



# Book reviews

## Environment

BARNES, JESSICA. *Cultivating the Nile: the everyday politics of water in Egypt*. xvii, 230 pp., maps, tables, illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2014. £15.99 (paper)

What is water? Sometimes seemingly simple questions beg complicated answers. Jessica Barnes has written a lengthy answer to the question in the context of Egypt. Her analysis shifts attention from the management of resources to the practices that produce them. Her book is likely to be a cornerstone in the growing anthropological literature on water by virtue of a rare combination: of accessibility of language and structure, and complexity of argument and method. As an anthropological account of water-related practices it is not a reaction to a global water crisis – be it imagined or real – but rather takes as its starting-point the mundane attempts to create or inhibit the flow of the water.

The book is structured around the flow of the Nile, from its springs of origin in the Ethiopian highlands through the irrigated fields of the Fayoum province and onwards. On its way the water passes through a series of dams, irrigation canals, drainage tubes, and open ditches. By focusing on these everyday practices of managing canals, opening dams, and watering fields, Barnes illustrates how water is produced in intimate contests between different actor groups: in particular, farmers, water bureaucracies, and international donors. This narrative strategy is meant to show how water ‘inhabits multiple scales’ (p. 27). To explore these movements and moments where the different actor groups *make*

Egypt’s water, Barnes takes the reader along a fascinating ride through the technologies of water which creates both scarcity and excess in the farmlands of the Nile.

The four core empirical chapters follow the flow of water as it moves through different social, technological, and material arrangements. These are marked by particular engagements with water. However, rather than sites *per se*, these chapters emphasize ways of producing water through practices linked to ways of knowing water and utilizing different technologies, ranging from the Aswan High Dam to walls of mud and stone that direct water to particular fields. The final chapter looks across these sites to discuss not how to manage Egypt’s water, but what makes it. The chapter serves two important purposes: first, by discussing the technologies and processes that determine what water flows where, we come to better comprehend the production of scarcity and excess; second, the chapter sets out a double agenda useful for both scholars of water and policy-makers, by raising a series of provocative and productive questions (p. 176) suitable for further exploration on how to understand water.

The book is framed as a contribution to science and technology studies (STS) of water and to political ecology. It therefore follows in the footsteps of other recent contributions that explore the fruitful interconnections between these perspectives which both highlight how resources are not given but come into being through (contested) practices. The STS perspective brings to the overarching political ecology framework a particular kind of understanding of what makes up a resource, adding detail and nuance by emphasizing the role of technology in the production of water at

certain sites (or in time and space) and how it is 'embedded in and generated by multi-scaled social, cultural, economic and political relations' (p. 25). While political ecology has guided the interest in the historical contingencies of making water, it is in the use of an STS vocabulary and methodology that *Cultivating the Nile* provides the most interesting and provocative contributions to the study of water.

Egypt's water is created through everyday practices while also mediating the political. The ethnographic descriptions on practices related to water are rich in detail and show how practices are political in different ways. This gives a good sense of the subtle ways in which power operates. Yet readers accustomed to more traditional accounts of water politics may be looking for a more clear-cut definition of the political *vis-à-vis* everyday practices. The strength in Barnes' approach lies in her fine-tuned attention to how these encounters are shaped by actors operating on a range of scales.

*Cultivating the Nile* is a fascinating account, which is likely to attract the attention of the growing community of water anthropologists. It also deserves a wide readership within the community of water policy-makers and others working with resource governance. Its detailed descriptions of encounters around water will most certainly resonate with observations from elsewhere, and the ways in which the narrative reveals how water is made in these encounters is a refreshing reminder that water's materiality matters in its social life.

MATTIAS BORG RASMUSSEN *University of Copenhagen*

BESKY, SARAH. *The Darjeeling distinction: labor and justice on fair-trade tea plantations in India*. xxii, 233 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2014. £19.95 (paper)

From the perspective of agricultural production and food consumption, what exactly does 'justice' mean in the global context of struggles over 'fairness'? *The Darjeeling distinction* uses the landscape of tea plantations in Darjeeling as an epitome to answer the question. Based on her thirty-one-month ethnographic fieldwork with extensive historical review, Besky argues that 'putting ideas of justice into action requires imaginatively framing injustice' (p. 20, original emphasis). She therefore gives a fresh portrayal of Darjeeling tea by analysing how the seeming justice has, in practice, obscured the injustice within tea workers' everyday lives on the

plantation. Besky situates Darjeeling tea in three separate but intertwined actions: the WTO Geographical Indicator (GI), fair-trade intervention, and the movement for Gorkhaland sovereignty. Overall, Besky indicates that GI, fair-trade intervention, and the Gorkhaland movement all failed to 'undo the injustices of the colonial past' (p. 15) for the tea workers. Instead, all the three actions are trapped in a 'Third World agrarian imaginary' (p. 29) that fails to meaningfully acknowledge tea workers' perceptions of justice in terms of a 'tripartite moral economy' (p. 32).

To begin the story, Besky provides a good contextualization of tea production in Darjeeling with a historical overview. She gives readers a clear picture regarding how Nepali migrants, especially Gorkha women, have become the major labour force for tea production in Darjeeling. By focusing on 'ideas about and experiences of landscapes' (p. 40), she conceptualizes the tea plantation in Darjeeling as 'a living aggregation of plants, animals, people, and nonliving materials' (p. 41). However, throughout the rest of the book, she does not really fulfil her aim for presenting the tea plantation as a more-than-human landscape, a 'mutual becoming' between human and nonhuman elements. As a result, readers are left with little understanding of the relation between tea workers (mainly women) and an agro-environment comprised of soils, rainfall, altitude, and tea bushes.

After setting Darjeeling tea in the global and historical context of tea production, Besky provides readers with narratives disclosing Gorkha women's delicate experiences on the tea plantation. The intimate relation between female labourers and tea plantations conveys the complex feelings of tea workers' perceptions of justice and injustice. Besky finds that female labourers' complex feelings towards justice derive from the historical transition from tea as *industri* to tea as *bisnis*. While past *industri* required planters to provide benefits like *faciliti-haru* (housing) to workers, current *bisnis* roots out the welfare provided by planters. Consequently, female labourers hold positive perception of *bisnis* and relate it to their sense of justice. This finding, then, substantiates Besky's critiques of GI, fair trade, and the Gorkhaland movement.

Although GI, fair trade, and the Gorkhaland movement cast respectively a vision of justice, they all fail to articulate the justice with the tripartite moral economy in terms of the bygone system of *industri*. Besky insightfully criticizes the

GI action by branding Darjeeling tea as a product of *terroir* that has frozen an image of the female labourers as part of 'traditional knowledge', and romanticized the plantation as a garden. Meanwhile, fair-trade initiatives have reimagined the planters as both farmers and environmental stewards without practically addressing the insufficient wages and living conditions confronted by tea workers. Finally, the Gorkhaland agitation has mistakenly taken sovereignty as the only avenue to justice without critically engaging with the deterioration of the moral economy of the current plantation system.

Besky's analytic approach skilfully draws out the multi-scale disconnections pertaining to justice struggles in Darjeeling. The local landscape of Darjeeling tea plantation materializes this disconnection, whereby national (GI), global (fair trade), and regional (the Gorkhaland movement) actions are all distanced from workers' lives inside the plantation. Nevertheless, Besky's analysis also risks homogenizing the respective 'scale' itself. For example, the 'local' life of the female labourers on the plantation and their perception of justice seem sometimes to be a unity. It would have been interesting to know more about difference and even dissonance among the tea workers.

Undoubtedly, this book is a delightful read with a vivid narrative. Theoretically, it successfully bridges anthropological concerns with justice, critical geography, and food studies. The chapters on GI and fair trade are especially timely for critically rethinking the burgeoning calls for justice in relation to food production and consumption. Besky's work, surely, has made a significant contribution beyond anthropology.

Po-Yi HUNG *National Taiwan University*

BROWN, MIKE & BARBARA HUMBERSTONE (eds).

*Seascapes: shaped by the sea*. 200 pp., illus., bibliogr. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015. £65.00 (cloth)

Using a poem, the 'foreword' of Brown and Humberstone's collection of essays on our connections with the sea cleverly sets the scene for the text. It tells the story of a polar bear who turns up at the offices of White Star Line following the loss of the *Titanic* and plaintively asks after the iceberg. As the tale unfolds, we learn that the bear's family were on the iceberg and he now fears them dead. With little obvious didactic intent, the poem soon has us seeing this renowned story from a different perspective, highlighting our impact on the environment rather than its impact on us. It demands that we

consider how humans use and abuse the oceans, and what this means to, and for, us.

The collection brings together auto-ethnographic accounts by academics engaged in a variety of sea-based activities. Thus we gain insights into the worlds of sailing, sea-kayaking, windsurfing, surfing, bodyboarding, marathon swimming, and working at sea. The book has been shaped in such a way that we are invited to reflect on what the sea means to us and, to a more limited extent, what we might 'mean' for it. In this context, the initial contributions by Humberstone, lisahunter, and Anderson entice us into the ocean to 'feel' the salt water externally – splashing on our skin and surging into our hair – as well as in some sense 'within' us as we become part of the 'fluid motion of the sea'.

Having explored embodiment, the text takes a philosophical turn in the most thought-provoking contribution. Here, Zink reflects on what it is about being 'at sea' that feels 'right'. Most of us are able to recognize and appreciate moments when we 'feel right', but articulating why it is these moments is more challenging. The chapter succeeds in its apparent intention to avoid ready answers (notwithstanding the discussion of assemblages) and to lead readers to think carefully about connections with the animate and inanimate world. Elaborating on this theme, Reason subsequently provides a sense of what feels 'wrong' at sea. In switching from 'wind-driven' to 'motor-assisted' sailing, he reflects on the ways in which the 'feel' of his boat changes. He fights the sea, working against it, rather than riding with it. He suggests that in switching on the engine, the sense of being 'embedded in our natural context' is lost. While this choice might be 'rationally necessary', he suggests it also 'aesthetically disturbing'. The theme is continued in the later story by Wattchow of the healing power of the sea where, 'away from the glare of city lights and the heated exchanges of meetings . . . I participate in a more elemental world'. In these accounts, we have a suggestion of the central value to humans of harmony with our environment. We begin to appreciate how in controlling and defeating natural forces, we lose much, not least possibilities for emotional restoration. In this, few of us are free from culpability. The destruction and distortion of the natural world cannot be solely attributed to the mindless 'vandal' or the capitalist entrepreneur, and Nicol is unforgiving of himself, and by extension us, in reflections on such matters.

Finally, dispersed throughout the collection are reminders of how encounters with the sea are

mediated though our 'place in society', by cultural understandings, rituals, and practices. Gender, ethnicity, social etiquette, and the 'language' of participation are all significant facets of our ocean experience. The text ends with a contribution explicitly concerned with such matters as understood from the perspective of a researcher at sea. In this account by Emerald and Ewing we are once again reminded of the importance of responsibility, respect, and harmony. Just as these are apt in describing the terms for engagement with people at sea, so too does the book, as a whole, emphasize the importance of such orientations when dealing with our oceans and broader environment.

In assembling their evocative text, Brown and Humberstone have skilfully steered a course away from indulgently heroic tales of encounters with wild waves. Auto-ethnography is a difficult art to master, and in this book the contributions are undoubtedly uneven. Nevertheless, it offers a series of thought-provoking reflections on what the seas mean to us and, to a lesser extent, what we 'mean' for the seas – the polar bears, the fish, and the whales, within them. I hope that it is enjoyed widely.

HELEN SAMPSON *Cardiff University*

KIRKSEY, EBEN (ed.). *The multispecies salon*. 306 pp., illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2014. £17.99 (paper)

While animals have figured centrally throughout the history of anthropological theorizing – as good to think or eat – the emerging field of multispecies ethnography radically challenges earlier approaches' assumptions regarding the relations humans have with these nonhuman others. Claiming that human nature is an interspecies relationship, anthropologists and bioartists attend in this volume to the entanglement of such relationships in wider political, economic, and cultural processes. Moreover, they explore how we can, in a world of bio-technology, bio-capitalism, and ecological disasters, reconfigure these entanglements to develop multispecies relationships based on responsibility, attention, and care. What are the possibilities of biocultural hope in blasted landscapes?

The political entanglements of multispecies relationships and the opportunities they offer for reconfiguration are pertinently and creatively discussed in relation to caring for oil-covered hermit crabs after the Deepwater Horizon blowout (Kirksey *et al.*); to making soap from the

milk of asses that contains antibodies to the pathogens specific to the industrial wasteland they have travelled through (Bolender); and to how the various disturbance histories of Yunnan, Oregon, Japan, and Finland offer different constraints on and possibilities for life for matsutake mushrooms (Tsing). Developing Foucault's 'biopolitics' into 'microbiopolitics' (Paxson), the volume critically reveals the 'dark side' of politically enmeshed multispecies relations while at the same time providing recipes for getting along with other organisms. Art projects such as producing alternative aid food based on piñon nuts (Kelley), making cheese from human and goat milk (Simun), contributing to reseeded clear-cut forests through scattering small woollen balls that may become the habitat of forest plants and animals (Kirksey), and regenerating relationships between oaks and Pomo people (Noel *et al.*) all make forceful bio-tactical interventions which provide hope for multispecies relationships of care. The mutuality of these relations becomes particularly evident in Berrigan's artwork, in which she administered her own Hepatitis C-infected blood to dandelions, which in turn provide medicinal sustenance to humans. The three final chapters discuss ways in which biotechnology makes facts of life increasingly malleable and present bio-artworks that raise questions regarding the ethics of microbiopolitical relationships in a biotechnological age. How are microscopic images of Wolbachia bacteria made with rabbit blood and anti-rabbit molecules generated by the immune systems of other species? How can transgenic rodents be brought from 'bare life' (*zoe*) into the realms of *bios* (Kirksey *et al.*)? How does the optical nerve system of brittle stars challenge conventional ontological assumptions regarding embodiment, visibility, knowing, and the relation between epistemology and ontology (Barad)? And how can we cultivate a 'responsive attentiveness' towards emergent life-forms and the processes of becoming in which both they and we are a part (Haraway)?

The book is particularly strong in its call for keeping hopes for sustainable multispecies coexistence modest and for congealing such hopes around specific figures. The authors thus manage to insert a space between apocalyptic tales of bio-capitalist disasters and vague, messianic ecological salvation stories. Their commendable insistence on judging microbiopolitical heroes and villains on the basis of situated, contingent action and effect notwithstanding, there still seems to be a bias towards positive imaginaries of multispecies

relations as the latter are consistently transformed into sympathetic villains.

By providing ample examples of both actual and artistic imaginaries of interspecies becoming-with relations, the volume intervenes forcefully in debates about ontology, human nature, and its relations with nonhuman others. It is worth noticing that some of the contributions discuss these in terms of relations between organisms, thus pushing multispecies ethnography beyond the molar and towards a molecular level. It seems that multispecies ethnography has begun zooming in, attending more now to microbiomes, viruses, and bacteria than, say, dogs (D. Haraway, *When species meet*, 2008) or meerkats (M. Candea, 'I fell in love with Carlos the meerkat': Engagement and detachment in human-animal relations', *American Ethnologist* 37, 2010).

The volume is generously illustrated, which clearly makes the visual artworks easier to appreciate. The colour plates referred to in the Contents seem to be missing, however, although the accompanying website – multispecies-salon.org – more than compensates for this. Chapters vary considerably in literary style, with some more convoluted than others, but the editors have managed to accommodate both conceptual consistency and literary creativity.

The volume in general is a fascinating read, and although the contributions have grown out of an art exhibit that evolved as it travelled from San Francisco to New Orleans and later to New York City, the book works well on its own and can already be regarded as a core work.

JON HENRIK ZIEGLER REMME *University of Oslo*

## Gender and sexuality

COLLINGS, PETER. *Becoming inummarik: men's lives in an Inuit community*. xvi, 406 pp., maps, bibliogr. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2014. £22.99 (paper)

*Becoming inummarik* explores the life-stages of Inuit men in the Arctic hamlet of Ulukhaktok in northern Canada. Collings posits that the notion of being *inummarik* – a genuine person – is not so much a chronological process or constituted by specific acts (like hunting) but a combination of knowledge, reciprocity, competence, and capability (pp. 371-2). This work speaks to previous Arctic ethnographies that have explored the concept of being *inumaarik*. Here, Collings provides a nuanced examination of what it means

to develop personhood in the context of the lives of male Ulukhatkomiut (Ulukhaktok people), based on his research in the community over the course of nearly twenty years (drawing mostly on ethnographic material from 1992 to 2007).

This work is an important contribution to northern studies of gender, human-environmental relations, and economies. It provides insight into the life-stories of men who have grown up during a period of incredible complexity in northern Canada – men of a generation who have experienced the impacts of residential schools, settlement pressures from the federal government, and economic shifts that affect people's ability to pursue the same livelihoods as their parents and grandparents. In a speech she gave in August 2014 at Trent University's fiftieth anniversary, Inuvialuit leader Rosemarie Kuptana (born in a neighbouring settlement to Ulukhaktok: Ikahuk/Sachs Harbour) describes this period as follows:

My siblings and I were born on the land. I was born on the sea-ice of the Prince of Wales Strait in an igloo – to parents who proudly held and a community (Ikahuk, known to outsiders as Sachs Harbour) which continues to hold the knowledge and our language Inuvialuit and our language Inuvialuktun and that has flourished for a millennium. I experienced settlement; I lived the horrors of federal residential school policies; I witnessed the influx and imposition of many foreign ways of living and thinking.

The importance of Collings' contribution is the multi-generational approach he takes, interviewing and relating to men of several different generations within the community. This comparative approach provides important reference-points for readers to understand how individuals from different generations relate to the social, cultural, political, and economic realities they contend with over time. As Kuptana argued in her August 2014 speech: 'Inuit approaches to politics and policy-making are perhaps best described as principled pragmatism'. Indeed, the tensions that the men in Collings' book negotiate are an example of this principled pragmatism: applying thinking, stories, and laws that are rooted in Inuit relationships to place and kinship in a manner that contends with contemporary challenges.

I argue that this book is best read alongside other texts that examine personhood, gender, and human-environmental relations in the North. Specifically, it is complementary to texts like

Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk's novel *Sanaaq* (2014), Mini Aodla Freeman's *Life among the Qallunaat* (recently re-issued by University of Manitoba Press, 2015), and Nancy Wachowich's *Saqiyuq* (1999). Read alongside texts that examine the interrelated experiences of men and women in Inuit communities in the context of northern colonialism, Collings' work provides a snapshot of the lives of men negotiating shifting social, economic, and political roles in Ulukhaktok.

The second contribution of this text is as a study of contemporary ethnographic methods: how does one conduct and communicate northern research in a way that is accountable, transparent, and attentive to the nuanced relationships between non-Inuit and/or non-Indigenous researchers and Inuit? Chapter 3 examines realities and ethical paradigms of working, as *qallunaat* (non-Inuit), in Inuit communities – illustrating the embarrassing failures of some southern approaches to northern social science. The vignette Collings (pp. 103-7) provides of two government workers arriving to interview community members about a geographical location nobody in the community has heard of is a study in the futility of some northern research currently sponsored by agencies, undertaken by individuals intent on capitalizing on the North as a 'hot topic', caught up with (non-Indigenous) narratives of Arctic sovereignty, and staking neo-colonial claims to northern spaces.

While the text itself does not explore the terrains of contestation of discrete gender binaries in Indigenous contexts in Canada (see, for example, Inuk filmmaker Alethea Arnaquq-Baril's 2014 film *Aviliaq*, which illustrates the experiences of Inuit women in the Eastern Arctic in the 1950s, whose sexuality and gender roles are circumscribed by colonial forces), the book does succeed in articulating the experiences of the men with whom Collings has worked since 1992.

ZOE TODD *University of Aberdeen*

SHOKEID, MOSHE. *Gay voluntary associations in New York: public sharing and private lives*. 232 pp., bibliogr. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. £32.50 (cloth)

Moshe Shokeid's *Gay voluntary associations in New York* explores a number of gay associations, primarily some that hold their meetings at the premises of the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center in New York. Shokeid is a Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at Tel Aviv

University. He has previously published on such diverse issues as immigrants from the Atlas Mountains to an Israeli village; ethnicity and politics among Arabs and North African Jews in Israel; Israeli immigrants in New York; and a gay synagogue in that city.

From the start, Shokeid makes it clear that he is not a disciple of the kind of 'queer theory', and its prioritizing of linguistic phenomena, that presently dominates the field once called gay and lesbian studies. He believes there is something important and not reducible to discourse: people's *lives*. Consequently, he has studied the organizations using the methods of ethnographic fieldwork. He focuses on groups whose meetings he regularly attended for at least six months during various intervals between 1995 and 2010.

Included are groups of seniors, bisexuals, interracial men, 'gentle men' (trying to break with the norms of the gay bars scene), 'sexual compulsives' (inspired by Alcoholics Anonymous), and 'Bears' (cultivating beards, body weight, and various traditional forms of 'macho' attire and togetherness). The life of these groups consisted of loosely organized gatherings where people could meet and chat, often at a very personal level, about their experiences and opinions. They were open to newcomers and had a high turnover of participants. Attenders were mainly, though not exclusively, middle-class, white men, and in their forties and fifties. The meetings were led by voluntary and non-salaried facilitators. A further chapter deals with four gay and lesbian congregations in New York (Catholic, African American, Jewish, Protestant), focusing on the impact of sermons on audiences. A final chapter deals with the relation of 'pure' sex and emotions in the pursuit of partners. There are also introductory chapters on some methodological and ethical issues in ethnographic work which became pertinent to Shokeid in his research, such as the pros and cons of (not) sharing an identity or (not) having sexual relations with one's subjects.

It is a relief to read a book that does not simply repeat the by now almost compulsory conceptual gymnastics of 'queer' academia, projecting its litanies of 'intersectional' categories upon defenceless material. It is also a welcome change to read a book that deals with gay life in voluntary associations. At the beginning of each chapter, Shokeid presents viewpoints from the scholarly literature on the themes; and his own treatment generally provides good information. The academically weakest part is the chapter on the Bears, which builds on limited sources and

casual impressions. Yet this material seduces Shokeid into uncritically conveying statements about the affectionate participants, emotional warmth, erotic ambience, and benign sexual play of Bear society.

Overall, Shokeid is impressed by the generous openness, where people often shared their innermost feelings, pains, hopes, plans, and everyday problems in the company of those they had met only recently, while the attenders listened patiently and with empathy, offering good advice. He interprets this sociality as an 'affective fellowship', a special kind of community or (in Victor Turner's term) *communitas*. This, moreover, is a vehicle for a particular 'gay selfhood', beyond the general accommodation with one's gay/lesbian identity – a feeling of self-assurance about the validity of one's diverse experiences.

'Insider' gays/lesbians, especially if they have participated in similar groups, may read the book with the joy of recognition. Some may also find its content overly familiar, right to the details of the argot used by Shokeid's subjects. The success of his easy-going writing style – frequently narrating and elaborating on a 'captivating account' (p. 44) from the field – obviously depends on whether the reader finds the accounts captivating and inspiring, and not just trivial and long-winded (indeed, some of them are very long). Even the insider may, however, learn a new joke or two (like this one: 'You can't save your face and your ass at the same time'); and it is difficult to read the book without being moved by some accounts or inspired on how to build community, and *communitas*, in the urban world of strangers. On the whole, the book may work best with readers who are unfamiliar with, and indeed initially hostile to, the gay world. They may learn that many gays are basically rather ordinary – though each comes with his/her particular colouring.

HENNING BECH *University of Copenhagen*

STOUT, NOELLE M. *After love: queer intimacy and erotic economies in post-Soviet Cuba*. ix, 238 pp., illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2014. £15.99 (paper)

Cubans, it seems, have sex, but not always in conditions of their own choosing. This, in a nutshell, is the theme of Noelle Stout's book, a book that highlights the sexual contradictions, ironies, and dilemmas facing Cubans in the post-Soviet era.

Cuba faces the rapid encroachment of capitalism, international tourism, and the rise of

the sex trade, leaving many Cubans to question and negotiate what intimacy means in a country in which sexuality is increasingly saturated by economic considerations. Leisure, hedonism, inequality, privilege, and prostitution have all emerged as profound challenges to the orthodoxies of the socialist period. Cuba is now a country in which professional hierarchies are undermined when jobs in tourism, and sex work, pay better, sometimes much better, than state employment. The fractures this causes penetrate into sexual categories, leaving respectable gays (a rehabilitated category in post-Soviet Cuba) to draw on the socialist moralism of the past in their resentful criticisms of gay Cuban sex workers, not all of whom, it transpires, are gay. The *pingueros* are heterosexual males engaged in same-sex prostitution and perhaps better labelled 'queer', as Stout does label them. (Throughout, the book makes clear the inadequacy of labels like 'gay', 'bisexual', and 'heterosexual'.)

The book relies on vivid portraits of people who exemplify the demands and dilemmas churned up in this volatile milieu: gay siblings, gay men, female and male sex workers, and foreign tourists. It tells the stories of gay men who establish relationships with *pingueros* that are doomed to fail but where a semblance of 'love' is maintained: sex is an exchange for the room and board provided by the gay man rather than a naked money transaction. The result is a kind of bad faith or misrecognition in which the relationship is loving, but not really; exploitation, but not entirely. It is an unstable amalgam whose very instability helps it to continue, if only for a relatively short time. It also results in gay men accepting exploitation and abuse and blaming themselves for their own unrealistic expectations and the maltreatment it gets them. Then there is Melba, who has a girlfriend, takes male lovers, and is a sex worker. Melba sees the latter as just that: work, hard work, despite what respectable gays might say. She and her girlfriend Yolanda eschew conventional labels, such as lesbian, gay, and bisexual, and prefer to see themselves as 'modernas'. Yet while people like Melba proudly announce their gender non-conformity, they are also conservative with regard to race and motherhood. Likewise, *pingueros*, despite their sex with other men, are sometimes hypermasculine and homophobic, even as they take money for sexual services in their pursuit of commercial, urban masculine styles.

Many of Stout's respondents were raised under socialism but have experienced the economic upheavals of the post-Soviet period as teenagers and young adults. Intriguingly, a lot of

their actions can be seen as the pursuit of equality – a noble socialist value – harnessed to the wagon of the market economy. One woman, on the subject of young people's sexual strategies, puts it thus: 'They have never known a world in which some people had things that others could not. So, they do whatever it takes to even the score' (p. 134).

The new sex tourism in Cuba also results in its own contradictions. The tolerance towards homosexuality that emerged there in the 1990s is tested by the appearance of foreign tourism and the sex work that has developed around it. Tourists perceive themselves as a benevolent influence but uncritically accept the economic inequalities that enable them to be in Havana at all. Some tourists see sex with Cubans as acts of political solidarity and getting in touch – literally – with the 'real' Cuba, which, unbeknownst to them, is a recent product of the sex workers.

Stout portrays a world in which the truth of actions and relationships is a matter of perspective, fixed only momentarily, and revealed to be something else as love is usurped by exploitation, and vice versa. This is a social milieu in which actions sometimes reproduce and sometimes undermine gender, class, and racial hierarchies while also at times generating novel strategies and interpretations.

*After love* is a very good book, well written, sympathetic, and insightful. It wears its sophisticated theory lightly, making it both accessible and rewarding to read as much as for the picture of contemporary Cuba it paints as for the more general insights it provides into how people negotiate the contradictions life throws at them.

MARK GRAHAM *Stockholm University*

## Health, disease, and medicine

FOX, GEORGIA L. *The archaeology of smoking and tobacco*. 169 pp., illus., bibliogr. Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida, 2015. £64.95 (cloth)

This is, extraordinarily, the first study in historical archaeology that attempts an overview of tobacco and smoking-related activities and what the archaeological record of this plant and its associated artefacts – particularly the tobacco pipe – tells us about society, economy, and consumption in the historical past. Using her own archaeological research on 21,575 white clay tobacco pipes recovered from Port Royal, Jamaica, as well as a wide variety of secondary sources, Fox takes us on what can become a

somewhat giddy journey investigating the materials and meanings of tobacco and smoking across the Atlantic world. As someone trained as a social anthropologist and hence as an outsider to the precise and sometimes pernickety world of archaeological research, I found the collation of numerous research reports, theses, and edited volumes pertaining to the somewhat specialized field of tobacco pipes to be very helpful. Most of the time the focus is on North America and the Caribbean – this is, after all, a book in the 'American Experience in Archaeological Perspective' series – but we sometimes find ourselves exploring English pipe-making kilns, looking at Dutch masters, or even, towards the end, in conversation with a businessman in Wenzhou, China. Fox's theoretical approach is to combine elements of world systems analysis and consumer theory in order to understand the crucial role that tobacco addiction played in both the formation of the early American republic and the development of what rapidly became a world system of colonization and trade.

This is an ambitious enterprise for a slim volume, and, given its brevity, there are places where the account verges on the superficial. While this book presents a historical archaeology, more could be and has been said about the 'deep history' and archaeology of precolonial Native American tobacco use than the few pages Fox is able to accord it. Likewise, there are other art forms and academic disciplines which could usefully be included in assembling a fuller picture of past smoking cultures. Poems and novels, as well as musical and dramatic works, also have much to tell us, information that is now becoming increasingly accessible with recent developments in the digital humanities. The brutalization associated with enslavement to tobacco (in one of the multiple ways that term can be understood) is chillingly alluded to in a sentence describing how African captives, many of them destined for American tobacco plantations, were sometimes given tobacco and pipes to 'placate' them during the Middle Passage (p. 80). Given that African slaves were no strangers to tobacco in their places of origin, and that the French introduced the supposedly traditional calumnet pipe to indigenous populations of the Lower Mississippi Valley, it is strange that William Jankowiak and Dan Bradburd's seminal 1996 *Current Anthropology* paper 'Using drug foods to capture and enhance labor performance' is missing from the list of references. The complex and multifaceted dangers of addictive enslavement are further euphemized by acknowledging the 'strong

presence of tobacco throughout the American experience' (p. 134), while sidelining the trope of resistance to its beguiling charms. This dates well back into the pre-cigarette era with which Fox is primarily concerned, as is referenced in Michael Nassany's foreword, where he discusses sites where the absence of tobacco paraphernalia is as significant as its presence elsewhere.

Conversely, readers can find themselves mired in archaeological arguments which seem unnecessarily detailed in a book of this length and nature. Are the 'lively debates and deep disagreements' (p. 61) between archaeologists over who made red clay pipes and why really worth four pages of elucidation, particularly when we return to the question again twenty pages later? Do we also need such detail about South's 'Brunswick Pattern of Refuse Disposal' (p. 114) or the relative consistency of the Harrington/Binford method of pipe-stem dating (p. 119) in a chapter with the promised intent of exploring the capitalist world system (p. 105)? The conclusion betrays a surprising dullness of vision for someone versed in world systems analysis and consumer theory. Tobacco is described as 'a binder of human experience regardless of gender, class, or ethnicity' (p. 133). I wonder if the slaves who produced so much of it would agree? Smoking can indeed be used to 'assert notions of individuality and identity . . . regardless of the possible outcomes, including stained and worn teeth, addiction, or lung cancer' (p. 134), but cardiovascular disease and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (at the very least) should be added to this list; the latter is due to become the third leading cause of death world-wide by 2030. Such heavy tolls of morbidity and premature mortality have profound effects on families and friendship groups, not just the individual smoker. Finally, 'modern advertising, the arts, and popular media' have not merely 'broadcast public sentiments about tobacco and smoking' (p. 133), they have been actively manipulated by a transnational tobacco industry which has done everything it can to promote the ruggedly individual Marlboro Man beyond American shores.

There are also some trifling inaccuracies with the rendition of things on the English side of the Atlantic world. The college where boys were whipped during the plague year 1665 for not smoking tobacco is Eton, not Eaton (p. 54), and is located in a town of the same name, not London. Documents using pounds, shillings, and pence before decimalization of the British currency in 1971 need converting at a rate of 12 old pence to 5 new ones, making historical pipe prices

2.4 times cheaper than quoted on p. 44. These quibbles aside, this book makes a significant contribution to the historical archaeology of a plant that, for better or worse, has 'revolutionized the world and changed the course of history' (p. 1). As such, the book will be of value not only to archaeologists but also to anyone interested in the mutually dependent history of this loathsome weed and world capitalism.

ANDREW RUSSELL *Durham University*

JEROME, JESSICA SCOTT. *A right to health: medicine, marginality, and health care reform in northeastern Brazil*. xii, 177 pp., bibliogr. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 2015. £35.00 (cloth)

*A right to health* takes us to Pirambu, a low-income settlement on the periphery of the Brazilian city of Fortaleza. This is a book about health care and health systems, but it is also about citizenship. Jessica Scott Jerome brings ideas about the politics of urban poverty developed in the anthropology of Brazil into conversation with a more recent literature on medical citizenship. Readers who have encountered the day-to-day operations of public services in contemporary urban Latin America will be on familiar ground here.

The aim of the book is to unpack both the history and the everyday enactment of 'universalized' health care. Central to Jerome's argument is that people in Pirambu engage the provisions of the Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS), established in 1988, through the prism of struggles against political and economic marginalization that are in fact much older.

What Jerome characterizes as an 'embodied' experience of universal health care is further complicated by the growth of a private, parallel health system in Brazil – a system to which the urban poor have an ambivalent relationship. Indeed, aspirations to private care in Pirambu seem as pervasive as nostalgia for a bygone era of community solidarity, as Jerome shows in the extensive history of the area that spans chapters 1 and 2.

Jerome's ability to ground the argument in a richly textured ethnographic setting makes the book among the most readable and accessible ethnographies of public health in recent memory. Take, for example, one of her most vivid vignettes: a meeting between a local community health council and a young male doctor who works for a public hospital in Fortaleza. When the doctor asks the assembled residents to name the

most common health problems in the area, those in attendance bring up 'long lines', 'safety', and lack of medicines (pp. 64-5). To solve the 'safety' problem, the doctor encourages the residents to form neighbourhood watch organizations. To solve the medicine shortages, he advocates naming and shaming the officials who 'steal' or withhold medication from public pharmacies. '[I]magine the kind of community you want', the doctor says, 'the kinds of neighbors you want, and ... put this vision into action' (p. 66).

Pirambu is a place, like many in contemporary Latin America, where it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Freireian-style consciousness-raising from neoliberal appeals to personal responsibility. One of the ironies of universal health care, as we learn from this book, is that it depends upon the narrowing of the category of 'health' to biomedical terms. Along the way, it also depends upon the narrowing of the meaning of 'participation' from collective, communal action to individual, rational behaviour. Jerome interprets the doctor's advice as an attempt to separate social problems from medical ones: an attempt to promote 'normative biomedical practices' (p. 70).

This creates a sharp dichotomy between the individualist, biomedically minded health establishment and the collectivist, socially minded 'margins'. Still, it is difficult to see precisely why a doctor's appeals to 'imagining the community you want' must be read as externalizing social or political problems from biomedicine. At what point do community activism and social medicine become band-aids for a neglectful state?

For Jerome, a dichotomy between collectivism and individualism is reflected not only in relations between Pirambu residents and doctors, but also within Pirambu itself. There, as Jerome shows in chapters 5 and 6, older residents tend to 'rely contentedly' on the public health system, while younger residents complain about its shortcomings and seek care in the parallel private system (p. 109). For the older generation, the public system is only as strong as the social networks – of labour, of political patronage, of kin and neighbours – in which its patients are embedded. For the younger generation, health care is a 'service' rendered to individuals, and the SUS service is woefully inadequate. As in most two-tiered health systems, this one reinforces and even exaggerates micro-inequalities.

Ultimately, this generational argument is quite convincing. It reveals that a singular 'right to health' does not exist. Rather, as Jerome concludes, 'patterns of medical decision making

in Pirambu ... propose substantially different accounts of personal identity and morality' for younger and older residents (p. 150). Jerome's detour in chapter 4 into the biomedicalization of traditional and herbal medicine under the SUS, on the other hand, is a fascinating set-piece that seems out of step with the book's larger arguments. Nevertheless, those looking for a well-researched and gripping account of health and citizenship would do well to have *A right to health* on their nightstands and course lists.

ALEX NADING *University of Edinburgh*

NARAINDAS, HARISH, JOHANNES QUACK & WILLIAM S. SAX (eds). *Asymmetrical conversations: contestations, circumventions, and the blurring of therapeutic boundaries*. 269 pp., illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn, 2014. £60.00 (cloth)

Health systems are not simply pluralistic, nor is dualism limited to mind/body. This timely edited collection explores the complex relationship between marginalized and mainstream medicine in a globalized world, using rich ethnographic case studies from South Asia and Europe. The collection advances theory on the asymmetries between different health systems given their increasing contact and need for negotiation. The pervasiveness of biomedicine and market capitalism, the editors contend, has deepened the tension between 'the global and the local', and further complicated how this tension is negotiated in the everyday operation of differing health systems.

In addition to the common themes of pluralism, dualism, and asymmetry, each chapter also makes its own unique contribution. Laurence Kirmayer explores the history of mind/body dualism and its pervasiveness in the West. According to Kirmayer, despite variations in epistemology and ontology, complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) gets lumped into one overarching 'hybrid invention'. He argues that mind/body duality is overly restrictive and instead we should allow mind and body equal 'play'. He also provides an analysis of the political, economic, and social factors influencing CAM, which could be made even more complex by including the ways biomedicine might possibly be influenced by CAM, notwithstanding contextual issues of power and hegemony.

Johannes Quack examines spirit possession through Indian categories and ontologies, questioning the categories that separate and bind

notions of duality and individuality. He suggests that spirit possession is learned and context-specific – arguing that Indians do not become spirit possessed in therapeutic settings where it is not considered appropriate, such as a psychiatry ward within a hospital. In his case study, patients ‘play both games’ depending on the setting and expectations of conduct. This implies a sense of performativity and implicit agency that is being enacted on some level.

Francis Zimmerman explores dualisms of East/West, medicine/alternative medicine, and challenges the ideological division between tradition and modernity. He also challenges the dualism between rational and metaphysical, health/disease, and death/life as being overly simplistic. This ambitious chapter highlights important tensions and interplay between the many binaries he examines, and could benefit from narrowing its focus.

Using a retrospective narrative of one well-educated, middle-class Indian woman, Harish Naraindas explores the presence and pervasiveness of the language of ‘risk’ in relation to childbirth in South India, the US, the UK, and Germany. He argues that childbirth is one of the most ‘successful’ examples of medicalization. In the Indian context, danger and risk are purposely accentuated by the state, particularly in relation to non-biomedical forms of care during childbirth. He highlights tensions between ‘local narratives’ and ‘larger global forms’ and between biomedicine and Ayurveda. He also examines the consequences of navigating the difficult terrain of competing epistemologies and ontologies, particularly when one challenges hospitalized births.

In chapter 5, Helene Basu examines asymmetries between how schizophrenia is classified: both as a naturalized ‘disease category’ and as a manifestation of sorcery or form of spirit possession in Gujarat. She argues that the boundaries between religious and Indian forms of medicine are typically quite permeable except between ritual practices and ‘biological’ psychiatry in relation to mental illness. She suggests that ‘ideological asymmetries’ are reinforced by the state as they support biomedical forms of psychiatry over ritual practices. As a result, mental health professionals try to control ritual healing practices. This chapter highlights the complex hierarchy between ways of understanding and treating mental illness.

William Sax and Hari Kumar Bhaskaran Nair explore healing practices in Kerala and the ways ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’, ‘physical’ and

‘metaphysical’ come together in relation to religious and Ayurvedic healing practices. They examine the ways allopathic medicine is tied to the ‘project of modernization’, arguing that biomedicine is the most successful export in history. They invoke Latour’s argument that modernity is merely an ideology created and used by the West to distinguish itself from its ‘less advanced neighbours’. As in the many discussions related to the nature/culture divide, they focus on the tendency for modernists to separate medicine and religion, and the view, which is particularly strong in the field of psychiatry, that medicine must sever all ties to religion in order to become ‘scientific’. They conclude that patients and healers in Kerala use forms of healing that are both ‘scientific’ and ‘unscientific’: forms intricately tied to religion and ritual, regardless of whether they think the problem is ‘physical’ or ‘religious’. They also suggest that like separating nature from culture, unlinking religion and medicine is futile as the distinction between them is ideological not ontological. This chapter complements Basu’s chapter quite well.

In the last chapter, Maya Warriar examines the role of the Ayurvedic Practitioners Association (APA) of Britain in the professionalization of Ayurveda. She argues that both medicalized – or, more accurately perhaps, biomedicalized – and spiritualized versions of Ayurveda have emerged in Britain. She views the incorporation of a variety of healing traditions into the spiritualized version of Ayurveda as a sign of a valorization of ‘an integrative and holistic approach to healing’, made popular by the complex interplay between patients, Ayurveda, and context.

This edited collection makes a valuable contribution to understanding the complexities related to multi-layered and coexistent health systems, particularly as they relate to South Asia. It is also a valuable place from which to ask further questions that deepen and broaden contributions to knowledge about the ways patients and health-care providers navigate health system asymmetries as they increasingly come into contact. The main theme seems to focus largely on the ways that non-biomedical health systems negotiate for a place alongside biomedicine with their increasing contact, and how patients navigate between these points of contact and exchange, with biomedicine as the ultimate point of reference. As such, it might also be important to explore how contact affects how biomedicine is practised. For example, despite biomedical hegemony, does biomedicine remain unaltered? Examining other contexts and specific

localities in other regions would prove useful in continuing this discussion.

CATHY FOURNIER *University of Edinburgh*

## Heritage and the politics of the past

BRUMANN, CHRISTOPH. *Tradition, democracy and the townscape of Kyoto: claiming a right to the past*. xiv, 423 pp., maps, tables, illus., figs, bibliogr. Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2013. £28.99 (paper)

A key question when teaching the anthropology of Japan, a country whose cities are inhabited by millions, is at which Japan are we looking? Given that only 7 per cent of its 127 million population remain in rural areas, studies of 'village' or small-scale Japan seem increasingly irrelevant. Japan's three major metropolitan areas are home to 51 per cent of the population and the twelve largest cities in these conurbations account for 22.5 per cent of the country's total population. Of these cities, Kyoto is Japan's sixth largest, with a population of 1.5 million. Not a patch perhaps on Tokyo's estimated 13.4 million inhabitants, but large enough to prompt a perennial ethnographic query: how to do research in a city? Does the anthropologist study a neighbourhood; a particular group or class that cross-cuts the urban landscape; or consider a theme that might well be pertinent to the population as a whole (unemployment, education)? Do we still subscribe to the 1960s idea that the urban environment shapes the social landscape, and if so, how to document this relationship? These are some of the challenges that faced Brumann in his research on Kyoto.

Adding to this complexity, Kyoto, Japan's ancient capital, has World Heritage status, and is a famous tourist destination with its own aesthetic and cultural traditions. Brumann's book, based on nearly fifteen years of research, has to wrestle not only with describing modernity in the form of a large city, but also with depicting the intangible traditions of its glorious imperial past. To lead readers through these complexities, the book begins with the example of a six-years-long clash: the struggle over whether or not to build a new bridge, a replica of Paris' Pont des Arts, to mark the Kyoto-Paris twin-city relationship, across the Kamo river. By introducing the issues and major players in this confrontation, Brumann is able to consider how modern cities everywhere are politically constituted through various interest groups that include officials, bureaucrats, ideologically different political parties, local

businesses, and involved citizens' groups, which can consist of expert academics and individualistic artists as well as housewives and small tradesmen. While the way in which these groups do battle or join forces well demonstrates Japanese or even specific Kyoto characteristics, Brumann is correct to state in his closing line that we must avoid falling 'into the trap of blaming it all on Japanese culture' (p. 361) – the question of how Kyotoites should design and build new structures in the twenty-first century is also the predicament of any heritage-heavy modern city.

From this single example in chapter 1, Brumann takes us on an ethnographic journey that includes an examination of Kyoto's history (chap. 2); documents the various conflicts over the erection of modern apartment blocks (*manshon*, chap. 3) and of the destruction/reconstruction of traditional dwellings (*kyō-machiya*, chap. 4); and discusses the social groups that remain involved in Kyoto's famous Gion festival (chap. 5) – this forms the first part of the book. In the second half he considers broader issues to do with the urban landscape: aesthetics (chap. 6); tradition and heritage (chap. 7); civil society and the power of institutions (chap. 8); as well as the constitution of public and private spaces (chap. 9), before concluding in chapter 10 with a discussion of the wounded city and how Kyoto fits into this concept.

Kyoto may be unique in its history and culture, but it is not singular in its struggle to modernize and yet retain the flavour of its particular identity. In discussing the antimonies between an anthropology of the city and anthropology in the city, tradition and modernity, localism and globalism, civil society and bureaucracy, Brumann has produced a book that should be on all our reading lists. I can only complain of its rather flimsy paperback cover, already curling, and an apparent lack of copy-editing for English style, but these are problems to ignore. This is an important book and admirable in its thoroughness, intelligence, and bravura weaving together of so many different sources of data. It is bound to become a classic.

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INNOCENTI, PERLA (ed.). *Migrating heritage: experiences of cultural networks and cultural dialogue in Europe*. 302 pp., maps, tables, figs, illus., bibliogr. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014. £95.00 (cloth)

This edited book brings together articles by an international group of scholars and practitioners

to address how 'cultural institutions' (including museums, libraries, and 'memory institutions') respond to the plural societies of twenty-first-century Europe. The publication has arisen from the conference 'Migrating Heritage', held at the University of Glasgow in December 2012. The papers explore how cultural institutions present their collections and resources to the public, and how these organizations seek to interact with multicultural audiences. Academics, practitioners from museums and other public institutions, and policy-makers have contributed twenty-four papers, preceded by a substantial introduction by the editor. A particularly helpful aspect of this initiative is the inclusion of practitioners in addition to academics concerned with heritage in museums, as this approach has promoted the interchange of ideas across intellectual and international boundaries.

Innocenti's introduction explores the idea of 'Unbounded cultures: migrating heritage and cultural networks', observing that 'we are witnessing a shift from the identity-marking heritage of European nation-states ... to a contemporary migrating heritage' (p. 1). The concept of migrating heritage is introduced as a format for the papers in this volume. Innocenti argues that cultural identities are continuously evolving and reshaping themselves in the context of interactions throughout our increasingly complex world. This has led her to address what she refers to as 'unbound identities' through the exploration of interwoven networks and 'pathways of exchange and contamination' (p. 2). The heritage defined by these encounters includes artefacts, people, technologies, and disciplines. The volume emphasizes the need to cross intellectual and institutional boundaries to address emerging challenges to social inclusion and new models of citizenship and national belonging. The volume consciously seeks to address how cultural networks may contribute to the development of new models and institutional practices of heritage within cultural institutions. Certain papers build on established network theories in social sciences, anthropology, and media studies. One significant theme uniting several studies is how cultural institutions across Europe are seeking to promote cultural co-operation and dialogue in ways that build on digital technologies and transnational networking. Katherine Watson and Vivian Paulissen explore an experimental project entitled 'Remapping Europe – a Remix', addressing how multimedia may explore the multitude of 'spaces in between', involving the intersections between people, organizations, and ideas (p. 25). Several

other papers also provide guidance on how future initiatives might be developed.

An attempt has been made by the editor to seek a perspective that covers the whole of Europe, although there is a clear bias in the geographical distribution of the contributing authors towards Western Europe, with many based in Italy, Germany, and the UK. The European focus is highlighted in the introduction, which addresses the history and politics of the attempts to establish a common conception of European culture. Seeking coherent ideas about what might constitute European identity is seen to be challenged by the approaches to migrating heritages outlined in this volume. The deliberate focus of the volume on Europe helps to direct attention to institutional factors that serve to constrain the establishment of a pluralist concept of migrating heritage (pp. 4–8). The geographical focus of the volume tends to exclude the consideration of migrating heritages in areas beyond the increasingly definitive borders of 'Fortress Europe', although a number of the topics covered involve projects that consciously challenge the geographical (and conceptual) boundaries of the European Union. For example, Sharon Macdonald's contribution draws upon 'Museum with no Frontiers', an initiative which has established a vast transnational museum of works of art, architecture, and archaeology within Europe and neighbouring countries around the Mediterranean and which focuses in particular on Islamic heritage (pp. 58–9). John Messner's contribution addresses 'racially biased politics' by exploring the display of the transport system of South Africa at the Riverside Museum in Glasgow. Although historic landscapes are not addressed in this volume, the approaches to migrating heritage outlined here would seem to have a considerable potential to enliven discussion across a broader range of heritage contexts (e.g. R. Hingley, 'The frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage site and transnational heritage', in *Identity and heritage: contemporary challenges in a globalised world* [eds] P.F. Biehl, D. Cromer, C. Prescott & H. Soderland, 2015).

RICHARD HINGLEY *Durham University*

SCHOFIELD, JOHN (ed.). *Who needs experts? Counter-mapping cultural heritage*. 260 pp., maps, table, illus., bibliogr. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014. £95.00 (cloth)

What became widely known as 'critical heritage studies' gained a broad acceptance across several disciplines that deal with heritage. Their critique

stems from a need to emphasize the constructed nature of heritage and thereby articulate problems around the management of, access to, and impact of heritage sites in a language different from that of policy, and in voices different from those of expert disciplines. This specific language, together with its organizations and proponents, has become widely known as the 'authorized heritage discourse', a concept coined by Laurajane Smith (*The uses of heritage*, 2006). The idea of authorized heritage discourse proved to be an eminent tool in highlighting how the past is constructed in specific ways that contribute to the consolidation of elite interests, leading to a representational exclusionism and communities being disinherited from their own past. It is not surprising, then, that critical heritage studies is invested in rather similar questions as subaltern studies and recent studies of radical social movements, and is often associated with activist and applied aspirations.

*Who needs experts?* is a collection building on this legacy, writing against the structural exclusionism of heritage expertise through fifteen case studies, ranging from ethnographic analyses of policy processes (Wolferstan), archaeologies of intangible subaltern heritages (Dierschow; Kiddey), conceptual analyses (Koerner), to case studies of neglected built environments (Graves-Brown; Pálsson & Björnsson). The diverse contributions are held together not only by their strong commitment to the principles set out by Schofield – heritage is everywhere, it is for everyone, and we all are heritage experts (p. 2) – but by their promotion of the 2005 Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (henceforth Faro Convention).

The Faro Convention advocates a broader notion of heritage as a 'resource inherited from the past', access to this as a human right, and a more open idea of managing it in terms of participants and policies alike. The Faro Convention, this hybrid of a grassroots agenda performed from a top-down perspective, authorized by the Council of Europe, is thus a key milestone for heritage studies scholarship, after which one might expect a reconsideration of the oppositions we use in approaching the political context and the power structures around heritage. The volume's achievement on this front is somewhat mixed.

The strongest contributions of the collection can be found in the passages dissecting how the discourse of heritage works on the ground. Given that the collection carries the legacy of the Faro Convention in such a laudatory and transparent way, all the more so since Schofield's opening

chapter deploys the very same manifesto-like language in setting out the intended context of the volume, it is crucial to see how this very language is drawn into mundane heritage practice.

Two key examples of such reflexivity are Wolferstan's and Walker's chapters. Wolferstan goes on to highlight how in the Council of Europe 'experts' are often understood as anybody participating in the management of the site without a fixed-term contract, while 'community' might denote 'all relevant actors', including heritage authorities, members of civil society, and heritage-related organizations (pp. 48-9). Walker provides us with a well-rounded analysis of newly emerging notions of expertise and community involvement, themselves results of the very same critical standpoint the book aspires to be part of. His Blaenavon case study is a sensitively drawn picture of contemporary heritage management in the midst of changing political agendas and a struggle for inclusion from within institutional structures that are often seen as inherently exclusionist.

One could argue that showing such self-reflecting institutional contexts is a much-needed angle in contemporary heritage studies, as the political othering of top-down institutional structures often fails to acknowledge the porous boundaries between policy-makers and academics, who increasingly more often read each other's work and thus readjust norms, political agendas, and practices. This brings me to the most important weakness of the collection: judging only from Schofield's manifesto and a number of rather sketchy chapters (e.g. Dierschow; Beattie), organizations invested in heritage management still appear as rather monolithic entities with clear-cut discourses. In other words, they often only indulge diversity on the 'local', 'subaltern', 'marginalized' side, while they fail to trace out how often contested perspectives emerge within heritage organizations themselves.

The very existence of the Faro Convention is not addressed as a result of a success of critical heritage studies scholarship, and as a document of considerable top-down power structures, having been produced by the Council of Europe. Instead, the democratization of the notions of expertise (Burstörm; O'Keeffe) is stated as a mere fact that does not call for explanation or elaboration. The activist appeal and the urge to give voice to marginalized perspectives come through as more powerful messages of the book. While many of the chapters contain rich empirical material, the social context of knowledge

production cannot be interrogated successfully in the binary terms that are often deployed: of exclusion-inclusion, expert-community, imposition-democratization.

Despite the lack of such a reflective angle and thereby a more nuanced politics, the volume is a seminal contribution to current heritage studies, broader studies of expertise, and the increasingly important anthropological studies of archaeology, particularly as an example of relating case studies to policy documents and because of its rich case study materials.

DIÁNA VONNÁK *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology*

## Materiality and material culture

CHRISTENSEN, DORTHE REFLUND & KJETIL SANDVIK (eds). *Mediating and remediating death: studies in death, materiality and the origin of time: Vol. 2*. 282 pp., tables, figs, illus., bibliogr. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014. £95.00 (cloth)

My expectations were high for the second volume in Ashgate's 'Studies in Death, Materiality and the Origin of Time' series. Deriving from the same research project as the first volume, Christensen and Rane Willerslev's collection *Taming time, timing death* (2013), Christensen and Sandvik's edited volume takes a closer look at media and mediation in relation to death and dying. Most of my expectations were met, and as a stand-alone edited volume on death it is fascinating. But as part of a series, some critique is also needed.

In the introduction framing the volume, Christensen and Sandvik outline different theoretical approaches to 'media', such as those of Meyrowitz, Grusin, and Jensen. The editors use these theories to explore how media, Internet media in particular, are shaping new cultural realities through their capacity to help imagine, represent, and maintain relationships among the living and the dead. The discussion of the potential for media to communicate between different actors, 'one-to-one, one-to-many and many-to-many' is particularly interesting. While the contributions to the volume are not meant to form one all-inclusive argument (p. 13), it is, however, unclear what kind of 'media' helps us understand what question. Empirically, 'media' are presented as photographs, newspapers, YouTube, World of Warcraft and Facebook, but also an industry that detects ghosts, or an object (a spear) that mediates past and present. The

editors then shift between this empirical version and an analytical or theoretical take on what is sometimes presented as a process, sometimes an occurrence: media are 'a function of an object reflected in human practices' (p. 2), 'media serve as relation-building and relation-maintaining devices' (p. 5), 'all forms of media . . . play a part in social life' (p. 6), media 'inform the way we perceive the world' (p. 9), and so on. In the end, 'media' and its variations (mediatization, remediation, premediation) appear to cover almost everything. This gets even more confusing when 'communication practices' are then mentioned without further clarification. Are communication and media the same? If not, how, and when, do they differ?

As individual chapters, the book has collected fine examples from across the globe of how electronic media, places, and objects take part in mediating death. For instance, Kalvig, Knudsen, Daugbjerg, Warner, and Kristensen and Mortensen all illustrate how (violent) deaths – from Gaddafi, Utøya and Sarajevo to Gettysburg and self-immolation in Tibet – have a capacity to capture people's (spiritual) emotions and alter a sense of self and community. Warner's example of a Facebook algorithm selecting commercials for a gas grill on a page concerning the funeral procession of a self-immolated Tibetan monk highlights the new unintended consequences emerging in the age of digital media. The role of community, (on-line) places, and objects is also presented in the chapters by Rasmussen, Irving, Haverinen, and Sumiala, while those by Christensen and Sandvik and by Schorr show how the continued presence of the deceased is materialized in the life of the bereaved. While, in particular, the chapters by Daugbjerg, Rasmussen, and Haverinen are excellent, I would like to highlight those by Stage and by Pennington.

The most interesting contribution in terms of understanding death, materiality, and time through the lens of 'media' is Carsten Stage's chapter on terminally ill Internet bloggers. Stage's investigation of rhythms offers interesting food for thought on time and death. Through Lefebvre's rhythm analysis, Stage shows how the blog takes part in structuring the life of the bloggers, who are confronted by various notions of rhythm: from rhythm of the self, to biological rhythm and the rhythm of medical systems. As the bloggers' desire for social rhythms, such as full-time jobs, become increasingly impossible to fulfil, blogging reinstalls social rhythm in the wake of the shock of having to cope with illness and

the deprivation of usual social rhythms. After death, blog posts help keep the deceased in a continued state of 'a-liveness'.

Pennington's chapter looking at Facebook commemoration is perhaps too obvious an example of the possibilities offered by new media. However, many interesting reflections are found on what social media has to offer in terms of what *not* to do on-line, and how emojis and brief comments are seen as superficial among some informants or bereaved. Pennington neatly shows, however, how commemoration and dealing with death is not about consensus, as is illustrated by other informants who found Facebook well suited for the finding of social support and discussion of grief.

In sum, the editors are right in suggesting that studying death and loss may be at the heart of understanding modern society, and the inspiring case studies clearly prove this point. The broad scope, however, also has its disadvantages in that it is rarely explicit how new media such as Facebook, World of Warcraft, or YouTube mediate similar or different perspectives on death compared to the making of a spear in Papua New Guinea or ghost hunts in Gettysburg. While one can see how 'media', 'mediation', 'mediatization', and so on, help inform the materiality of death, there are only few chapters (e.g. Stage, Warner, Schorr, and Knudsen) that explicitly try to deal with what this mediation approach offers to understandings of *time*. And this seems critical, as 'time' is the central justification of the series, where death and material decay 'offer key insights into human perceptions of time' (p. xiii). Thus, if you are interested in studies of death, materiality and new possibilities of (on-line) media, this is a great volume adding fascinating case studies to a growing field. If you are interested in the relationships between death, materiality, and *time*, and have read the first volume in the series, it is hard not to be slightly disappointed.

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GERRITSEN, ANNE & GIORGIO RIELLO (eds).

*Writing material culture history*. xiv, 338 pp., illus., bibliogr. London: Bloomsbury, 2015. £19.99 (paper)

*Writing material culture history* is a welcome contribution to studies of material culture. The book offers an overview of the ways in which historians and other professionals with interests in history have been incorporating themes, problems, and insights from the so-called

'material turn' in a field relatively distant from this turn's centre of production.

The authors are drawn from a range of backgrounds, including contributions from academic historians, museum directors, curators, and film and TV consultants. Each chapter provides a bibliography and the book concludes with a list of on-line study resources, including virtual museums, collections, and libraries. This list covers institutions from Europe, Asia, and North America, but omits some important databases from Latin America.

The work is organized in three parts. In the first, 'The disciplines of material culture', containing nine chapters, tribute is paid to the disciplines that constituted material culture as a field of studies – namely archaeology and anthropology – with articles relating the field to the history of art and museology. Taken as a whole, these chapters highlight the transdisciplinary and cross-methodological nature of material culture studies. The texts reveal the tension between the conventional interpretation of history – based on written documents – and the analysis of the history of material culture, which approaches artefacts as documents (p. 33).

In thematic terms, the chapters explore the relationship between material culture and wider social processes (p. 6) under early and late modernity, but also in the contemporary world. This is the case of the short but interesting analysis of the negotiations surrounding the meanings and uses of the traditional architecture of the Toraja people in Indonesia.

The chapters in this part reveal proximities to 'processual' archaeology, insofar as things and the meanings attributed to them are taken to reflect – directly or dialectically – the social processes in which they are embedded. Through these there is a striking recurrence of the theme of the emergence of global markets and their impact on material culture across the planet.

Both themes are found in the eight chapters of the book's second part, 'The histories of material culture'. The highlight here are the articles describing the historical transformations in sensory experience at the dawn of modernity through analyses of technological changes, including alterations to auditory and visual perception. Another important topic is the relationship between the body, discipline, identity, and objects (including clothing and furniture) during the industrial era.

The nine chapters of the third part, 'The presentation of material culture', are dedicated to non-academic ways of presenting the history of material culture, including museum exhibitions

and the historical description of films, as well as movie and TV series. Here the topic of material culture is examined in relation to a wider and more diverse audience outside of academia. Foregrounded are discussions on non-textual ways of interpreting the history of objects. This is precisely the topic of the chapters dedicated to conservation and restoration. They introduce the posthumous life of artefacts in museums into the debate, reflecting wider discussions on the modernist search for the authenticity and originality of testimonies of the past. This search exemplifies the purification (in the Latourian sense) central to the naturalist methodology of archival storage and display prevalent in most history, natural history, and art museums since their first emergence in the nineteenth century. This purifying and naturalizing tendency is appropriately questioned in the discussion of the return in the early twenty-first century of 'cabinets of curiosities' (*Wunderkammer*) as a conceptual model for organizing museum exhibitions. This revival points to a postmodern dialogue with 'analogue' forms of conceiving the relation between things (one of the 'principles of similarity' of the premodern episteme described by Foucault).

This third and final part of the book also stands out in stylistic terms. The chapters are written in the first person, presenting individual reflections on these alternative ways of describing the history of objects. In this sense, they diverge from the more conventional academic style found in the first and second parts.

Though somewhat unequal in form and depth, the chapters fulfil their role of introducing multiple voices to the debate on how material culture is interpreted and used in the field of history. This plurality comprises the key strength of the volume.

THIAGO OLIVEIRA *National Museum, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro*

LAU, GEORGE F. *Ancient alterity in the Andes*. 200 pp., tables, figs, illus., bibliogr. London, New York: Routledge, 2013. £28.99 (paper)

George Lau's lucid take on ancient South American ideas of otherness puts the accent on how the fruitful convergence of archaeology and anthropology can produce new interpretations of past cultures' beliefs and metaphysics. Arguing against the impossibility of recovering ideology in archaeology, *Ancient alterity in the Andes* aims at demonstrating to what extent looking for others in the past can reconfigure our understanding of

ancient identity and social formations. The book achieves this through a set of convincing readings of Recuay's material and visual cultures as they have been recovered in the archaeological record. These Andean people who inhabited north Peru in the Early Intermediate period (c.AD 1-700) have been previously investigated by the very same author in a long series of studies which, much in the same way as this latest interpretation, contextualize it in the broader framework of Americanist research and topical concerns.

In this book, the author constructs a social archaeology that is guided by the links he draws between agency theory, developed in material culture studies, and concepts such as predation, notably elaborated by Viveiros de Castro in the context of his study of Amazonian ontologies. These theories function as the backdrop against which Lau sustains a methodological imperative for comparison, without which, he suggests, no hypothesis about the past can ever be advanced. Using alterity as a heuristic tool, Lau's archaeology of otherness is developed through a systematic discussion of three main social typologies of persons: ancestors, enemies, and kin. The book shows how the very existence of Recuay as people was predicated upon the recognition of others in the domestic and public spheres, as much as in both ethnic and intergenerational relations, most significantly between the dead and the living. The premise of Lau's cogent examination of these spheres of life is that a proper analysis of social relations among this ancient Andean group cannot be fully comprehended unless we understand the workings of the social engines that produce their identity. Lau demonstrates that the very notion of alterity fuels and structures a series of relationships that give meaning and continuity to social reproduction among the Recuay. Alterity, it emerges, oscillates between the familiar and the totally alien. The careful balance of these two extremes places local categories of recognition and difference in the ambivalent space of slippages and overlaps.

The picture that emerges from this new perspective on this ancient culture is relevant for two main reasons: it clearly contributes to an understanding of ancient American worlds, but, most significantly, it draws attention to the remarkable continuities between archaeological and ethnographic contexts, which Lau's interpretation elicits in an erudite and yet approachable style. In addition to being an admirable application of current theories, *Ancient alterity's* value lies in hypothesizing the antiquity and geographical spread of southern Amerindians' notions of personhood, indicating

possible avenues for study of the historical depth of ideologies that, at present, we know only from ethnographic cases. In so doing, Lau extends Amazonian ideas of personhood to the Andean context, further cementing some Americanists' idea of a widely shared Amerindian worldview structured on incorporation and predation as axiomatic principles for the construction of persons. By placing notions of alterity and agency at the core of his archaeological investigation, Lau shows how and why anthropological research can be useful to interpret past cultures. At the same time, his approach to the study of Recuay archaeological material puts in sharp focus the vibrant and productive effects of interdisciplinary dialogues. Multiple disciplinary perspectives are brought together in this book to produce an eloquent and articulate treatment of Amerindian ideas of otherness, alterity, and difference.

MAX CAROCCI *Chelsea College of Art*

O'HANLON, MICHAEL. *The Pitt Rivers Museum: a world within*. 168 pp., table, illus., bibliogr. London: Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers Ltd & Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 2014. £16.99 (paper)

It is important to start by explaining what this volume is and what it is not. The author is the outgoing Director of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford and the book was written as he approached retirement: it is a reflection on his about-to-be-former institution. The trap that awaits those in such positions is one of self-indulgence: either the whole history of the institution up until one's own Directorship is assumed to oneself in a broadly Whiggist manner; or, alternatively, the tone may be set by an account of achievements that have characterized one's own tenure.

This book cannot be accused of either of these. It is well researched and authoritative, written with verve and wit; but if there are historical elements in the structuring of the opening chapters, it is too short at 163 pages of lavishly illustrated text to provide a detailed history. On the second count of self-promotion, the author himself – though a participant in the initiatives discussed – is one of the least of those name-checked colleagues whose activities lace the narrative. O'Hanlon's intended audience is clearly wide, including not just professionals in the fields of anthropology, material culture, and museum studies, but also the interested visitor to the collections. O'Hanlon himself compares the book to a Swiss army knife. To get to the displays,

visitors have to discover a discrete arched door leading off the grand Victorian set-piece of the University of Oxford Museum of Natural History. Over the past decade, increasing numbers have found their way through this entrance. Yet they may have wondered what kind of Alice-in-Wonderland world they had walked into. The volume is clearly written partly with their questioning in mind.

Chapter 1 rehearses the biography of General Pitt-Rivers, how the museum came into being through deed of gift in 1884, and the evolutionist cast and typological means of display he bequeathed to successive curators. Much of this is derived from secondary sources, inevitably given the existing literature on Pitt-Rivers himself, on E.B. Tylor, Henry Balfour, and others associated with the museum's foundation. Chapter 2, by contrast, has benefitted from scouring the administrative archives. What is revealing is how attempts to position the Pitt Rivers within the University of Oxford nexus have been consistently frustrated, with appeals for resources often unsuccessful and grand plans (notably Bernard Fagg's scheme for an innovative new rotunda) ultimately shelved. In recent times, external funding has allowed the museum to fare rather better.

In the last two chapters the gears shift towards what might be called an institutional anthropology, a perspective already implied in the book's subtitle: 'A world within'. Chapter 3 takes stock of the collections themselves through a series of examples chosen for their revealing variety, beginning with the famous Jivaro 'shrunken heads', and moving through more everyday objects, models, fakes, and recycling to survey the diversity of things, cultures, and collectors assembled in the museum. Chapter 4 addresses the potential and problems that face museums with international collections as they seek to reconcile the issues of cultural 'ownership'. Much is written about these issues in their historical, curatorial, and ethical aspects, but not always by those actually engaged in the complex processes of cultural brokerage. O'Hanlon does not shrink from the task in giving a picture of the conundrums involved whilst emphasizing the positive results that can come from collaborative working with communities elsewhere.

A number of threads running through the text are worth emphasis. One is the welcome attention given in the book (and in actuality) to the photographic collections at the Pitt Rivers. Successive photo archivists have been at the forefront of re-siting photography within the remit of anthropology. A second theme is the

issue of clutter. Where immersive experience is valued in the visual arts, the overwhelming character of the museum has arguably acquired a new kudos as an installation. O'Hanlon characterizes the Pitt Rivers displays as 'in course of arrangement'. This partly derives from a perception that it is permanently incomplete – which has clearly bemused successive University Registrars. Whilst discrimination is desirable, an institution which simply allowed itself to fossilize would be unworthy of a vibrant university and a disservice to its many visitors, actual and virtual.

JOHN MACK *University of East Anglia*

## Method

CARNEIRO, ROBERT L. (introd.). *An ethnography of England in the year 1685: being the celebrated third chapter of Thomas Babington Macaulay's History of England*. xi, 243 pp., bibliogr. New York: Eliot Werner Publications, 2014. \$32.95 (paper)

First published in 1848, the third chapter of the first volume of Macaulay's history has indeed become celebrated as a pioneering essay in social history dealing with social groups, the standard of living, urbanization, morals, and so on. It is still well worth reading today, as the anthropologist Robert Carneiro suggests in his enthusiastic introduction. In choosing to republish the chapter under the title of an 'ethnography', however, Carneiro goes considerably further. At one point he calls it 'the first ethnographic monograph ever written' and its author 'an anthropologist before his time'. Although I would agree with Carneiro that the emergence of what we call 'ethnography' was not so much a sudden break with tradition in the age of Malinowski as a more gradual development, I find it impossible to take his two suggestions very seriously.

In the first place, even if we exclude Herodotus on the grounds that his observations on cultural difference form part of a general history rather than a monograph, the term *Ethnographie*, coined by the German historian August Ludwig Schlözer in 1771, makes an appropriate characterization of his former colleague Gerhard Friedrich Müller's *Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*, written in the 1740s, while Müller's instructions to his assistants about the description of manners and customs dates from much the same time. Again, Carsten Niebuhr's *Beschreibung von Arabien*, based, like Müller's description, on first-hand observation, if not exactly on 'fieldwork' in the Malinowskian sense, was published in 1772.

If the third chapter were to be described a little more precisely as a 'historical ethnography', the case for its originality would be stronger, but even so there were precedents. As Carneiro notes in his introduction, Voltaire's *Essai sur les moeurs* (1756) was a study of society which, as Macaulay's would do, rejects the usual emphasis on political and military events (though this rejection had already become a commonplace in the eighteenth century). The seventy-first chapter of Hume's *History of England* resembles Macaulay's third in subject-matter, though it is shorter and was eventually relegated to an appendix. Still closer to Macaulay in its aim of describing a society is Hume's friend William Robertson's 'View of society', prefixed to his *Charles V* (1769). Even more attention was given by Robert Henry in his *History of Great Britain* (1771-93) to what the author called 'the more permanent and peaceful scenes of social life'.

In other words, Macaulay's third chapter emerged from a tradition. It should also be placed in the context of the author's own time. The mid-nineteenth century, when the chapter was published, witnessed a wave of publications on the history of culture and society, including the histories of 'civilization' by François Guizot and Henry Buckle, which attracted much attention at the time, and culminating in Jacob Burckhardt's masterpiece on the culture of the Renaissance in Italy (1860). Burckhardt's 'essay', as he called his book, was, like Macaulay's chapter, a portrait of an age, but an age that lasted three centuries or more. What was new in the third chapter was the decision to portray a society frozen at a particular moment in time, a historical snapshot (followed, of course, by an account of change in later chapters). Earlier ethnographers had also portrayed societies, but they often believed that the manners and customs they described were ancient if not timeless. Macaulay, on the other hand, focused on 1685.

Carneiro's introduction introduces readers to Thomas Macaulay, a many-sided man who was a poet, an essayist, a Member of Parliament, and a civil servant in India as well as a historian. In politics, Macaulay supported the Whig party, a commitment that influenced his history, which was, as Carneiro notes, sometimes 'partisan'. It may be worth adding that this partisanship affected the third chapter as well as the later narrative of political events. When reading the description of the country squire, his excessive drinking, coarse manners and language 'such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns', it is worth reminding oneself that Macaulay was reproducing a polemical

stereotype of a social group that supported the Tories. All the same, the third chapter remains well worth reading, not only for its lively style but also for the author's vivid imagination, a quality as necessary to anthropologists as it is to historians.

PETER BURKE *University of Cambridge*

SANJEK, ROGER (ed.). *Mutuality: anthropology's changing terms of engagement*. 374 pp., map, ill., bibliogr. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. £42.50 (cloth)

Anthropology has always been a profoundly personal undertaking, as is witnessed by tales told around conference hotel lobbies and bars, in classrooms and increasingly in boardrooms, and by the regular publication of volumes testifying to the trials and tribulations of fieldwork. A reader of these confessions will readily note changes over time in how they are framed, from Bronislaw Malinowski's revelations in his 'diary' (1967) and Reo Fortune's account in *Sorcerers of Dobu* (1932) of how he threatened to report a reluctant Dobu informer to British authorities in order to gain his co-operation, to more contemporary revelatory accounts that tend to speak of intimate and less distanced encounters between fieldworkers and 'natives' now transformed into human beings. Roger Sanjek's *Mutuality: anthropology's changing terms of engagement* speaks directly to this transformation, elevating our tales from the field to the status of a formative value system that can be as vital to the development of an anthropologist as has been her or his formal training and indoctrination. He identifies this value system as *mutuality*.

The volume consists of sixteen chapters. Each is written as a personal account of how the author's professional development has been shaped through relationships with the communities in which he or she has worked. All but one of the authors were trained in the United States. The volume ends with a thoughtful and personal conclusion written by Roger Sanjek.

The contributions to *Mutuality* are separated into four parts. The first, 'Orientations', speaks to some of the general characteristics of mutuality. Here, for example, a chapter by Garrick Bailey provides a history of relationships between anthropologists and Native American communities; another by Yolanda Moses focuses on the discipline's long-standing relationship to concepts of 'race', culminating in the American Anthropological Association's widely recognized 'RACE: Are We So Different?' project.

The second section is titled 'Roots' and emphasizes ways in which the contributors' family and community backgrounds have helped shape their values and approaches to their work. Here, for example, Parminder Bhachu reports on the ways in which her family's participation in the 'Punjabi craft caste global diaspora' (p. 4) influenced her career choices. Other contributors discuss ways in which their anthropologies were formed in part by the experiences of their ancestors and parents.

The third section, 'Journeys', emphasizes how particular career choices have provided varied expressions of mutuality as well as posing different obstacles to achieving fruitful mutual relationships. Collectively these chapters show how the discipline has begun to be transformed by shifts in the employments and values of its practitioners. Roberto Alvarez concludes his chapter with a discussion of how his career has been positively influenced by his own experiences of marginality within the communities and places where he has worked. Alaka Wali provides insight into ways her current employment as a curator with the Field Museum of Natural History has broadly influenced her sense of the importance of truly collaborative inquiry.

The final section of the volume is titled 'Publics' and is directed to the varied publics with whom anthropologists become engaged. Many of these chapters are focused on applications and provide insight into both the successes and the frustrations of seeking mutuality in contexts in which broader inequalities and cultural insensitivities persist.

One way in which *Mutuality* differs from most earlier collections of fieldwork tales is that many of the chapters describe the influences of mutual relationships over long periods of time in the contributors' careers, whereas the earlier genre tended to focus on single fieldwork encounters. Another pronounced difference lies in the nature of the 'fieldwork' experience itself, with an emphasis here on applied and public anthropological practices and with several contributors engaged in careers or employment outside of academia.

Today's practitioners of anthropology are more diverse than in the past, in respect both to their ethnicity and to their work. Both of these conditions of our moment are well represented in this volume, and from the personal accounts of each chapter we might be justified in thinking that the emphasis on collaborative practices, advocacy, and efforts to recognize and balance inequalities between practitioners and those with whom they work has emerged in part from the

great variety of experiences that have informed the intimate and individual worlds of the contributors to this volume.

ERVE CHAMBERS *University of Maryland*

SMITH, KATHERINE, JAMES STAPLES & NIGEL RAPPORT (eds). *Extraordinary encounters: authenticity and the interview*. vi, 205 pp., illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn, 2015. £43.00 (cloth)

Interviews, by their nature, lie outside the ordinary flow of life that anthropologists privilege in gathering knowledge about selves and societies. They are often seen as stilted moments of interaction that put interviewees-as-informants under pressure to reveal what they do not necessarily know explicitly. This volume, with seven chapters contributed by experienced researchers and an epilogue by Rapport, speaks to this knowledge gap, reflecting on interviewing techniques already deployed within anthropology. The editors' intention is to treat the interview as a 'methodology, an analytic category and a social event' (p. 2) – as an extraordinary encounter, not just as a technique for eliciting information. While the book struggles to cohere under the rubrics of the extraordinary and authenticity, this is largely due to the individual power of each contribution.

Caplan impressively weaves together four decades of encounters with Mikidadi, a Tanzanian man, to resemble the product of a single biographical interview. While this essay has perhaps less to do with interviewing as such, it is a subtle analysis of the issues of authenticity in rendering accounts sensible for other audiences. Niehaus's work with Reggie, a HIV-positive South African man, draws out the benefit of linking micro and macro insights through biographical narrative interviewing. While this biographical information makes a good case for recording life-stories that elicit more authentic knowledge, much of the chapter is a product of research rethought, rather than to do with the interview as a claim to knowledge or as a social form.

Staples' work with 'Das', an Indian leper with whom he worked for twenty-five years, shapes the chapter that most clearly sets the scene for the uses of interviews in ethnographic thinking and research. Staples is a strong defender of gentle persistence to elicit biographical narratives that tell and retell stories to reveal both the teller's fluctuating levels of self-awareness and the structural constraints that shape those lives. Smith lays great emphasis on the contextual value of

ethnographic research to deploy the interview as a space 'in which to demystify' (p. 83) with her female informants in a Manchester social club. Her interviews were a continuation of the ordinary, rather than extraordinary, instances of metacognition; all conversations, she reminds us, 'have a purpose' (p. 97).

Trias i Valls' work with Catalonian children highlights the value of speaking with extraordinary subjects of inquiry while blurring the boundaries of the interview setting by probing the interview form as 'imagined spaces and as instances of "wandering"' (p. 100). Drawing on theories of time and gift exchange, Trias i Valls reveals the power of imposing frames of time, space, and context on other's temporalities. The interview's power as an extraordinary encounter shows the danger of any researcher's attempts to shape others' lives to a research agenda.

Drawing from a series of 'trusting exchanges' (p. 128) with twenty anthropologists, Okely writes richly and confidently about a discipline she clearly loves and defends here with passion and dignity. She explores the many obstacles facing researching ethnographically in modern academia, but she also makes a powerful call against method: 'participation rather than detached interrogation brought proof' (p. 133). Lopes's 'reverse interviews' form part of her action research with UK sex workers, pushing the reader to consider the researcher as a 'catalyst for action and a resource' (p. 161). While the chapter does not explicitly develop a methodological focus on interviewing, honing in on action research and 'bottom-up anthropology' (p. 170), Lopes shows the important role that anthropology can play in the world; research with a 'mandate' (p. 161) emerges as a worthy endeavour.

Rapport takes on the formidable task of gathering these strong perspectives into a cogent framework. He expands on the interview as 'a point of tension between remembering and re-authoring' (p. 176) that draws out the ongoing temporal reconfiguration in interview spaces – retrospective, introspective, and prospective elements in narrative tension. He concludes that the interview is a 'contaminated' event between 'talking-partners' (p. 176), the quotidian infected with extraordinary moments of 'ironic self-awareness and self-accounting' (p. 186).

This book helps to bridge the gap between anthropology as a discipline which makes a claim to special knowledge and other social science paradigms that seek to record truth claims through interview practices without necessarily accounting for the encounter that produces those claims. The strength of the volume lies in how it

presents the state of the art of interviewing by several of its masters. The book stands as a compelling reader for understanding this extraordinary art and the equally extraordinary encounters it can evidently produce to bolster the truth claims of ethnographic research.

KEITH EGAN *NUI Galway*

## Religion and belief

ESPÍRITO SANTO, DIANA & NICO TASSI (eds).

*Making spirits: materiality and transcendence in contemporary religions.* x, 260 pp., Illus., bibliogr. London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013. £59.50 (cloth)

This book is about an apparent contradiction in terms: the 'materiality' of 'spirituality'. With contributions that cover case studies from Japan to Congo, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, and Papua New Guinea, it suggests that this epistemological divide not only does not make sense but in fact obscures processes of meaning-making and the socializing experience of belief. It is a solid, coherent collection of contributions that is, in the majority of the case studies, inspired by (or in dialogue with) the ontological turn in order to produce new languages and perceptions of materiality in spiritual contexts. As the editors note in the introduction, there is a *longue durée* history in the so-called West, instantiated by the advent of modernity that has produced the separate 'entification' of materiality and spirituality, which in turn have produced two distinct forms of knowledge: 'scientific knowledge' versus spiritual 'belief'. This has remained, throughout history and with the contribution of 'traditional' anthropology, a matter of fact.

*Making spirits* thus proposes to question this gap, through both empirical and epistemological debate. It offers us case studies that offer alternative paths to the hegemonic epistemologies of the modernizing project (p. 4), and in the process deconstruct associated notions of 'representation' (pp. 9ff.), 'materiality' and 'mediation' (pp. 13ff.), and communication and exchange (pp. 20ff.). In this collective endeavour, Espírito Santo and Tassi challenge the contributors to assess the problem from the viewpoint of *relations*, instead of static representations and interpretations – relations between people, things, and entities, which in turn highlight the importance of 'consequences' and 'effects' (p. 6). Their proposal is therefore to focus on ontology, as a reminder of the plurality of realities at stake, which transcend the status of mere analytical categories towards one of cosmology, or, better

yet, cosmologies. Here, the editors follow previous proposals from Martin Holbraad, Amiria Henare, and others in their attempt to reframe materiality beyond its objectifying quality and towards processes of signification and agency.

The book highlights three core processes that support this idea, and simultaneously translate into its three main sections: 'spirits in the making'; 'transformations'; and 'matter and spiritual power'. In the first section, in Espírito Santo's chapter, we become familiarized with how Cuban *espiritismo* is materially informed through processes of mediation that often become visible through somatic experience (among others). She concludes that the mediation of mediumship is in fact simultaneously informative of both matter and meaning, through actual or mimicked cosmogonic 'fabrication'. Susana Rostas, in turn, describes how in Mexico, 'things' act as indexical enablers of practice and meaning. She uses as example the case of the Concheros, traditional dance groups that perform in religious, cultural, and political settings, for whom material elements such as smoke, flames, or music are more than mere scenographic elements, but sources of reciprocal interaction between the dancers and spirits, which ultimately configure its regenerative condition. Finally, Roger Sansi explores, through the case of Mãe Aninha, a famous Brazilian Candomblé practitioner, the emic distinction between what is 'given' and what is 'made'. Through this particular example, we learn that the *orixás* can be perceived, with no contradiction, as being creatively fabricated and simultaneously 'natural', transcendent to human scope. The key point, in this case, is understanding mediumship as 'art' and 'fabrication', a place of encounter between multiple experiences and ontologies.

The second section explores contexts of transformations. Ludovic Coupaye, for instance, takes the viewpoint of ritual practices in the East Sepik province, Papua New Guinea, to unveil how human-spirit relations are entanglements enhanced through technique, intention, and efficacy. From this perspective, the Waapi Saaki, a yam-related ritual, produces, through instantiation, snapshot, and framing, a nexus between people and things that is in itself transformative. Arnaud Halloy, in turn, explores how, in the Xangô cults of Northeastern Brazil, cognition and materiality converge through what he describes as an 'ontological dynamic' that confers mediatory capacity to natural objects or simple artefacts, which ultimately become tools (*ferramentas*) for the mobilization of power and belief. Philip Swift, on the other hand, analyses how certain objects are used within 'purifying

experiments' among members of a new Japanese religious movement, Mahikari. In such experiments set forth by its practitioners, seemingly unremarkable objects such as jam jars embody 'capsular conversions' – sensuous, spiritual, moral, and material (p. 171).

The third and final part concerns matter and spiritual power. Nico Tassi, in his research among the urbanized indigenous highlanders (*cholo-mestizos*) of La Paz, shows us how both elements are connected through the currency (in its broader sense) of 'value', displayed similarly in the ritual and economic spheres. Here, we realize that commodified objects, rather than departing from the subjective, actually operate in continuity, and 'grow' with their proprietors and their bodies. Joe Trapido, in turn, takes us to Kinshasa, in order to revisit the very anthropological category of the 'fetish'. He offers us historical and contemporary examples, from 'immemorial' traditional times to 'modern' post-independence Mobutism and late twentieth-century Pentecostalism, to demonstrate how the fetish is persistent, namely in uncovering problems of spiritual and political transformation in the city. Finally, Andrew Dawson brings us back to Brazil, to expose the ritual of consumption of ayahuasca (*feitio*) among followers of the Santo Daime in Brazil. He describes how the ritual in fact produces an effect of fusion and collapse of realms, towards an 'overarching metaphysical reality' (p. 247) that reveals a community of spirit, self, and community.

All the contributions of this book successfully offer alternative heuristic and epistemological routes to the mainstream spirit-matter dichotomy. They do so in very diverse, interesting, and theoretically challenging proposals, which uncover plural ways of understanding the embedded, generative, and performative dimensions of artefacts in the world. Keeping this in mind, one may legitimately question if the introductory proposal to follow an 'ontological' route is indeed necessary in such a project, or if 'things' and their relations can exist and signify in other realms of knowledge and experience that invoke other kinds of metaphysics.

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FAVRET-SAADA, JEANNE (foreword by Veena Das; translated by Matthew Carey). *The anti-witch*. xix, 115 pp., Illus., bibliogr. Chicago: Hau Books, 2015. £12.50 (paper)

Ioan M. Lewis suggests that anthropology is like a ritual, in which doing fieldwork results in a state

of possession by something foreign and writing about it after returning home is a process of deposal. This book by Jeanne Favret-Saada shows a direct correlation between the strength of the possession and the length of the process of deposal. *The anti-witch* is the third book about her fieldwork on witchcraft in rural northwest France, conducted from 1969 to 1972. *Deadly words* (1977), her first resulting ethnography (which was followed by more diary-like ethnographic descriptions in *Corps pour corps*, 1981), aims – with a claim to be unique and with a healthy portion of aggression – to reinvent anthropology as well as psychoanalysis. Favret-Saada has been praised for her radical realization of the anthropological ideal to get involved in the field with the entire person, and to put aside the question of ontological truth in order to reveal the inner logic and functionality of local practices as well as how people get involved in these practices. She shows that witchcraft is something to be found not only in former times or alien lands, but also next door and these days. The advantage and necessity of fieldwork becomes especially salient in a field where everybody is cautious about speech acts, not only because words can cause harm and death, and witches can hear them over distances, but also because admitting to be involved in witchcraft exposes oneself to public ridicule. Favret-Saada provides a rich ethnographic description of the learning process on her journey, which extends deeper and deeper into the field until she is herself 'caught' (as the locals call their entanglement in witchcraft). It is a field of fragmentations and inconsistencies, of secrecy and ambiguity, of incomplete perspectives and changing positions. As a result of the flip-flopping magical game that constantly opens for non-believers the possibility of belief and opens for believers the possibility of non-belief, her peasants appear not as naïve believers of a holistic worldview, but as constantly ambivalent concerning magical explanations of misfortune.

*The anti-witch* is not based on new fieldwork material, but compiles different articles that were published after Favret-Saada's earlier books. She points out the local and historical conditionality of her ethnography. What she says about witchcraft is valid only for farmers of family-owned farms in Western France around 1970. Since she correlates the production conditions with the way of witchcraft, she doubts that witchcraft is still the same today. She speaks with greater certainty regarding the differences between 1970 and the nineteenth century in that region. The invention of psychoanalysis, and both the decline as well as

the rationalization of Catholicism, had changed witchcraft practices completely. The tendency to replace magical forces with secular psychological forces echoes in the main theses of the book: 'Dewitching' is a specific form of therapy, one that is similar to psychoanalysis or family therapies yet not identical with either.

While in her first books Favret-Saada mimetically focuses on tracking the uncertain and undetermined ways of the victims on their journey through witchcraft, she now mimetically focuses on the dewitcher's techniques. In her detailed description of a dewitcher's use of tarot cards, she presents the dewitcher as an artful master of séances who pretends that the cards lead the order of events, whereas the dewitcher is actually the agent. Through an intense, absorbing, and confusing ritual, the dewitcher eventually brings the clients to clarity about their situation. The dewitcher mainly activates the wife, who herself activates her depressed husband, the head of the family and the actual target of the therapy. Through words of advice, the clients learn cultural skills of aggression that are necessary to stand one's ground. Thus dewitching becomes a 'catch-up institution': with the help of the dewitcher, the clients finally heal themselves. Favret-Saada offers this interpretation as a universal explanation – one that applies not only for witchcraft, but for all forms of therapy, 'however they seek to justify their existence'. Thus the practice of looking into the dewitcher's cards and revealing their secrets is still torn between highly specific events and universalist explanations.

Every exorcism provokes the appearance of the possessing entity in order to get rid of that entity. And it is this undissolvable connection between exorcism and evocation that often results in an infinite analysis. Since every possession ritual is also a journey in which agency and positions are constantly changing, and in which one incomplete perspective is replaced by another, it is quite unlikely that *The anti-witch's* state of depossession will mark the end of Favret-Saada's voyage.

EHLER VOSS *University of Siegen*

JUNG, DIETRICH, MARIE JUUL PETERSEN & SARA LEI SPARRE. *Politics of modern Muslim subjectivities: Islam, youth, and social activism in the Middle East*. xi, 213 pp., bibliogr. London: Palgrave, 2014. £22.00 (paper)

The authors of this volume are Danish social scientists whose research was originally funded by

Denmark's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Jung, the senior author, was originally at the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), an independent organization with close ties to the Danish Foreign Ministry. Since 2009, he has been at the University of Southern Denmark.

While they acknowledge that such leading scholars as Anthony Giddens, Michel Foucault, and Charles Taylor maintain that Western social theories should be limited in their application to Western societies, our authors reject this perspective. Rather, they maintain that 'a critical application of their [Western social theorists'] concepts can tell us something about ongoing social transformations in Muslim societies' (p. 1). This argument seeks to move beyond the deadlocked debates about the virtues of cultural relativism and universalism to which we have been witness at least since Edward Said's pioneering book *Orientalism* (1978). The authors are not saying there are no differences between Euro-American and Muslim and Arab development and culture. But they argue that as they form their subjectivities, Westerners and Arabs have had to deal with what they call 'the impact of globally relevant social imaginaries' (p. 2), a concept closely associated with the writings of Charles Taylor. Scholars should avoid essentializing Muslims and Middle Easterners by finding features in 'Islam' that are allegedly inimical to democracy or, on the contrary, conducive to it. The chances for democracy in Muslim and Middle Eastern societies wax and wane according to the *behaviour* of Muslims and Middle Easterners, and not with putatively fixed *attributes* of 'Islam'. In the authors' words, 'the construction of Muslim modernities ... takes place with reference to social imaginaries similar to those which social theory has discerned in European history' (p. 2).

Here, the concept of 'social imaginaries' is crucial. In his book on the topic Taylor defined the concept as follows:

By social imaginary, I mean something much broader and deeper than the intellectual schemes people may entertain when they think about social reality in a disengaged mode. I am thinking, rather, of the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlay these expectations (*Modern social imaginaries*, 2003, p. 21).

In short, our authors hold that the formation of people's subjectivities in, let us say, the last hundred years follows a pattern that is similar wherever they may live, even while the details of those subjectivities vary. Contemporary Muslims in the Middle East and Westerners in Europe and North America have been constructing 'modernities' by reference to 'globally relevant social imaginaries', the authors maintain. Just as social theorists have identified the construction of European modernities through the filter of those people's social imaginaries as they are faced by and try to grapple with 'global modernity', one can identify the construction of Muslim modernities through the filter of Muslims' social imaginaries as those Muslims similarly are faced by and grapple with that 'global modernity'. What is the content of this global modernity? It involves the search for security, jobs, education, good physical and moral health, prosperity, living in accord with one's environment, and so on.

Do Islamic precepts, injunctions, and beliefs matter? Certainly. On the other hand, in the authors' view, it should be possible to develop an ideal type of religion 'against which we can empirically observe a multiplicity of religious forms' (p. 27). This nod to universalism does not do away with culturally relativist arguments about Islam, but it seeks to put such relativism in perspective so that it would be possible to make generalizations about modernity and its impact on people of faith everywhere.

Additionally, the authors underscore the role for Muslims today of religious associations, such as the great many charitable organizations that one finds in the Middle East. These social collectivities furnish solidary networks that provide high levels of satisfaction to their members. Yet, despite the fact that these charitable institutions are 'Islamic' in one way or another, a prominent finding is that Islam's role in the social imaginaries of the Muslims is only one among several other factors and may, indeed, be overshadowed by some of them. These may include neighbourhood loyalty, or patriotism, or family allegiances. Because of this pluralism, the authors maintain that Islam should not be seen as 'an independent variable for the understanding of Muslim walks of life' (p. 4).

In regard to methodology, the authors interviewed 180 Muslim members of charitable organizations, ninety each in Jordan and Egypt, supplemented with random interviews in both countries and their own participant observations. They considered these organizations as "'social sites'" for the construction of modern Muslim selfhoods in the context of authoritarian politics

and severe economic constraints' (p. 3). These interviewees embodied and exhibited multiple forms of religiosity because they were caught up in what the authors call 'multiple modernities', a concept that has become central to theories of development. These authors contend against cultural relativist arguments that imply that Muslims are Muslims, 'Westerners' are 'Westerners', and never the twain shall meet. They insist that Muslims differ significantly in their religious discourses and try to carry out their traditions, as it were, across a broad spectrum of religious positions, from Islamist radicalism to – wonder of wonders – liberal pluralist modes of religious piety. In doing so, they draw their values to a significant degree from the wellsprings of democratic politics, economic liberalism, and the secular sciences.

This is a timely volume. It is for the most part well written, on balance avoids jargon, and is judiciously argued. It will not sit well with those whose commitment to cultural relativism is a powerful lens through which to observe the formation of Muslim subjectivities. Perhaps some will feel that research based on interviews with 180 informants is too narrow a basis on which to establish the validity of the authors' argument. Yet, even if this is the case, scholars will need to give this volume serious consideration in the ongoing efforts we make to construe the phenomenon of identity formation in contemporary societies in the Arab world.

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STRHAN, ANNA. *Aliens and strangers? The struggle for coherence in the everyday lives of evangelicals*. vii, 232 pp., illus., bibliogr. Oxford: Univ. Press, 2015. £55.00 (cloth)

This is a superb ethnographic study of middle-class conservative evangelicals in a London church the author calls 'St John's'. Even as the stack of anthropologically informed ethnographies on Euro-American elite evangelicals continues to grow, relatively few have focused on the conservative, non-charismatic branch of the faith. And of those that do, only a handful give the reader the sense this one does of having laid bare in all of its complexity the core set of concerns that motivate members of such churches and the practices through which they come to understand and try to address them. Long on talk, intellectual reflection, and Bible reading, and relatively short on emotion, ritual, and encounters with the miraculous, this kind of Christianity has a slow,

steady, and, to the untrained eye, undramatic quality that can make it difficult to write compellingly about in ethnographic terms. But Strhan clears all of these hurdles with ease, making her book an important contribution to the study of Christianity in anthropology and beyond.

Strhan is a gifted ethnographer, but her success also rests on her keen theoretical eye. Drawing in particular on Simmel, she first situates St John's in the midst of the city of London, showing how the church offers its members a way of fashioning themselves that specifically addresses the nature of urban life. Simmel famously describes how in modern life people are confronted with more stimulation than they can meaningfully take in. He also shows how what his colleague Weber would call participation in different spheres of life in the city means that people also experience conflicts between the different norms they come to internalize. In some less well-known work on which Strhan also draws, Simmel goes on to add that it is in the religious sphere that people seek to create images of a coherence that reconciles the conflicting norms with which they contend, a coherence that must be placed in the transcendent realm because it is impossible to achieve on earth. God, for Simmel, represents a model of a coherent personality able to synthesize all the pulls that divide others – a model people seek to follow, albeit in the face of earthly ties that rule out complete success.

Through a careful examination of the embodied practices of listening (to sermons, at small group Bible studies, etc.) and speaking (in, for example, efforts to evangelize), Strhan shows how members of St John's come to recognize God's coherence and also to feel His love for them with its correlated demand for their 'wholehearted' devotion. (This God is more demanding in relationships than the sometimes chummy God of many middle-class charismatics.) At the same time, members learn to reflect on the way they frequently fail to meet these demands as they answer to the norms they have internalized as highly educated professionals living at least part of the time in the secular city. For example, members' conviction that the coherence of their Christian selves requires them to evangelize at work or with fellow professionals who are not church members often falters in the face of their commitment to wider British values of reserve and their secularist understanding of religion as a private matter. Similarly, where their Christian moral commitments most directly contradict dominant attitudes outside the church – most often in matters of sexuality, gender, and religious pluralism – the call of the secular value of

tolerance often stills their tongues. In the face of such value conflicts, they struggle to live as aliens and strangers in the worlds that draw them away from God, but these worlds have, as Strhan argues, shaped them too, so escape into coherence is difficult.

Members of St John's feel their failures of coherent living as sinfulness, often spoken of in terms putting other loves before that of God in practices of 'idolatry' and 'adultery'. It is their individual feelings of idolatrous sin and failure that drives members' collective projects of formal worship, Bible study, and wider church participation. They work together to overcome doubts that routine failure and God's material absence raise for them individually, thus giving their church a vital energy beneath its sometimes dry surface – an energy a less able account might have trouble conveying.

*Aliens and strangers?* is a book significantly and creatively engaged with work in the anthropology of Christianity focused on materiality, language, embodiment, values, and morality. But its profound reckoning with the Simmelian themes of fragmentation and the quest for coherence is genuinely novel within that literature, and the ring of ethnographic truth these themes achieve in this study of St John's recommends them strongly as topics for further investigation.

JOEL ROBBINS *University of Cambridge*

## Violence and conflict

BURRELL, JENNIFER L. *Maya after war: conflict, power, and politics in Guatemala*. xii, 221 pp., maps, tables, figs, illus., bibliogr. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 2013. £39.00 (cloth)

For Burrell, 'after war' refers to the emergent period following the 1996 cessation of Guatemala's long civil conflict. She depicts a time of waiting that mixes both constructive and destructive forces of uncertain outcomes. The Maya residents of Todos Santos, the municipality in western highland Guatemala, wait for some kind of normalcy to emerge, but the present normalcy in Guatemala embraces a variety of violences.

Burrell first lays out the conditions of warfare and trauma experienced until recently by Todos Santeros. The army was used by Todos Santeros and outsiders to settle old disputes by denunciations that elicited state-sponsored disappearances. In addition, the army used Civil Defence Patrols both to engage the citizenry in self-defence and to establish a coerced labour pool.

Treating space and place, Burrell describes her attempt to find and interpret maps in the highly controlled post-war environment. Little used by ordinary Mayas, maps had war-time functions; unauthorized possession implied insurrection. In this context, Burrell constructed a map of Todos Santos with the help of a class of fifth-graders, incorporating what students suggested would be worthwhile.

Burrell explores why people talk about some historical things but remain silent about the recent period of insurgent war and war crimes. In the 'after war' period, national leaders have used state power to suppress and constrain the discussion and moral judgement, creating a sanitized official history that self-protects. Burrell details a variety of ways in which Todos Santos have contested this official history. She conducted a workshop that discussed her translation of Maude Oakes's *Two crosses of Todos Santos* (1951), an ethnography of 1930s politics, ritual, and ethnicity. Clearly, Burrell hoped her effort would open doors and enable counter-hegemonic revisions of 'history' presented from a local perspective. Most local comments, however, reveal a rush to embrace modernity that overwhelms cultural nostalgia. Burrell's discussion of religious change is particularly poignant: shamanic cosmology will not be reproduced by its enactment in ritual, which, among Todos Santero youths, now stands beyond the pale of plausible belief.

Burrell examines the ongoing transformations of the fiesta system. Migrant labourers use their international wage labour wealth to fund fiesta events that affirm their continued connection to the community. Unfortunately, Burrell does not give a sufficiently full description of the fiesta, nor are we told in detail how transnational migrants fund or participate in the events or how Protestants create alternatives to fiesta. Her best material comes from a portrayal of community reaction to a returned migrant who rode in the *corrida* horse race draped in American flags.

Burrell reconstructs the lynching of a Japanese tourist and a Guatemalan tour-bus driver and develops the lynching as a panic response to collapsing economy, failing government, judicial impunity, and Maya inability to find either rule of law or personal security from state sources. After the lynching, state investigations offered an opportunity to avenge old disputes pursued now for several generations. In all this, Burrell places Todos Santos within national and international contexts and prejudices in a well-nuanced analysis.

Burrell situates fear of gangs (*maras*) as a rural expression of anxieties regarding unresolved and escalating intergenerational conflicts structured into the community. Failure of the small-plot farm economy and the intrusion of new forms of wealth through migration money have destabilized the long-established authority system. Youths seek alternatives to the senior generation's expectations of life. In Burrell's pithy phrase, '[G]enerational conflict is expressed through the criminalization of youth rebellion and the subsequent remilitarization that quells it' (p. 159).

Burrell theorizes the issues of 'waiting' – of suspension without decision regarding peace or war, calm or violence. She points out that 'Bourdieu has theorized waiting as one way in which the effects of power are felt' (p. 166), and she builds on Auyero's proposition that various forms of bureaucratically imposed waiting discipline the poor. The experience of waiting 'persuades the destitute that they need to be patient' (p. 166). Burrell thus positions waiting and indeterminacy as instruments of state control. Nevertheless, Maya 'refusal to wait may be a powerful counter-hegemonic subjectivity relative to the state' (p. 166). They create for themselves 'the presence of alternatives' (p. 167). While there is 'hope' in these Indian actions, these Mayas find themselves suspended in a mix of sociality and unpredictable violence that they must both endure and cope with in this state of waiting 'after war'.

Although greater ethnographic documentation and less theoretical assertion would have helped several chapters, the book provides significant insight into current Maya life and cultural transformation.

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ROBINSON, CABEIRI DEBERGH. *Body of victim, body of warrior: refugee families and the making of Kashmiri jihadists*. xxvii, 324 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2013. £24.95 (paper)

The Kashmir dispute, a long-unresolved fallout of the Partition of British India, intensified after a popular armed movement for freedom from Indian rule was launched in Kashmir in 1989, resulting in a brutal reprisal by the Indian state. Drawing on long-term ethnographic and archival work in the Pakistan-administered Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK), 'a transnational space in the borderlands between India and Pakistan' (p. 1), Cabeiri deBergh Robinson offers a nuanced and

historicized study of the conflict as condensed in the making of Kashmiri refugees and their political struggles. Through a sustained juxtaposition of the notion of *hijarat* (protective migration) and jihad (armed struggle), she outlines a form of political subjectivity that resists capture by state-sanctioned discourses in both India and Pakistan. Furthermore, she offers a thoughtful critique of the categorical distinctions and reifications made in the language of human rights, which she links to common misapprehensions of the meaning and significance of jihad in the lives of Kashmiri refugees.

The opening sections delve into the dilemmas of citizenship faced by Kashmiris displaced in successive wars. Even as the provinces of the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir were bifurcated between India and Pakistan, both nations claim the region in its entirety. As an internally – and, initially, temporarily – displaced group that aspired to return to their homes after the war, Kashmiri refugees in AJK slipped between the categorical cracks of the South Asian refugee characterized by the permanent migrants of Partition, and internationally designated ‘refugees’ as those expelled from national boundaries. As the duration of *hijarat* extended, Robinson describes the intricate and paradoxical ways in which Kashmiris in AJK made claims to citizenship while keeping open the horizon of return to a ‘not yet or a never-to-be political entity’ (p. 32). Robinson draws a compelling picture of how Kashmiris proactively sustain their political status in Pakistan through diverse and numerous alliances while simultaneously participating in the struggle for Kashmir’s liberation from India. In an ethnographic vignette, the leader of a refugee camp pulls out a sheaf of cards testifying to multiple memberships in a range of political parties, government agencies, and sectarian and militant groups. Robinson’s engrossing presentation helps us understand this as a delicate balancing act necessary for the protection and survival of a precarious community rather than a symptom of political hedging.

Robinson’s main contribution lies in showing that jihad amongst Kashmiri Muslim refugees is not motivated by scriptural inducements or theological ideas of territorial sovereignty. Instead, it rests upon the idea of inalienable

human rights that are then anchored in Muslim ethical notions of human integrity and dignity. Kashmiri warriors – *mujahids* – thus challenge conventional perceptions of jihad by explicitly linking armed struggle to the defence of the integrity of Kashmiri Muslim bodies, specifically against the rape of women and the sexual torture of men carried out by agents of the Indian state. The ‘surprising convergence’ (p. 4) between the prevention of human rights abuses and jihad, whose discursive terrain has been outlined by scholars like Faisal Devji, is thus given flesh in Robinson’s ethnography. Further, a representational split was made along gendered lines in order to reconcile ideas of the ‘warrior’ and ‘victim’ during appeals made in the language of international human rights: Kashmiri women took on the role of the ‘refugee-victim’ while men styled themselves as ‘refugee-warriors’ in order to maintain status as valued political subjects in their respective discursive domains. Yet Robinson illuminates sensitively how this gendered split is neither stable nor straightforward: given the sexual nature of the torture inflicted upon Kashmiri men, wives and lovers bear witness to and commemorate the violence borne by male bodies. The sociopolitical labour of women is further acknowledged in descriptions of the intense social life in the camps that also counter perceptions of refugees as abject embodiments of bare life. Robinson locates the specificity of what she terms ‘humanitarian jihad’ precisely in its entrenchment in, rather than disavowal of, networks of kinship and sociality: the challenge for Kashmiri *mujahids* ‘is not dying like a martyr but living like one’ (p. 224). Other forms of agreement, however, are rendered tenuous, as indexed in Robinson’s anxieties about the forms of ‘dangerous knowledge’ and ‘public secrets’ that become routine in contexts of endemic violence. In sketching intimate portraits of this context while simultaneously situating it against a complex and textured history, Robinson’s book is not just a valuable contribution to the scholarship on Kashmir, but also an important study of subjectivities shaped by political violence, of humanitarianism and kinship, as well as of the postcolonial impasses of citizenship and borders and their intractable legacies in the present.

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