consistently high levels of structural unemployment by mandating that workers in firms of more than 15 employees be granted lifelong employment with full benefits. Blamed by Italian entrepreneurs for many of the ills of Italy’s sagging economy, Article 18 has been, and continues to be, under periodic attack. In 2003, however, conservative Prime Minister and multimillionaire entrepreneur Silvio Berlusconi found a way to tackle the problem of what, consistent with his tawdry masculinist style, he compared to an unhappy marriage in which divorcing one’s wife is not possible. He introduced the Biagi Law, an array of short-term contract typologies that circumvented the *contratto a tempo indeterminato* (unlimited time contract) protected by Article 18. The result of this labor reform was a drastic reduction of stable employment in Italy. Berlusconi’s boast of having promoted the “most advanced and dynamic flexibility in Europe” heralded the creation of an army of workers who live hand to mouth, subjected to a revolving door of underpaid contracts with few benefits and no guarantees.

As Molé observes, the Italian Left has been successful in recasting neoliberal “flexibility” as post-Fordist “precariousness” in Italy’s public sphere, thus opening up a space of discourse where the work environment is represented as potentially endangering for one’s physical and psychological well-being. Much of the hazard for professional and service sector workers stems from the “your life, my death” (*mors tua vita mea*) ethos that colors worker relations once Fordist forms of class consciousness have been shattered. Solidarity among workers is, indeed, one of the first casualties of the neoliberal workplace. However, it bears mentioning that, in the Italian context, such solidarity has always been fragile at best: at least ever since the postwar era, the unemployed have been vying with each other for scarce opportunities, often invoking an imaginary, and highly idealized, meritocracy in the face of rampant nepotism and clientelism.

Molé goes on to argue that, in contemporary Italy, the stability enjoyed by lifelong employees pits them against what Italians refer to as “precarious workers.” Tenured employees can thus be perceived by their “flexible” colleagues (not to mention their managers) as embodying an obsolete and unproductive model that can only be eliminated by mobbing these individuals into resigning. As they subject the “inflexible employee” to daily harassment and humili-

ations, managers and workers may work individually or in cahoots with each other—at times for the alleged purpose of improving the firm’s overall performance, though just as often to act out a personal dislike against a colleague who does not seem to fit in. As Molé suggests, however, even counselors increasingly blame mobbees for their plight, casting them as inherently unhealthy individuals who are made vulnerable by their affective investment in their work and their inability to adapt to the requirements of the neoliberal workplace. For Molé, the latter entail, in the first place, the professional alienation that has come to replace Fordist loyalty.

Of particular interest is Molé’s analysis of how the leniency of legal and vernacular responses to the type of mobbing that takes on the form of sexual harassment is driven by dominant representations of the “unrestrainable” male body and Italian women’s alleged “desire to be desired.” Just as important is Molé’s observation that, given the level of paranoia pervading the neoliberal workplace, it does not really matter whether the mobbee’s persecution is real or only imaginary: her experience is still likely to be conceptualized as taking place “on her skin” (*sulla propria pelle*). This is a ubiquitous Italian metaphor that, in the context of labor relations, indexes the degree of embodiment of an anguish that is experienced as “existential,” and that the Italian legal system has codified as damage to the citizen-subject’s “healthy fruition of pleasure.” Held responsible for the economic and social effects of neoliberal labor policies, the Italian state seeks to address what has been cast as a mobbing epidemic by increasingly shifting the sanitation of labor relations to medical experts. According to Molé, this approach is yet another manifestation of a neoliberal ideology whereby customer-citizens’ needs warrant the creation of a market of welfare options.

Molé’s book is an ethnographically sound and theoretically sophisticated contribution to the understanding of how neoliberal policies are experienced and embodied in Southern Europe, and also of how such policies are conceptualized in medical and legal terms. As such, it is recommended for those interested in the anthropology of Italy, for medical and legal anthropologists, and for students of labor relations.

**The Republic of Therapy: Triage and Sovereignty in West Africa’s Time of AIDS.** Vinh-Kim Nguyen. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. 237 pp.

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Vinh-Kim Nguyen follows what happened to AIDS treatment in Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire during the last half of the 1990s, a time when antiretroviral therapy for

people living with AIDS proliferated in the West but remained largely unavailable in West Africa. The book reads at times like an autobiography of Nguyen, but it is not. It is an anthropological analysis of the activists, community organizers, and HIV-positive people struggling within a very difficult situation.

The limited lifesaving drugs that were available at the time were being triaged to those persons with AIDS who could effectively assist in HIV prevention programs by telling their “story” of how they made the mistake of becoming infected with HIV by failing to use condoms, and how their life has changed for the better by sharing with others how they have overcome the problems that they have faced. The more effective they were as speakers, the more successful they became in accessing antiretroviral therapy.

This is an important book. Nguyen is both a physician and an anthropologist and has treated HIV-positive individuals as he has analyzed the social and cultural dimensions of life in West Africa, especially Côte d’Ivoire, at a critical time just before the proliferation of anti-AIDS medications became widely available in the past decade. He describes the social milieu of Abidjan, a dynamic city of five million people that spirals downward following an economic crisis that began during the 1970s, leading to growing rampant poverty and violence, and, eventually, the chaos that choked the city in the late 1990s. Public housing intended for the poor, for example, can only be afforded by the rich. Fewer children each year can afford to finish the sixth grade. And the civil war that finally erupts on the streets of Abidjan adds to the total misery of the population.

There is a sort of cynical quality to the writing of Nguyen at times. For instance, in talking about World AIDS Day events, “Abdoulaye [one of his key informants] told me these were ‘great fun.’ The National AIDS Program could be counted on to hand out small grants to do ‘awareness-raising’ during the government-organized AIDS parade, and the colorful NGO stands lent a festive air to the proceedings. There would be shows, giveaways of T-shirts and rubbers, and the obligatory displays of putting condoms onto wooden penises” (p. 19). Similarly, he describes how development agencies were “showing off their ‘pet’ HIV-positive Africans at international conferences in a game of one-upsmanship” (p. 23).

But the truth is that social marketing condoms did reduce the spread of HIV, that recruiting persons living with AIDS to talk about their personal experiences did help to reduce the high level of social stigma against the disease, and that bringing HIV-positive persons into the “system” did increase their personal access to antiretroviral medications during this early period of drug scarcity. Nguyen ridicules the “testimonials” given by persons with AIDS. Yet it is precisely these testimonials that both led to access to the drugs that kept them alive and that effectively spread the message about HIV prevention to the communities.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this book is the ethno-historical reconstruction of Côte d’Ivoire through the 20th century. Beginning in the 1920s, it was believed that African labor was needed to produce wealth for France, but Africans were then seen as biologically inferior and sickly. So the number of physicians in French West Africa (which included Côte d’Ivoire) quadrupled in the decade after World War I, and the health budget almost tripled within a two-year period during the 1920s. Central hospitals were built in the major towns and cities, which were rapidly growing with the new pronatalist policy.

Nguyen carefully documents how this all falls apart after the 1970s, with the collapse of the local economy and the increase in ethnic antagonisms. By the end of the 20th century, Côte d’Ivoire fell from its prominence as the center of West African urbanism to a state of despair and civil war.

This book, however, is not a page turner. It is not always an easy read. For example, Nguyen writes, “Epidemiology and mass campaigns were linked to confessional technologies, conjugating a biopolitics of population and an anatomo-politics of individual bodies” (p. 113). But this work is, without a doubt, essential reading for anyone researching the social dimensions of HIV/AIDS in Africa. It would also be a good choice as a supplemental text in teaching graduate students in medical anthropology courses.

**Headlines of Nation, Subtexts of Class: Working-Class Populism and the Return of the Repressed in Neoliberal Europe.** Don Kalb and Gábor Halmai, eds. New York: Berghahn, 2011. 222 pp.

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*Headlines of Nations, Subtexts of Class*, edited by Don Kalb (Utrecht University) and Gábor Halmai (Central European University), offers a welcome examination of the recent emergence of right-wing populism among Europe’s working classes, a phenomenon dubbed “the return of the repressed” in the neoliberal era. The book’s overarching focus is on the everyday experiences of working people in factories, offices, and neighborhoods in neoliberal (and, specifically, postsocialist) Europe, where new class antagonisms are forged by the impact of the transnational capitalist order: the trauma of economic decline and the tensive reordering of social lifeworlds. The instructive introduction by Kalb is followed by eight distinct case studies that illuminate the present-day formations of working-class nationalism in Serbia, Romania, Hungary, Italy, and Scotland. The contributors, as Kalb suggests, argue “that nationalist populism is in fact a displacement of experiences of dispossession and disenfranchisement onto the

imagined nation as a community of fate, crafted by new political entrepreneurs generating protest votes against neoliberal rule" (p. 1). The studies critically discuss the multiple factors that continue to shape the lives of working-class people in 21st-century Europe: the turmoil of the post-socialist turn and the concurrent effects of the global division of labor, power, and culture. In this "postpolitics" era, following Kalb, in which the financialization of global capital is the predominant paradigm, the structural relations among states, nations, and work have become unhinged, creating uncertainty, "rifts of class" solidarity, and "rightist and xenophobic anti-elite mobilizations" (pp. 3–4). Stated differently, the volume seeks to bring to light the hidden histories of dispossession, disenfranchisement, and dislocation of privilege that propagate fear and resentment among Europe's white working classes.

Building on an anthropological repertoire of globalization theory (informed by Hannerz, Appadurai, Friedman, Wolf, and Ong, among others), the contributing authors engage the intersections between local histories of working class discontent, the intrusions of neoliberal capital into regional economies, and the emergence of popular nationalism. In chapter 1, Theodora Vetta (pp. 37–56) examines the contemporary resurgence of nationalism in Serbia as a populist discourse that has surfaced in conjunction with Kosovo's declaration of independence and European Union membership debates. Framed by global market integration, the privatization of factories and fears of unemployment have created spaces of crisis encoded by social insecurity and political instability. Here the nationalist political discourse propagated by the Serbian Radical Party successfully engages class-based experiences of instability and decline. In chapter 2, Norbert Petrovici (pp. 57–77) likewise examines the rise of neonationalism in postsocialist Romania. He shows how emergent patterns of class inequality are reframed by rearticulating working-class people's "rights to the city" in terms of an ethnonational project. While rural worker immigrants to the city could previously imagine their factory labor as integral to the socialist world empire, neoliberal developments not only diminished industrial production sites but also marginalized urban working-class neighborhoods. In this context, according to Petrovici, the emergent Serbian populist nationalist discourse offers a new imaginative geography of empowerment for disenfranchised workers. In chapter 3, Florian Fajec (pp. 78–91) follows up with an analysis of Romanian football clubs and ritualized rivalries between fans in the city of Cluj, which are encoded by working-class signifiers of ethnonationalist identity formation on the margins of European Union membership.

Several of the subsequent chapters shift the analytic focus more specifically to a discussion of the class-based dynamics of national identity politics. In chapter 4, Eszter Bartha (pp. 92–112) documents how working peo-

ple's experiences of dispossession in postsocialist Hungary are rearticulated via ethnonationalized identity discourses that are levied against the perceived external intrusions of transnational capital. Based on an analysis of life-history interviews with Rába factory workers, Bartha shows how narratives of decline, fears of unemployment, and loss of community accompany the push of economic integration into global markets, which in turn promotes anti-Jewish capitalist and anti-Hungarian political elite conspiracy theories that seek to oust these "enemies" of the common people. Neonationalism, with its critique of "wild capitalism" in Hungary, is also central to Gábor Halmai's analysis in chapter 5 (pp. 113–141). With a focus on the Hungarian transition from socialism to capitalism, Halmai reveals how the experience of dispossession among some segments of the working classes has turned into an exclusive form of nationalism: "The bulk of the social anger and frustration is now targeted at the identified fifth column, the *Fremdkörper* ('foreign body') of excluded Roma masses, seen as social parasites and, with their demographic rise, a threat to the mere survival of the Hungarian nation" (p. 140). The attempt to reclaim nationhood by recovering an older logic of exclusion also emerges as a central theme in chapter 6 by Michael Blim (pp. 142–155). With a focus on Italy's coastal industrial region of Marche, Blim details the decline of leftist politics in favor of a racialist nationalism in the wake of economic integration into a globalizing European Union. Blim's study reveals how in the aftermath of declining local industries and urban redevelopment, regional working-class nationalism reimagines Italianness against figurations of the "intrusive" Other. Immigrants and African nationals are now excluded from the Italian body politic by an emphasis on culinary practices and language in a departure from local articulations of leftist solidarity with all laboring peoples at the economic margins.

The subsequent contributions further refine the analysis of emergent working-class popular nationalisms by an expansion of the ethnographic focus. Chapter 7 by Jaro Stacul (pp. 156–172) offers a thought-provoking analysis of transformational patterns in regional identity constructions in Italy after 1989. In exploring the possibilities of "class without consciousness," Stacul traces the historical emergence of Italian populist nationalism in the rural Alpine valley of Vanoi, where the inhabitants' cultural self-imagination is integral to local memories of "working people" rather than class ideology. An ethic of hard work, a commitment to the family and solidarity with the village community, and a persistent pride in land ownership comprise the markers of distinction that have been most recently appropriated by rightist political discourse to promote affinity and rally support. Finally, in chapter 8, Paul Gilfillan (pp. 178–193) closes the array of case studies by an examination of working people's nationalist imaginary in a Scottish village. Here, working people's sense of

dispossession is transformed by the politicization and performance of the embodied (laboring) social being. The volume concludes with an excellent conceptual summary of the contributors' ethnographic insights by George Baca (pp. 194–201), who eloquently places the array of local observations in a global context. From this perspective, European right-wing populist nationalism is shown to reinvigorate imaginaries of an organic nation form, communitarian nostalgia, and working-class discontent, which are politically mobilized in fields of empowerment and resistance against the dispossessive logic of neoliberal capitalism.

In summary, the volume consists of insightful, ethnographically rich, and historically embedded studies about the shifting relations between capitalism, class, power, and political discourse in a globalizing Europe. In addition to the emphasis on tensive neoliberal restructuring of local relations of class, slightly more attention to the cultural messages and meanings of working people's populist nationalism might have provided further insights on the gendered sentiments of disempowerment, which throughout appear to privilege masculinist hegemonies of labor, physicality, and performative (ritual) power. But such discussions are absent in this book, in which women and female subjects are rendered near to invisible in the analytic musings about the new political imaginings of nationhood. With the "return of the repressed" in the 21st century, as articulated by the published text, women have been stripped of agency in European matters of class, nation, power, labor, and politics.

**The Life of the Longhouse: An Archaeology of Ethnicity.**  
*Peter Metcalf.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.  
345 pp.

**ANDREA KATALIN MOLNAR**

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Metcalf's aptly titled book examines the cultural and historical processes of ethnicity construction among the communities of Borneo's "Brunei and its hinterland" regions. By engaging a historical lens, the author makes use of colonial sources as well as his field research data from the 1970s to demonstrate the fallacy of the stereotypical images of longhouses as tribal society and argues for the deessentialization of ethnicity. Metcalf argues that ethnicity needs to be an object of research by a close examination of what labels mean to the subjects who use them to self-identify and the way ethnicity is structured as a discourse. The author ventures to demonstrate the processes of "ethnification" through high mobility and shows the heterogeneous patterns of ethnicity within a local community that was defined by the longhouse. The dynamic and multiethnic com-

position of the longhouse communities he explains through locating the longhouse in the historical context of indigenous group relations and colonial political maneuverings in the region. The author posits that for centuries Central Borneo was "the locus of intersection of global cultural influences in technology, media, economics, and ideology" (p. 3) and, thus, in terms of identity manifested the "quality of disjuncture" (cf. Appadurai 1996).

The book is divided into six parts (14 chapters) plus an introduction and a conclusion. Part 1 focuses on the longhouse, as both a physical structure and a community, and on the historical forces through the coming of the Brooke Raj that result in migration, dispersal, and the formation of multiethnic communities that in effect result in "new self-referential ethnicities." The reader is provided with rich ethnographic and historical details. This section of the book however could have benefited from the utilization of more contemporary sources from the comparative Austronesian genre, particularly those pertaining to Austronesian patterns of origins and derivation and the ways in which persons and places figure significantly in the way groups culturally construct their "origins." Indeed, the "ethnification" processes described by the author as well as contestations of precedence can take recourse in these origin discourses, which would also have implications for Metcalf's discussion of "leadership" in part 2 of this book. Nevertheless, this section provides a wealth of data to the Austronesian comparativist.

Part 2 of the book addresses leadership in the longhouse, and the ways historical events and circumstances affected the leadership of Abu Jau of the Long Batam community, as well as community fragmentation and dispersal, and the emergence of successors to the leadership of Abu Jau within the Brunei Sultanate and after the ceding of the region to Sarawak.

The chapters in part 3 provide historical accounts of trade and trade networks of the region, including rich details on commodities traversing up- and downriver. The author also provides a discussion of the implications of the trade for social organizational and political dynamics of the region. The longhouse is argued to be at the locus of the trade and these dynamics, with forest products flowing downriver and manufactured goods flowing upriver.

In part 4 the author provides the linguistic classifications in the region, following Blust, and considers the utility of such language distribution in considerations of ethnicity for the Brunei hinterland region. This section addresses historical details of migration, fission, and assimilation of many different language speakers, thus highlighting the complexities of "ethnification" in the local constructions of ethnic identity.

The chapters in part 5 focus on the longhouse as a ritual community. These chapters again are rich with ethnographic detail that will delight any Austronesian



comparativist. The author explains the ways in which the “ethnification” process is highly evident in cultural differences in a longhouse community and are breached by means of ritual through innovation, thus providing for ways that cultural traditions can be carried to other places. I found the chapter on the “ritual operator” a weak point of the book and not very convincing, perhaps because the model for the elaborate ritual accommodations were grafted onto an old model of Lévi-Strauss’s “totemic operator.” The arguments concerning notions of ethnic identity as expressed through the complex processes of ritual accommodation could have been strengthened by utilizing some of the comparative Austronesian literature as such accommodations are not necessarily unique to the ethnographic region considered by the author. A more important contribution, however, concerns the author’s analytical discussion of the economic and political aspects of the secondary treatment of the dead.

The last section of the book, part 6, focuses on the impact that longhouse relations to the state have had on ethnic constructions and discourses through a consideration of relations with the successive states of the Brunei Sultan, the English rajas, and as a member region of modern Malaysia. The author presents an image of the longhouse community and its accompanying ethnic identification “eroding” over time as culture transforms through the interaction with successive states. Unfortunately, this last section does not provide adequate consideration to the “ethnification” processes that may occur in the modern state of Malaysia among those Sarawak people who were dislocated from their longhouse communities through historical processes. However, this is largely a function of the period of field research addressed in the work.

Overall, the book succeeds in demonstrating the ways in which ethnicity was constructed in a specific location under specific historical circumstances. It provides a wealth of ethnographic as well as historical detail. The author should also be commended for weaving together an accessible tapestry on the complex dynamics of political relations, trade, and processes of “ethnification” and, thus, highlighting the means by which new ethnic identifications were generated without entirely “jettisoning” the old notions of “ethnicity.” It is an important contribution that will not only be of interest to those familiar with Borneo but also to a wider audience in Indonesian, Malaysian, and Austronesian studies. Furthermore, this work is an important contribution to the anthropology of ethnicity and the anthropology of religion.

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**The War Machines: Young Men and Violence in Sierra Leone and Liberia.** *Danny Hoffman*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. 295 pp.

### MIKE MCGOVERN

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War is work. Such a synopsis of Danny Hoffman’s book on the civil war in Sierra Leone might make it seem simple, even simplistic. This is not the case. In fact, Hoffman’s book is a tour de force, a reading of his more than two years of fieldwork through the lens of Deleuze and Guattari’s philosophical ruminations on capitalist culture. Central to Hoffman’s approach to the war is a systematic push to deexoticize it, which means a rejection of both historical and cultural explanations that would suggest continuities between peacetime practices and the forms violence took during the West African region’s two decades of war.

Hoffman’s insight that war making is one type of work amongst others is like other powerful sociological findings. Once stated, it has the gnomic quality of something already known. Yet one is hard-pressed to think of any other text on war where it is stated so simply and powerfully. It is a truth implicit in the work of De Boeck, Richards, and Mbebe, among others. However, Hoffman insists on the material economy in which young, mostly male fighters are embedded and from which new economies of signs mutate and emerge. The Sierra Leonean and Liberian fighters Hoffman spent his fieldwork with see themselves as modern actors improvising and innovating in the face of modern and ever-changing military, social, and economic challenges.

The book is organized into two parts. Hoffman begins by explaining the analytical paths he has chosen not to pursue and then introduces Deleuze and Guattari’s writings on capitalist schizophrenia. The next chapter is a chronology of West Africa’s nomadic wars of the 1990s and early 2000s. He goes on to trace the social history of the figures of the hunter and the young fighter in Sierra Leone, showing how they legitimized and aided recruitment into the Civilian Defense Forces, or CDFs. Hoffman adeptly weaves the rich regional literature on generation, politics, and violence into his descriptions of the war. In the third chapter, he describes how the inherently unstable and emergent Sierra Leonean war machine became institutionalized and mostly captured by the state, at that point led by Ahmed Tejan Kabbah and his Sierra Leone People’s Party (SLPP). Aside from providing enough background for readers to follow the rest of the book, this section does an excellent job of addressing one of the fundamental topics of Africanist political anthropology of the last 70 years. That is, how do elder men convince, cajole, and coerce younger men into providing the violence (or threat of it) that keeps the elders in power, even while they often abuse and exploit those very same youths? From

this point of view, the question becomes not why civil wars occur, upsetting existing sociopolitical hierarchies, but, instead, why they are not happening all the time.

The second half of the book, called “Building the Barracks,” goes into much more ethnographic detail about the processes that keep young men gathered together and on standby for fighting missions. Chapter 4, entitled “Big Men, Small Boys,” focuses on Sierra Leone’s patronage politics. Chapters 5, “The Barracks,” and 6, “The Hotel Kamajor,” introduce his central conception of the “camp.” The camp or barracks are those spatial configurations of young men and their dependents that are organized to provide their violent services to those who can pay.

The last substantive chapter of the book addresses the creation and deployment of esoteric techniques to give protection against the violence of war. The combination of amulets, treated hand-loomed cotton strips, “washing” with herbal decoctions, and minor surgical procedures are known in the region collectively as “bulletproofing.” Hoffman rejects classic anthropological approaches to such practices, which either explain esoteric language away as figurative (and, thus, “really” being about something else) or explain contemporary esoteric practices as a continuation of ancestral culture that has been mined and reconstituted for contemporary use.

Hoffman insists not only that we listen to combatants, who say they are developing new military defense technologies, but that we also take what they say at face value, as when they compare their bulletproofing to the American “Star Wars” antimissile defense technology. “Rather than beginning with the assumption that occult practice in Africa is inherently conservative and reactive, adapted to new circumstances but essentially the same across contexts, I am suggesting here that *at certain moments* occult practice becomes inventive and active” (p. 241).

Similarly, in the book’s conclusion, Hoffman shows how war as a type of work is becoming homogenized across places and circumstances, with the U.S. Army Quadrennial Defense Review Report and the Army and Marine Counterinsurgency Manual recommending strategies that are almost identical to those that were used by the CDFs in Sierra Leone. As the professional militaries of rich countries increasingly shift to a counterinsurgency model of warfare, Hoffman predicts that we should expect to see more wars like Sierra Leone’s: small wars with relatively low numbers of casualties but high degrees of symbolic violence and violations of the laws of war. Such war fighting appeals to the new theorists of networked war because it is cheap; entails small number of casualties for the armed forces of rich countries; and provides the possibility that local militias, gangs, and ethnic armies will know what the culturally appropriate means are to terrorize and demoralize their adversaries. In this context, Sierra Leone’s small, dirty war appears not as a savage outlier or an instance of

coming anarchy but, rather, as part of the mainstream of new forms of violent war-work as practiced by mostly poor young men and as supported by the governments of rich countries.

**Reversed Gaze: An African Ethnography of American Anthropology.** Mwenda Ntarangwi. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010. xvi + 183 pp.

#### ADELINE MASQUELIER

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If, as Malinowski once noted, anthropology begins at home, what should we make of the fact that so few Western anthropologists study their own societies? The question prompted anthropologist Mwenda Ntarangwi to turn a critical gaze on American anthropology and conduct what he calls an “African ethnography” of the discipline and its practitioners. Born and raised in Kenya, Ntarangwi received his doctorate from a U.S. university; as part of his doctoral training he conducted ethnographic research in his home country before accepting an academic position in the United States. His own exotic adventures in anthropology-land, he suggests, provide a privileged vantage point from which to candidly reflect on the discipline’s analytical biases, its enduring romance with otherness, and its reluctance to “anthropologize” the West. Conversely, the tools and techniques of ethnographic research have helped him make sense of his fraught experience as a foreign student and a native ethnographer. *Reversed Gaze* is therefore an intellectual biography as well as an attempt to produce an ethnography of anthropology informed by the author’s position as both observer and observed—what Faye Harrison called the “observer within.” The result is a very mixed bag.

Granted, there are discerning moments in the narrative, such as when Ntarangwi tackles race, class, and anthropological citizenship in the United States. His analysis of the strategies employed by tuition-dependent schools to market themselves to prospective students and of the ways that students see themselves as “customers with a right to the best product” (p. 65) is perceptive. His take on the production of knowledge in the field and its dissemination in conference rooms and in classrooms is similarly incisive. Finally, his contention that in their search for academic legitimacy, Western anthropologists have isolated themselves from the very realities they purport to describe and made themselves irrelevant to wider audiences cannot be easily dismissed.

Unfortunately, these nuggets of insight are drowned in tedious (and, at times, irrelevant) discussions about American and Kenyan societies that seem to lead nowhere. Take, for instance, the agonizingly detailed account of

Ntarangwi's return trip to Kenya to conduct predissertation fieldwork. The reader learns that Kenya Airways offers better service than Sabena Airlines, and that airports make good venues for warm-up ethnographic research before being treated to a lengthy account on the cost of living in Nairobi. However, it is never clear what critical lesson the reader should distill from this and other narratives of how strange Ntarangwi feels to rediscover how life is lived in the country he once called home. We're told that distinctive features of Kenyan life once so familiar to the author as to go unnoticed have acquired an aura of political incorrectness when seen through the anthropological lens. Thus, messages on T-shirts and bumper stickers Ntarangwi would not previously have paid attention to now offend his cosmopolitan sensibilities. Anecdotes such as these are broadly suggestive of "the value of using anthropology . . . to reflect upon one's own culture" (p. 78), but Ntarangwi fails to connect the dots for the reader who is left to imagine how they provide an analytical opening to a critical discussion of representation, self-reflexivity, and the fetishization of alterity—to name but a few of the topics tackled by *Reversed Gaze*.

When Ntarangwi reverses the ethnographic lens to focus on what he calls "the culture of anthropology" (p. 3), he still doesn't spell out what he wants his audience to take away from his musings on textbooks, academic jargon, or professional conferences. For instance, what insight can he offer from studying anthropologists as a "tribe"? Why does he compare the annual AAA meeting to a Balinese cockfight if he doesn't intend to carry on a "thick description" of the posturings and performances he witnessed at the 2002 conference in New Orleans? One gets a sense at times that he gets caught up in the very clichés he planned to deconstruct for our edification. And while he has every right to be angry about academic elitism and the biases that continue to inform the production of anthropological knowledge, the resentment that pervades some of his writing (notably, his experiences in graduate school) tends to obfuscate the larger lessons he wishes to impart. We learn about unhappy episodes of his doctoral student life that should likely have remained unpublished. This monograph is not the right venue for airing petty grievances and criticizing fellow students (or divulging what transpired in departmental meetings at one's alma mater), especially when doing so violates the ethical rules of privacy and anonymity anthropologists are expected to abide by.

*Reversed Gaze* was meant as a bold reflection on the contradictions and blind spots that have shaped Western anthropological research. Building on the distinguished legacy of African and other scholars who have probed the ideological and epistemological underpinnings of the discipline, Ntarangwi calls for a reinvented anthropology that unsettles its own claims to knowledge and aspires to be more inclusive and democratic. Although he asks impor-

tant questions that should lead us to reimagine the principles and promises of anthropology, he doesn't quite succeed in using his own academic experience to articulate a "new paradigm for twenty-first century anthropology" (p. 126).

**Political Crime and the Memory of Loss.** John Borneman. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012. 262 pp.

**PETRA RETHMANN**

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*Political Crime and the Memory of Loss* is a complex and surprising book. Divided into three parts, each of which supposedly takes up a specific dimension of political crime in relation to loss, as a whole the book seeks to examine the social and ontological conditions of memory as it relates to collective injury and crime. In examining some of the psychological, emotional, and social aspects of injury and loss through the diagnostic registers of accountability, authority, regime change, democracy, and reconciliation, Borneman establishes a comparative framework that oscillates between Germany and Lebanon and Syria. Self-admittedly, though, in the beginning the author states that the impetus of his analysis will rest on the German rather than Middle Eastern case, largely because Borneman himself has enjoyed a considerable number of intense fieldwork years in the European context. The result is an interesting if sometimes uneven read that carries the reader across a vast analytical landscape involving legal and narrative examinations, as well as reflexive self-explorations, libidinal relationships, and dreams. While I appreciated the sweep of the analysis, every so often I also wished for more in-depth analyses. It is for this reason that in what follows I will point to some of the book's diagnostic dilemmas, at least as they have emerged for me.

First, in reading *Political Crime and the Memory of Loss* I felt that there existed an odd rigidity in relation to both the analysis and the writing. This may be an unfair comment because the book constitutes an explicit exercise in legal anthropology, an area perhaps more starkly marked by a certain kind of stringency than in other ethnographic and investigative fields. However, while I could see the necessity for such a form of analysis and writing, I also frequently felt that the approach did not do justice to the material at hand. For example, in the German case Borneman looks at what in Germany is called *die Aufarbeitung der Geschichte* (the working through of history), an indefinite, dynamic, and historically and politically reflexive process that has affected and continues to affect Germany's political landscape in powerful ways. Usually referring to the Holocaust and the Nazi regime, after the fall of the Berlin

Wall the phrase has also come to include—as the author rightfully remarks—certain forms of vindication for the victims of Soviet and East German rule. Yet very little of the intensity of the challenges, struggles, and ambivalences that exist in Germany against any form of legal, political, and distributive rectification emerges palpably from the analysis. To be honest, Borneman recounts, for example, the story of Ms. Winkler, who lost her job in 1960s Eastern Germany because she made critical statements about the party. As one consequence, Ms. Winkler's pension was lowered, yet readjusted after unification. There is also the story of one of the author's Beirut friends who one night dreamed of "a very big villa," Borneman himself, and Derrida (p. 103). Analyzed in terms of a libidinal economy of wish-fulfillment and desire, this account—like others—provides a welcome interlude; together, however, they do not manage to break up the starkness of the narrative. Indeed, from time to time they run the danger of becoming part of it.

Second, the author's rationale for employing particular kinds of analytical frameworks remain partly unclear. For example, in the beginning Borneman states that "two traditions, political anthropology and structuralism, are especially germane to a study of the people in Europe and the Middle East" (p. vii). How and why is this the case? If there exist specific historical, genealogical, and political connections between the application of these frameworks in relation to the regions they are never clearly stated, and the argument that "state actors and institutions omnipresent in [these regions] everyday life" (p. viii) applies to multiple contexts and, thus, remains vague. I would have appreciated a more concrete delineation of the connections between theory and regional context, in spite of the fact that I appreciate the political impetus of *Political Crime and the Memory of Loss*.

Third, from time to time I found the author's own voice too dominant and overbearing. That is, for an anthropologist explicitly concerned with ethnographic fieldwork as an ethical mode of engagement (p. 198) and as a process of mutual discovery and exposure, as well as the dynamics of transferential and countertransferential projections, the book's analysis and writing tends to lack an appreciation of the interpretive logics of others. For example, the author writes: "Most Berliners commonly explain the Love Parade with one of two radically opposed alternatives: either it is seen as a neofascist expression of populist self-worship, or it appears to lie outside the domain of formal politics and is an innocent and spontaneous celebration of universal peoplehood manipulated and sustained by the 'market.' Both of these alternatives are misleading" (p. 168). Why are these interpretations misleading, and how does the author know this? Because they do not quite fit into the book's diagnostic frames? And why do these native interpretations find no further engagement in the book's analysis? I certainly would have liked to know more about this, as well

as about the ways in which the love parade—as a "politics without a head"—has, if at all, reconfigured politics in new ways.

The comments and observations made above are not meant to distract from the importance and many of the insights offered in *Political Crime and the Memory of Loss*. The book, indeed, is highly relevant to a number of regional and investigative arenas, including psychological and political anthropology, as well as history, gender, and the study of violence, trauma, and reconciliation. In also seeking to bring classic anthropology into conversation with critical forms of contemporaneous anthropology, the book also serves as an example for the continuing relevance of anthropology in public and international debates.

**Music and Globalization: Critical Encounters.** Bob W. White, ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012. 233 pp.

**LILA ELLEN GRAY**

Columbia University

*Music and Globalization* argues for music as a critical lens through which to understand the production of "the global." Foregrounding music's capacity for mobility and working from the premise that while "world music" emerged as a marketing category in the late 1980s, that "music has always been global" (p. 2), the authors of the ten chapters (following an introduction by White) collectively narrate a nuanced reading of how a focus on music can throw into sharp relief the intricate power dynamics at work in cultural production, circulation, and the shaping of relations between "self" and "other." The chapters include both ethnographic and historical case studies. They range widely in terms of chronological, geographic, and sociocultural focus and are organized in three parts. Together they present a compelling conversation focused on social encounters of difference mediated by and through music, seeking to understand music "both as product and process" (p. 9). The volume is complemented by a collaborative website, providing resources organized by chapter, which sonically and visually enhance one's understanding of the text (<http://criticalworld.net>).

Part 1 ("Structured Encounters") aims to address some of the larger structural histories and political economies that are imbricated in contemporary "world music" encounters (e.g., capitalism, colonialism, slavery). Denis-Constant Martin's chapter, focused on North America and South Africa and drawing on Glissant, details how practices of cross-fertilization, Creolization, and invention often work in tandem, calling attention to the ways in which much of what counts as "popular music" from the

perspective of the “West” is writ through with histories of slavery. Steven Feld, in his chapter “My Life in the Bush of Ghosts,” tracks the social life of an early 1980s avant-garde album by Brian Eno and David Byrne, in relation to the religiously charged significance of a track that vanished in the album’s 1990s rerelease, and argues that religion has always been salient to the “reinvigoration” (p. 50) of the market category and to the “regimes of value” constituting “world music.” Philip Hayward’s chapter, through attention to the music industry in post–World War II Vanuatu in shaping cultural identity, grounds “the global” within genealogies of Vanuatu musical forms and their consumption, arguing for the ways in which “globalization” is used strategically for local producers of culture. Finally, Rafael José de Menezes Bastos situates his chapter—a reading of a 1989 European encounter between an indigenous chief in Brazil (Raoni) and a British popular music star (Sting), staged to promote the “saving” of the Amazonian rainforest and to support indigenous rights—within broader theorizing about “popular music” and “music” in relation to particular histories of colonialism and contact.

Part 2 (“Mediated Encounters”) presents three congruent case studies, which ethnographically or historically foreground individual actors as “agents” as they work within and mediate these larger structures (presented in part 1) (p. 10). All three of these chapters tell stories containing some unexpected twists and turns as musicians, local and international audiences, cultural brokers, and global markets are placed into the same frame. Daniel Noveck’s chapter ethnographically examines the role of the violin in figuring Rarámuri identities, as Rarámuri musicians, instrument makers, and their brokers move across multiple borders (Mexico; the Texas border; and Cremona, Italy). In her chapter “World Music Producers and the Cuban Frontier,” Ariana Hernandez-Reguant argues for the importance of independent foreign producers (mostly from Latin America and Europe) as a “particular kind of cosmopolitan subject” (p. 112) who brokered the commercial success of Cuban music abroad from the mid- to late 1980s through the production of the blockbuster world music album, the *Buena Vista Social Club* in the 1990s. Lastly, in a chapter that can productively be read alongside Hernandez-Reguant’s for how it further complicates histories of the international commercial circulation of Cuban music, Richard M. Shain traces the South–South circuits that enabled the international success of the Senegalese musician of Afro-Cuban music, Laba-Sosseh.

Part 3 (“Virtual Encounters”) is organized around the theme of the place of music (and discourse about it) in shaping representational “imaginaries” in relation to difference. Working with metaphors of “contagion” and “infectiousness,” Barbara Browning’s chapter situates figures of the “slave ship, the blood-borne virus, and digital information” (p. 159) and two international world music stars,

Gilberto Gil and Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, in productive alignment as ways to think through new critiques of “world music,” while keeping political histories very much in the fore. Timothy Taylor uses his chapter as an opportunity to take stock of the current state of scholarship, the industry, its demographics in the United States, and world music as “genre” as they have changed since the late 1990s. In the concluding chapter, Bob White, writing against ways in which music can be so easily naturalized and come to stand in for “identity,” presents readers with some clearly articulated (and welcome) pedagogies for “nonessentialist” listening to “world music.”

*Music and Globalization* productively contributes to over two decades of scholarship in the anthropology of music and in ethnomusicology, which has situated musical forms, interactions, and experiences as central to the process of understanding local–global dialectics. This work was initially catalyzed by both the burgeoning of the “world music” industry in the 1990s and the coterminous turn to “globalization” in the social sciences; some of this volume’s authors were notably amongst the early contributors to this literature (Feld 1996; Taylor 1997). As an edited collection, the strength of this particular volume lies in the cumulative effect of ten such varied and detailed stories of cross-cultural encounter, in arguing for the power of musical circulation, processes, lifeworlds, and commodities, for shaping the multifarious ways in which the “global” is produced and experienced and how its tales get told. It is a rich collection and deserves attention from specialists and nonspecialists alike; it will be useful in both graduate and undergraduate curriculums across multiple disciplines (anthropology, ethnomusicology, critical music studies, and media studies).

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**Navigating the African Diaspora: The Anthropology of Invisibility.** Donald Martin Carter. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. 362 pp.

**KATHERINE ANN WILEY**

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*Navigating the African Diaspora: The Anthropology of Invisibility* is an important contribution to scholarship on the African diaspora and the domain of invisibility.

Donald Martin Carter's book explores a wide range of diasporic experiences in diverse places and times, from the Tirailleurs—African soldiers who were conscribed into colonial armies—to the modern-day Senegalese community in Italy. Taken together, these diverse displacements paint a complex picture of the diasporic experience and its implications in everyday life. The book draws heavily on the theory of Frantz Fanon and is both a philosophical exploration of the meanings of diaspora and an ethnography of the everyday lives of the displaced. One of the most provocative aspects of the book is Carter's focus on invisibility, which he identifies as a central aspect of the diasporic experience. He rightly insists that exploring how and why migrants are erased or unseen can help us better understand their experiences and the operation of state power and everyday violence in general.

The book's chapters each focus on a different community living in the African diaspora, and Carter employs a wide variety of sources. One chapter examines the conflict in the Sudan, while two others explore the experience of the Tirailleurs as seen through Léopold Sédar Senghor's poems and Ousmane Sembene's films. A fourth examines the use of photography as a means of self-representation by African Americans at the turn of the 20th century as well as by Africans on the continent. The book is also interspersed with analysis of the diasporic experience of some of Carter's Senegalese informants from Turin, Italy, where he has conducted extensive fieldwork. This is a self-reflective book, and he devotes one chapter to exploring his own experience growing up as an African American in Oakland, California, and as an anthropologist both at home and abroad. His scope is vast but useful because it enables him to compare and contrast diasporic experiences as well as to highlight links between colonial encounters and contemporary diasporas.

Throughout these diverse chapters, Carter employs the idea of invisibility, asking who is rendered unseen in the diaspora and considering how such social erasures occur and their often serious implications. The book focuses on three primary types of invisibility: that which is orchestrated by the state; that which concentrates on bodies or various forms of classification; and that which takes the form of scholarly inquiry. Such erasures have considerable repercussions. The rejection of African American—designed exhibits at World's Fairs in the late 1800s not only rendered them invisible in the public domain but also contributed to the development of a social order that claimed white superiority. Likewise, while Senegalese migrants in Italy are often excluded from censuses and public spaces, debates about immigration in Europe also make them hypervisible as "problems" and "outsiders." Carter's analysis demonstrates how investigations of invisibility can illuminate relations of power, validating it as a productive approach to anthropological inquiry.

Carter also considers what these diverse examples suggest about the diasporic experience in general, urging researchers to not think of diaspora as a journey but, rather, as a way of being in the everyday world. It is a day-to-day struggle, a metaphysical way of "*being* here or there and all the points in between" (p. 72). He argues that to understand diaspora we must consider both particular lives and experiences as well as "sociocultural backgrounds, geopolitical contexts, and the infrastructure and histories of empires" (p. 56). While these diverse planes are enlightening, some of the strongest moments in the book were his discussions of the Senegalese migrants' personal experiences with displacement. I would have liked to hear even more of Carter's interlocutors' voices.

A strength of the book is Carter's commitment to emphasizing the grave consequences that can arise from erasing others. For example, he argues that "in the name of protection of our borders, we are complicit in what amounts to gross negligence at best and veiled violence against human striving at worst" (p. 67). That vast swaths of the diasporic population are rendered unseen in the contemporary world means that human rights violations against them may easily pass unnoticed.

This is not to say that the invisible completely lack agency. Carter argues that people can render themselves visible and that instances of erasure can constitute sites of potential intervention. Senegalese migrants may rarely appear on Italian television except in brief, often negative, news stories, but they make their worlds visible by watching videos that depict programming from home or their lives abroad. Likewise, early African photographers crafted their own images and ways of representing the self that served as a "powerful weapon against the practice of invisibility" (p. 127). The unseen can contest their lack of visibility or create new alternatives for vision.

Although the book is clearly meant to be read as a whole, individual chapters can stand alone and would be useful for scholars who are interested in topics like African photography, the Tirailleur experience, and Sembene's films. Carter's discussion of photography and representation of those in the diaspora (ch. 3) is especially evocative and could be taught in undergraduate courses. I only wish that some of the accompanying photographs in this chapter better matched the text or were more explicitly discussed. More images throughout the book also would have been welcome, although this is surely a publishing constraint.

Portions of the book are so densely philosophical that they can be difficult to follow, but overall it provides a sensitive investigation into the African diaspora. It expands notions of diaspora, arguing that it is a way of being: the diasporic experience touches those who are far from home—African maids in Paris—and those who have already returned—Tirailleurs back in their home countries

after fighting abroad. Carter's exploration of invisibility provides anthropologists with a significant tool to employ in their research, reminding that we should focus on not just what is seen but also on what is not seen and the tactics employed for rendering it so.

**The Risk of War: Everyday Sociality in the Republic of Macedonia.** Vasiliki P. Neofotistos. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. 205 pp.

**DEJAN LUKIC**

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In war or in peace, Macedonia is a landscape of contestation. Neofotistos's book illuminates the state of insecurity in the Republic of Macedonia as it reached its culmination in the period between February and August of 2001. It is an ethnography positioned on the cusp of the threat of war, in which everyday reality becomes a zone of political delirium but also of courage and resistance. The book therefore deals with a specific historical–ethnographic moment, that is, six months spent in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, but it is framed by an introduction and epilogue that extend and contextualize this culmination and precipitation of potential war well into the decade preceding it, as well as into the uncertain future yet to come. Indeed, long before the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991 could one hear words of animosity, xenophobia, and plain hatred on the streets of Macedonian towns from both Macedonian and Albanian communities. Indeed, conflict has always been there throughout the communist history of the region, and it is the awaking of this dormant state of conflict, as well as its daily overcoming, that is addressed in Neofotistos's book.

While reading the book we find ourselves in the working laboratory of psychopolitical feelings that enfold Skopje. The main actors inhabiting this space are the people of Macedonia, that is, middle- and working-class Muslim Albanians and Orthodox Christian Macedonians, but also more abstract groupings such as NATO and the European Union. Despite this clear demarcation and because Neofotistos makes it clear that she is studying these specific classes of people, we are left to speculate how the rich and the poor (whatever that means in the Macedonian context) experience a state of insecurity, and if they construct different strategies of survival.

The presumed unique approach of the book is the author's insistence on the "flexibility and creativity with which social actors are able to address dangerous contingencies and navigate turbulent times" (p. 6). There is great value in producing this type of ethnography of resilience, even though I would argue for the use of the term *people* instead of *social actors* so as to define individuals and communi-

ties that extended their hospitality toward the researcher. Neofotistos's book is at its best when it discusses unpredictable and concrete manifestations of the Macedonian everyday: reactions to the helicopter noise and to television images, the frightful rumors, the jokes that make humor a tactic of resistance. All of these instances provide precise descriptions of life under the risk of war, or life within the symptomatology of uncertainty. These instances then operate as entryways into the affective space of the capital city in its precarious suspension of civil rights, democratic values, and multicultural coexistence.

What is also shown in the course of *The Risk of War* is the important albeit disconcerting separation between the notion of politics and of the so-called ordinary people. In light of this, politics in Macedonia is perceived as a technique of deception, corruption, and opportunism by those who ascend to the ruling ranks, rather than a notion that opens up the possibility for democratic reconfiguration of communities. It should be noted that the prosaic expression "politics is a whore" attains a particular conceptual understanding of politics in all postcommunist localities.

As a result of the book's careful engagement with the voices of ordinary people and the history of the region, one should also expect some reflection on the ways in which security as a concept of the modern state operates in Macedonia today. Namely, to what extent is the risk of war, insurgency, or so-called terrorism inherent in the formation of the modern (or postmodern) nation-state? This problematic question tied to the anthropology of war is only slightly gestured toward. Nevertheless, Neofotistos's book provides rich material for the critique of the old binary distinctions of oneself and the other that consolidate forces of ethnic values, forces of neoliberal security, and the contested sociality that emerges in the wake of these formations.

In light of this investigation as to how citizens of the Macedonian capital respond to the impending war, this book can also be read as an ethnography of affects, primarily those of fear and uncertainty; for it is fear and uncertainty that rule all the states suspended in conflict and postconflict situations. It is these states that show us the tendencies of the global politics of constant increases of security, in which every citizen has to get used to living with fear and uncertainty.

*The Risk of War* also reports on the suspicion Macedonian citizens had toward rallies for peace. In the context of former Yugoslavia, the desire for peace carries problematic connotations. Different political advocates (from liberal democrats to right-wing nationalists) desired "peace" at different moments throughout the 1990s and 2000s. The problem with peace as long as it stays an abstract and non-qualified discourse is that it retains ethnic hierarchies and treats some communities as second-rate citizens. This suspicion toward peace as an ethical and existential position of the people who find themselves in the midst of conflict

was never properly explicated and remains undertheorized in conflict studies and anthropology of war. In this respect, Neofotistos's analysis gives valuable material for further reflection.

Finally, one cannot avoid thinking about this book while observing the events in Macedonia and the surrounding region today, a decade after its main "critical event" under discussion has happened, especially when one sees displays of the Macedonian army during national holidays. In this sense, there are a number of theoretical issues concerning security, insecurity, risk, potential for war, and ethnonationalist phantasies that remain to be interrogated. Yet Neofotistos's book not only contributes to the field of ethnographic studies of former Yugoslavia (and Macedonia in particular) but also opens the possibility for discussion of the above-mentioned concepts relevant for contemporary social theory and the world of postcommunism at large.

**God's Laboratory: Assisted Reproduction in the Andes.**

Elizabeth F. S. Roberts. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. xxv + 273 pp.

**CAROLE H. BROWNER**

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People from wealthy, industrialized countries tend to regard assisted reproductive technologies (ART) used to achieve pregnancy by artificial or partly artificial means as well-established features of contemporary life. Decades of social scientific research and massive media attention have charted their growth in sophistication, expanding markets, and the challenging bioethical issues they can raise.

Less attention has been paid to the proliferation of ART in poorer countries, where, historically, Westerners have been more concerned about poor women having more babies than they can comfortably feed than with the problem of infertility. Yet, worldwide, women's inability to bear children can be the source of intense heartache, stigma, shame, and even divorce. Not surprisingly, then, infertile women and couples in many parts of the global South are availing themselves of the same technologies commonplace elsewhere.

*God's Laboratory: Assisted Reproduction in the Andes* will help dispel the misperception that ART is relevant mainly in technologically advanced societies. Based on field research Elizabeth F. S. Roberts conducted between 2000 and 2007, *God's Laboratory* is a gloriously rich ethnographic account of the experience of infertility and Ecuador's assisted reproductive technology industry. Working in eight (of the then just nine) in vitro fertility (IVF) clinics in Ecuador's two main cities, Quito and Guayaquil, Roberts observed and interviewed over a hundred patients,

also maintaining long-term contact with the clinics' directors and staff and nearly a dozen patients and egg donors. Her longitudinal data enabled Roberts to document rapid and dramatic changes in the assisted reproduction industry. *God's Laboratory*, then, provides the rare opportunity to closely observe the cultural constitution of a set of scientific practices even as they are in transition.

The brilliance of *God's Laboratory* lies in part in its breadth of scope: Roberts set out to explicate the reciprocal interrelationships between Ecuador's historical record, contemporary realities, and IVF practices. For instance, she traces the widespread preference for donor eggs from lighter-skinned women to Ecuador's 19th-century "national whitening project," promulgated by political elites and social reformers who regarded assimilation of the country's many indigenous groups as essential to the creation of a modern nation-state.

Roberts's decision to introduce each of the book's five ethnographic chapters with an extended case study to illustrate key analytical points that follow proved an exceptionally astute organizational approach. Also deeply illuminating is her ongoing reference to the concept of "nuestra realidad" (our reality) as key to understanding differences in IVF practices in her two research cities. For example, practitioners in Guayaquil were quite willing to freeze embryos, whereas in Quito they were not, a divergence in practices Roberts traces to disparate labor histories, migration patterns, and forms of family organization.

Another of the book's key insights is evocatively captured by the expression, "God and science are the same." Roberts argues that it is this ideology that enabled female study participants to reconcile the apparent contraction between the belief that God determines a woman's fertility and their own powerful desire to become mothers, even by resorting to artificial means. I was also surprised by the willingness of working- and even lower-class women to spend large sums of their own money on IVF treatments, despite knowing they generally fail to produce a pregnancy.

Roberts's monograph persuasively debunks the claim that assisted reproductive technologies have universalizing consequences. In one fascinating illustration she shows that the young, childless, middle-class Ecuadorian women in her study had all undergone some sort of reproductive treatment or surgery, convinced that their bodies were incapable of conceiving or bringing a healthy pregnancy to term. She aptly calls these practices as responses to "anticipatory" infertility, further noting that many consider increasing use of IVF in Ecuador as a sign of "reproductive modernity." It is perhaps for this reason that infertile Ecuadorian women like her research subjects regard only their physicians as meaningful sources of support, assistance, and information about achieving motherhood. This contrasts with U.S. women, who generally regard their physicians as one of many sources of prenatal support and



authoritative information, along with the Internet, social media, and relatives and friends. And while infertility in both countries still carries a heavy burden of stigma, in Ecuador, using IFV to ameliorate the problem is a source of pride, and women who do so openly share the fact with family, friends, and the eventual children who result.

*God's Laboratory* is a masterful work of scrupulous research offering deep and original analyses illustrated with beautiful ethnographic material. Its depth and subtlety make it among the most exciting new research in the anthropology of reproduction I have seen. Roberts's monograph will be of great interest to scholars, graduate students, and advanced undergraduates in classes on social and medical anthropology, sociology, gender studies, Latin American studies, international development studies, population studies, and public health. I am also confident the book will find a wide audience beyond the academic domain.

**The Power of the Between: An Anthropological Odyssey.**

Paul Stoller. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 216 pp.

**A. DAVID NAPIER**

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Paul Stoller's *The Power of the Between* is a rich and unusual volume. As a compilation of many years of original work, this book will almost certainly enter the corpus of anthropological memoirs that somehow achieve stunning conclusions while telling what for the world appear to be stories—moral allegories—about human suffering, happiness, and creative resilience.

*The Power of the Between* is organized in brief chapters, each simply named either for a key anthropological domain (e.g., embodiment, knowledge, sorcery) or for a lasting archetype that holds together complex experiences (e.g., wood, weaving). Each contains some fablelike personal vignette that illustrates Stoller's unique concern with the senses. And each is offered as a learning experience of what wisdom can be had through long-term engagement in the field.

For Stoller, engagement means a career built around diverse, overlapping experiences, but also around sustained commitments. Starting with a period of academic training interrupted by a stint in Niger as a Peace Corps volunteer, Paul Stoller shows how chance encounters with some of the more adventuresome minds of our era (Lévi-Strauss, Foucault, and Rouch, to name a few) positioned him to think critically and experimentally about what fieldwork might mean, to understand how one can learn from the unexpected, and to sense how respecting the unexpected often leads an alert scholar into domains that challenge his or her professional identity.

But how many long-term engagements can an ethnographer have if each new enterprise is tied to the reframing in some new domain of a previous set of questions? So far Stoller has had at least three such sustained engagements, and what they are and how he relates them to one another have proven also extraordinary—as much because of how one engagement intuitively leads to the next as because of what they mean for anthropology.

Stoller's career is if anything recursive. Like the ancient Greek notion of the future, he brings the past forward into new intellectual spaces—from becoming a sorcerer's apprentice in West Africa, to working with African street merchants in New York and across America, to an ethnographic encounter with cancer that was itself deeply informed by his West African sorcerer's apprenticeship. It is the story of the process, here, that is so compelling; for in this process we see how keeping an open mind in each of these domains carries important messages for what can be learned in apparently unrelated contexts: African sorcery helps him find meaning in the experience of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma; West African trading in New York City shows him how artistic sensibilities are culturally constructed; and sorcery that becomes increasingly transnational tells him why understanding involves alertness to all of the senses. In the end, the book's impression is one of a single, long journey toward a form of moral understanding that is wholly anthropological but also wholly Paul Stoller's—anthropological because the method itself is so ethnographically sustained but wholly Stoller's because personal understanding involves acknowledging the transcendental dimensions of the everyday.

Perhaps most exemplary of these crossings is his experience of cancer. After all, one's own body is the only thing in the universe of which we have both objective and subjective knowledge, and Stoller does not miss this insight in asking what can be understood from such a serious personal trial. Indeed, what he learns as an anthropologist from cancer alone makes his career to date more than unique; for, while the disease redefines him, he openly resists becoming his disease's cultural construction. Indeed, it is remission, not cancer, which allows him to reshape the meaning of his own life with increased humility, grace, and courage. In fact, when I put the small book down after reading it in one sitting, it occurred to me that a sensuous anthropological observer is in a unique position to understand the creative consequences of an illness because resisting adversity's cultural construction invariably leads to an awareness of how illness remakes us.

As with religious experiences, we are compelled by serious illness to embody diversely what our senses are telling us—what we intuit but cannot always immediately know. Honoring what new things we can learn from being open to our senses also shows us how, as Stoller says, we are literally consumed by history, by knowledge, and by powers

that are much greater than we could ever understand cognitively. This kind of realization not only justifies the writing of such a memoir while in the prime of his career but also offers a moral lesson about what can be learned by being both playful and quite serious in one moment.

It would be enough for Stoller to offer us living examples of how knowledge and hubris can consume us, but in following through on what he learns as an ethnographer, Stoller gives the reader stunning examples of how much meaning is out there to be made if we are alert, patient, and willing to risk defeat. One might even say that his vexing encounter with cancer, while threatening the continuity of his life, has been the very thing that saved him from sorcery.

Finally, Stoller's rare generosity with his friends and colleagues (myself included) makes the book an exemplar for any young student of the field asking tough questions about why anyone would join a profession that has a reputation for reproducing the pathological behaviors it sometimes studies, for one cannot close this book without acknowledging a career lived to its fullest, enjoyed with good cheer, and worth so much more than the things invested in it. It is indeed a fine art in itself to leave readers excited about what is feasible, curious about how to make new meaning, and confident that they too can affect change. For these reasons alone this is a book that will bring meaning and enjoyment to both the fledgling anthropologist and the seasoned fieldworker. It is a landmark and a gem that invites us to sense the deeper wisdom embodied in the silent smiles of Stoller's West African teachers.

**Freedom in Entangled Worlds: West Papua and the Architecture of Global Power.** Eben Kirksey. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 328 pp.

**LESLIE BUTT**

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*Freedom in Entangled Worlds* is the result in part of an accident of geography: Eben Kirksey happened to take a flight from Los Angeles to Jakarta as a high school exchange student during an era of openness in the early 1990s, and the plane landed for a fuel stop in the province of Biak in the eastern Indonesian province of Papua. Nothing he saw there, he tells us in the opening pages of this book, fit with what he had been expecting to find in Indonesia. It piqued his intellectual curiosity. The book then tells of a second accidental encounter some years later, in 1998, when Kirksey was an undergraduate student in the Papuan capital of Jayapura. Kirksey fled from police and military violence in the capital and went to Biak, only to then be further witness to one of the worst episodes of military violence directed by the Indonesian military at indigenous Papuans in the

province's history. As bodies of massacred Papuans floated on to Biak's beaches, Kirksey took on the project of a multited ethnography, documenting the struggle of Papuans to achieve political power and some measure of independence from Indonesia, but without falling into the simple, inaccurate trope of oppressed Papuans and oppressive Indonesians.

This book reviews key moments in Papua's political history from 1998 to 2008, while also documenting Kirksey's journeys to various sites in the province, and to Jakarta, London, and Washington, D.C. It documents the people he met along the way, from major political leaders to political refugees, from human rights activists to poor farmers, all engaged at some level in contesting political conditions in Papua. He documents Papuan strategies for gaining political power through establishing unexpected strategies for collaboration and through incremental and partial victories.

What is sure to appeal to a wide audience is Kirksey's use of the metaphor of the banyan tree to move beyond the simplified dichotomy of intransigent repressive Indonesia and innocent Papuan revolutionaries. Like the banyan tree that grows opportunistically, Kirksey argues the political history of Papua can be best understood by looking at the forged alliances between individual Indonesian and Papuan actors, and the place of huge corporations, the military, turncoats, scapegoats, and opportunists in the shadowy, hidden histories of public events. While the theory is occasionally dense, he deftly applies it to show how the political movement striving for Papuan independence diverged and gained strength in unexpected ways. He weaves his interview results with media accounts; leaked documents; field observations in key conflict zones such as Wasior, Timika, and Biak; accounts of meetings; lobbying strategies; as well as travels to the remote hideout of a messianic activist and his army of 35 men. This is a well-documented account of a struggling political movement where there are no clear heroes or martyrs. Kirksey is highly present in this ethnography, although we get little self-reflection about the impact of his position on the conflict and his activist engagement within it beyond describing himself as "a believer and a partisan" (p. 6).

For scholars of the region, one of the delights of Kirksey's book is his determination to see events from multiple angles and to bring together a wide range of well-researched materials to tell the political story of Papua from a resolutely human perspective. We are treated to wonderful descriptions of vibrant political characters and detailed descriptions of infamous encounters, such as Vice President Megawati Sukarnoputri's ill-fated trip to the highlands in 2000, a 2002 murder of American school teachers, and the negotiations and machinations that led to the death of the charismatic and ambitious Papuan leader Theys Eluay in 2001. These well-researched accounts make important

contributions to historical understandings of Papua, and at the same time they also make for highly engaging reading.

This is an important book because Kirksey was at the center of political action more than almost any other non-Papuan over the past decade. He brings not only the aspirations and strategies of Papuans alive for the reader but also, equally clearly, the ongoing nature of the political violence being used to contain Papuan political goals. A small quibble with the volume is its layout. Kirksey goes on a dizzying voyage over eight years, but the obscure chapter titles make it very difficult to locate individual incidents or track down specific references or events. *Freedom in Entangled Worlds* needs to be read from beginning to end, which is ironic given its message that political gains are incremental and partial, and also given its invitation in the epilogue to use the book in whatever way necessary to create future possibilities. Overall, however, this is an excellent book and would work very well as a text for undergraduate or graduate courses in anthropology, Asian studies, social theory, or political science. Even more important, it is sure to play an important part in keeping caring persons committed to ensuring that Papua remains on the global list of locations of concern.

**Saltwater Sociality: A Melanesian Island Ethnography.** Katharina Schneider. New York: Berghahn, 2012. xxiv + 234 pp., maps, notes, glossary, bibliography, photographs, appendices, index.

**RICHARD FEINBERG**

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*Saltwater Sociality* is a welcome contribution to Melanesian ethnography. It focuses on Pororan, a small island off the coast of Buka in Papua New Guinea's Bougainville Autonomous Region. The book is a revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation—often a perilous endeavor. In this case, the transformation works unusually well.

The book covers many standard ethnographic topics: subsistence (ch. 1: "Fishing People"); kinship (ch. 2: "Kin on the Move"); physical surroundings (ch. 3: "Mobile Places"); descent (ch. 4: "Pinaposa"); ritual exchange (ch. 5: "Marriage and Mortuary Rites"); and perceived traditions in the face of current trials and future challenges (ch. 6: "Movements and Kastom"). At the same time, it offers a sophisticated theoretical analysis. Schneider systematically compares "island" cosmology and values with those of the Buka "mainland." She explores key themes in light of influential writings by the likes of Nancy Munn, Roy Wagner, Marilyn Strathern, and Roger Keesing. And she examines the implications of Pororan conceptualizations of space, social as well as physical, for attempts at forging sociopolitical unity

in the wake of a decade-long war between Bougainville separatists and the Papua New Guinea government.

The book's pervasive focus is the contrast between Buka mainlanders' emphasis on rigid, clear-cut hierarchical relationships as represented by well-defined paths or "roads," and the Pororan preoccupation with *roror*, which Schneider defines as "going around" or "random, haphazard movement." Islanders and mainlanders (or "saltwater" and "bush" people) have close historical relations and engage in mutually beneficial economic exchange: islanders provide fish in return for sweet potatoes and other vegetal products. Both groups value matrilineal descent, respect hereditary rank, and defer to qualified leaders. On Pororan, however, such relationships are constantly in flux. Mainlanders traverse well-defined paths, respect property lines, and are careful not to trespass. Saltwater people take the most convenient route to their intended destinations with little heed to formal boundaries. Mainlanders keep careful track of genealogies; the Pororan maintain a relatively vague sense of connection that permits incorporation of new people into social groups or kinship networks.

The value Pororan attach to apparently random movement is connected with their central social and subsistence activity, fishing. Schneider observes:

Pororans usually link people's apparently unpredictable movements around the village and the wider area, and the indeterminacy of relations that they perceive in them, to fishing. Fishing, then, is not only the islanders' predominant subsistence activity. It is also the activity in which the key quality of island sociality becomes most clearly apparent. [p. 49]

Buka mainlanders criticize the Pororan for being ill-informed about traditions, inadequately deferential to social superiors, and inattentive in their path selection as they seek productive fishing grounds or move about to visit friends and kin. And islanders, themselves, sometimes appear self-conscious about their seeming inattention to detail. When Schneider proposed Pororan as her field site, her prospective hosts demurred that their command of *kastom* ("custom" or "tradition") was inadequate. Importantly, they added that an understanding of their social life was to be found not in listening to people's words but by watching their movements. Over the ensuing months Schneider became increasingly adept at noticing islanders' comings and goings, and most especially the hand and arm movements through which they expressed a variety of relationships.

A compelling aspect of this book is the light it sheds on kinship and the so-called matrilineal puzzle. For the past half-century, anthropological discussions of kinship, from Chicago to Yap, have stressed notions of "shared substance"—whether it be DNA, or blood, or food, or land. The Pororan, by contrast, focus not on substance but on movement. Matrilateral relationships are typically

expressed by moving one's hand downward and outward, then upward and inward, emphasizing children's movement away from their mothers and matrilineal descent groups, followed by eventual return. A woman, for example, leaves to join her husband, who "grows" her and her children; yet the children always will be members of her group, will call on that group's resources, and will recognize her matrilineal ancestors as their own points of historical reference. A husband or group leader expresses his position with an "inward-upward and downward-outward" hand movement to represent his "pulling" in of women or political supporters, while simultaneously acknowledging the ultimate supremacy of matrilineal descent.

Matriliney is a common theme throughout the Bougainville region—at least if one discounts the remote Polynesian atolls—and political leaders in the area have emphasized it as a point of symbolic differentiation from the rest of Papua New Guinea. To underscore that unity and differentiation, they have urged communities throughout the region to record their *kastom*. But saltwater people, while acknowledging the centrality of matrilineal descent, object to genealogical documentation as it may interfere with open-endedness and flexibility, with building new alliances and discarding those that are no longer useful.

In a concluding chapter, Schneider compares Pororan spatial proclivities with those of land-based Melaneseans

from Buka, New Ireland, and elsewhere, and with those of seagoing peoples of the Western Solomons or Australia's Meriam Island. Edvard Hviding (1996), for example, reports that mariners of New Georgia's Marovo Lagoon are as concerned with territoriality at sea as when on land. In both environments, they follow fixed paths, marked by clear physical signposts. Pororan "roads," Schneider tells us, "do not end up in places, but dissolve in and reappear from roror. . . . [Pororans] contrast mainland territoriality to their own, unbounded 'going around at sea' " (p. 196).

*Saltwater Sociality* is well presented and engaging, particularly for an author writing in a second language. Still, it is not always easy reading. In part that is because of a heavy reliance on anecdotes involving a long list of characters. At times I found it difficult to remember all the actors' names and relationships. Schneider also uses many Pororan and PNG Tok Pisin words. A glossary helps, but turning back and forth between the text and glossary can be distracting. To a degree, this inconvenience is unavoidable. Still, one might wish for somewhat more judicious copy editing.

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