

BOOK REVIEWS

Single Reviews

Colonial Jerusalem: The Spatial Construction of Identity and Difference in a City of Myth, 1948–2012 by Thomas Philip Abowd

Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014. 288 pp.

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One of the defining features of the Zionist settler colonial project from the early 20th century to the present day is its uncompromising demand for the separation of Arab and Jew. Nowhere is this myth of separation more visible and more tenacious than in the city of Jerusalem. Thomas Abowd's *Colonial Jerusalem* is a rich and engaging ethnographic exploration of Jerusalem, its world of separation, of the homes, lives, memories, and histories of the Palestinian Arabs that have been shattered and the anguish and anger it has created and fomented for 68 years. Throughout the book, Abowd seeks to challenge the settler colonial myth of separation and its naturalization by uncovering the ambivalences and contradictions underlying the spatial dividing of the city. He highlights, in turn, a past in which Jews and Arabs mixed and their relations were less hierarchical while at the same time pointing to more recent efforts among Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs to thwart the racial politics of colonial governance.

Abowd's ethnography consists of seven chapters, each of which takes up a different focal point in the spatial making of Jerusalem. The first chapter, also the introduction to the book, sets up the context of the study with a discussion of the modern history of Jerusalem as a colonial city and the demographic politics that have shaped it since 1948. In the second chapter, "Diverse Absences: Reading Colonial Landscapes Old and New," he takes up the makeup of the city under the British colonial Palestine (1917–1948), followed by the spatial politics that first governed the city with its colonization in 1948. The second part of this chapter is an engaging account of the shifting spatial configurations of the city through former Palestinian homes in Talbieh area of the city. The third chapter, "Myths, Memorials, and Monuments in the Jerusalem of Israel's Imagination,"

looks at the contested histories of symbolic places in the city and how they are shaped and contested through a struggle between colonizer and colonized. "Arabs Out of Place: Colonizing the Old City," the fourth chapter, examines the Western Wall area of the old city and how the residents Palestinian Moroccan Quarter have found themselves "out of place" (p. 119) as Israel has respatialized the Western Wall and its environs. The fifth chapter, "National Boundaries, Colonized Spaces: The Gendered Politics of Residential Life," is a fascinating exploration of the everyday lives of Palestinians, especially young women, who have chosen to live in Jewish areas of the city and the difficulties they have from both Jewish Israelis and Palestinian Arabs. In his sixth chapter, "Appropriate Places: Terrorism, Fear, and the Policing of Palestinian Men," Abowd turns to the bodies of Palestinian men under the colonial gaze, a body to be feared not for reasons of security but to maintain separation. In the final chapter, "Up from the Ruins: Demolishing Homes and Building Solidarity in a Colonial City," the discussion turns to ubiquitous Israeli practice of home demolition and the Jewish Israelis and Palestinian Arabs that have come together in a common struggle against it.

Setting out to explore the spatial construction of identity in Jerusalem, Abowd opens and frames his book with two interrelated premise. The first is the seemingly innocuous observation that "it should be recalled that a city's or country's contours, its demographic makeup and those whom it includes and excludes, depend of where and how its boundaries are drawn and—just as importantly—who is empowered to draw them" (p. 18). His second premise is the myth of the inevitable necessity of separation: "It declares that Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs must be kept apart because these two people's real or supposed cultural and religious differences preclude peaceful interactions and make impossible any vision antithetical to one based on separation" (p. 23; see also pp. 41–42). Reading these two points together, it would appear that the first is dependent on the second as its justification and legitimization. Yet, is Abowd

not in fact asking us to consider instead the first as the condition for the second? What is a myth without its enactment and enforcement by the rules and power of governance? Indeed, rather than attacking the myth of separation directly, it is in the attention to the spatial construction of difference in all its ambivalences and contradictions in which his ethnog-

raphy makes an invaluable contribution to the literature on Palestinians/Israelis. It is here that his ethnography also becomes an ideal introduction to the Palestinian/Israeli conflict for both scholars and students, as well as those working more broadly on the relationships between spatiality and power.

Anders Breivik and the Rise of Islamophobia by Sindre Bangstad

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In July 2011, Anders Breivik detonated a bomb in a government building in Oslo, killing eight persons, and he then proceeded to a Norwegian social democratic youth camp and used guns to kill 67 youngsters. Two more died trying to escape. His rationale was soon found on the Internet: his mainly cut-and-paste 1,500-page tract “Europe1983: A Declaration of Independence” (Berwick [Breivik] 2011) and a YouTube introduction (Breivik 2013) to the text. He declares his actions to be marketing efforts for the manifesto. His stated aim is to instigate a civil war in Europe resulting in a white, European Christian civilization. All Muslims are to be expelled from Europe. He sees himself as a true Norwegian and an antifeminist.

His actions and writings have generated much debate and scholarly treatment. Was Breivik a psychotic and paranoid schizophrenic? Was he a lone wolf or a part of a wide collective of the like-minded, as he claimed? Was he inspired and energized by writings and political positions of many Norwegian politicians and scholars? Did he in fact express, however horribly, a deep-seated strand of racism in parts of Norwegian society? How was he related to the like-minded in other European countries? How does he relate to the extreme right tint discoloring of parts of European political and public life? What is the significance of Internet-based hate sites? Most importantly, what is the importance of Breivik in understanding our times?

Sindre Bangstad’s book is a superb treatment of these issues, with an emphasis on the latter of these questions. His text thus covers several fields of inquiry, but these are very skillfully tied together by Bangstad’s overarching ambition—to “shed light on the Norwegian societal discourses regarding Islam and Muslims” (p. xiii) in the context of the general European situation. However, it must be stressed that discourse here is not at all limited to textual analysis—far from it. One major point in his treatise

is the relationship between word and action and that words matter.

Ever since the tragedy, a politically charged issue has been whether Breivik’s actions should be understood as those of a crazy person or if they are important as manifestations of trends in society. In the first forensic psychiatric evaluation, Breivik was found to be a “paranoid schizophrenic” loner. The psychiatrists were obviously completely unaware of how Breivik was a part of a Europe-wide assemblage of xenophobes. Protests against this assessment came also from other psychiatrists, who had never experienced schizophrenics plotting a plan for years, which Breivik had done. A second evaluation found Breivik to be legally sane (not a schizophrenic).

A massive public debate resulted about to what extent racist and xenophobic tendencies in Norwegian society were important in understanding Breivik’s deeds. Some, including academics, argued that Breivik represented no one; others stressed the importance of the social and cultural basis informing Breivik and shaping his actions. Bangstad’s discussion of this issue elucidates how the xenophobic and Islamophobic discourse is a truly necessary, if not sufficient, condition to explain Breivik’s actions. Indeed, Breivik saw himself as representing a major social movement.

Logically, this leads Bangstad to an excellent and theoretically informed discussion of the “mainstreaming of Islamophobic discourse” in Norway, and he shows how it was established over time. The role of the Progress Party, now a part of a coalition government, was one important factor in this. In many other European countries, xenophobic–Islamophobic parties have played the same role. He rightly claims that a Foucauldian “knowledge regime,” with frequent Islamophobic sentiments, has been established about Muslims in Norway and Europe. Media and academia have played major roles in its naturalizing and legitimation, and it now informs, to varying degrees, politicians both to the right and left.

We are given a masterly depiction of how xenophobic–Islamophobic discourses over some years have converged into “Eurabia,” a conspiratorial and apocalyptic vision where

Europe is seen as being invaded and taken over by “Muslims.” Norway and Scandinavia seem to be important loci for contributions to this genre. In it, Europeans are seen as the victims, and Eurabia ideologues see themselves expressing the true sentiment of the people, as opposed to the “political correctness” infesting much of the public sphere. Eurabia is a major Internet presence. However, Breivik, a Eurabia fan, declared himself a man of action not a blog writer.

Bangstad appropriately ends with an important and extensive discussion of “the weight of words” and how the mainstreaming of racist and exclusionary discourses is presently perhaps the major danger to European society. The reactions to the present European refugee crisis testify to the veracity of Bangstad’s analysis.

Anders Breivik and the Rise of Islamophobia is an important book. Its theoretical and analytical approaches elegantly combine with a rich data presentation to elucidate a horrible trend in Europe.

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Navigating Austerity: Currents of Debt along a South Asian River by Laura Bear

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The Hooghly River has been a crucial conduit for trade, life, and livelihood in western Bengal and eastern India long before Job Charnock, the British East India Company trader, established a trading post at Calcutta in 1690. The river splits from the Ganga and flows southward to Bay of Bengal, connecting factory towns with the port in Calcutta, the capital of India’s West Bengal province. Much romanticized and eulogized in Bengali popular and high culture, the river and its resources prompt different kinds of politics: class, identity, subnationalist, and electoral. Two subterranean crises underlie this agonistic space of claim making. The first is silting, which makes the river less navigable. Second, a regime of global governance, or austerity capitalism, guides state policies of managing public goods by abdicating responsibilities and long-term commitments to people and the environment. The political ecology of the river and a port that supports millions therefore constitutes of silencing, denials, and erasures. A leftist Bengali singer once lamented in his song that the sweat and toil of the poor, who bear the brunt of global trade on the river Hooghly, are forever lost in the waves splashing against its *ghats* (a flight of steps leading down to a river)

Laura Bear’s ethnography of this vital and busy waterway and its social and political life tells stories hidden in official narratives and unacknowledged in popular representations and discourses. *Navigating Austerity* vividly depicts

the afflictions produced at the human–environment interface. It unearths the politics of policy-making affecting the river’s upkeep, which remained submerged in the deluge of policy documents and minutes in the government archives. The book demonstrates how the global dominance of austerity capitalism plays itself out through policies and politics. Servicing of sovereign debt, tied to the global financial markets, wrings resources of the port—natural, human, and nonhuman—dry, pushing them to ever-perilous existence devoid of security, maintenance, and sustainability. Policies of privatization extract as much value as it can from the river and its associated infrastructure to feed the profiteering machine of global financial capitalism. Capitalism, in its current guise, does not regenerate; it ruins processes of life, livelihood, and nature, Bear argues.

Navigating Austerity introduces an anthropology of “austerity capitalism,” which has reconfigured public policy across continents for nearly three decades. Financialization of sovereign debts since the 1980s moved public finance from the domain of political decision making to the realm of uncertain and volatile internationalized financial markets. The entangling of ethical, political, and fiscal questions and imperatives was set aside in favor of technical issues of servicing debts, interest payments, minimizing costs, and maximizing productivity. To comprehend the governance regime that emerges in the context of such radical reordering of public priorities, Bear studies the interactions between the formal practices and popular ethics of productivity.

Drawing on the work of Michael Herzfeld, Bear looks at the intricacies of relationships within the river bureaucracy and its connections with the entrepreneurs, boatmen, and

workers. She navigates the layers of intimacies and distancing that characterize such complex webs of relationship, muddying the boundaries of formal and informal with a rare eye for linguistic and gestural details. Bear looks at the pragmatic use of formal devices, such as debt, future projections, or models of markets by differently positioned groups involved in maintaining the river and earning a livelihood from it, to pursue multiple and dispersed ethical goals. “Capitalist social action can only be understood,” Bear contends, “if we trace the pursuits of class status, of the public good, and selfhood that are both troubled by, and orient the uses of, these formal devices” (p. 18).

This approach of tracing and tracking the everyday or the social life of austerity capitalism aptly captures the gradual degeneration of Calcutta port. “The chronic situation in Calcutta port is unlike the spectacular events of sovereign default or financial market collapse that have been widely discussed” (p. 28). Bear broadens the analytical framework by studying ethnographically meanings of work and labor among the actors whose actions produce the river and its ecology as a public good. Bear finds that these local actors use and adapt notions of efficiency, workmanship, and labor within a gendered, religious, cultural-historical tem-

plate of marginalizing weaker and vulnerable groups, who are deemed antiproducer. Such schisms subtly abet and entrench the austerity measures. “This is a development,” Bear claims, “that is unanticipated by Foucauldian or Marxist theoretical approaches” (p. 97).

Bear’s meticulous dissection of the austerity policy and its implications raises important questions for anthropologists in general and South Asianists in particular. Does challenging or contesting austerity capitalism also mean addressing popular ethics and identities formed at the conjunction of global, national, and local politics that set groups and people apart? How does one generate such a Janus-faced critique of the global and local in an intellectual climate that celebrates divergences, differences, and dispersals as counterpoints to the global dominance of corporate capitalism? What does this stranglehold of austerity capitalism in the everyday life of the river say about the oft-repeated formulation in South Asian studies: domination without hegemony?

Navigating Austerity is a must-read for policy makers and anthropologists alike. One caveat, though: throughout and quite egregiously, Bear mistakenly identifies the Marxist party in India and West Bengal—CPI (M)—as Maoists. This needs immediate correction.

Mobile Selves: Race, Migration, and Belonging in Peru and the U.S. by Ulla D. Berg

New York: New York University Press, 2015. 336 pp.

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Focusing on Peruvian migrants from the central highlands and their movements inside Peru and between Peru and the United States, *Mobile Selves* is a richly textured ethnography of global processes of mobility, or, as Ulla Berg describes it, an “ambulant ethnography.” Combining participant-observation, interviews, photo and video elicitation, and narrative analysis, the book examines the reasons why Peruvians from the Mantaro Valley left the country between the late 1980s and 2005, as well as their experiences as migrants. Berg provides a clear yet multidimensional image of the experiences of migrants and, in particular, contributes to our understanding of the experiences of working-class Andean Latin Americans in the global labor market as they renegotiate long-standing Peruvian social, economic, and racial hierarchies. Migration, more than primarily an economic aspiration, is more carefully and subtly approached as a cultural and class aspirational project about belonging within the nation and globally.

Whereas for a large part of the 20th century indigenous, working-class Peruvians migrated predominantly within Peru, since the 1980s a growing number of non-elite Peruvians have become transnational migrants. Unlike middle- and upper-class, typically white and mestizo, urban Peruvians, the Peruvians that Berg writes about continue to face multiple obstacles in their demands for full citizenship in Peru and access to international migration. In a particularly vivid chapter, Berg examines the complicated and racialized class processes migrants must navigate when and because they cannot obtain a foreign visa via formal avenues. To increase the probability of obtaining a visa, *tramitadores*, or brokers, in Lima may recommend to prospective migrants altering a “rural and indigenous-sounding name” on a passport to a more modern-sounding name that is more common in cities (p. 75) or changing the applicant’s nationality, or they might suggest that migrants apply for a different category of visa.

The processes that Andean working-class Peruvians go through to migrate, and the migration process itself, underscore that in the context of persistent class and race hierarchies migrants may have only limited control over how they are viewed, even as they reimagine themselves

transnationally. In this sense, the focus on how racialization affects the practice of citizenship in Peru as well as in the United States is a particularly welcome element in this study. When Peruvians from the provinces return to Peru, it is not uncommon for them to be made fun of as pretending to be “Americanized” in exchanges that, as Berg rightly emphasizes, are racially charged and point to deeper, historical tensions in claims to belonging and citizenship. In examining everyday life in New Jersey, Berg proposes the term “folkloric citizenship” as a way of understanding how indigenous Peruvians both strategically claim national belonging and underscore their differences in nonthreatening ways (p. 179).

Engaging with the role of new media technologies in migrants’ lives, connections, and claims to belonging, Berg also contributes to nuanced approaches that recognize both the positive and more unintended and negative consequences of some forms of communication in the context of migration. Although new technologies help maintain communication within families, the physical separation continues to be a painful and ever-present aspect of migration. She finds that migrants prefer visual technologies, such as family videos and Skype, because they believe it is more difficult to hide information this way. Yet visual forms of communication may also inadvertently produce anger, concern, or anxiety

by providing evidence of possible relationships unknown to migrants, showing challenging living environments, or reminding migrants of individuals or places they would rather not see. In cases of celebrations to which migrants had contributed economically, migrants preferred visual technologies because they provided a unique way of seeing how their remittances had been used, to take part in these events from a distance, and to express their approval or disapproval of what they viewed and how their money had been spent.

Mobile Selves clearly shows that transnational migration is an important site for critically approaching belonging, inclusiveness, and citizenship within countries of origin as well as globally. In examining in particular race and class in her analysis of Peruvian migration, this important book also brought to my mind questions about how other factors that intersect with race and class, such as gender and sexual identity, also inform and have repercussions for how Peruvian migrants experience citizenship and belonging. Berg has produced a sophisticated and accessible multisited ethnography that contributes to Latin American and Latino Studies, migration studies and studies of race and racialization, and that reminds us of multiple and profound divisions, exclusions, and everyday forms of agency within transnational migration.

Behold the Black Caiman: A Chronicle of Ayoreo Life by Lucas Bessire

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. 296 pp.

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Lucas Bessire’s *Behold the Black Caiman: Chronicle of Ayoreo Life* guides us through an unsettling ethnographic journey that intends to question and alter anthropological and common knowledge about the previously “isolated” and contemporary life conditions of the Ayoreo of the Chaco of Bolivia and Paraguay. We learn that *Erami* (past life in the forest) was not like living in paradise for the Areguede’urusade band of the Totobiegosode Ayoreo that was first contacted in 2004. Terrorized by the *Cojñone’* (Strangers) bulldozers, running for survival, hiding, and eating scarcely, the few isolated families wondered whether they would be killed by their enemies like the Guidaigosode Ayoreo, the colonizers, or by nonhuman forces offended by violations of *puyaque* (taboo). Thus, these families in *Erami* were neither really isolated nor happy but watching out for the overwhelming invasion and deforestation of their land.

Likewise, as occurred to other Ayoreo groups since the 1940s, when the Areguede’urusade joined the colonized world of *Cojñone-Gari* (time belonging to the Strangers), they had to face more challenges: racial discrimination, labor exploitation, famine, and ecological destruction. Furthermore, the author argues that current projects that seek to preserve or erase the image of the *bon sauvage* only serve to worsen the Ayoreo’s predicaments. These projects, whether they long for souls, tradition, pure blood, or protecting indigenous isolation, are all offspring of a neoliberal colonialism aimed to govern, sometimes unwittingly by its promoters but nonetheless with violence, the possible ways the Ayoreo should be indigenous or just human beings. However, it is impossible for the Ayoreo to conform to any assigned identity—whether it be traditional culture, isolated indigeneity, or Christianity—as these are contested moral economies that respond to a “biogitimacy” (p. 177) by which their new identities (e.g., ex-primitive, acculturated, etc.) are excluded. They, for the achieving of any sort of “ontological self-determination” (p. 44), have to break from *Erami* and embrace *Cojñone-Gari*.

Hence, the Ayoreo engage in *chinoningase* (transformation process) of the *ayipie* (soul matter) (p. 15). Such transformations are rooted in the *adode* (creation myths) of the Ancestor Beings who were protohuman and later became fully moral human by learning the “capacity to continually manage, contest, and redefine” humanity itself (p. 37). However, to harness such capacity, transform their *ayipie*, and remain human with the impending physical and hermeneutic violence, contemporary Ayoreo have no choice but to resort to contradictory ontological responses, always on the making and close to evanescence or destruction. For instance, they remembered *Echoi*—a past pan-Ayorean salt lake meeting site (p. 45)—both as a peaceful and violent place. Over time, as they ineffectively tried to access the *Cojñone*’s power (e.g., to make metal) through “mimetic magic” (pp. 135–136), they massively converted to Christianity envisioning an “apocalyptic futurism” (p. 145) that reworked their traditions as sinful to *Dupade* (Christian god) and could bring about the *ayipie* transformations required for the present times. They used *ajengome* (shame), an embodied sentiment, to relationally define the moral self before others such as *Dupade* or *Cojñone*. Some of the youngest embraced self-carved destructive practices, those afflicted by *urusori* (madness) and the *Puyedie* (drug addicts). Hence, Bessire argues that dwelling on a pervasive and shattered “negative immanence” (p. 189) and “epistemic murk” (p. 185) rather than authorized indigeneity or humanity is where the Ayoreo find possible their “becoming” (p. 228).

Nonetheless, in spite of the unique Ayoreo’s “allopoiesis” (p. 224) and the niceties of theoretical debate and labels, other ethnographies from the Chaco have traced similar transformations of indigenous ontologies and practices. Examples abound; to cite but a few: of the use of sympathetic magic of nonindigenous (e.g., Kidd 1999), of millenarianism and apocalyptic upheavals (e.g., Regehr 1981), of relational moral agencies (e.g., Grant 2006), and of ethnohistorical genealogies of places and memories (e.g., Richard 2008). In this sense, Bessire does not show much effort to dialogue with such ethnographies, and, where he does, he mostly concentrates to prove wrong the other “Ayoreologists.” This strategy is consistent with all the authors’ argu-

ments and is perhaps indicative of the political economy of academia.

The result is a kind of ethnography noir wherein the sophisticated conceptual points and the Ayoreo testimonies of painful and violent episodes intersperses with some now and then places of solace and beauty of ethnographic encounter (e.g., children playing quietly in a circle, [p. 162]). From this, the troubled ethnographer emerges maybe as an anti-hero or the sole hero. Overall, this book raises a sustained critique of some anthropological assumptions and proindigenous advocacy but does not leave much room or necessary care to contextualize positive, historical, and existing political alternatives (e.g., national indigenous movement by far predated the 2000s, as wrongly indicated by the author [p. 208]). Bessire could achieve this by including more of the present efforts of Ayoreo people and organizations to take on their political representation and land struggle as part of their “becoming.”

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Pipe Politics, Contested Waters: Embedded Infrastructures of Millennial Mumbai by Lisa Björkman

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Pipe Politics, Contested Waters is a vividly detailed ethnography of Mumbai captured in its policy, institutions, infrastructure, and everyday sociopolitical practices associated with the capture, delivery, and distribution of water. It is also a window into the rich and dynamic culture of India, perhaps replicated in varying scales in its other urban centers.

In its theoretical and methodological approach, the book is a multidisciplinary work, written from the holistic perspective of anthropology. It is an argument for the role of ethnography to do more than simply show why policies, physical structures, or institutions fail or succeed due to the technical structures and policies driving them. In this case, water infrastructures are embedded in the sociopolitical and material landscape and provide new insights into the influence of culture on the nature and functioning of markets. Björkman shows with unrelenting detail how urban development in Mumbai is about making the city, as the author repeatedly points out, a “world-class city” (a common parlance in Mumbai) like Shanghai or Singapore by adopting a free market approach of a unique kind.

The immediate goal is urban development and how to incentivize the private sector to undertake this. In return, instead of monetary compensation for acquired land and for undertaking construction, landowners and builders are compensated in kind, giving them rights to build above and beyond heights and densities allowed by the city development plan. Markets are traditionally attached to things that have value; water, for example, is everywhere attached to land. However, in Mumbai, the process of “marketization of development rights” disconnects this traditional linkage; to “release” water to move to higher value areas of the city, the market unbundled the land-bound water structure of the city from its regulations, diverting it to high-value producer services such as banking and high tech, transforming the city into a global landscape and delinking water from people and places. This leaves existing communities in some locations (as well as new communities in other locations) without access to water or with an inadequate or untimely supply. This market paradigm is countervailed by the richly detailed culture and community interventions at various

levels analyzed theoretically in a well-researched chapter, in particular by using Karl Polanyi’s theory of embeddedness of economic structure in social systems.

At the heart of this ethnography is the cultural and political dynamics of access to urban water. Water everywhere is highly contested, and often the reason for this is attributed to its scarcity. Here, it is not scarce; it is about use—not through some long- or short-term strategy but in a uniquely Mumbai way. Water supplied from a reservoir, delivered unequally, establishes a disparity in upstream and downstream access; the physical structure of “pipes” that are costly, bulky, labor intensive, and time consuming to construct sink into swamps while buoyantly flowing through bedrock neighborhoods; and, finally, pipes buried underground are full of possibility for the dark side. Water is a resource in a neighborhood that is simultaneously a hydraulic, administrative, and political unit; and Lisa Björkman documents the progress of interventions by communities and NGOs, administrators, and formally elected politicians to get water; the micropolitical motivations to give water; and how the physical system is “thrown into shambles” according to the irrigation bureaucracy in its attempt to send water by breaking standard schedules and even structural capacities to keep up with ordinary demand (as well as to maintain the “world-class” functions of Mumbai). The anthropological approach to micropolitics assumes that all actors in a community are competing for scarce resources (water) are politicians and that culture shapes their style through norms and their manipulation through acceptable and meaningful pragmatism. In this approach, the community of participants, including formal office-holding politicians, are shaped by the culture, with of course different motivations. An interesting but unanswered question is, what is unique and acceptable to Indian politicians and what is circumscribed by the rules and procedures of organizations (in this case the water department)? This book touches on multiple dimensions of water and micropolitics to give a window into the diversity, complexity, and dynamic nature of water and pipes in Mumbai on its road to becoming a “world-class” city just as India itself struggles with this complexity as a national democracy. As part of more centralized and controlled political systems, Shanghai and Singapore are not really in competition with Mumbai, but it is possible that they will have their own paradigms of pipe politics.

The subject of water is multidisciplinary in approach and is best viewed through the holistic lens of anthropology. This work is a rare addition to the literature.

A Prophetic Trajectory: Ideologies of Place, Time and Belonging in an Angolan Religious Movement

by Ruy Llera Blanes

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A Prophetic Trajectory is about power and belief among people who endeavor to live what for them are exemplary Christian lives. It tells the story of the transformation of a small group of Christian believers in the Portuguese colony of Angola in the 1950s and 1960s into a transcontinental corporation by the early 2000s. Through the lens of the ethnography and history of this unique Angolan Christian church—the Tokoist Church—it shows that since the end of WWII new institutions and ideologies have changed perceptions and understandings of the self in relation to territoriality and temporality that challenge existing conceptualizations of “modernity” in anthropology. For instance, membership in religious organizations has become an alternative framework of identity and belonging to citizenship in the nation-state.

One is not born a Tokoist. One learns to inhabit the world as a Tokoist. It is a religious experience that is a formidable challenge on both ethnographic and theoretical grounds. At its core is the relationship of each individual believer with the “prophetic biography” of the founder of the church: Simão Toko (1918–1984). This relationship is mediated by an ideological apparatus made of moral precepts, prescriptive norms for proper behavior and appearance, a strict schedule of social and spiritual activities, and an institutional mechanism of “remembrance.” “Prophetic biography” refers to the narrative of the life of Simão Toko as a charismatic leader and public figure, as opposed to his life as a man, a husband, and a father. After Simão Toko’s death, this narrative created a posthumous continuity in the Tokoist religious experience. Through the reading of his letters, the singing of hymns composed in his lifetime, and the transcription of his ongoing revelations through spirit mediums (*vates*), Simão Toko’s charisma has been made into a real “spiritual presence,” a memory that is also a potential generative of hope.

This continuity notwithstanding, being a Tokoist during Simão Toko’s lifetime versus afterward is not quite the same thing. It is a difference that matters to some more than to others, causing a rift in the church leadership. Simão Toko, for instance, was very concerned with Satan (p. 39). What has happened to Satan in the Tokoist belief and eschatological

narrative after his death? *A Prophetic Trajectory* says little about Satan in the Tokoist moral imagination or about the ways in which Simão Toko’s spirit coexists with other agencies on the fringes of the Tokoist world.

Questions such as these were perhaps beyond the scope of the book. “Trajectory” is a textual strategy for answering a question: How does the history of the Tokoist church illustrate the way in which charismatic leadership outlives its individual bearers through a process of routinization, bureaucratization, and institutionalization? It is therefore a selective reading of the history of Tokoism and of the Tokoist history. Its focus is on issues of authority and leadership, normative aspects of church life, and a corporate identity and memory from a perspective that is almost exclusively that of the male leadership of the church.

Photographs are an eloquent example of the relevance of what has been neglected as ethnographic evidence. Used as mere illustrations of what the verbal narrative already says, they show a women’s history that otherwise remains “hidden” between the lines of the printed text. The verbal narrative tells the story of the Tokoist church as if it were the exclusive ownership of its male leadership. Photographs show women singing and praying (pp. 121, 129). They reveal the Tokoist church as a church that is also theirs. The photograph on page 56 is the most arresting. It shows a young Simão Toko with Rosa Maria, his wife. Their marriage almost coincided with the official founding of the Tokoist church in 1949. The two histories can hardly be separated. But Rosa Maria is an insignificant other in the book on grounds that most of her life she was “bedridden with mental illness” (pp. 86, 90, 100, n. 7). This arbitrary exclusion is contrary not only to the photographic evidence of her significance but also to a Tokoist understanding of “charisma” and “illness” as mutually constitutive (pp. 47–48). Insignificant is also the name of their younger daughter: Esperança (which means “hope” in Portuguese) on page 68 but Esmeralda on page 196. Also there is Ilda, their elder daughter. She is allowed to speak in the conclusion but only in order to be silenced again (pp. 197–199). Born in the 1950s, while her parents lived in exile in remote corners of the Portuguese colonial empire, she is a witness to late colonial violence as experienced by a child.

In sum, *A Prophetic Trajectory* adds to existing anthropological understandings of the formation of group identities around shared beliefs that are an alternative to ethnicity

and nationality. But just as the wooden frame around Simão Toko's portrait on the cover conceals as much as it reveals the "bigger picture" of which it is part, the choice of the

anthropology of Christianity as an overarching theoretical framework limits an understanding of Tokoist identity in a context of haunting histories of violence.

On the Doorstep of Europe: Asylum and Citizenship in Greece by Heath Cabot

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12628

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On the Doorstep of Europe is a compelling ethnographic analysis of the asylum system in Greece based on extensive anthropological research carried out in Athens. The locus of the ethnography is an asylum advocacy NGO, but the book manages to accomplish much more than an accurate documentation of the asylum-seeking process. Heavily influenced by the archetypal structure, form, and analytical potential of the ancient Greek tragedy, the author engages in a perpetual search for catharsis, an almost Deleuzian ethic of transformation of the negative into positive. The protagonists of her ethnography, like tragic heroes, are forced to fight with structures of power and violence well beyond their control. They sometimes crumble under the weight of these structures but often also manage to outwit them.

In seven carefully crafted chapters, we learn about the struggles of the NGO lawyers who know only too well that for every single person they manage to help, there are numerous others whom they have failed. We also learn about the struggles of the asylum seekers who have to tell compelling stories and sometimes become "good actors" in order to fit legal patterns of victimhood or to satisfy the "social aesthetics of eligibility" and to come across as "real" refugees. Underpinning these dramatic experiences is the struggle of the anthropologist to reclaim the agency of her informants. The transformative potential of tragedy is a faithful theoretical ally in Heath Cabot's effort to find the possibilities of resistance within indeterminacy. The book is critical of the ways in which humanitarian practice incorporates systems of governance and supports the production of a problematic hierarchy of migrant subjectivities. However, as the author states, this work is not intended as a critique of aid workers but as an attempt to understand both their powerfulness and their powerlessness vis-à-vis national and supranational regimes of rights-based protection. The relation between those "local" struggles and the international forces at play is an emphasis that we miss. Athens, a geopolitically and economically peripheral capital, is not a self-contained

entity, and the power asymmetries Cabot's informants are forced to negotiate daily are not engineered locally. The author remains aware of this, and she eclectically weaves into her narrative the role and importance of supranational entities—like the EU—in the production of marginality. The international and historical dimensions of displacement and its management, however, do not systematically inform her argument. The emphasis of the book is firmly placed on "the citizens of Athens" and their efforts to subvert and to undermine multiple systems of exclusion and limitation.

The bittersweet ethnographic narrative never loses site of the tragic experiences of asylum seekers. At the same time, the author carefully mines her field notes for those important, performatively powerful moments, such as when Sarah from Ghana, Mahmud from Sudan, and Azar from Afghanistan refuse and resist the structures of power and violence or the stereotypes of victimhood immanent in the very systems supposedly designed to protect them from becoming victims. Cabot's careful analysis of the constraints imposed by exacerbating bureaucracies, the tenuous borders between legality and illegality, and the multiple audiences that the asylum seekers must satisfy transforms those constraints into possibilities. In a rather Butlerian fashion—although the book does not rely heavily on Butler—indeterminacy becomes the very field where subjects resist (and reify) violence in its manifold forms and faces.

The "doorstep of Europe"—or the "prison of Europe," as Bashir from Afghanistan calls it—is a world where both persons and things have the capacity to govern. Official documents acquire a life of their own and become material technologies of governance that fit the "legal" into the "illegal," rendering their boundaries porous and especially difficult to determine. At the same time, the ambiguity of such documents—like the ambiguity of all bureaucracy that surrounds asylum seeking in Greece—allows individuals to navigate through the cracks and the back alleys of the system and to find spaces and ways to pursue their life projects in an episodic and yet rewarding fashion. The eloquent ethnography allows us to join them in this journey. We celebrate with them as they decide to marry and make a family. We smile in ethnographic complicity as they recount their canny stories of successful asylum applications on the basis of "cooked" evidence. We worry when as minors they investigate

the possibility of applying for asylum and then suddenly disappear, only to be reminded by the author that this is a legitimate—though perhaps not intentional—choice. We stand in unison when they are transformed from “victims” to activists who represent others or go on hunger strike

and win small but important political battles. Ultimately, we get to know them not as strangers, aliens, victims, or deportables but as citizens of Athens—a city that struggles to reconcile violence with the possibility of producing new and excitingly less essentialist forms of belonging.

A Landscape of Travel: The Work of Tourism in Rural Ethnic China by Jenny Chio

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014. 304 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12660

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Studies in the anthropology of tourism focus on tourism communication in form of hosts and guests (Smith 1977). Such division often oversimplifies the multiplicity of ethnicity and the complexity of how rural tourism in China is created, shaped, and negotiated. In the ethnographic monograph *A Landscape of Travel*, Chio successfully looks beyond the classification into hosts and guests and presents fascinating insights into a more fluid situation. Through rich engagement with two villages in China—Upper Jidao in Guizhou and Ping’an in Guangxi—and beyond, the study takes a fresh look at the impact of tourism on the ethnicity and identity of villagers and interrelation between leisure and labor of rural tourism in China. Rural and ethnic family life is transformed into a tourism product to satisfy Chinese urban tourists’ imagination. Such a form of tourism echoes the emerging divisions between rural and urban ethnic minorities and Han people, as well as between the poor and the rich, that are embedded in the wider context of national tourism and the ethnic classification project in China.

A Landscape of Travel offers two analytical tools to understand how individuals negotiate their everyday lives in a tourism context. First, Chio encourages readers to view people as being on the move instead of being disconnected from the world outside their isolated village. By tracing villagers who work in the cities as migrants and later return to their home as current tourism providers, Chio explores their dynamic interactions with the outside world and their everyday confrontations within the community. The former’s experiences, knowledge, and skills allow them to understand the motivations and expectations of urban tourists. Second, Chio’s engagement with the notion of landscape motivates the readers’ senses, in particular through visuality as an analytic. Through offering a wide range of examples, from the construction of traditional wood architecture and terraced fields to the sweet talk between tourists–photographers and ethnic female “models,” Chio invites the readers to

understand how the tourism stage is formulated and negotiated through the details of visual investigation.

The integration of mobility and visuality adds texture and complexity to the question of how ethnic tourism becomes commonplace in the daily lives of Chinese ethnic minority villagers. Although ethnic tourism creates similar images national wide, local villagers still endeavor to develop their own specialties (*tese*) when accommodating urban demands. Chio very well illustrates the process of “authentication” of tourism products as a consistent negotiation between villagers and the external world. Through introducing three forms of distances (time, space, and culture), Chio illustrates how tourism imaginaries were shaped and negotiated within and between different groups. The tourist image of “differences” is not solely created by the hosts but, rather, is constituted by all involved people. More importantly, tourism not only affects villagers as an impetus of economic development but also becomes a new form of culture that influences the local value system, expectations, and visions of life. Through recording an anthropological experiment in which tourism stakeholders were invited from one village to another, Chio concludes the study by highlighting the complex nature of tourism. This experimental trip delivers the message that tourism is far from a simple form of consumption and economic exchange—it is a more sophisticated way of searching for a better life.

On the whole, Chio’s work is theoretically dense and empirically rich. Chio successfully demonstrates the complex layers and interrelations between different actors in rural tourism in China. While the power of ethnography has been well utilized to show the depths of the story, the study could have been enriched and expanded even more in two dimensions. First, it would have been useful to have had more discussion on the fluidity of identity and ethnicity of individual actors. Such fluidity is not only based on their mobility and interrelation with others but is also reflected in the habitus, the affects of memory, and their vision of the world. Second, it would have been interesting to add another layer of complexity by involving the international policies and norms. For instance, how the global concepts such as

“heritage,” “sustainable development,” and “ecomuseums” influence the value system of the local rural development during their encounter with outsider NGOs and within their own community.

In conclusion, *A Landscape of Travel* makes a fine addition to the existing anthropological literature on tourism. The book moves beyond theoretical abstractions to the complexity and richness of reality. The monograph is a valuable resource for a range of educational purposes, including in undergraduate classes on the anthropology of tourism and for perusal by postgraduates who are researching tourism

in China. It is highly recommended that readers also watch Chio’s documentary film, *农家乐* Peasant Family Happiness (Chio 2013), as a vivid complement to the book.

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Japan, Alcoholism, and Masculinity: Suffering Sobriety in Tokyo by Paul A. Christensen

Lanham: Lexington, 2015. 182 pp.

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This readable and thought-provoking study of alcoholism in Japan revolves around a fundamental dilemma confronting Japanese alcoholics in their attempts to achieve sobriety. They live in a society that celebrates drinking (p. 42). Their alcoholism is not a violation of social norms but a taking of that norm to “an unsustainable extreme” (p. 98). When they pledge abstinence, they are not just fighting their own disease but also the heavily enforced expectations of their own society. For men particularly, their identity is challenged by their inability to control their drinking and even more so by their refusal to drink after going into treatment.

That cultural confrontation is further dramatized by the character of the available support systems. Most alcoholics turn either to Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) or to the home-grown variant, Danshūkai (Abstinence Association). The AA in Japan makes no concessions to local cultural differences. The central text is a direct translation of “the Big Book,” and the program is based on the famous 12 steps to recovery. This program is imbued with the spirit of Protestant Christianity, and four of the steps specifically reference God, albeit with the rider “as we understood him.” The insistence on admitting one’s own inability to recover and relying instead on a “higher power” is a deeply unfamiliar concept in a country where most people describe themselves as nonreligious and where the principal religions of Buddhism and Shinto lack the personalized God of Christianity.

Christensen observes that the unfamiliar spiritual territory of an AA meeting occasionally can cause tensions, as in one case when an elderly man got up and condemned

the meeting as a waste of time because “it stinks of Christianity” (p. 57). While that is an extreme example, Christensen emphasizes that people who attend these groups are called upon not just to renounce drinking but also to adopt an alien way of thinking about their lives.

The ideology of Danshūkai is somewhat different. For example, the Danshūkai sobriety oath (pp. 150–151) makes no divine reference. However, it does share with AA the stress on the surrender of the self, with its first line reading: “We admit that alone we do not have the strength and are powerless over alcohol” (p. 151). The Danshūkai focuses a quasi-religious reverence on its founder, Harushige Matsumura (1905–1970), whose portrait is often displayed at meetings (p. 138) and whose 50 selected quotations are treated as a key text (p. 22). Christensen observes that many of Matsumura’s dicta are similar to AA maxims, and he consistently stresses the similarities between the two groups rather than their differences—similarities grounded in their spiritual approach to self-improvement.

That said, several other significant differences emerge in the text: the Danshūkai meetings, unlike AA ones, are often attended by family members as well as the alcoholics themselves, for example, and Christensen notes that doctors tend to encourage married men to try Danshūkai but send women and unmarried men to AA (p. 53). Christensen only fleetingly references the work of Richard Chenhall and Tomofumi Oka, who specifically describe Danshūkai’s approach as being imbued with Zen Buddhism (e.g., Oka and Chenhall 2014), and I question his reluctance to distinguish between the two groups. This, and the lack of references to the extensive Japanese-language literature on alcoholism, would be my two main reservations about the book.

The ideal outcome of participation in these self-help groups would be a new enlightenment, leading to a sober and happy life. Christensen finds such cases rare, though he does cite one at length (pp. 107–108). The majority of participants relapse into alcoholism—Christensen twice quotes healthcare practitioners as putting the figure at 80 percent (pp. 59, 110)—and even for those who do manage to maintain sobriety, happiness may be more elusive. Christensen cites numerous cases of reformed alcoholics who feel unable to tell their friends and workmates about their situation and engage in desperate subterfuges to conceal the truth (e.g., p. 90). Stressing the deeply rooted “sanctity” of drinking in Japanese culture, Christensen remarks that the “refusal to drink . . . becomes an affront to this sanctity” (p. 28). Statements by men at sobriety meetings often express a nostalgic yearning for the days when they could still have a drink and the grimness of having to endure without it (p. 74). Hence the book’s subtitle—Christensen’s subjects are “suffering sobriety,” not enjoying it.

As that statement suggests, Christensen’s main focus is on the problematic nature of the self-help groups discussed: trapped in a society that does not acknowledge alcoholism as a medical condition, their clients are asked to take on a new spiritual view of their lives that leaves them even more at odds with that society. Despite numerous genuflections to the excellent work done by AA and Danshūkai, Christensen’s main message, based on attending over 200 AA and Danshūkai meetings (p. 16), is that their institutional culture is incompatible with mainstream Japanese society and that this incompatibility causes even more suffering for their already troubled clients.

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Becoming Inummarik: Men’s Lives in an Inuit Community by Peter Collings

Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014. 424 pp.

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Peter Collings’s highly informative book is based on four years of ethnographic field research spread across two decades (1992–2012) in the Inuit community of Ulukhaktok on Victoria Island in the western Canadian arctic. His goal is to understand the lives of Inuit men, particularly how younger men “get through” or negotiate the life course from their adolescent teen years into adulthood and middle age. As the book’s apt title implies, this involves becoming *inummarik*, a real or genuine person in proper balance with his or her surroundings and fellow humans. Coupled with this notion is *ihuma*, meaning knowledge, reason, or wisdom. Much of Collings’s penetrating analysis explores how these two fundamental Inuit concepts interconnect and inform men’s life experiences in the contemporary era.

Collings is tracking the first generation of men who were born in the context of permanent village life in the late 1950s and 1960s. Over ensuing years and decades, an increase in access to Canadian government services, social assistance, public housing, and wage labor in the growing center of Ulukhaktok created new challenges for these younger men in terms of balancing settled village life with expectations

for maintaining at least some traditional livelihood strategies on the land. Because Collings is approximately the same age as the 22 men he befriended and followed as a study sample for nearly 20 years, he is in a unique position to document and to reflect upon the dynamics involved.

The book opens with a lengthy account of the author’s return to Ulukhaktok in 2007 after a brief period “outside.” In making his way from the airport to his lodging, Collings repeatedly encounters friends and acquaintances who stop to chat and reconnect. He also picks up supplies at the Co-op and Northern stores, visits the hamlet government building to check on housing arrangements, talks with a friend repairing an ATV, and is invited inside a family’s home for a meal of duck and into another for tea and a game of cribbage. In narrating his walk through the village, Collings reveals his gift for capturing the fine-grained realities of life as lived and distilling ethos from a myriad of mundane occurrences unfolding around him. What might have been a brief, uneventful stroll through the village becomes eight hours of densely packed, meaning-laden social interaction.

In lieu of conventional pseudonyms, key characters in this study are composites constructed from the lives of many individuals. Rather than a chronological or linear presentation of information, discussion proceeds episodically or thematically. Included are vivid accounts of the late-night ritual of driving ATVs and snowmobiles around the village;

musk ox hunts; watching televised hockey games; making repairs to houses, camps, and vehicles; and playing bingo, among many other scenarios. As a highly active participant (and observer), Collings clearly situates himself in the flow of these events and, thereby, candidly charts his own pitfalls, ethical dilemmas, enlightenment, and progress as an anthropologist. In the process, he crafts a compelling blend of ethnography and reflexive fieldwork primer. Evocative and informative thick description is interwoven with insightful theorizing about aging, maleness, and the life course process. His writing is exemplary in its clarity, unencumbered by obscure jargon or convoluted word games.

In one scenario, Collings accompanies Simon Iqaluk on a fall trip to hunt seals and close up his father's summer camp. While the author learns important lessons about hunting and traveling on the land and sea, he is also exposed to the complexities of Ulukhaktok's settlement history, the self-consciousness and reluctance of younger people to speak *Innuinnaqtun*, the local Inuit dialect, and the limited abilities of and opportunities for younger men in hunting and living on the land. At the same time, the local culture idealizes older people as truly knowledgeable hunters and the last

generation of "traditional" Inuit. The profound tension between younger men's upbringing and ties to village life and their efforts, however attenuated, to prove their worthiness and provide for their families by sporadic hunting and fishing forays emerges repeatedly and poignantly throughout the book.

Despite what appear to be overwhelming social and economic transformations, including mining exploration and development, guided tourist hunting, and a wage-labor government and service sector that employs many more Inuit women than men, Collings argues convincingly that these new surroundings have not significantly altered the process of becoming inummariit or maturing into genuine persons. That is because the achievement of wisdom and maturity remain largely a cognitive matter rather than a product of static physical, social, or economic markers. Would a formal life course analysis of Inuit men and women support or modify this interpretation? Perhaps future research will tell. In the meantime, anyone interested in men and maleness, coming of age, ethnographic methods and ethics, hunting societies, Inuit culture, and the contemporary Arctic will be richly rewarded by reading *Becoming Inummariik*.

Twins Talk: What Twins Tell Us about Person, Self, and Society by Dona Lee Davis

Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12657

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Herself a twin sibling, Dona Lee Davis has interviewed identical (monozygotic) twin pairs to demonstrate the performed and negotiated quality of twin identities in a society largely organized by, and structured for, singleton expressions of self and sibling experience. With chapters organized around broad themes—"Twinscapes," "Talk," "Performance," "Body," "Bond," "Culture," and "Twindividuals"—Davis weaves her own experience of being a twin and of attending conferences such as the International Congress of Twin Studies into material gathered through her interviews with 23 twin pairs at the annual Twins Festival at Twinsburg, Ohio. She is open about the pleasurable complications of describing herself a "native" (p. 33) alongside her twin informants, claiming a level of access to her subject that those born without a direct experience of the lifelong condition of being a twin would struggle to fabricate. Davis's affective, autoethnographic proximity to her interviewees is at once an engaging and revealing feature of this book. Consequently, her presentation of twinship is

entangled in the desire to validate an outsider's perspective with an insider's—to provide a record of twin personhood that has been collaboratively "voiced" into anthropological significance, alongside the analytic desire to bring coherence to and amplify those voices beyond the economically and politically specific time and space of their festival origins.

Despite aiming to "normalize twinship" (p. 7), the gestationally and experientially exclusive position adopted by Davis is one that serves to extend the long and complex history of phenomenological mystery, exoticism, and categorical indistinction attributed to twinship in canonic works of ethnography (Evans-Pritchard 1936; Lévi-Strauss 1964; Peek 2011; Rivers 1906; Turner 1997[1969]) and in broader works of sociology and cultural theory (Bacon 2010; Schwartz 1996; Stewart 2003; Viney 2014). The difference is that while these works are largely concerned with how singletons have defined twins, *Twins Talk* focuses on how twins co-produce "self" and "identity" within and without the twin dyad. Perhaps it is necessary that Davis locates twins at numerous cultural and psychological "fault-lines," with the inside-outsider structure of the author's analytic position made symmetrical with the ambivalently distributed identities that it brings to light. Davis concludes

that she and twins are counterhegemonic subjects, able to refuse dominant notions of body or selfhood determined by Western individualism.

Twins Talk seeks to listen to how pairs talk their way through interpersonal relationships, performing the complex “self work” (pp. 8–9) of narrativized becoming that are structurally occluded by biomedical research projects. This contrast finds traction through the selective ways that Davis approaches biomedical twin research as a field replete with what she calls “blindspots” (p. 101, 170): the failure to speak about twins in terms that recognize an expanded and expansive sense of autonomy and personhood. She is particularly critical of researchers who use the language of the instrumentation or thingliness of twins—to stress the primacy of genes and genetics to twin identities, for example. By raising the controversial and idiosyncratic work of Thomas J. Bouchard and David Teplica as exemplary, Davis suggests a view of contemporary twin research dominated by a crude scientism that “exists above and beyond culture” (p. 173). This largely ignores the rich culture of dissent that has left a 140-year-old tradition of using twins in medical research no more internally consistent or univocal in content than “anthropology.” Though Davis makes passing reference to the novel and postgenomic epistemologies, technologies, and methods that have revolutionized twin research in the last ten years (Bell and Spector 2011; van Dongen et al. 2012), a frustratingly one-sided battle emerges between a malevolently blunt genetic determinism, on the one hand, and Davis’s benevolently sophisticated conception of culture, on the other hand. We are not told why approximately 1.5 million twins should volunteer to be treated as “zombies or performing monkeys” (p. 37) or the reasons behind the alienation, misrepresentation, and reductiveness that Davis complains are endemic to twin research in the life sciences. It might be telling that these feelings are scarcely registered among her interviewees. More needs to be understood about why twins volunteer for health research, how molecular and molar relations can or cannot come into the public domain, and why twins continue to be used to explore an incredible range of traits, behaviors, and diseases.

There is no doubt that *Twins Talk* is an invaluable record of a particularly voluble minority of festival-going twins who are willing, eager, and capable of presenting themselves as talking twins, sympathetic to their biographies being raised

to anthropological significance. Davis has worked hard to translate the specificity of her talking partners so that their experience may resonate among those voices that have not been recorded in this study. “There is one thing twins know how to do,” she says, developing a metaphor introduced by one set of her talking partners, “it is to interchangeably lead and lean while sharing the stage” (p. 27). Yet the presumed heroism of transforming silence into speech ought not be at the cost of understanding why some twins prefer not to talk—neither leading nor leaning nor even identifying themselves as “twins” above all else and before all others.

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Guitar Makers: The Endurance of Artisanal Values in North America by Kathryn Marie Dudley

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. 400 pp.

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In this remarkable book, Kathryn Dudley takes her readers on a roller-coaster ride through the world of North American acoustic guitar making. The book is a veritable cornucopia of delights for ethnographers and guitar buffs alike, which in the case of Dudley and this reviewer are one and the same. We are treated to a forensic analysis of the very many interviews conducted by Dudley with some of the leading guitar makers in North America today. The roller-coaster aspect of the ride through acoustic guitar country comes in the form of the rapidity with which new interview material is injected into the text, moving quickly between informants. The ups and downs, and twists and turns of careers conducted on a knife's edge, amply convey guitar making (or lutherie) in North America as a risky business. It is also a practice fuelled by obsession, whose anecdotes and stories are of mythological proportions containing scenes of death and rebirth, heroic wrestling matches in the workshop, hauntings by ghosts of empire, and the fear of obsolescence, plus the newly emerging threat of dwindling material resources. In this epic tale, "builders' sense of freedom and national exceptionalism glosses over their complicated relationship to history and the political and economic shifts under way at the time they entered lutherie. As a countercultural project, the lutherie movement sought to revive a craft tradition that was both 'preindustrial' and 'industrial' at the very moment that North America was careering toward a *postindustrial* future." [p. 21]

In a series of riveting interviews linked throughout six main chapters, a generation of guitar makers (mostly from the late 1960s onward) tell of their plight to establish themselves in a changing market place that continues to present enormous challenges to all of them, whether they work alone, work as part of a large corporation, or are positioned somewhere in between these two poles. Artisanal values are contested, and makers negotiate their place and price within a complex and tense value system. Here artisanship and artisanal knowledge fight for their place in a world of high-tech commerciality where some of the larger corporations use computerized machinery in the production of their guitars. A generation of, ostensibly, countercultural makers reveal the details of their social,

moral, aesthetic, and sensual worlds from the inside out. Yet Dudley constantly reminds us of the greater world they inhabit. For instance, artisanal guitar making is increasingly at risk as the traditional tonewoods from which guitars are made come under strict scrutiny, control, and legislation.

Not only is this book a remarkably well crafted and erudite account of a significant and important era within the history guitar making, it is also to be celebrated that a scholar of Dudley's background and expertise has decided to put a critical plow into the field of guitar studies and musical instrument studies. Dudley provides us with the "broad picture" called for in Margaret Kartomi's seminal publication *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments* (1990) while also furthering the project set out in Arjun Appadurai's (1986) *The Social Life of Things*. Material culture studies remain firmly anchored in socioeconomic anthropology, providing a vantage point from which Dudley is able to offer an interpretation of the effect of a wide range of values and beliefs that endure within the artisanal cultural worldview, including notions of "the gift" and "gift exchange," as well as to provide welcome solid purchase on the everyday and domestic issues at hand at the points where other studies of musical instruments and crafts traditions tend to fall short. As noted in her online faculty biography, Dudley's ethnographic research "focuses on cultures of work that are, by default or design, at odds with contemporary capitalism." To this end, she has explored deindustrialization in the U.S. Rustbelt, the farm crisis in the Midwest, African American land loss in the rural South, and now, in this book, artisanal craft production in North America, where guitar makers navigate the wider world of neoliberalist politics and economics—a global cultural economy—as it surrounds and finds its way into the workshop. Artisans might therefore dream of becoming a well-known guitar maker of independent means. While we find out what happened to those whose dreams came true, one wonders what happened to those whose dreams did not come to fruition.

This book is timely. In-depth ethnographic studies of the guitar and its makers (see, e.g., Kies 2013; Pace 2015) are beginning to appear. But Dudley's study of North American guitar makers is likely to set the benchmark for anthropological scholarship in this area for some time to come. Through this immensely important contribution to the literature, Dudley provides us with a finely honed set of tools to take into the field as we begin to study in more detail the role, affect, and meaning of the cultures of the guitar around the world.

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The Anthropology of Intentions: Language in a World of Others by Alessandro Duranti

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 237 pp.

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During his first fieldwork in Western Samoa in the early 1980s, Alessandro Duranti observed that Samoans are concerned not with actors' intentions but with the consequences of their acts. His observation became a dominant leitmotif in his research and writings—including his latest book, a collection of essays, chronologically arranged, which extend, elaborate, and refine his initial insight. His goal "is to support an ethnographic and interactional perspective on intentions as cognitive, emotional, and embodied dispositions always embedded in an intersubjective world of experience" and to correct the ethnocentric assumptions that have characterized, among others, such analytic philosophers as Paul Grice, John Austin, and especially John Searle (p. 1). Although Duranti's critique of Searle's understanding of intention and the priority he gives it is well taken, at least from an anthropological perspective, it limits, at least initially, the range of Duranti's own position on intention.

Duranti's recent assumption of what he takes to be a Husserlian perspective has, however, broadened his views considerably. Unlike Searle's continued focus on the individual, even in his discussion of group intentions, Duranti focuses on intersubjectivity. He stresses the intersubjective dimension in Edmund Husserl's (later) phenomenology without adequately addressing the role—the inevitable role—of the individual's intentionally structured consciousness, which remains at the core of Husserl's phenomenology. It is finally an individual's consciousness that grasps—responds to—the subjectivity of the intended other. Part of the problem of attending to Husserl's thought is that his position continually, if subtly, changed over the course of his numerous, often unfinished, publications. Still, it would seem that Husserl's initial understanding

of intention differs significantly from that of Searle and his school; indeed, from Duranti's research on Samoa, political oratory, and jazz improvisation (all three treated with considerable insight in this monograph); and, of course, from popular understanding in Euro-American culture.

Intention was, for Husserl, the essential directionality of consciousness (toward an object), a directionality that could be turned on itself—on how it intended its object, as a percept, for example, or an image, in a loving or impatient manner, as endowed with intention. With time, Husserl came to appreciate that the intended object of consciousness was not necessarily without a countereffect on the intending consciousness; hence there was a possibility of its affecting that consciousness and of integrating, however tangentially, intersubjectivity into the phenomenological project. But lurking behind this intersubjectivity, as I have argued, is the terror of solipsism (at least in modernity and postmodernity), despite Husserl's attempt, and Martin Heidegger's too, to sidestep it. Whether or not my reading of Duranti and Husserl is correct, one wishes that he devoted as much critical attention to Husserl as he did to Searle.

Any study that abstracts a single "mentalist" concept (Note my ethnocentrism here) from its theoretical and experiential surround draws in other concepts and approaches. Duranti's ethnography is rich, particularly the Samoan. He comes to appreciate the role of social (political) "etiquette" (my word) in the Samoans' avoidance of considering the other's intention, but he does not consider the evocative and rhetorical role of silence (taken qualitatively) in this etiquette. Silence can have enormous pragmatic effect. It can, for example, indicate the unsaid, the unsayable, discretion, and indeterminacy and serve as an (effective) background to the consequential judgments Samoans are wont to make. I am not questioning Duranti's perception but suggesting another dimension to the "anthropology

of intention” he puts forward. Indeed, the rhetoric of intention, including even “unconscious intentions,” has slipped from psychoanalysis into everyday discourse.

One of Duranti’s most interesting essays looks at how the missionaries’ translation of “promise” was integrated (if but askew) into contemporary Samoan and its possible effect on their articulation of intention and the possible commitment it presages. One would like to know more about how the Samoans understand the word—its force, not just illocutionary but moral. Duranti does not discuss linguistic ideology and axiology and the way it influences attitudes toward intention and “intention.”

There is so much more that could be addressed in Duranti’s work—his empiricism, his conversational analysis, his emphasis on timing, coordination, and improvisation, and his advocacy of a contextually sensitive continuum approach to intention. Perhaps the most important is the power presupposed in attributions of intention, how they are perceived in ethnopsychological, ethnomoral, or other ethnotheorizations.

But, I would like to conclude with a discussion of the structure of *The Anthropology of Intention*—the chronological concatenation of articles devoted to roughly the same concerns with which Duranti has struggled over nearly 40 years. His book demonstrates how conceptually difficult anthropology is, especially when it attempts to address the prevailing philosophical assumptions that have been largely—how to put it?—*naturalized* in even the most self-reflective of discourses. Yes, at times, Duranti surrenders to some of the clichés of one thought fashion or another, but he struggles with them in his reformulations of his previous work. Without doubt, the most interesting chapter in his book is an exchange of e-mails, often politely critical of his work, with the cognitive scientist Teun van Dijk and the phenomenological anthropologist Jason Throop, in which the differences between the focus on the individual characteristic of most cognitive science and on intersubjective engagement over time that Duranti advocates are made manifest. It demonstrates the open endedness of research in the human sciences, which can so easily succumb to ideological rigidity.

Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution by James Ferguson

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 280 pp.

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Like the best kind of anthropology, James Ferguson’s latest book, *Give a Man a Fish*, invites readers to see the world differently, questions taken-for-granted truisms, and reasserts the significance of lives considered peripheral to the concerns of powerful elites. Thus, while many theorists working on southern Africa seem to agree that unfettered capitalism and market-based, neoliberal systems of economy and governance have sent the welfare state into retreat, Ferguson claims that concrete developments in the region question such certainties. Indeed, across southern Africa, relatively poor governments have instituted a range of non-contributory social protection schemes that transfer small amounts of cash to the disabled, the elderly, and women caring for children.

The scale of these schemes is astounding. In South Africa, where such schemes are arguably most elaborated, more than 30 percent of the population and 44 percent of all households receive some form of direct cash assistance from the state (pp. 5–6). Neighboring countries such as Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Mozambique have instituted similar cash-transfer programs for pensioners

and child-carers while pilot programs have been launched in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi. Unlike older welfare schemes in the North, these schemes do not police the structure of domestic life and are noncontributory. They also do not rely on large bureaucracies because eligibility is determined by minimal conditions such as absolute age, while payouts are often processed through biometric technologies.

Cash-transfer schemes are not unique to southern Africa. Ferguson notes that conventional development agencies, such as the World Bank and governments across the globe, are increasingly turning to cash-transfer programs as inexpensive and efficient means to reduce poverty. Apparently, almost a billion people today benefit from direct cash transfers. In development practice, this represents a “quiet revolution” (p. 13). Whereas older education and skills-training programs were undergirded by a development ethos that, in the hackneyed phrase, “taught men to fish” or, more precisely, brought poor people into productive labor, direct cash-transfer schemes “‘give’ a man a fish.” Ferguson suggests that this does not simply mark a change in the pragmatic ways in which development agencies deal with poverty; it could potentially destabilize the development industry’s “politics of production” (p. 48), radically alter the gendered ways in which dependency is imagined, and mark new ways in which poor people could make claims and mobilize politically.

In exploring this “emergent politics” (p. 24), which has only the barest of empirical existence at present, the book veers toward a political pamphlet. Ferguson repeatedly asks the reader to be open minded and to cultivate an experimental sensibility because a “politics adequate to the times must be more than a set of normative certainties that one brings to bear on an issue” (p. 33). He is especially enthusiastic about the potential progressive politics of Basic Income Grant (BIG) campaigns in Namibia—and, to a lesser extent, in South Africa. While most other cash grants are ostensibly still modelled on the European social state—“as if that old imagined world of breadwinners and their dependents could meaningfully be mapped onto social settings more often characterized by mass structural unemployment, ‘informal’ livelihoods, and highly fluid domestic groups” (pp. 17–18)—BIGs promise something different. In a context of chronic global labor surpluses, BIGs are not necessarily premised on the labor-based (or market) claims of an ascendant proletariat or on the moral claims of needy recipients. Instead, citizens in these campaigns make aggressive distributive claims to rightful shares in their country’s wealth. Following Peter Kropotkin, Ferguson argues that

there is no reason why such claims should not be extended to all socially produced wealth. But, unlike the anarchist’s hostility to the state, Ferguson argues that the state, despite its exclusionary functions and unequal fiscal and institutional capacities, is the only realistic mechanism through which genuine distributive outcomes can be achieved.

By divining the signs of possible future alternative politics in the flotsam of southern African public life, Ferguson abandons ethnography in favor of anecdotes. In these, he hints that even those at the “top of the heap” (p. 114) in southern Africa, the so-called “tenderpreneurs” (p. 115) and regular salary earners, depend on distributive handouts. Similarly evocative are short references to the people working in social grant bureaucracies in the region and those who championed (failed) BIG campaigns. There is a traditional ethnography lurking in this material, but I wonder if it would have the same reach as *Give a Man a Fish*. In a world of radical inequality and chronic unemployment, few development agents are willing to spend time “translating” anthropology into action. Ferguson has done this work with the sensibility of an anthropologist.

Variations on Uzbek Identity: Strategic Choices, Cognitive Schemas and Political Constraints in Identification Processes by Peter Finke

New York: Berghahn, 2014. 288 pp.

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“Who are the Uzbeks?” is the question Peter Finke addresses historically, theoretically, and empirically in his book, *Variations on Uzbek Identity*. The argument of the book is that Uzbek identity is flexible and based on territorial belonging. To explain this, the author takes both diachronic and synchronic approaches to study variations and locality of what is now known to be as Uzbek identity. Methodologically, this book is innovative because the author experiments with cognitive tests in addition to presenting rich ethnographic accounts. The shortcomings of limited cognitive tests and their experimental character are well balanced with classical anthropological methods of longitude. Furthermore, the author collected life histories and genealogies in addition to some archival material, local statistical information, and household surveys.

The book consists of five chapters alongside with an introduction and conclusion. The research for the book was

conducted in four regions in Uzbekistan, and each region is introduced separately in one chapter. The introduction of the book deals with the questions of Soviet nation building in the past and post-Soviet nation formation in Uzbekistan. The literature is well balanced through consideration of local scientific debate on Soviet nationalities and Uzbek nation of both Soviet and post-Soviet periods. The first chapter provides a very detailed and accurate account of the historical past of the region, particularly focusing on the developments that played a decisive role for the formation of nations and nationalism in Central Asia. The following chapters (I, II, III, and IV) cover the following four regions of Uzbekistan “oasis of Bukhara,” “oasis of Khorezm” (including Karakalpakstan where Karakalpak live, and this is an autonomous republic within Uzbekistan), Ferghana Valley, and Shahrissabz. Various ethnic groups are carefully examined within each region, and interactions between Uzbeks and other ethnic minorities such as Tadjiks, Kyrgyzs, Russians, and Turkmens are analyzed. All of the four regions are linguistically, politically, economically, and socially important regions to consider. Bukhara “represents the close intermingling of Uzbeks and Tadjiks—i.e., Turkic

and Iranian speakers” (p. 65). People who come from this region are depicted as Tadjiks. Khorezm is dominated by Oguz dialect speakers of Uzbek—the most distinct dialect of Uzbek, which is rather closer to Turkmen language than Uzbek. Ferghana Valley is locally notorious for its most religious and activist character compared to other regions, and therefore the title runs as “conflict inevitable?” Shahrissabz is the most understudied region in Uzbekistan. The Uzbeks in Shahrissabz “differentiate themselves in a very peculiar way through both linguistic and cultural markers” (p. 194). All of the chapters follow the same structure and the same subtitles in order to ease comparison among four regions.

The author argues that “two types of Uzbeks,” “*yo'kchi* and *joqchi*,” are locally “conceptualized in terms of” physical features. “Joqchilar are said to exhibit distinctive Mongolian features” and are described by non-joqchi as “less civilised, lazy and simple minded, as having ‘more muscles than brains’” (p. 216). Yokchi then eventually is the contrary of joqchi—non-Mongoloid and civilized, although the definition of *yokchi* is unclear. This linguistic and physical distinction of Uzbeks into *yokchi* and *joqchi* is empirically grounded, and my own research supports this finding. However, it is important to note here that these distinctions are mainly ascribed than self-identified. For instance, majority of *yokchis* such as Tashkentis, Ferghana Valley, and other Uzbeks are depicted, for instance, by Khorezmians as those having Mongoloid features and stemming from nomadic tribes, and these views are not necessarily shared by above mentioned *yokchi* Uzbeks themselves.

The author describes four regional variations of Uzbeks in the book. Uzbekistan is administratively divided into 12 regions. Donald Carlisle (1986) differentiated five elite groups of Uzbeks stemming from five regions in Uzbekistan—namely, the Northeastern region, the Eastern region (mainly Fergana Valley), Central (Samarqand and Bukhara), the Southern region (Surkhandarya

and Kashqadarya), and Northwestern region (Khorezm and Karakalpakstan)—on the basis of cultural, geographical, and economic differences.

The theoretical model offered by the author is partly innovative insofar as it makes an effort to open the black box of the cognitive aspect of strategic action through using the model of cognitive schemas. This is an experimental trial to return to the initial definition of identity by psychologists (Erikson 1959) and at the same time keep the strategic character of such flexible process as identification (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Economic theories of rational choice and strategic action have been harshly criticized for failure to account for the emotional part of the process, and the latter is considered in the book. The author takes Barth’s theory of identity formation a step further and highlights both instrumental and primordial character of identities that are flexible but to a certain degree.

The major contribution of the book is rich ethnography of four important regions in Uzbekistan because the country still remains understudied. I recommend the book to both academic and nonacademic readers who want to know more about Uzbekistan and who are particularly interested in the regions covered by the book. Another major contribution of this book is to the debate of Soviet nation engineering and post-Soviet nation-building processes with focus on Uzbekistan and Uzbek nationality.

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Reclaiming the Faravahar: Zoroastrian Survival in Contemporary Tehran by Navid Fozi

Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2014. 224 pp.

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Zoroastrian religion is one of the oldest in the world. In its long history, it has influenced many other religions (Buddhism, Manichaeism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam). It was the dominant or official religion of three successive

Iranian empires, the Achaemenid, Parthian, and Sasanian, stretching at times from the Indus Valley to Asia Minor.

After the Arab Muslim conquest of Iran in the seventh century and the gradual conversion of the populace to Islam, the status of those still adhering to Zoroastrian beliefs was reduced to that of a minority community. Many migrated to India and, later on, to other countries. For those left behind and as in the case of other minorities, Zoroastrians have often found themselves under intense pressure from

the dominant surrounding religion and its claim to cultural hegemony and have fought hard to hold on to their identity and maintain its validity through the preservation of their own distinct sacred rituals and narratives.

The contemporary history of the Zoroastrian community within Iran has been the subject of several ethnographical studies in the past decades (Boyce 1977; Fischer 1973; Kestenberg Amighi 1990). Navid Fozi's contribution, a revised version of his Boston University dissertation, is the latest attempt to explore the survival of Zoroastrians as a minority community in contemporary Iran.

The book consists of six chapters: chapter 1 describes the author's theoretical approach, methodology, and the background to the social history of the community in Iran. Chapter 2 is an account of his own travelogue and describes the difficulties, challenges, and obstacles that he encountered from different quarters, from the Iranian government as well as the Zoroastrian community. Chapter 3 describes the fieldwork that the author had managed to carry out in spite of these hurdles. It provides a valuable insight into the contemporary situation, describing a number of Zoroastrian calendric and occasional ritual ceremonies and cultural acts as performed today. The author discusses the awareness of the community of its minority status and the way that it tries to foster historical consciousness among its members in order to formulate a modern sociocultural imaginary of its own within the Islamic Republic of Iran through the creation of an alternative religious atmosphere distinct from the dominant one. Its direct observations provide the most informative part of the book.

Chapter 4 explores the way Zoroastrians have constructed their discourse of cultural and historical precedence vis-à-vis Muslim Shi'i-dominated Iranian culture by tracing the components of Iranian culture to its pre-Islamic origins in the moral universe outlined by Zoroaster's teachings in the Gathas (five poems in Old Avestan that Ahura Mazda taught Zoroaster) and thereby presenting themselves as the

true heirs and representatives of an ancient heritage that still informs the existing cultural ideals, if not practices, of the Iranian society today.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the author's attempt to demonstrate and document the reevaluation and rearrangement of present-day religious rituals and beliefs by contemporary Zoroastrians in order to stress principles of universality, modernity, and equality, especially in terms of the scientific achievements of their religion, their exact calendric calculations, and their emphasis on gender equality, choice, and tolerance. As in the case of other faiths in the contemporary world, ancient images and symbols are interpreted in a way that shows their relevance as well as affirmation of democratic and humanistic ideals.

The final chapter analyzes the main challenge facing the Zoroastrian community in Iran: that of declining numbers. Conversions to other religions, marriage outside the faith, and emigration cannot, given the tenets of the faith, be compensated by recruiting new members because the tenets of the faith do not allow conversions from the outside.

Although the book suffers in places from its uncritical acceptance of secondary sources, its firsthand observations, expressed in a clear account, should prove helpful to students of anthropology of religion.

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Language and Muslim Immigrant Childhoods: The Politics of Belonging by Inmaculada Ma García-Sánchez

Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2014. 376 pp.

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As the sixth volume in Wiley Blackwell's Studies in Discourse and Culture series, *Language and Muslim Immigrant Childhoods* showcases some of the strongest, most systematic

work in contemporary linguistic anthropology. Documenting links between microinteractions and larger political narratives, Inmaculada M^a García-Sánchez's exploration of Moroccan immigrant children's "belonging and not belonging" addresses their everyday lives in Spain as unavoidably political. In the traditions of social justice-oriented educational anthropology and language socialization studies, she shows how children actively shape and are

shaped by host and heritage communities in a post-9/11, security-obsessed era. Close interactional analysis—facilitated by still shots from García-Sánchez’s video data—presents evidence of the children’s emerging hybrid sensibilities as they negotiate their standing within both communities.

Primarily, García-Sánchez is concerned with how Moroccan children and those with whom they interact use language to delineate belonging. She asks in addition: How do Spanish attitudes toward Muslims shape dominant racist discourses and Moroccan children’s responses to them? By tracing shifting attitudes toward Moroccans in a rural town once lauded for welcoming newcomers, García-Sánchez has also chosen a field site that represents new destinations in global migration, away from metropolitan centers. Sixteen months of participant-observation and, notably, video data collection support her analysis of how a group of first-generation Moroccan immigrants, ages 9–12, navigate the “landscapes” of their everyday lives, specifically at school, Arabic lessons, appointments at the medical clinic, and during play with friends.

Roughly the first half of the book’s nine chapters is devoted to theoretical framing, historic and ethnographic context, methods, and descriptions of key participants. Here, García-Sánchez suggests that Spanish suspicion toward Moroccans represents a “new” Orientalism defined by security concerns but rooted in national history. Although Orientalism has always been about the allure and threat of the East, this contextualization helps explain Spain’s deeply conflicted connection to North Africa. Among the opening chapters, chapter 3, “Learning about Children’s Lives: A Note on Methodology,” stands out as a singular contribution. García-Sánchez’s thorough accounting of her methods provides welcome transparency into the planning and execution of this research, a veritable how-to for anyone interested in mixed methods, especially including video, or curious to know how ethnography actually gets done.

The second half of the book focuses on linguistic and interactional analysis. Chapter 5 details Moroccan kids’ experiences at school, showing how Spanish peers marginalize them through physical exclusion and particular forms of talk—“regimes of linguistically-mediated surveillance” (p. 291)—such as tattling, directives, and “fueling the fire.” Spanish children’s scrutiny of Moroccan children’s comportment depends upon racist attributions of misbehavior, uncleanli-

ness, and difference. Chapter 6 explores how two sets of Arabic lessons, one at school and the other at the mosque, involve Moroccan children in crisscrossing ideologies of authenticity regarding different varieties of Arabic and who teaches them. While this chapter highlights Moroccan linguistic and nationalist discourses, chapter 7 makes evident immigrant childrens’ skill at navigating the claims upon their loyalties. As translators for family and neighbors at the health clinic, they perform a crucial intergenerational and intercultural role. They not only relay information between patients and medical professionals but also mediate the exchanges so as not to reproduce negative perceptions of Moroccans, all while expressing respect toward their elders. Chapter 8 focuses on pretend play among Moroccan girls. Out of sight of others, they use their dolls to enact imagined Spanish personae, complete with Spanish names and scenarios of shopping or trying on bikinis (activities that are limited or foreclosed to them in reality).

The book’s holistic and humanizing approach is its core strength. The children appear neither as victims of circumstance nor as implacable redeemers of cultural hybridity across a variety of daily contexts. Nonetheless, greater attention to the structure and editing of the book might have woven the focal “landscapes” together more seamlessly, tying them to the theoretical insights contained in the opening and concluding chapters. Unfortunately, overuse of italics early on and proofreading errors throughout create distractions for the attentive reader as well. Given its scope and timeliness, this book will be of interest to scholars of multicultural education, transnational migration, language contact and change, and research methods; educators and policymakers will also benefit from reading it.

In the end, one is struck by the tremendous work that Moroccan immigrant children do to manage the balancing act required of them. If mostly too young to articulate their double-consciousness as such, García-Sánchez’s analysis makes clear that this, too, is central to their socialization. By documenting the first stages of linguistic and cultural hybridization in progress, she shows how individual identities become fields of struggle amid mundane but insistent claims upon belonging. Her findings offer crucial insights into the lives of European Muslim youth at a time when insight is rare—increasingly replaced by fear at the prospect of their radicalization but paralysis before evidence of their disaffection.

The Eagle and the Dragon: Globalization and European Dreams of Conquest in China and America in the Sixteenth Century by Serge Gruzinski. Jean Birrell, trans.

Cambridge: Polity, 2014. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12626

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“In November 1519 a Spanish adventurer named Hernán Cortés, at the head of a small troop of soldiers and cavalrymen, made his entry into Mexico. In May 1520, a Portuguese ambassador, with even fewer men, entered Nanking” (p. 5). Four years later, the Spaniard had orchestrated a takeover of the Aztec empire, whereas the Portuguese embassy—which also harbored dreams of conquest—came to nothing, and most of its personnel had been executed. Thus, “in the same century, the Iberians failed in China and succeeded in America” (p. 4). These global parallels are the starting premise of Serge Gruzinski’s dense, provocative new book, first published in France in 2012.

Structurally, the volume moves back and forth, along a parallel timeline, between Mexico and China, with frequent stops in Europe. Chapters 1 and 2 compare and contrast what we now know about 15th- and early-16th-century Central Mexico and China, in terms of their political and social infrastructures, their technologies, and their inter-regional relationships. Chapters 3 and 4 turn to Europe’s explorations of the early modern world and the history of its fascination with Asia—a fascination that, in 1492, accidentally led to the Americas. Themes of fascination continue in chapter 5, which begins with the parallel ways in which Europeans described the Chinese and Mesoamerican books that arrived in Iberia in the early 16th century; it then continues the theme of writing by introducing the letters (by Cortés, by Portuguese emissaries) that are our primary sources for reconstructing the events that unfolded in Mexico and China circa 1519. These letters and the stories they tell form the basis for chapters 6 and 7, which move back and forth from Mexico and China to narrate how one expedition ended in European victory and settlement and the other in European failure and banishment. As a complement to these *histoires événementielles* (event-centered narratives), the next three chapters center on *imaginaire* (mental landscape) and worldview: How did Iberians, Mexicans, and Chinese alike struggle to name and understand one another? Chapters 11 and 12 turn to European techniques for describing the world and their connection to plans and practices of conquest in Mexico and China; chapter 13

offers the counterpoint of Mexican and Chinese theories and practices for dealing with outsiders. Chapter 14 then juxtaposes the chaos of 1520s Mexico (where the Spaniards struggled to consolidate their conquests) with the continuity of 1520s Asia (where the Portuguese worked to integrate themselves in long-established trade networks)—yet concludes by suggesting parallels of “Americanization” and “Asianization” in both situations. Chapters 15, 16, and 17 center on the Spanish Americas and Philippines and the numerous efforts—including several by Cortés—to use those territories for launching new Asian conquests. The book’s conclusion, subtitled “Towards a Global History of the Renaissance,” provides a manifesto on theory, method, and “the Birth of the West.”

As I was reading, I found it useful to imagine *The Eagle and the Dragon* as the third permutation of a trilogy in translation, and to contrast the specific geographies brought together in each component book. The first volume in this trilogy, *The Mestizo Mind* (published in 1999 in French and in 2002 in English), brings the reader to Europe for relatively few pages (forays described at one point as “a little detour”): that volume was, above all, a story of how European ideas and images—especially those inherited from the classical, pagan past—traveled to Mesoamerica to be taken up and transformed by native peoples. In the second volume, *What Time Is It There?* (2008/2010), Gruzinski created a “disconnected history” split fairly equally between events in the Old World versus the New: he used books and manuscripts to reconstruct how the Americas looked from Istanbul, on the one hand, and how the Islamic world looked from Mexico City, on the other. *The Eagle and the Dragon*, like its immediate predecessor, also works to divide its attentions equally between two different sites in the early modern world: China and Central Mexico. Yet Gruzinski’s exploration of Amerasian themes is distinct in its structure from his previous exploration of Islamoamerican ones. In *What Time Is It There?*, Gruzinski stressed the disconnection of Islam and America: “a history of worlds that encounter each other without ever meeting” (2010:1); “there is no link, therefore, between the two texts” (2010:17). In contrast, *The Eagle and the Dragon* articulates a far more connected vision of parallel developments in distant locales: “The Iberian expeditions to the coasts of Mexico and China may not have been part of a concerted operation, but neither was their temporal coincidence pure

chance. The two events derived from a common dynamic” (p. 31).

The Eagle and the Dragon often stresses the need to avoid teleologies in how we imagine the globalized past and its relationship to the entanglements of our present world (pp. 2, 3, 58), and so I do not mean for this trilogical comparison to represent a simple story of progress or development (wherein each new volume is “better” or “improved” from its predecessor). Instead, read together, they appear as a series of experiments: methodic and methodically instructive variations on the theme of imagining a past outside “the tired old frameworks of a national, colonial and

imperial history, which are an obstacle to a global approach” (p. 239).

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Youth Politics in Putin’s Russia: Producing Patriots and Entrepreneurs by Julie Hemment

Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. 276 pp.

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In this important contribution to the anthropology of post-socialist state, Julie Hemment explores the terrain of state-run youth projects in Vladimir Putin’s Russia, providing a sophisticated, elaborated, and differentiated account of highly controversial projects initiated by the Kremlin in the 2000s analyzed in the context of global neoliberal forces and trends.

Mobilizing post-Soviet youth for new Russian modernization projects, designed by Putin and his administration, is vital for their viability. Projects, initiated and sponsored by the Kremlin, such as the youth movement Nashi, Seliger camps, and youth-oriented pronatalist campaigns, as well as the sexualization of politics around the persona of Putin are the various facets of this youth mobilization that Hemment addresses in her book. Against the backdrop of Russian state’s infringement on democratic rights and liberties, Putin’s regime offers to its young constituencies a new reality, in which Russia emerges as a superpower, as an attractive entity with which youth can identify. Abundantly fuelled with petrodollars and the “oil-and-gas glamour,” this “new Russian patriotism” responds to various aspirations of youth.

Different from the dominant Western accounts that see these projects as direct outcomes of rising authoritarianism in Russia, she highlights the complex, multifaceted, and contradictory nature of these projects, which cannot be located within the state power alone. By situating them within the context of broader global forces of neoliberal governmentality, Western democratic interventions, and commodification of politics, she argues that such projects are products of multiple authors. Appropriating diverse, seemingly contradictory resources and symbols—from

global youth culture to Soviet forms—they emerge as highly eclectic projects with unexpected turns and outcomes.

Hement starts with a critical discussion of Western democracy and civil society promotion in Russia in the 1990s, highlighting their detachment from the immediate needs and concerns of Russians during that time. Disparaging these NGOs as “foreign interventions,” the current Russian regime and its political technologists (*polittechnologi*) have embarked on creating their own civil society projects that skillfully use many of the techniques and resources of Western democracy promotion.

One of the most famous and controversial efforts at mobilization of youth in Putin’s Russia is the Nashi movement, which Hemment analyzes in detail in the second chapter. Apart from some of its dubious actions, she identifies it as a “post-modern mixture of old school methods and new political technologies,” whereby Soviet-era legacies, elements of global youth culture, and techniques of neoliberal governmentality are fused in an eclectic mix (p. 103). Exploiting Soviet-era achievements to bolster national pride and patriotic sentiments in youth, Nashi simultaneously promises young people individual gains in terms of improvement of career chances and social mobility. In the further analysis of the “innovation forum” Seliger, she demonstrates how youths are socialized into the neoliberal techniques of self-empowerment, self-marketization, and entrepreneurship through “technologies of kindness” or “commodify your talent” workshops and master classes. Soviet heritage figures here prominently as the sources of Russian moral power, but, as Hemment asserts, these are “significantly neoliberal imagining, where Soviet heroes were spun as innovators and entrepreneurs” (p. 14). Further on, she analyzes state-backed promotion of voluntarism among young people (helping the elderly and orphans) as a manifestation of Russian state’s withdrawal from the social welfare.

Hement at the same time attends to the perspectives of young people participating in these projects. Through portraits of young people active in these various venues, she reveals the meaning that they have for individual actors and tropes that they open for them. Rather than docile subjects that follow the state line, young people emerge as active agents that adapt participation in these projects to their own ends, showing a range of various motivations to participate and engage with them.

Hement's analysis, as she acknowledges herself, has profited a lot from the method of ethnographic collaboration. Many of her ethnographic and analytic insights emerged from the collaboration with the scholars of the Tver' State University and from critical engagement with their views, in some ways representative of the attitudes of critical post-Soviet intelligentsia.

We also hear the voices of young people who express alternative discourses about these state-run projects, disparaging them as PR campaigns, as "showing off" (*pokazukha*), or as venues for self-interested careerist.

This made me wish for more counter-discourses revealing the diverse and contradictory responses and attitudes that such technologies actually receive from the wider Russian society. At the same time, these state-run youth projects seem to draw on the widely shared perceptions of moral superiority of Russia over the "morally corrupted" West—sentiments that feed on the glorified Soviet past. I would have appreciated more discussion of these post-Soviet constructions of morality and their use for political purposes.

Youth Politics in Putin's Russia contributes to the debates on the nature of social movements, particularly pro-regime ones demonstrating that the "same techniques and strategies which entered the repertoire of celebrated democratic oppositional waves . . . can be effectively deployed for pro-regime purposes" (p. 13). It convincingly presents how global neoliberal forces play into the techniques of incorporating youth subjects into state power structures by offering young people opportunities to explore paths of self-empowerment and entrepreneurship, albeit within a given ideological framework.

Fields of Desire: Poverty and Policy in Laos by Holly High

Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2014. 232 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12645

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Fields of Desire is a fascinating book on anthropology of Southeast Asia and of post-peasants studies addressing the issues of domination-resistance approach. The author raises certain critical issues in development projects, state policy, and people's livelihood in Southeast Asia. It is informative and descriptive, accounting the politics of poverty looking at implementation on the ground.

Based on long-term fieldwork in Don Khiaw, a village located in the southwest of Laos, the author has selected a good fieldwork site, historically illustrating a marginalization process in a rural area, where Laotian peasant cultures confront entrenched poverty, discrimination, and increasing regulation ordered by the state. "Don Khiaw," among other rural villages in Laos, could be seen as a so-called "post-peasants" society, witnessing the way that changing peasant cultures have been encountered within a situation of exploitation.

According to the book, while the state implements poverty-reduction policies and development programs, local people perceive those attempts merely as state projects and engage them with doubts. This is because, as the author accounts, the state has never been trusted, and local people have rarely been successful in participating in most

of the state's development projects—for example, road construction or irrigation building. In spite of the failure of state's prior projects, policy makers and planners keep on renewing poverty reduction policies, some of which are even desired locally. This circumstance brings in the force of aspirations and desirable responses among rural Laos and ambivalent understandings of power and "post-rebellious" formation among contemporary Laos.

Hence, it is a well-thought-out book attempting to place the concept of "desire"—particularly as understood in Western knowledge—under reflexive questions. Drawing on the subject of desire in Foucault 1984 (see, esp., Foucault 1984:5) and psychoanalytic understandings of desire in Deleuze and Guattari 1983, the author asks whether desire is a Western fantasy understood in term of universal and eternal view. She challenges the Western theory, proposing that desire could be seen as an indigenous, live concept demonstrating a way of seeing life, of investigating and debating about it, in which one can be encountered in particular context. Framing desire in this way, desire for economic and political engagement in Southeast Asia is an alternative sense rooted in the specificity of particular symbolic cosmologies, allowing scholars to make desire a question rather than a prior commitment in cross-cultural analysis.

More interestingly, the author furthers a debate on the notion of desire in "post-rebellious" society within Southeast Asian scholarship. Similar to James C. Scott, a

well-known political scientist and anthropologist in agrarian studies and Southeast Asian studies, the author does not reduce the observation of resistance to ignorance or false consciousness. Instead, she points out a rich culture of resistance under conformity surface, cosmologies under dominant and exploited economies, and delirium implied by the use of cultural-symbolic schemes illustrating the holes, gaps, and contradiction. She suggests that the desire in a post-rebellious peasant culture produces the delirious rationalities for opposed evaluation, condemnation, and action, written in chapter 3 in particular, expressing the multiple embryonic forms (i.e., revolutionary action, aspirations for conformity, mutation, and replication) of a dissident culture. It reveals an account for Southeast Asian change in terms that can explain everyday nonresistance and daily aspiration in ways that allow for reason and fantasy, for repetition and creativity, and for the respect implied by cultural relativism.

The book structure comprises nine chapters in rich ethnographic style and anthropological analysis. Chapter 1 introduces desire theories and how to relate rebellion and desire in a particular context of contemporary Laos. Chapter 2 brings to the fore the Laotian phrase “eat with you,” referring to power in dual implication of nurture and of destruction in the Lao political field, and analyzes the delirium in everyday encounters with the state. Chapter 3 gives a historical background, narrating Don Khiaw village and the region where it has been marginalized politically and economically. Chapter 4 focuses on Don Khiaw women and

what the poverty means for them. The author also presents the character of these women in attempting to break away from poverty. Chapter 5 introduces “stories of state,” investigating dual images of official stories told in the public realm and private sphere. The stories unveil a shared delirium that underlines and links on-stage and off-stage depictions of what the state is.

For chapter 6, the author uses the case of the state’s irrigation project resurrected by local people themselves in order to understand the intimacy of a politics of survival and the will and desire of the people. Chapter 7 provides a narrative of event series surrounding the World Bank Poverty Reduction Fund to demonstrate how the delirium of desire is operated as an open-ended process and how the political field is negotiated with varying interpretations held by different actors over time. Chapter 8 points out that mutual aid running from period of high socialism to contemporary participatory development can be seen as a delirium, one of a powerful image for constructing dual images of political virtue and disgrace.

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Confronting Suburban School Resegregation in California by Clayton A. Hurd

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. 288 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12641

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Clayton Hurd seeks importantly to demonstrate how “increasing White/Latino public school segregation, while national in scope, is locally produced,” by exploring a largely white, middle-class enclave attempting to “secede’ from what has become an increasingly Latino school district” on California’s central coast (p. 3). Hurd names suburbs as increasing hotbeds for resegregation: local residents nationwide call for “reorganizing” districts when too many children of color enter them. Rarely do such parents frame their requests in explicitly racial terms, Hurd argues. Instead, they lean on logics of local control and parent choice, and on legal opinions that increasingly favor passivity on desegregation.

Tapping five years of fieldwork and many historical records, Hurd documents local battles over both desegregation (students attending the same school) and true integration (students enjoying equal status relationships and learning opportunities once together). Decades of redlining, employment policies, and realtors’ steering had created one community housing Mexican farm laborers and descendants and another housing white middle-class families. Despite years of white resistance to desegregation orders, the communities finally came to share a school district for financial reasons and to handle overcrowding. Yet as Hurd documents, Latino students experienced daily exclusion within the desegregated high school. As Latino activists called for full integration, white families once again demanded a separate school district that they could control.

Educators had long passively just put students into the same building and let the social and opportunity chips fall, essentially greenlighting white social ownership of the school

and Latino exclusion. “Allenstown High” was a classic case of two racialized schools within one school, with white and “Mexican” students segregated socially, spatially, and academically. Having clubs or activities “available” in a school does not mean students comfortably join them; exclusion can occur through stares as students enter rooms or speak. To those unfamiliar with everyday versions of racism in school, Hurd’s detail on interactions in school offices, board meetings, assemblies, or student government might seem like overattention, but Hurd’s point is that it is in these very social interactions over control, respect, and status that “integration” or “inclusion” are built or not.

In long dips into local politics and history, Hurd usefully demonstrates how school dynamics reflect any community’s power relations. Chapter 2, for example, documents how a history of underpaying Mexican labor built both the town’s wealth and the status dynamics reinforced in its schools. Ironically, white families continued to frame Latino families as somehow freeloading off economic and educational resources.

Anti-immigrant propositions in California, plus leadership by local organizers, finally sparked Mexican American student activism for true integration. Latino students ran for school offices, organized walkouts and public speeches, designed murals, and called for curricular change. Each call for representation in school activities, clubs, and staff heightened anxiety among some white students, parents, and faculty, who experienced each effort for equal status as excluding “white” people in turn. Enter the secession movement. Hurd seeks both to understand the white community’s press for resegregation (what Hurd calls “privilege-in-action” [p. 6]) and to narrate the Mexican-heritage community’s battle for integration. Hurd admits he focuses more on the Latino organizers, in part to rectify desegregation narratives that focus too exclusively on white participants (p. 40).

The theme of “secession” at first seems lost in chapters delving into tensions inside the school, but Hurd then argues provocatively that these very school-level tensions helped catalyze the “secession” movement. In this argument particularly, Hurd offers an important window onto anxious efforts by class- and race-privileged subcommunities to withdraw both physically and bureaucratically from shared public spaces.

The consequences are dire: Hurd notes that, nationally, segregation leaves Latino students with fewer material resources in their schools (including trained teachers, courses, facilities, and connections to colleges and careers), exacerbates linguistic segregation, and concentrates the needs associated with poverty. He refers less to how academic segregation (tracks, course selection and placement, instructional rigor) occurs nationally between schools and within “desegregated” schools, as well. While he offers a poignant rendering of social segregation in the high school studied, for example, in only hinting at its academic segregation, he misses some chance to help readers fully understand what segregation destroys and integration entails.

Hurd’s ethnography also usefully explores debate over tactics among Mexican American student and adult organizers, avoiding oversimplification (or hypercelebration) of local integration strategies. Local officials or teachers also voice somewhat complex views. White parents appear more of an undifferentiated block—either because their public speeches conveyed actual unity or because we just hear fewer of them talk through their convolutedly racialized arguments about home values, school control, property taxes, and “challenging” curriculum. We finish the book agreeing with Hurd that true integration will in large part require convincing white parents of their collective interest in a truly integrated school system and of opportunity as possible for all. Yet we close deeply skeptical about that prospect.

Yearnings in the Meantime: “Normal Lives” and the State in a Sarajevo Apartment Complex by Stef Jansen

New York: Berghahn, 2015. 262 pp.

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It is really relieving and thought provoking to read a book about people’s relations to the state in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and, more specifically, in Sarajevo after the Dayton Peace Agreement without focusing on ethnicity and

nationalism—a view that has been dominant in scientific and public attention on BiH ever since the violent dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia. Since the Dayton Agreement in 1995, BiH is officially divided into two and, on a practical level, even three territorial and political entities according to national lines, and its political system is based on ethnonational quota, blocking the functioning of the state. Now, there is this intriguingly written and analytically original book that looks at the main concerns of the citizens of BiH

and their yearnings for “normal lives” (p. 43) and that relates them to their demands for a “normal”—a functioning—state (pp. 2–9).

By taking the views of people living in one of the typical Sarajevo apartment blocks that were built in socialism, author Stef Jansen investigates a “regime of temporal reasoning” (p. 47) that focuses on Sarajevo as a place of a specific historical geopolitical conjuncture where people link their projections about “normal lives” in the socialist past (the “was”) with their aspirations about a “normal life” in the future (the “ought”) (p. 43). This historically informed and future-oriented view is something that is still rather unique in anthropology and that makes this book so valuable and original. Beyond this, Jansen’s analysis densely links his insightful empirical descriptions to major theoretical discussions on the state (e.g., Foucault, Scott) in relation to theories on hope (e.g., Bloch, Miyazaki, Hage), temporality (e.g., Appadurai, Bourdieu), conviviality (e.g., Mbembe), and, not least, state “gridding” (p. 70), a term coined by Jansen that refers to the ordering frameworks that (ought to) exist within a society and that are linked to statecraft. This combination of partly humorous and intimate empirical details and innovative theoretical insights makes the book highly readable for a larger audience—far beyond the circle of post-Yugoslav or postsocialist regional experts.

Jansen structures his book in three parts, which are the yearning for “normal lives”; the analysis of the pathologies of the state in Dayton BiH, which he calls “Daytonitis” (p. 18); and the ways of everyday living within this disfunctioning state. As Jansen shows, the aspirations for a “normal life” are rather moderate: they include social coordinates like health-care and education, job provision and pensions—things most people remember to have had in socialist BiH—as well as the ability to move forward (pp. 40–43), which they lack in the “Dayton meantime,” at least at a speed they want (p. 52). In fact, even during war, people had partly successfully fought against such an abnormality with the creation of “grids” (p. 70), structures that enable people to believe in some kind of trajectory. In postwar Sarajevo, people still evaluate their life along a linear temporality associated with modernism—which may be a pessimist message for all those

who look for alternative temporal trajectories “in the face of disillusion with modernist utopias” (p. 44). At the same time, and this is the good note, this yearning for a normal life leads inevitably to a “grid-desire” (p. 71), a wish for a “normalized and normalising order” (p. 71) provided by the state.

Different from the notions of a modernist, technocrat state, which controls its citizens (e.g., Foucault’s theory on governmentality) and against an authoritarian, disciplining state that imposes “grids” on its citizens, who then revolt or at least silently disagree to it (as shown in studies of James Scott), Jansen features the opposite: in Dayton BiH, the citizens live in this disfunctional state, but they want to be seen by the state (p. 9). They aspire state grids that enable them to create normal lives—even if these hopes will not be fulfilled in the immediate future (pp. 136, 154).

In the last part of the book, Jansen describes what people do in the Dayton meantime: barking over coffee (instead of protesting and revolting); waiting—for a better time to come; and, last but not least, chasing (opportunities and connections). The latter leads to a kind of conviviality between the citizens and (the politicians of) this ill state, which is, in this context, therefore less an innovative project but one of compliance (pp. 189–219). Some hope, however, is given in the beautifully written epilogue; in it, Jansen describes how in 2013, 18 years after Dayton, seemingly suddenly some joint protests for basic citizens’ rights evolved across ethnic boundaries.

Of course, one can question if young people who do not know any other state but the one of Dayton BiH and whether those people who were forced to leave their homes due to ethnic cleansings are also engaged in such protests and have the same desires for a functioning state, beyond ethnonational cleavages. At the same time, it is no question that such yearnings for normal lives and for a functioning statecraft are not restricted to citizens of Sarajevo or BiH but can also be found in other states around the globe. As this book gives intimate and at the same time highly theoretical and innovative insights into this field, it deserves to be widely read.

The Lama Question: Violence, Sovereignty, and Exception in Early Socialist Mongolia by Christopher Kaplonski

Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014. 280 pp.

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Christopher Kaplonski's *The Lama Question* is a work of extraordinary scholarship on a rarely studied region. The book offers the definitive political history of Mongolia's early socialist period, from 1924 to 1940, focusing on the policies that culminated in mass executions and the wholesale destruction of Buddhist monasteries. The argument is organized around Giorgio Agamben's concept of the "state of exception," together with Michel Foucault's insights about governmentality. Because, as Kaplonski notes (p. 86), Agamben's concept does not entirely fit the Mongolian case, he developed the more encompassing "technologies of exception" to frame the "policies, propaganda, and a range of forms of violence—structural, symbolic, and physical—that were enacted at various times" (pp. 28–30). The term appears an awkward hybrid initially, describing unprecedented, sometimes violent, actions brought against individuals and institutions through ostensibly legitimate means. Over the course of the book, it gains clarity, however, and Kaplonski uses it to contextualize shifts in policies and the contingent nature of political legitimacy and political sovereignty in Mongolia.

The book begins with a brief history of Mongolia through the early 20th century. At the time that the socialists took power, the nation was a theocracy headed by a reincarnate lama who was born in Tibet, approximately one-third of the adult men were Tibetan Buddhist monks, and the monasteries and high-ranking clergy held great wealth and great authority. The second chapter describes the geopolitical dilemmas that the nation faced at that time; in this chapter, Kaplonski introduces persisting questions about the role of Soviet influence on Mongolia.

The book is based on materials accessed in archives in Mongolia, supplemented by oral historical accounts. Kaplonski describes the archive as a field site and an object of research in its own right (p. 10). He divides the account into three time periods, each with its own special technologies of exception. Chapters 3–6 describe the first time period, beginning in the 1920s and ending in 1932. This is when modernist reforms were introduced, including the promotion of secular education and women's rights, the abolishment of the privileges of high-ranking lamas, the expropriation of property from people deemed "feudals" (how this status was assigned remains unclear), the collectivization of livestock, and an early set of arrests and trials of

individuals suspected of "counterrevolutionary" activity. Reaction against these policies led to civil war in 1932. Chapters 7 and 8 describe the subsequent rollback of some the harshest policies of the previous period, together with new, subtler technologies of exception, which involved surveillance of the lamas and the monasteries and greater attention to class-based inequities. Chapters 9 and 10 form the third and final part of the book, covering the period of 1937 to 1940, when the most draconian measures were introduced. These technologies of exception involved the closure of the monasteries, the expulsion of the monks, mass arrests, show trials, and executions. Predominant among those executed were lamas, Buriad Mongols who had fled the Russian Revolution, government officials, and intellectuals. The major charges involved alleged conspiracies to overthrow the revolutionary government. While the standard view of these events is that they were imposed by Stalin and came about almost without warning (p. 9), Kaplonski suggests that although the Mongolian government had received guidance from Stalin and others in the Soviet Union, the Mongolians were active agents in these events.

The concluding chapter undoubtedly will be of greatest interest to anthropologists concerned with issues of political violence and sovereignty and with what can be learned from the Mongolian case. In it, Kaplonski reiterates the view that the socialist government had a concern with legality and a need to assert the legitimacy of its measures in order to effectively counteract the authority of the Buddhist clergy. That is, to suspend the rule of law and declare a state of exception in the full sense would have been counterproductive, undermining the efforts of reformers to build a modern state. He also argues that the recourse to violence was deferred because the new Mongolian government was weak and that the reason it was weak was the power of the Buddhist establishment. Thus, for years the government continued to address its adversaries through accommodation and less confrontational approaches, such as surveillance of high-ranking clerics, which later on facilitated the targeting of such individuals.

For those interested in the region, the book offers an extraordinarily rich and theoretically sophisticated account of a momentous time in Mongolian history. Still, the wealth of detail on events and individuals who were the focus of repression is so weighty as to be a mixed blessing. At the same time, the argument would have benefitted from greater use of the oral historical materials that Kaplonski describes having collected and from a fuller accounting of the lives and sources of motivation of political leaders at that time.

Figurations of the Future: Forms and Temporalities of Left Radical Politics in Northern Europe by Stine Krøijer

New York: Berghahn, 2015. 256 pp.

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“This is not just a demonstration” clarifies a protestor at a planning meeting for the 2008 NATO summit in Strasbourg, France, “the idea is to take action” (p. 114). Action, not words, and the present, not the future, occupy and maybe undermine the culture and politics of the northern European radical Left in Stine Krøijer’s nicely written ethnography. Krøijer deftly investigates the relationship between form and time among activists, delineating the logic of their direct-action maneuvers, their dynamic networks of planning and paranoia, and their sometimes-inconsistent commitments to alternative lifeways in a neoliberalizing Europe in the era of global capitalism. Her research settings range from local protests over a youth center in Copenhagen to several larger demonstrations at major international policy events including NATO and climate-change summits.

In these contexts, Krøijer presents the fast-paced world of activists, many of whom are barely into adulthood and who work at a frenzied rate to fight the state, the system, and, most importantly, the police. Her ethnography probes this velocity of political action, revealing both the strengths and the vulnerabilities of the “alter-globalization” movement. Left radicals are a counterpublic that explodes, demonstrates, and then disappears into diverse and dispersed daily lifestyles such as veganism, punk-rock music, squatting, and self-actualization. If the theory here seems blurry, that is also Krøijer’s point: such activism manifests as intense temporal and bodily experiences and not steady, static structures of social organization with predictable bureaucratic formulations. It is in the state of action that this political force seeks to articulate its voice.

Following a vivid introduction that brings us into the experience of protest in Copenhagen, chapter 1 offers an astute account of how Left radicals ignore the nuances and varieties of late capitalism, seeing it as simply monolithic, oppressive, and morally wrong. Chapter 2 then explains the cultivation of a disaffected generation of youth in northern Europe, who grapple with the demands of autonomy, individual purpose, and particularly Scandinavian notions of spaciousness and equality. The result is an idealistic yet anarchistic approach to social activism that incorporates an urgent need to “be there” when local battles against gentrification arise or when figureheads of state power gather

for international meetings—what Krøijer calls “active” time. But such a culture also involves the anxieties of liminality and youth, and such frustrations play out in chapter 3 as we witness the detailed and complicated planning of major actions. The process reveals how consensus is difficult and inefficient to achieve, and the absence of an ideological center allows for substantial individual variation. At the end of the day, a measure of noncommittalness and uncertainty emerges among her informants. It is in describing this “dead” time—a period when actions are not happening and the road to the next one can be distant, difficult, even boring—that Krøijer begins to pull together an analysis of time and form that may at first not appear to be much of a departure from the work of other anthropologists writing on activism or temporality but which becomes distinct in chapters 4 and 5. Here she provides an enlightening discussion of police perspectives and their systemic securitization of public spaces. Both police and activists re-create each other in a relational dance of risk, fear, and counter-offensives, revealing their mutually constitutive, yet starkly divergent, worldviews of the present and the future. The result is a claustrophobic arena of tactical actions seeking some sort of disruption (which may be one of the most overused terms these days). Krøijer’s analogies from Amazonian ethnology and anthropological theories on the body throw this intimacy and relationality into sharp relief. Along the way, she includes ethnographic vignettes that personalize activists’ lifeways, such as an account of dumpster diving or that of the naming of a child, and explains the apparent contradictions of Left radicals’ acceptance of unemployment benefits or study grants as gaming the excesses of a corrupt system they outright reject as long as it keeps them on their mission of changing the world.

In the wake of Occupy Wall Street, Krøijer’s study reconfigures Left radicalism as a sort of “preoccupied” movement—too concerned with form of protest and immediate action at the cost of both structure and developed theory. Her data suggest a distinct lack of endgame or of achievable compromises that might make real differences. This is why labor-, race-, and gender-equity movements, as well as ethnonationalist movements, can be potentially so transformational and, of course, so dangerous in the eyes of the powers that be. Such ideology-based movements know their endgames. Neoliberal states, along with the systems of global capitalism that foster them, are perhaps quite content to keep the public preoccupied with Left radicalism (along with terrorism) as the visible, “real” enemy of the present and, as Krøijer shows us, one figuration of the future.

Loneliness and Its Opposite: Sex, Disability, and the Ethics of Engagement by Don Kulick and Jens Rydström

Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 376 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12639

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Loneliness and Its Opposite is a truly novel book in several ways. Not only does it address a topic that is typically steeped in silence in public and scholarly discourse alike, it also takes the liberty to do so by applying a comparative examination of the ways in which sex and disability are facilitated or not facilitated in the two Scandinavian welfare states of Denmark and Sweden. Casting the question of sexuality and disability as a matter of social justice, the book elegantly circumvents the emblematic notion of sexual rights understood solely as sexual entitlements that legitimize prostitution. This is paramount because the Swedish context is one in which the purchase of sexual services is criminalized and where questions pertaining to sex and disability are easily overshadowed by inculcated values of gender equality and antiprostitution. Inspired by the capabilities approach to social justice, Don Kulick and Jens Rydström instead argue that justice is a matter of fostering the circumstances that allow individuals to realize a life with human dignity.

In adopting this recipe for social justice, they therefore set out from the understanding that Danish policies designed to facilitate and enable the sexuality of people with disabilities are more just than their Swedish equivalents, which by and large manage the sexuality of disabled people with disregard and avoidance. Albeit unusual, this stated view is refreshing in that it allows for a structured comparative approach to the social policies of two neighboring welfare states. Furthermore, the modality is transparent and establishes a clear sense of purpose throughout the text. Still, the decision made to only carry out ethnographic fieldwork in Danish care facilities, because no Swedish facilities are known to actively facilitate sexual experiences, is questionable. How can the authors be so sure that there is nothing to be found beyond the level of official discourse in Swedish facilities? Even if that is the case, do practices of avoidance not merit their own ethnographic description and analysis?

The benefits of the welfare state comparison is most clearly demonstrated by the historical readings of how foundational conferences held in both countries in the mid-1960s destined Denmark and Sweden to take each their route on the question of sex and disability. Tuning in on key actors in the form of state officials, civil society representatives, and public media, this part of the book reads almost like a

detective novel and thus delivers a vivid contextual analysis. Where the adoption of the so-called normalization principle to disability in Denmark came to encompass the practical facilitation of the sexuality of disabled people (and the professional training of 400 sexual advisors), the Swedish model focused solely on the provision of information about sexuality and left disabled people to figure out how to accomplish any of this largely on their own. For someone with mobility or the intellectual capacity to manage a relation on their own, this could turn out to be enough. But for those without these abilities or capacities, the accomplishment of a sexual life necessitates the involvement of someone else.

The book does a marvelous job of carefully analyzing the intricate negotiations that take place as part of this involvement and how these tie in with differing notions of the public and the private in the two countries. From a formal perspective, the Danish “Guidelines about Sexuality—Regardless of Handicap” (1989) actively mandates the development of policies and practices that recognize and assist the sexual entitlements of disabled people. In everyday life, this means that there is a clear demarcation between what is possible and what is not. Disabled people have the right to be consulted by a sexual advisor and to have plans and agreements be implemented to facilitate their sex lives. In no way does this amount to a simple right to sex, although in a minority of cases it may involve the requisition of services provided by a sex worker. Care workers have the responsibility to respond to the wishes of the disabled person. If nothing more, they have to at least refer the question to a sexual advisor, whereas on all accounts they are strictly prohibited from engaging in sex.

The rich descriptions of how care workers facilitate the encounters between a couple where both have Down syndrome, how they prepare a homosexual man with cerebral palsy for an encounter with a sex worker, or how they set up a paralyzed woman for masturbation using sex toys turn the relation of the public and the private on its head. By doing so, the book simultaneously unsettles a number of taken-for-granted notions about what it means to care or what it means to fulfill a right. As such, this intriguing book deserves a readership outside the realm of sexuality or disability studies.

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The Slain God: Anthropologists and the Christian Faith

by Timothy Larsen

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 272 pp.

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There has been a growing interest in Christianity among cultural anthropologists in recent years. This has led to a sustained reflection on the complicated relationship anthropology has had with Christianity and to questions about the foundations of the discipline, its concepts, and method. For this reason, Timothy Larsen's *The Slain God* does not fall on deaf ears but joins ranks with anthropologists' own attempts to understand this history. Larsen, a scholar of Christian thought, explores the role Christianity played in the lives of six prominent figures of British anthropology: E. B. Tylor, James Frazer, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Mary Douglas, Victor Turner, and Edith Turner. His choice is transparent: not only are they great scholars of religion but their intellectual quest is deeply marked by personal faith or loss of faith. His selection also attempts to cover the modern history of the discipline evolving between opposite poles: from early evolutionism to radical empiricism, from loss of faith due to anthropology (Tylor) to gaining faith through anthropology (Victor Turner and Edith Turner). In this configuration, Evans-Pritchard and Mary Douglas represent the turning points: the former for his rebuttal of previous theories of "primitive" religion, the latter for bringing faith to the core of anthropological theory.

If the first two portraits of Tylor and Frazer are somewhat predictable, their role is to illustrate the emergence of a secular ethos in anthropology so well grasped by a quote from Jean La Fontaine: "Once you stop religious thought, you start thinking anthropologically" (p. 167). This helps us better understand the peculiar position the other four anthropologists have in the discipline, due to their systematic engagement with Christian theology, Biblical study, and a deep personal devotion. The book dwells into these aspects providing an original contribution to existing histories of anthropology. Larsen's close reading of these anthropologists' works in light of their practicing faith and mystical or theological influences shows how their theoretical insights evolved through a sustained engagement with Christianity. As Larsen argues, each anthropologist offered a concept that was to be central to the study of Christianity and religion more broadly: animism for Tylor, human sacrifice for Frazer,

mysticism for Evans-Pritchard, hierarchy for Douglas, and *communitas* for the Turners (p. 225).

Though probably familiar with these biographies, readers will still experience some surprises. Larsen tends to conform to the canonical profiles, but he also reveals "unorthodox" materials that may seem disconcerting: for example, Evans-Pritchard's birthday poem, anticipating his conversion (p. 118); or Victor Turner's letter to Max Gluckman, justifying his own conversion to Catholicism (pp. 185–186). Even the news about Tylor's "spectacularly Anglican funeral" does not fit the consecrated portrait of the founding father and marks a surprising last turn in his biography.

Turning points seem to be central to Larsen's biographical sketches, for their dramatic effect or the born-again feature that signals "true faith." This reveals a certain predisposition to evaluate or prove their Christian faith but also some inconsistency in the biographical approach, which alternates between observations on church attendance and devotion, irreverent behavior, interiority, and intellectual engagement with Christian thought. In this sense, the portraits constitute spiritual rather than intellectual biographies, and the Christian faith portrayed is quite Protestant in form. This is quite strange because these Christian anthropologists were fairly conservative Catholics who made a point of defending the ritualism of their tradition against the *aggiornamento* (renewal) of Catholic faith.

The Bible looms large in most chapters, as part of devotional practice or critical study, most notably with Douglas's contribution to Bible studies in her 1989 Gifford lectures on the Book of Numbers. Larsen seems to be at his best when discussing Douglas's work, which comes closest to his own expertise. More than anyone else, she represents for him the ideal Christian anthropologist whose profound understanding of Christian mysteries reveals the projection of God onto human society—the reverse image of Durkheimian thought.

The book paints a fairly rich portrait of individual characters based on a close reading of their work and related studies. However, it only partially grasps the embeddedness of these British anthropologists in the contemporary intellectual field, mostly through anecdotal evidence and a few references to their closest circles. The reader has to take for granted some of the assumptions and deduce the broader context in which their ideas emerge, their lasting influence in anthropology, and the relevance of their theoretical questions today. It suffices to look at the recent naturalist

approaches to religion to find more continuities with the likes of Tylor rather than Douglas. For this reason, the book might appeal first of all to anthropologists of Christianity, but

even in this field people have built less on these Christian anthropologists' insights, drawing instead on more culturalist approaches.

Mayan Tales from Chiapas, Mexico by Robert M. Laughlin. Socorro Gómez Hernández and Juan Benito de la Torre, trans.

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014. 288 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12640

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Mayan Tales contains 42 short stories published in the original Tzotzil Mayan (Spanish orthography) and translated into Spanish and English. The English versions of the tales appear in the first 92 pages, and the rest of the manuscript contains the narratives in the other two languages. The book also provides a foreword by Gary Gossen and an author's preface outlining the cultural background and academic importance of the work, in addition to a working bibliography. Laughlin publishes these tales to provide a window into Tzotzil Mayan oral literature and society while at the same time making them available to a wider audience. With their appearance in print, the author ensures that the tales told to him mainly by a single Maya collaborator (an elderly woman), which are known by many others in Maya communities, will survive in published form. The permanence of the texts is especially important because the spoken tales are disappearing in Maya culture.

The versions in English and Spanish are similar in structure, content, and page length, but I cannot comment on the Tzotzil Mayan text. I could not match the Tzotzil Mayan words with the English or Spanish text because there are no numbered sentences or paragraphs for me to follow. Additionally, I noticed that the reader needs to understand Tzotzil Maya culture and local Spanish to make some connections between words and meaning among the different versions of the texts, such as the Spanish *rayo* and *ángel* meaning *lightning* in the English tales. For this review, I focus on the tales in English.

This book is like others in the Maya tales genre: it presents stories acquired in conversations during field research, but, in this case, the author does not include much commentary on the texts themselves. In fact, very few short footnotes accompany the tales to explain some passages or put them in a cultural context. The book does not contain as many tales as the more lengthy volumes that have come out over the years. However, the tales are important on their

own, for they provide an opportunity to read significant indigenous myths, histories, and stories rooted in the Maya tradition. When added to the large corpus, the collection of published Mayan tales join the Greek Iliad, K'iche' Maya Popol Wuj, the Norse sagas, and other world literary and oral works in their importance for human history. Interestingly, some tales in this volume are similar to K'iche' and Tzeltal Maya versions, hinting to their antiquity or the frequency of interaction across different Maya communities over time.

The tales give information and insights into Tzotzil Maya culture, such as the importance of corn in daily domestic and religious life. The role of men and women as a complementary core for Maya subsistence, family life, and religious duties is also evident. Particularly fascinating are the Tzotzil discussions of historic events and the effects on their lives, like the Mexican revolution in Chiapas and epidemics in the early 20th century, which still resonate in Maya stories. Other things the reader can pick up on regarding Tzotzil culture include the importance of salt, water, and tobacco for healing and how animals often symbolize good versus bad human behavior. Obvious too is how Catholicism has recombined with native beliefs for Tzotzil Maya people to understand their world and their place in it. Native beliefs reign in the Tzotzil world view, however, as seen in the tales that describe the earth lords residing in mountains who dispense everything the Maya need.

Humor is prominent in the way the tales are told. I particularly enjoyed the play on words for the description of Chamula as the "place where the mule died" (*cham* is "death/dead" in Tzotzil Mayan, and *mula* is Spanish for "mule"), but no notes help the reader navigate through these puns and metaphors that Laughlin knows so well. As a whole, this book is easier to follow if the reader knows something about Maya culture and language. Moreover, the other works by Laughlin and the different authors on Tzotzil Maya culture and language can be consulted to better understand the tales in this book. The reader should start in the beginning of the book to help make sense of the later tales rather than peruse the tales in random order. The bibliography is a very good list of books and monographs, in addition to some articles by Laughlin and others over

the last century, on the Tzotzil Mayas and other native people of Chiapas. Laughlin has lived with Tzotzil Mayas for 50 years, and his publications on their culture, history, and

language are high-quality contributions to anthropology. Like his other works, this book was an interesting, fun read that is a significant addition to the Maya tale literature.

Essential Trade: Vietnamese Women in a Changing Marketplace by Ann Marie Leshkovich

Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12652

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Essential Trade: Vietnamese Women in a Changing Marketplace explores the lives and struggles of the women who worked in small-scale trades in the most famous market in southern Vietnam, the Ben Thanh market. By studying the development of this marketplace from the colonial era to the contemporary era of market socialism, Ann Leshkovich provides a vivid account of how these women traders' lives have been tightly connected to Vietnam during a period of often-radical political, economic, cultural, and social change.

During the jarring political transition from French (and, later, U.S.) dominance to its present communist structure, these southern Vietnamese traders faced equally important economic changes, from a market economy influenced by U.S. capitalism to a collective socialist economy after the unification of North and South Vietnam, to the contemporary economy of market socialism with the endorsement of the top-down economic renovation, *Doi Moi*. Political and economic turbulence has driven petty traders from capitalist to socialist modes of production and back again and has forced them to develop strategies to cope with the uncertainty of current market socialism, such as engaging in what Leshkovich calls "a political economy of appearances" (p. 19).

Participating in a political economy of appearance is a way in which individuals develop subjectivity and exercise agency. For example, these women traders avoided potential criticism of their businesses as bourgeois economic activities by posing themselves as backward, weak, and marginal subjects that conform to the official stereotype of petty traders and by hiring kin helpers to maintain their petty trade as family business. They also tried to avoid accusations of greed in the market by playing up to the image of virtuous mothers who sacrifice themselves for their families. According to Leshkovich, this gender essentialism and strategic familism allows them to be portrayed as moral subjects in a burgeoning capitalist market.

Leshkovich's nuanced analysis of how gender essentialism and strategic familism have shaped women traders'

subjectivities while providing resources for their agency to draw on is very interesting and powerful. Instead of readily criticizing gender essentialism in the patriarchal society of Vietnam, she explores the meanings of its practice in the daily lives of these women traders. This observation of everyday life in the market enables Leshkovich to show how gender and factors such as social networks and religious practice together play out in every aspect of their life.

Besides discussing gender, family, and kinship relationships among women traders, Leshkovich also makes some sharp observations on gender and classmaking under (market) socialism. She notices that the new configurations of political economy and class status after renovation were no longer simply top down as the state-sponsored classification based on the means of production before. Instead, they require more reproduction through daily performance, such as displaying a kind of lifestyle through consumption. Although she concedes that consumption plays an increasingly important role in classmaking nowadays, she also insists that we should not ignore production, as it still provides a crucial political-economic context for understanding the diversity of middle-class subjectivities (e.g., the difference between white-collar wage laborers as the new middle class and petty traders as the old one). Even today, when opposition to a market economy is waning, petty traders still carefully avoid excessive consumption for fear of being labeled as petty bourgeois, because excessive consumption was considered inequality in production in the old days. Keeping a low profile through feminization of their business became a strategy to avoid moral accusation by socialist officers and others.

This book provides a careful analysis of almost every aspect of the lives of women traders in Ben Thanh market. It focuses on women, but its analyses are not limited to them. Husbands serving as business helpers and male management officers in the market also feature in a discussion of gender and power dynamics in the family and the marketplace. Leshkovich also draws parallels with the development of postsocialist China, reminding readers how modern economic activities have reconfigured class identities in another socialist society. This book will be very helpful for students and scholars of anthropology and for several other academic disciplines, including gender studies, family studies, urban studies, cultural studies, and religious studies.

Return to Casablanca: Jews, Muslims, and an Israeli Anthropologist by André Levy

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12647

Emilio Spadola
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In this work, André Levy, the titular Israeli anthropologist, returns to his birthplace to study the few thousand Jews who chose not to emigrate after Morocco gained independence in 1956. Levy seeks to understand nostalgia among Jews who left and among Jews who stayed: the latter seek home in a Morocco that was; Levy and fellow émigrés seek a home in a Morocco that may yet be. The resulting ethnography tells us much about the Morocco that is.

Although Levy's book is set in the early 1990s, *Return to Casablanca* feels timely. His project was impractical, even unthinkable, until Morocco's then-ruler Hassan II appeared on Israeli television to welcome all Moroccan Jews—"his children" (p. 188)—to return. The royal gesture touched and inspired Moroccan Israeli listeners and also reinforced Morocco's geopolitical position as Arab–Israeli and Western–Muslim mediator. This strategic rhetoric of religious "tolerance" remains in force today, as the Moroccan state proclaims its historical "openness to the other." Levy's book details more complicated political and personal dynamics of Jewish–Muslim and Morocco–Israeli intimacy and contempt. Indeed, readers will find here no simple confirmation of Morocco's inclusivity. Yet Levy interprets Moroccan Jewish–Muslim connections with such honesty, humor, and nuance that one finds encouragement in the ethnographic encounter itself.

Levy began fieldwork during the 1991 Gulf War, feeling "vulnerable and exposed" (p. 23) and hiding his Israeli citizenship (he surrendered his passport to Moroccan officials in exchange for a "transit visa"). But Levy openly identified as Jewish and put his anxiety to ethnographic use. His "feelings of threat . . . border[ing] on self-centered paranoia" in fact matched local Jews' "egocentric perception that they were relevant, even central to public life in Morocco" (p. 19). That apparently contradictory perception defines what Levy calls Moroccan Jewish community's "contraction," a key concept describing his subjects' "introvert inclination" in a Muslim-majority land (p. 19). Contraction is specifically postcolonial. If Jews in the past, 300 thousand strong, had "dare[d] not lift their heads" (p. 65), they nonetheless belonged to a broader religious and cultural weave. Under French rule, some Jewish merchants and intellectuals identified closely with European modernity and experienced

relative liberation from these local strictures. Levy notes his discomfort with positing "European colonialism as a liberating and civilizing force" (p. 60), but he acknowledges Moroccan Jew's nostalgia for French occupation and, more pointedly, their dispiriting sense of renewed submission in the postcolonial era of mass emigration. Now, Moroccan Jews who remained "have become foreigners in their own country" (p. 153). They too seek to return "home" to Casablanca.

Three subsequent ethnographic chapters illustrate contraction as both an inter- and intracommunal dynamic of spatial control. Social clubs provide spaces of Jewish control, wherein Muslims may be present but ignorable, and "Community Committee" serves Jews so they need not serve themselves (and thus make contact with Muslims). A fascinating chapter examines the apparently exceptional case of intercommunal friendship in public card games ("Rummy Couples") that pair a Muslim and Jew per team. But Levy discerns in mixed teams and "play" a calculated suppression of fear: pairing a Muslim and a Jew on a team and adhering to the "strict and universal" (and, crucially, *French*) game rules provides Jews "security net" of a "higher authority" (p. 141). Levy notes, however, that tolerance does not mean equality. Muslims and Jews accuse Jews of cheating, but "in the hundreds of games that I watched," Levy writes, "never did a situation occur, not even once, where a Jew publicly accused a Muslim of cheating" (p. 138).

Two final chapters focus on Jewish intracommunal and international tensions regarding Moroccans' refusal to accept Israel as Judaism's singular center. If Jewish émigrés feel and heed the call of Moroccan origins so strongly, can Israel claim to be the Jews' homeland? Are homeland and diaspora not reversed? Here Levy's thoughtful examination of intracommunal disunity points again to postcolonial history. For Levy, what bars Israeli Jews from ever fully returning to Casablanca and "reuniting the family" (p. 193)—what supersedes religious community—is the implacable fact of nation-states. Yet, he makes clear, these same boundaries produce the very desire they inhibit.

Levy's fearless prose is often a pleasure to read and, indeed, would make good reading for introductory and advanced students of North African studies, multiethnic Israel, Jewish studies, and migration. Nevertheless, he might have drawn more general conclusions regarding religious pluralism from his excellent ethnographic observations. Most ripe for further interpretation is his repeated invocation of

Moroccan Jews', including émigrés', "unconditional loyalty" to Morocco's powerful royal family (p. 189). This is not simply a question of national-state loyalty but of power as a guarantor of pluralist "tolerance." One thinks of the French rules

guiding "Rummy Couples" as well as Jews' nostalgia for the relative security of colonial protection. Tolerance requires coexistence, but it is antidemocratic, being conditioned by submission to an absolute, and absolutely foreign, sovereign.

Becoming Salmon: Aquaculture and the Domestication of a Fish by Marianne Elisabeth Lien

Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. 232 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12648

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The 20th century brought us factorified production of cattle, pigs, and chickens. Each industry has its own distinct history, technologies, political economy, and problems, and each brings humans into a new set of relations with the farmed creatures. But all of those the creatures were "domesticated" long before industrial production was even a concept. Not so with salmon. This fish has a remarkable life cycle that involves spawning and early growth in freshwater streams, followed by a changeover in body chemistry and migration to the distant feeding grounds in the open sea, and finally navigating back to the same stretch of the same stream to spawn and die. Although humans have been manipulating salmon populations for centuries, it was not until the 1950s that Norwegians managed to keep the fish confined throughout its life cycle. By the 1960s, they had developed the system of freshwater hatcheries, smolt factories, and saltwater grow-out pens that form the basis of modern salmon farming. Industrializing this life form is quite a feat, and Marianne Lien offers a multilayered investigation of, and meditation on, how the process works in several facilities in Norway.

Lien's frame of reference is material semiotics, her main touchstones being John Law, Annemarie Mol, and Donna Haraway. Her particular focus is on the boundaries—physical and conceptual, fixed and transgressed—that structure what salmon and humans are up to in this fascinating set of interactions.

Humans are apart from fish in their underwater grow-out pens but not from eggs in the hatchery (p. 110). The underwater netting is like, but also unlike, a farm fence (p. 59). The fish are mostly unseen, yet the farm is held together by information that makes the assemblage legible and visible as a manageable entity (p. 79). As escapees from their "natural" lifecycle, the farmed fish are alien to the rivers from which they evolved, although opinions differ on whether they are actually a different species from their nonfarmed kin.

The form of the narrative itself transgresses boundaries. Lien terms the study a "more than human ethnography"

(p. 15), and it is only partly ethnographic; only a handful of humans drift into the narrative, and we learn about the culture of salmon farmers only in passing. It is partly what some would call a technography, although her term is "productive entanglements." It is also a first-person account of an inquisitive outsider, a trope common in science journalism today, with Lien detailing her experiences and reactions to participant-observing at salmon facilities, learning to throw feed pellets, count sea lice, operate a siphon tube in the hatchery, and getting her daughter off to school.

The productive entanglements described here are not between fish and humans in general or industrial capitalism at large but, rather, a distinctive encounter between salmon and Norwegians. Norway is notable for its policies aimed at long-term salmon management; this is unlike management in many other places—Chile, for instance, went for the quick unsustainable buck and ended up dumping in tons of antibiotics to fight off diseases. Quite unlike the United States, and even going beyond EU policies, Norway has an animal welfare law that recognizes salmon sentience; so the electric stunner Lien inspects at the slaughterhouse is mandated as a humane measure. Norwegian fishfarm workers are even required to attend regular fish welfare courses. (But Lien also recounts a half-tankful of undersized juveniles, selected out by the vaccination machine, being asphyxiated and ground up to feed mink.)

When asked why farmed salmon are now deemed sentient, Lien enigmatically refers to the fact that they are being domesticated. But this would have been an opportunity to "mobilize comparisons" as the book promises early on. After all, highly domesticated and clearly sentient land animals are raised in torturous concentrated feeding operations in the United States, but that country provides fewer protections for the animals than for the owners who are accused of cruelty. As well as this book conveys what Norwegian salmon farming is like, it does not explain why Norwegians conceive of salmon as they do.

The other lacuna in this superb book is the lack of serious discussion of the impact of farming on salmon genetics, which is central to the ongoing discussions of salmon domestication. Lien notes that salmon wildness is reckoned on the genetic level but says little about how farming changes salmon genetically. But some now claim that salmon are

“domesticated” in a single generation; that farmed salmon have 700 genetic differences from wild; that stress in crowded pens induces important epigenetic changes; that *Salmo domesticus* should be recognized as a distinct

species. How the fish is being changed genetically and epigenetically—especially given the ongoing change in feeding practices, monitoring technologies, and welfare policies—are key parts of the story.

Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report by Saba Mahmood

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016. 248 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12610

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Responding to her introduction at a Cornell University lecture as a “Pakistani anthropologist,” Saba Mahmood said that she did not know “how many Pakistani anthropologists are there in the world, I’d like to know myself” (Mahmood 2010). I would like to address and inform her that a Department of Anthropology at the Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad was established decades ago. There are many “Pakistani anthropologists” out there, including myself (PhD, University of London, 1978) and Dr. Amineh Hoti (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2004).

Mahmood’s book *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report* is a complex and ambitious intellectual tour de force. She is examining issues of minorities living in our “secular” age both in Europe and Muslim nations. As if this was not ambitious enough, she is also interested in issues of the Sharia, gender, and piety. Her ethnographic focus is on the Copt and Bahai minorities in Egypt.

For Mahmood, secularism promised neutrality and the equality of all citizens by forcing the expressions of religious difference into the private realm. Yet Mahmood makes a convincing case that secularism has not only failed minorities both in the West and in Muslim societies but also has exacerbated problems for them. Mahmood’s entire fifth chapter, for example, is about the Coptic backlash to *Azazeel*, a novel by a secular Egyptian Muslim scholar. The novel, dealing with the early Christian theological and eschatological debates about the nature of Jesus, insulted and infuriated the Coptic community to such an extent that Mahmood compared the controversy to that of Salman Rushdie, the Danish Cartoons, *Charlie Hebdo*, and others. Such controversies confirm that there are increasing numbers of people prepared to act outside the confines of the rational, legal, and secular framework of the modern state and not in the reasoned intellectual manner that Mahmood may want or envision.

There is ample evidence that minorities in the Muslim world are having a tough time of it. Even before the

psychopathic and violent obsession of ISIS against minorities, other militant groups like the Taliban, Al-Shabab, and Boko Haram were targeting minorities. In secular Europe, we have seen the recent dramatic backlash against religious minorities as a result of the massive refugee influx and the involvement of immigrants in the massacres in Paris and Brussels and the sexual assaults on New Year’s Eve in Cologne and elsewhere. Mosques, women in hijab, and “Middle East-looking men” have been attacked with alarming frequency across the continent. We have seen a similar trend in the United States with the Muslim minority as the target. Presidential candidates have declared that if they came to power they would close mosques, register Muslims, contemplate internment, and ban all Muslims from entering the United States.

The problem I have is with Mahmood’s use of the notoriously slippery concept of *secular*. How do we define it? Is it a rejection of religion altogether à la Karl Marx? Or is it the usage in the United States, where commentators often describe the country as “secular” and yet the president and other leading figures openly express that their favorite book is the Bible and are able to cite verses from it and the country’s officially accepted motto remains “In God We Trust.” Or perhaps it is the ideal that will resolve the problems around minorities, as Mahmood hopes for and speculates (p. 212).

Mahmood is perceptive enough to be aware of the contradictions in the Muslim world. Because the concept of the “secular” is such an ambiguous one, we find its application to Muslim societies problematic. While Egypt itself has been ruled after the Second World War by military officers declaring themselves as “secular” and targeting Muslim political parties, the presidents have not been shy of having themselves photographed in pious postures in the mosque. What do we make of the brutal, sadistic, genocidal despot Saddam Hussein of Iraq who prided himself on being secular in the Soviet mold but ended up by projecting himself as a Muslim leader and had the Islamic cry “*Allah-o-Akbar*” [God is great] sewn on the official flag. Then there are the other important Muslim nations like Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, and the largest of them all, Indonesia, who consider their societies primarily as Muslim. The treatment of minorities in these Muslim societies is often contrary to their own

traditions of tolerance. Under the Ottoman Empire, for example, minorities were given the right to live by their own laws and traditions, as Mahmood notes.

Notwithstanding the theoretical entanglements of applying a conceptual frame to two different societies on two different continents, Mahmood's central thesis is strong and backed by ethnography. She has successfully pointed to the failure of societies, both in the West and the East, to accommodate minorities. I can confirm her thesis on the basis of my own current study of minorities in Europe based on extensive fieldwork, *Journey into Europe: Islam, Immigration and Identity* (Ahmed in press). The plight of minorities, whether in European or Muslim societies, should be a matter of

universal concern. The fact that we are living in a so-called "secular age" makes the predicament of the minorities even more ironic.

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Shells on a Desert Shore: Mollusks in the Seri World by Cathy Moser Marlett.

Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014. 304 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12616

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Thousands of the world's people collect mollusks for food or commerce where once millions of people did. Hundreds of thousands of shell-bearing ancient camps, ceremonial grounds, and industrial piles of shells still dot the coastlines of every continent and some of the rivers. While archaeologists have written much about ancient diet and molluscan biology, ethnographic accounts of shellfishing are very rare and are regarded as something like comets in a star-dotted night sky. Cathy Marlett's text on Seri ethnomalacology is such a comet.

The author grew up in a traditional Seri village collecting sea shells with other children. In preparing this book, however, Marlett also visited numerous museums and libraries to view artifacts, photographs, and movies pertaining to the Seri, much of which is incorporated as illustrations and commentary in this work. In the first section of the book, we meet the Seri, the places, and the author.

The ethnological section, the second of three subdivisions in the book, covers taxonomy, mythology, trade, food, utensils, adornment, medicinal use, recreation, bait, and place names. Marlett has placed the greatest emphasis on taxonomy (Seri and Linnean), dividing the book into classes of invertebrates. She worked with a collection of mollusks made by herself and associates, a small proportion of which were unrecognized by any Seri informant. At least 80 percent of the different mollusks and other invertebrates

did have Seri names and uses. This Seri account is studded with mythological references to shellfish and offers unique medicinal information. Some of the Seri mollusks produced pearls; some of the shells and their fleshy inhabitants were used medicinally; many of the gastropods were used in children's games, as dolls or mother's fetishes, or in jewelry sold to non-Seri.

Marlett can claim the most detailed and lengthy New World ethnomalacology. Other ethnographies on shellfishing and shell use exist. In terms of detail and length, Marlett's book is on par with that of Betty Meehan's (1982) observations on women's shellfishing and dietary use of shellfish in northern Australia. But with far fewer species to talk about and the essential role for shellfish flesh in the Australian (Arnhem aborigines) diet, Meehan's book stands out for its emphasis on women's labor, harvesting decisions, and caloric contribution. A study by Douglas Bird and Rebecca Bird (2000) records children's labor in shellfishing for the Torres Strait area, and the long-term study of domestic shellfishing along the coast of the Transkei (Bigalke 1973 and others) and in Tanzania (Msemwa 1994) also focus on labor. Labor related to shellfishing or a discussion about the social changes that have led to a decline in shellfishing by the Seri such as offered in a Bahamian case study (Claassen 2013) are the only elements of shellfishing missing from Marlett's book. That short Bahamian ethnomalacology provides more detail on bait use for line, trap, and chum, but Marlett does provide some complementary information for gastropods, specifically mentioning lobsters as a target. Naming of mollusks and molluscan place names is a central feature for the Seri presentation and is similar to that treatment by David Ellis and Luke Swan (1981) for the shorter

expose of the Manhusat people of the Northwest American coast.

Marlett's study excels in its discussion of folk taxonomy—for taxa, for body and shell parts—and for naming. The reviewer's interest was most piqued by a tendency for the Seri to classify shells as male like or female like. Male criteria were elongated shell shape or a "whiskered" shell, one with spiny projections. Female criteria were bulbous shape or smooth shells. It was also fascinating to learn that the Seri make no categorical distinction between bivalves and univalves. Naming also relied on criteria of unusualness, the work of Coyote who owned or endowed those taxa. Marlett found several cases when the Seri changed a taxon's name because a human who carried that name died.

The third section of this ethnomalacology consists of annotations for Linnean species. Marlett gives the Latin name, the Seri name or names, brief habitat information, and then whatever information about the creature or its shell she gathered from Seri informants. Marlett's observations also reference the shells seen in abandoned camps (although no effort is made to quantify relatively or absolutely the species makeup in these archaeological sites). The reader will also find ethnobotanical notes and descriptions of shell tool use in pottery production.

This book should have much appeal for shell collectors, malacologists, and archaeologists working in the region of the southwestern U.S. and Pacific Mexico. It

is beautifully illustrated with color photographs and the author's pen and ink sketches of species and is richly annotated.

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The Meaning of Money in China and the United States by Emily Martin

Chicago: HAU, 2015. 178 pp.

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In collaboration with the Department of Anthropology at the University of Rochester, HAU Books has started publishing the Lewis Henry Morgan lectures, including past lectures, in this case those given by Emily Martin in 1986. The four lectures, on money in China and the United States, are framed by a new introduction by Martin as well as an Afterword by Jane Guyer and Sidney Mintz.

In the first two chapters, Martin draws on fieldwork in Taiwan in the mid-1970s and a trip to Fujian province in 1984, as well as historical accounts of money. In the second two chapters, Martin draws on U.S. news reports as well as fieldwork at a church in Baltimore.

In "Money and Value in China," Martin provides an overview of the work of Karl Marx and Georg Simmel, emphasizing both money's integrating and disintegrating functions. She then examines three arenas of exchange in rural Taiwan: wages, bride price, and rotating credit associations. She observes that rural laborers gave their wages to the patriarch of the family, who then distributed allowances; and that families would openly display the bride price—including money and gold but that, unlike buying a concubine or slave (pre-1949), no one would ever talk about "buying" a wife, except if there were some problem with the groom. Martin observes that although rotating credit associations were "strongly disapproved by the Nationalist state" (p. 49)—because they were outside the formal, state-controlled banking sector—they functioned to create a network of future financial obligation. She concludes that "money circulates in Chinese communities in ways premised

on an entirely different logic than that of capitalism” (p. 32).

In “Spirits and Currency in China,” Martin looks at a hierarchy of three types of paper spirit money: “gold” for the most powerful gods, “silver” for less powerful gods, and “copper coins” for ancestors and ghosts. She suggests that this hierarchy mirrored real currency before 1949, where gold was reserved for special events, silver used to pay taxes, and copper used daily. She wonders whether the production of spirit currency allowed people to appropriate a power of the state for themselves and if spirit and real currencies operated like Tiv spheres of exchange, which helped to mitigate against the “abstract, timeless disembodied value measured by our [U.S.] money” (p. 82).

In “Money and Value in the United States,” Martin examines money’s function as the “general illumination of everything,” its role as a “frightful leveler,” and as an instigator of “boundless greed,” through metaphors of capitalist production applied to human reproduction (developed in her later work), the commodification of body parts, a run on Cabbage Patch dolls, banks foreclosing on farmers’ land, and corporations selling defective products. This chapter would be an excellent one for undergraduate courses.

In “Spirit and Prosperity in the United States,” Martin investigates the “New Life Clinic” at a church in Baltimore. The minister there preaches to the white-collar participants about prosperity thinking—that is, that they should pray to grow rich. Martin argues that in the United States “laws of economic process have become an all-embracing religion that dictates relations among persons” (p. 109). This chapter is extremely prescient and presages much of the work on religion and the new right. It is unfortunate that it is only now being published.

The book’s marketing blurb claims that “a new introduction by Martin herself brings her analysis wholly up to date.” However, this is not the case. Although Martin mentions some of the recent research on money in the United States, she does not engage fully with it. I am thinking in particular of Viviana Zelizer’s (1997) work on the ways that people in the United States categorize and earmark money. Nor does Martin engage with the research on money in China and the diaspora over the past three decades of reform. There are beautiful and powerful ethnographies by Julie Chu (2010) regarding remittances sent home by Fujianese migrants; Erik Mueggler (1998) on hemp, markets, and ritual; Ellen Oxfeld (1993) on gambling; and John Osburg (2013) on extravagant consumption by nouveaux riches; as well as Helen Wang’s (2004, 2013) historical analyses of textiles, coins, and

currency. Inspired by Benedict Anderson’s “print capitalism,” I have also written about currency, counterfeit, nationalism in China (Notar 2006)—for example, about the ironies that the Chinese Communists printed “Mao money” as a way to garner resources from the peasants (Notar 2004). Engaging with this literature would complicate Martin’s 1986 argument about “our” (U.S.) money versus money in China. It would have been better for HAU to present the book as the historical document that it is than to claim that the analysis is up to date.

An interesting bonus of the book is that in Martin’s introduction as well as in Guyer’s and Mintz’s Afterword, we get a glimpse of the Anthropology Department at Johns Hopkins in the 1980s and the struggles to find a bridge between materialist and symbolic approaches. We also see the intellectual ferment there, with luminaries such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Edmund Leach, and Fredrik Barth passing through.

In sum, by publishing these historic lectures and reflections, HAU, Martin, Guyer, and Mintz have provided a valuable service to the profession.

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Flowers That Kill: Communicative Opacity in Political Spaces by Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015. 296 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12621

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Flowers That Kill is an important and daring new contribution to political anthropology. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney investigates the use of flowers, and other living things, in the schemes to bolster and enforce certain forms of political power, especially authoritarian politics. Such schemes are not immediately obvious, and their purpose may remain hidden, “opaque,” because they seem innocent, self-evident. In the book, the most shocking example of this key argument is that many Japanese *kamikaze* pilots in WWII were themselves unaware, even as they boarded their suicidal flight, that the cherry blossoms painted on their flying torpedoes helped orchestrate a symbolic spectacle of death—their own suicide—to sustain the life of the fascist regime.

This cherry flower spectacle, in which the life-affirming potential of the blossoming cherries is repurposed by the regime so as to have the soldiers’ death serve their power, forms the object of a sustained and richly illustrated comparison with Nazi and Soviet Communist Leader cults, in which Hitler and Stalin were bolstered by roses presented to them by little children at propaganda parades. The comparison of such pregnant symbolisms in the service of authority is what drives the book’s formulation of a new theory about the fertility of a certain “communicative opacity,” which Ohnuki-Tierney says she was first inspired to by the late Edmund Leach, by Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of “symbolic violence,” and others.

The author extends the fundamental anthropological insight that the social-cultural significance of things is never predetermined (cf. Goody 1993) to the realization that it is not just about how people give different meanings to the same symbols but also that the intentionally unspecified opacity of certain life-and-death symbols renders them ever more useful to authoritarian propagandist manipulation while remaining imperceptible to target populations. The marvelous coercion of so many kamikaze pilots is a supreme example of this.

This is a profound point that merits wide attention, especially in our own time of resurgent populist-fascist demagoguery playing on sentiments over arguments, again to dupe people for authoritarian purposes—such as in the tightly manipulated political spaces of Russia and China, as well as also

in the United States, as in Donald Trump’s skillfully understated or hinted “menstrual misogyny,” which seems similarly effective as a species of the same family of mass-hypnosis propaganda tricks. This book will help us discern the workings of such “things left unsaid” and how this tactic thrives on the recipients’ willingness to be swept away by the potency of intentionally orchestrated opacity. So, this is nothing less than an anthropological book for our times and certainly for wide audiences, worldwide.

Writing this review in the United States, I miss a reference to the eccentric yet insightful *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (1999) by Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle. However, even though the book already does range far and wide, it focuses on Japan—Ohnuki-Tierney’s special expertise. Even her masterful chapter on the meanings and uses of roses in Europe and Russia (in ch. 2, including the White Rose underground opposition to Hitler’s blood-red ones) serves above all as a foil that enhances the analysis of the subtle but deadly repurposing, in Japan, of the cherry blossoms as a life-and-death story and the general theory it engenders there. Indeed, while *Flowers That Kill* can also be read as a continuation of Ohnuki-Tierney’s recent book *Kamikaze Diaries: Reflections of Japanese Student Soldiers* (2006), this is a more decisively theoretically ambitious book that restates major insights from her earlier famous writings on Japanese monkey symbolism (in ch. 3) and on Japanese rice as an example of building a purified primordialist identity (in ch. 4), integrating them into the main argument about the use of symbols that can better overwhelm target audiences, who are left unaware of their subtle workings. A chapter follows on the crafting and propagation of Japanese and Nazi identities; the book then comes to a crescendo in the last chapters and the Afterword. Chapter 6 builds on the theorization of collective identity to offer an unparalleled investigation of the fashioning of the imposing yet still decisively absent god-like emperor in modern Japan as a “visually and auditory zero-signifier” that helped seal (paralyze) the nation in its fateful quest for empire. Then, building from this, the final chapter asks broad and hard general questions about the place of “externalization” (the rendering concrete of power’s symbols in visual or auditory representations or their intentional absence) in the duality of political–religious power.

This is an audacious intervention into the political anthropology of propaganda and of the political gods and godfather politicians that devise and deploy it. The book is certain to provoke much thought and debate.

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Iraqi Women in Denmark: Ritual Performance and Belonging in Everyday Life by Marianne Holm Pedersen

Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014. 208 pp.

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Marianne Holm Pedersen's *Iraqi Women in Denmark* makes an important contribution to studies of Muslims and Islam in Europe. She focuses on the performance of religious rituals among Iraqi Shi'ite women in Copenhagen, who arrived as refugees in Denmark between the end of the 1980s and the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003. The author critiques much of existing scholarship on Islam in Europe, which she claims mainly looks at Muslims through the lens of 9/11 or focuses on political and public issues related to religious involvement. Pedersen's aim, instead, is to show how rituals are embedded in actual social relations and notions of belonging to the place where Iraqi Shi'ite women currently live and not necessarily to an abstract notion of belonging to one's place of origin. By prioritizing a local approach to transnational migration, she shows that the performance of rituals "allows women to form different kinds of communities" (p. 13). Given the challenges of forging ties with ethnic Danes, religious rituals and places (such as mosques and *husayniyyas*) become social sites for building local ties and networks with other Iraqi women. In this scenario, rituals and religious sites do not indicate the perpetuation of tradition but speak to the efforts to construct new ties and social relations in a different place.

The book provides a nuanced study of the notion of belonging and the politics of inclusion and exclusion in Denmark. The author argues that the organization of Danish society and the association of membership in the nation and ethnic Danes prevent Iraqi women from forging ties with broader society. On the one hand, she argues that the Danish state's discourse on integration emphasizes language acquisition and the ability to find employment. This definition becomes a powerful instrument to exclude Iraqi women from the nation in that it champions a very narrow understanding of Danishness "that to a great extent builds on descent"

(p. 167). On the other hand, Pedersen gives the example of the citizenship test to show that belonging in the Danish state is not culturally neutral. Rather, it is embedded in a Danish national culture, which immigrants are not perceived as sharing (p. 152). Nevertheless, the exclusion from the Danish nation did not preclude Iraqi Shi'ite women from developing a sense of attachment to Denmark. Indeed, the author emphasizes that there are different levels of belonging and that researchers should focus not on abstract and national forms but on kinds of belonging that are situated in concrete social practices and relations. Religious rituals became closely tied to the question of belonging in that they enabled participants to negotiate their notions of belonging and build local relations.

The book has some flaws, however. Pedersen mentions that most of her interaction with her Iraqi interlocutors took place in English and Danish, because it was hard for her to reach Arabic proficiency in a non-Arabic country like Denmark. This assertion is troubling in that it disregards the unequal power relations at play here and the fact that it is the responsibility of the anthropologist to learn, and converse in, the informants' language. The author could have spent some time in Syria and Jordan (where she did some fieldwork with Iraqis) to learn Arabic and acquire proficiency in the Iraqi dialect. The relationship is reversed here, and it was Iraqi women who had to express themselves in a foreign language to talk about intimate issues, including belonging as well as social and family relations. A great deal of nuanced expressions and feelings could have been lost here.

In addition, the book is ethnographically thin, and the author spends a great deal of efforts citing other scholarly studies on migrants and immigration when she discusses her Iraqi Shi'ite women's comments. More detailed ethnographic accounts as well as closer analyses of these accounts would have made this study stronger. The author also tends to make sweeping generalizations. For instance, she cites a study that dates back to 1985 to argue that due to the weakness of state structures, kinship in Middle Eastern societies "traditionally played a large role in securing

livelihoods” (p. 68). This is a problematic statement that does not take into account historical change over the decades and regional variations. Finally, the author mentions that she interviewed secular Iraqi women, but we barely hear their voices in this ethnography. The marginalization of secular accounts runs the risk of giving the assumption that

the majority of Iraqi women are observant Muslims and suppresses the heterogeneity of Iraqi communities. Despite these shortcomings, the book makes valuable contributions. I recommend it for scholars interested in migration, belonging, and the politics of inclusion and exclusion in Europe.

Citizen, Student, Soldier: Latina/o Youth, JROTC, and the American Dream by Gina M. Pérez

New York: New York University Press, 2015. 272 pp.

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Early in her fieldwork on the experiences of Latina/o youth in a JROTC program in a large high school in postindustrial Lorain, Ohio, a parent pulled Gina Pérez aside to ask, “Are you here to prove what you think you already know about this program? Or are you really here to learn?” (p. 14). The parent gestured to the highly polarized debate about JROTC programs in U.S. schools and to the presumption (more accurate than not) that most anthropologists’ politics fall on the other side of the spectrum. I had similar questions. What can a book about Latina/o youth in JROTC reveal if we already know the basic contours of the story? Would this ethnography try to make readers sympathetic to the military for providing youth much-needed opportunities?

Citizen, Student, Soldier not only shows us the value of engaged and humanistic ethnography on an issue about which we think we “know,” it also navigates the difficult waters of writing critique while respecting and honoring participants’ perspectives. Pérez demonstrates that these remarkable youth are not joining JROTC because of the “leftist assumption of the military preying on the false-consciousness of the young” (p. 199). Rather, she grounds youth choices, experiences, and affects in JROTC within current local, national, and global dynamics of exacerbating inequalities, revanchist nativism restricting national belonging, and discourses of dangerous or apathetic youth. The teens are not passive victims of these circumstances; they struggle against and creatively negotiate them. In Pérez’s deft hands, youth experiences and motivations for joining JROTC become a lens through which to view the lived meanings of race, class, gender, and citizenship in neoliberal America, as well as how the youth transform them on the ground.

The young people’s quest for dignity and respect is the unifying theme throughout the chapters, revealed through the youth voices that predominate the narrative. From a chapter that focuses on students’ embodied experiences

wearing the uniform and learning and performing drills (ch. 2) to a chapter on the leadership skills that students gain (ch. 3), to a chapter on students’ engagement in community service (ch. 4), Pérez focuses on the embodied meanings, the symbolic, cultural, and social capital, and the habitus that makes JROTC such a formative, even “redemptive,” experience. The youths’ sincere desires to belong, to serve, and to orient their energies toward a meaningful social purpose seem almost spiritual. Pérez’s empathetic writing is such that we feel the young people’s excitement and passion when traveling to new places, taking charge, overcoming shyness, actively learning, serving their communities, helping their families, and bringing pride to themselves, their families, their community, and their city. Pérez employs citizenship as the main analytic rubric of the book to vividly represent how the youths’ resistance to current discourses that position them as “undeserving citizens” in fact produces a construct of citizenship that is “more inclusive, embracing and valuing people for their humanity” (p. 188).

Furthermore, the in-depth ethnographic material and careful contextualization allow Pérez to grasp that most elusive of ethnographic objects—the nation-state, the way it operates (here, more coherent and effective than current theorizations suggest, if still unpredictable), and the making of U.S. citizen-subjects. For instance, Pérez describes a Veterans Day ceremony at the high school. Amid the gossiping and giggling students, JROTC students solemnly march down with flags and a hush falls over the crowd. We sense the faith and reverence that is otherwise reserved for the sacred. It is through such rituals that the nation begs, requires, and obtains allegiance. In this way this is no ordinary ethnography of the experiences of marginalized youth in the United States but one that inspires us to formulate and debate alternative conceptions of citizenship—conversations that must include young people. In the absence of efforts to reimagine the good citizen and create opportunities for youth desires to enact it, Pérez shows us how the state, via the military, will fill the gaps in these young Latina/o lives.

This book will not change anthropological preconceptions about JROTC. It offers something more compelling

by answering the how questions that ethnography does best. How is it that largely working-class and minoritized youth have “skin in the game”? Answering the how questions sets the stage for and inspires the imagining of alternatives—in this case, creating meaningful opportunities for young people outside this militarized structure. Pérez asks: What if those federal funds, and the awe-inspiring organization

and dedication of the military and its committed staff, were brought to bear for different purposes?

Citizen, Student, Soldier is an important book for scholars and students of U.S. anthropology. It could form the backbone for a course on an increasingly militarized homeland that stubbornly remains invisible. By making “America” visible, Pérez also makes it available for critique.

Nowa Huta: Generations of Change in a Model Socialist Town by Kinga Pozniak

Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12614

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Nowa Huta (lit., “New Steelworks”) has become one of the most popular research sites for social scientists and historians. A huge plant and town located near, and now integrated into, the historic city of Kraków, in its heyday employed forty thousand workers. It was a showcase of communist industrialization in Poland, a perfect place for the creation of the exemplary new man in a new society and the foundry of socialist values. As it turned out, the city and people became instead a stronghold of anti-communist opposition. Workers of peasant roots demanded churches, and the Solidarity movement became extremely powerful there. This meandering history attracts scholars’ attention.

In fact, Kinga Pozniak does not focus on the past. She carried out an anthropological study on the memory of Nowa Huta shared by generations of those remembering communist times and witnessing postsocialist changes. “This work is about how people experience historical change and invest the past with meaning that reflect present conditions, needs, and concerns” (p. 12). In the introduction, main theoretical assumptions underlying the study are outlined. Major inspirations are found in anthropological studies on similar issues both worldwide (Jennifer Cole, Luisa Passerini) and in Central-Eastern Europe (Maria Todorova, Daphne Berdahl, Frances Pine, Haldis Haukanes, and Deema Kaneff). In the vein of Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora, memory is seen as a dynamic process in which group cohesion is forged. Simultaneously, it is a battlefield of competing representations of the past, which reflects the power relations between influential social forces and actors.

Consecutive chapters scrutinize issues of memory and cultural hegemony. As a “halfie,” a person born in Kraków and knowing Polish but living in North America, the

author had privileged access to the locals of Nowa Huta, enabling her to build a network of knowledgeable informants. This intimacy is visible throughout the whole book.

In the first chapter on “Memory Change in Nowa Huta’s Cityspace,” architectonic ideas lying behind the construction of the city are examined. Carefully planned, Nowa Huta has become a conglomerate of different architectural and at the same time symbolic traditions, from remainders of the rural landscape to communist housing quarters and public spaces, to churches from the late socialist period, to post-1989 buildings. The cityspace reflects the genealogy of the town as well as changes in official ideologies. In structures, streets, apartment blocks, squares, the theater, churches, crosses, and monuments, we can read intricacies of Polish postwar history. We see how the past is reinscribed in the city’s topography; fights over meanings and symbolic hegemony are skillfully rendered. Seemingly contradictory components exist side by side.

The similar objective of showing how apparently inconsistent meanings coexist is presented in all sections of the book. The second chapter is about transformations in work and values. Systemic transition from socialism to capitalism has enormously affected the labor market; this shock therapy caused unemployment. No wonder that despite neoliberal discourses, workers, who fought for civic rights under communism, also resisted capitalism. At the same time, the commodification of labor has led to the redefinition of people’s value, now measured by market principles. Nowa Huta residents reminisce that work relations and community life under communism were not bad. The third chapter depicts the paradoxical status of the city as a model socialist town and simultaneously the bulwark of forbearance to the very same system. Here the conundrum is tracked in the sphere of museums’ representations. The next two chapters are more focused on the people. Based on extensive interviews, Pozniak presents how individuals recall the communist city that made cultural and recreational opportunities available. A shortage economy afflicted everyday life, and this fact is

also reflected in contemporary memories. Active resistance is commemorated and remains the source of local pride. All of these crosscutting memories are constantly negotiated; they are embedded in individual stories and collective memories but are also conditioned by contemporary discourses as well as the social and political situation. The younger generation redefines meanings and is proud of the city they inherited—its infrastructure, history, symbols, and identities.

In short, this is a well-written portrait of Nowa Huta seen as a *lieu de mémoire* (site of memorial) for older generations and *lieu d'avenir* (site of arrival) for younger people. An old socialist city is struggling for the future in a new precarious world. Pozniak shows these intricate stories through the prism of memory in a vivid and convincing way.

I have one major objection to her work, which relates to the hierarchies of knowledge in academia, unfortunately reflected in her work. Especially as a “halfie,” she could have integrated more local scholarship to the body of literature. Local theoretical insights are not mentioned; Polish studies on the topic are barely visible; major contributions on the same topic in *Nowa Huta* written by Monika Golonka-Czajkowska and gathered in her book (2013) are practically absent.

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Living Translation: Language and the Search for Resonance in U.S. Chinese Medicine by Sonya E. Pritzker

New York: Berghahn, 2014. 228 pp.

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For many who write in the field of anthropology and Chinese medicine, translation has been an inescapable issue that has to be addressed in some form or other. Sonya Pritzker's *Living Translation: Language and the Search for Resonance in U.S. Chinese Medicine* is unique in that it makes translation itself the focus of systematic ethnographic description and analysis. Drawing on data collected from multiple textual sources, interviews with diverse participants in Chinese medicine, and ethnographic observation and interactions in a Southern California school of Chinese medicine, Pritzker explores the numerous ways in which translation, mainly from Chinese to English, is “enacted in Chinese medicine” (p. 3). Using “living translation” as a unifying concept, she demonstrates that translation in Chinese medicine, far from simply searching for equivalence between Chinese and English, is a complex, ongoing, dialogic process that involves diversely positioned actors and interlocutors, engages with myriad objects, and is heavily mediated by various historical, sociopolitical, and material forces as well as cultural and moral frameworks. Furthermore, she shows this process of translation is deeply embodied and personal. While focusing on the living translation as it unfolds through textual inscription, interaction in translation talk, embodied experience, and clinical practice, Pritzker weaves together a compelling narrative of ongoing authentication and transformation of U.S. Chinese medicine through the enactment of

translation that is rich in ethnographic details and heuristic in thinking about translation as an anthropological enterprise.

Apart from the introduction, which orients readers to the book's conceptual and methodological framework, and the concluding chapter, *Living Translation* is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1, “The Real Chinese Medicine,” traces historical and institutional practices that led to the development of multiple forms of Chinese medicine in China and the United States and also addresses the moral landscapes and material goods that “participate in mediating the enactment of translation in Chinese medicine” (p. 54). Chapter 2 focuses on various ideologies of language and translation that participants in Chinese medicine differentially subscribe to or draw on for translating and communicating Chinese medical concepts and terms in the English language. The author argues these ideologies “directly mediate, and often enact, translation” (p. 57). These two chapters cover plenty of background information on histories, institutions, morals, materials, and ideologies that, as shown throughout the entire book, not only constitute the contexts in which living translation unfolds but also play active roles in shaping every phase of living translation and giving particular forms to U.S. Chinese medicine.

Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 then take a closer look at different phases of living translation. In chapter 3, “Living Inscription in Chinese Medicine,” Pritzker shows that textuality of Chinese medicine is richly interdiscursive and that translation as creating texts is a mode of social action involving ongoing conversations with many actors and voices, ancient and contemporary. Chapter 4 describes the interaction phase of living translation with a focus on classroom “translation

talk.” Pritzker demonstrates that such classroom interaction is multifunctional, serving both as an ongoing socioculturally grounded “hermeneutic endeavor” in searching for meaning and as a process of socialization in which students learn how to engage with Chinese medical concepts and make clinical decisions based on a certain understanding of language. Chapter 5 examines embodied experience in the translation of Chinese medicine—specifically, how students tap into their own felt experience as resources to achieve an embodied understanding of Chinese medical language.

Chapter 6 takes translation of Chinese medicine into the realm of clinical practice. Pritzker first shows how living translation emerges at communicative moments wherein practitioners and interns translate Chinese terms for patients, partly to display expertise and establish legitimacy and partly to socialize patients into Chinese medicine, build rapport, and align them toward healing. She then shows how living translation takes place at the translational moments in which the search for morally grounded authentic understanding of Chinese medicine as part of classroom learning leads to real clinical diagnosis and treatment choices. The discussion on the case review session is particularly engaging

and informative. If there is a weakness, it might be the relative absence of the patients’ voices, although Pritzker clearly recognizes that the ongoing conversations with patients “are a key part of ‘living’ translation” (p. 184). It is very likely that this absence may have resulted from the fact that the researcher was not able to carry out clinical observations at the fieldwork site due to the ethical restriction.

Overall, *Living Translation* is an excellent and well-researched study of living translation in Chinese medicine in the United States. One of the work’s great strengths is the author’s own dialogic engagement with a variety of theoretical perspectives drawn from diverse disciplines and sub-disciplines, illuminating the historical, sociopolitical, moral, and linguistic complexity of living translation in Chinese medicine. Scholars and readers from a wide range of fields will find the work highly relevant and valuable. I also appreciate the way in which the chapters are organized with their own section of discussion and conclusion. Each chapter, although capable of standing on its own, was integrated nicely into the overall analytical framework. As such, the book can be easily adopted for classroom use in teaching linguistic and medical anthropology.

Refuge in Crestone: A Sanctuary for Interreligious Dialogue by Aaron Thomas Raverty

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Aaron Thomas Raverty situates his pioneering work at the fertile intersection of cultural anthropology and systematic theology. A Benedictine monk at Saint John’s Abbey who was trained in sociocultural anthropology at the University of Minnesota, Raverty examines this “creative interface” through ethnographic fieldwork in the multireligious site of Crestone, Colorado, currently home to numerous Tibetan and Zen Buddhist, Bonpo and Baha’i, Christian (Episcopal and Catholic), Sufi, Hindu, Neo-Shinto, and Native American religious organizations. With a nod to New Age thinking and practices within globalized modernity, Raverty explores theoretical and practical contributions of the ethnographic method to interreligious dialogue, the sacred space of this geographical region, and the commodification of rituals and pilgrimage in the operation of a ritual economy.

Raverty first emphasizes that interreligious dialogue is “praxis and not theology per se. Because dialogue is a socio-cultural event, taking place among human beings in space and

time, it is subject to description and analysis using the methods of cultural anthropology” (p. 34). Quoting from key Vatican documents on dialogue produced by the late Pope John Paul II, Raverty shows an expanding sense of dialogue beyond mere discursive conceptual exchange. He argues that qualitative research methods could further enhance interreligious dialogue by expanding the range of dialogue topics, considering both emic and etic perspectives, and engaging dialogue as a form of participant-observation. Similarly, Raverty finds innovative applications of many standard practices of cultural anthropology (including informants as partners in dialogue, interviews in field research, and the recording of life histories) to the context of interreligious dialogue. As well, he argues for the inclusion of gender considerations, cultural artifacts and material culture, and archival sources to enrich the practice of interreligious dialogue.

In his fieldwork, Raverty’s informants designated the region of Crestone a “sacred” place. Symbolic images and metaphors for this numinous bio region include a “vortex of energy,” a range of “dragon mountains,” and an elusive sound known as “the magical Crestone hum.” Raverty interviews residents who claim prophetic revelations drawing congregants to this place for “the elevation of consciousness and spiritual transformation” (p. 68). Crestone has also

become a sacred site of pilgrimage, a “refuge” for spiritual practitioners from a variety of religious traditions. “At least twenty-two spiritual centers and networks inhabit this space” (p. 81).

Raverty’s claim is that the commodification of pilgrimage and ceremony in the local ritual economy also provides particularly rich opportunities for authentic interreligious dialogue, both formal and informal. He writes,

The dialogue of religious experience is at its best when pursued with a ritual context. It is here that the various paraphernalia (i.e., materials, objects, vesture, and substances) become most visible as they take front-and-center stage in the unfolding of the ritual procedure. Here, too, the behavioral elements of the ritual become uniquely observable. Leaders, celebrants, and those with specialized ceremonial roles emerge in a special way in these settings, foregrounding the sequence and pattern of their contributions. Cognitive elements, including dense symbols embodying

cosmological principles, come into clearer relief in such ritual contexts and can more easily be targeted for later interrogation. The overall mood of the setting also changes, and both those conducting the ritual and those participating in it seem more willing to discuss it. [p. 142]

Thus, Raverty raises a range of ethnographic concerns emerging from his fieldwork in the sanctuary of Crestone, Colorado, with the aim of moving through enhanced interreligious dialogue to an inclusivist comparative theology. Yet these diverse topics read at times like an outline or prospectus for further research.

Such research might delve more deeply into the meanings and practices at work in this field site, locating the distinctively late modern play of power and knowledge, material economy, and symbolic production that this ethnographic site deserves.

Ethnography in Today’s World: Color Full before Color Blind by Roger Sanjek

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. 312 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12613

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This volume of essays by Roger Sanjek communicates a vision of anthropology that is inclusive, historically minded, and generous. A political and urban anthropologist, activist, historian of anthropology, and methodologist, Sanjek followed his dissertation research in urban Ghana with two remarkable, long-term fieldwork projects in the United States: one on the Gray Panthers and the other on neighborhood politics in Queens, New York City. Each spanned more than a decade and involved collaboration and advocacy. In the Queens project, Sanjek brought together a diverse group of anthropologists who studied the different populations—Chinese, Koreans, Indians, Latin Americans, African Americans, and whites—that interacted in an intensely multiracial, multiethnic neighborhood.

Three major themes thread through the book’s 12 chapters, which are revisions of essays written over two decades. One theme is the distinctiveness of anthropological ethnography with its pitfalls and strengths. Chapter 4 on “Ethnography,” a true gem, is the best short description I have read of what anthropologists mean by ethnographic fieldwork. Sanjek’s explanation is especially regrounding as ethnography has become trendy in other fields, like product design, where it has different meanings. Anthropologists often stumble when trying to explain our methods to outsiders and neophytes. What exactly is “participant-observation,”

and why do we so value it? The answer has everything to do with the limitation of fieldworker-created situations—like “seated-informant questioning”—where “normal social activity is suspended” and the fieldworker controls the topics of conversation (pp. 61, 67). Of course, interviewing, too, has its place in social research, but ideally it comes after the researcher has already begun learning “what questions to ask” and gained cultural and conversational competence via participant-observation, including “situated listening” in settings where “the actors control topicality” (pp. 66, 176). One of the consistent emphases of Sanjek’s thinking on research methodology is the importance of observing and listening in “natural settings of social life” (p. 65). He also elaborates upon the method of close analysis of actors’ behavior at naturally occurring gatherings, as modeled by Max Gluckman in his seminal essay on the colonial political relations visible during a bridge-opening ceremony in Zululand.

A second important theme is the use of the history of anthropology as a resource not only for theory but also for disciplinary practice. A chapter on research assistants describes the long history of anthropologist–assistant relationships, those often inadequately recognized “hierarchical multiracial partnerships” that have produced ethnographic knowledge. There is also a chapter about past anthropologists’ attempts to speak “‘truth to power’ on behalf of peoples they studied,” which draws lessons for anthropological advocacy today (p. 191). Sanjek has a good eye for historical incidents that contradict standard narratives, like the story of Lewis Henry Morgan’s effective activism to

reverse the alienation of Seneca Indian lands in upstate New York. He critically evaluates Franz Boas's pessimistic suggestion that the United States' race problem would not be solved until African Americans were so intermarried with whites as to no longer form a distinguishable population—"just as anti-Semitism will not disappear until the last vestige of the Jew as a Jew has disappeared" (Boas 1921:395, quoted on p. 117). In advocating this kind of practice-focused history of anthropology, Sanjek encourages us to learn from both the bad and the good in how disciplinary ancestors grappled with the challenges posed by structural problems that in many ways still endure; he cautions against making them into "unblemished . . . paragons," because the value of their actions (or inaction) as precedent for our own practice can only be realized if we are awake to "their complexity" (p. 192).

But the most visionary theme of the book concerns race and its positive value for political change, a rare combination in the current scholarly literature on race in the United States. In the diverse Queens neighborhood where Sanjek and his colleagues did fieldwork, ordinary residents developed political clout and improved their communities by a strategy of deliberate, representative ethnic and racial inclusiveness. They formed alliances expressly in ethnic and racial terms, striving to get representation from the Puerto Ricans, Vietnamese, African Americans, and so on.

(Interestingly, the most effective of these neighborhood activists have been women.) Sanjek calls this strategy "color full before color blind," the book's subtitle. It expresses principles of racial and ethnic etiquette that are broadly attested in the literature on U.S. whiteness where they are often phrased negatively, as critique of whites' race avoidance, but that here are put in the affirmative and explored as a matter of political practice, acts with practical consequences. It is unrealistic and politically counterproductive, Sanjek writes, to aspire to "be, or pretend to be," color blind; to do so is to drink from the same cup of political anesthetic as trust in "the market": "Our goals, rather, should be to see racial identity as one among the many aspects of every person . . . in what always has been and is now an increasingly interconnected, color-full world" (pp. 21–22). Boas was wrong: racial and ethnic differences are not becoming diluted out of existence but are proliferating, transforming, and growing. Our world, Sanjek shows, is becoming more, not less, "color full." We could do far worse than to be guided by his hopeful and practical vision for living in it responsibly.

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The Political Machine: Assembling Sovereignty in the Bronze Age Caucasus by Adam T. Smith

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. 264 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12625

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This important book derives from two intellectual endeavors: first, and most prominent, is an argument for the importance of the material world to political theory as applied to past and present cultural formations; and, second, a long-term project on the Bronze Age archaeology of the Tsaghkahovit Plain, central Armenia, through a large team of graduates and postdoctoral researchers both in Armenia and the United States, with author Adam Smith as the prime mover. The book started as the 2013 Rostovtzeff Lecture delivered at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World in New York. The theoretical arguments are exemplified through consideration of the relatively egalitarian early Bronze Age communities of the Kura-Araxes, the middle Bronze Age mobile communities burying their dead in

kurgans (mounds), and the late Bronze Age groups centered around defended hilltop settlements (chs. 3–5). Together, this provides a consideration of 2,500 years of changing political and material relations in Armenia and surrounding regions. An Introduction guides us through the intentions of the author and his subject matter. Chapters 1 and 2 examine the role of objects and their combinations into assemblages or machines and the nature of politics and sovereignty respectively; chapter 6 provides a brief conclusion.

The theoretical arguments draw on, and aim to speak to, broader discussions in the social sciences on the role of the material world in human life and politics. Archaeologists often consume the theory of others; here the author wants to add to broader discussions. Chapter 1 is important, combining a consideration of the nature of things within the Western intellectual tradition with more archaeological concerns. Little nuggets include Smith's estimate that there might be 8 trillion to 17 trillion objects in contemporary households around the world (with many more in offices,

museums, etc.), highlighting the need to understand through archaeology the relations between human population dynamics as against populations of objects and their formation, composition, and decay. Big questions concern what things do to people—hence the notion of a machine (rather than assemblage), highlighting the active nature of things in combination. Smith ends the chapter by attending to sense, sensibility, and sentiment to help focus on the sensitivities of the human body in interaction with varying materials. Chapter 2 considers questions of sovereignty, examining how groups with shared subjectivities (publics) are formed, how sovereigns with some authority over these publics come to be, and how the polity as a whole is made an object in which its subjects invest and care. These important questions are provocatively posed.

My one problem with the book was in the lack of developed links between the theory and the archaeology. The book lacked a mode of thick description to allow fuller understanding of the qualities of sites and assemblages working on the sensitivities of the human organism in an individual and group manner. Many original points are made along the way—the Kura-Araxes phenomenon is not seen, as in most other works, to derive from the influence of the cities of southern Mesopotamia; rather, it is viewed as an egalitarian, village-based cultural form with surprisingly little material exchange with the outside world (in contrast to the earlier Maikop phenomenon). The strict conformity of site structure and material assemblages enjoined a joint response to the world,

but I would have liked more about the sorts of practices that together involve the nicely decorated pots, personal ornaments, flint sickles, and the hearth-centered settlements. Mobile groups are tricky to understand, and the sudden shift to mobility in the middle Bronze Age left greater cemetery than settlement evidence. More could have been said on the construction of kurgans, wherein the materials used for the mounds were often carefully chosen and their extravagant sizes indicate large-scale group labor, with a new shaping of time and space, as kurgans and their processional ways came to dot the landscape. The array of nasty weapons in bronze and obsidian indicate new attitudes to life and death, but beyond that the agency of artifacts could have been dealt with more deeply. Quite a different world emerges with defended hilltops in the late Bronze Age—connected shrines and forms of domestic production, all linked to kurgans. Here the sensory affects of objects was dealt with well, making this, for me, the most convincing of the archaeological chapters. More discussion of the materials certainly exists within the substantive publications of the Tsaghkahovit project.

My reservations are minor compared with the book's strengths. Indeed, these reservations derive from the clarity of Smith's ambition to place things at the center of the cultural process. I most strongly recommend this as a book with which to argue, for all interested in the newest forms of theory concerning politics and objects, as well as anyone examining ancient Eurasian cultural forms and connections.

Intellectuals and (Counter-)Politics: Essays in Historical Realism by Gavin Smith

New York: Berghahn, 2014. 254 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12624

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In reading Gavin Smith's historically wide-ranging, theoretically forceful, and ethically provocative new book, *Intellectuals and (Counter-)Politics*, I was reminded of that passage in Rainer Maria Rilke's only novel, *The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge*, in which the young Danish nobleman reflects on what it takes to be able to write just "ten good lines" (1990[1910]:20) of poetry in an entire lifetime. It is only when the experiences of many decades have turned into memories, and then when these memories "have changed into our very blood, into glance and gesture, and are nameless, no longer to be distinguished from ourselves," that we are ready to draw upon them meaningfully in that

"very rare hour" when the first lines of a real contribution are able to "go forth from them" (1990[1910]:20).

Smith's book suggests that a certain kind of anthropological intervention likewise demands that one's personal intellectual history become fused with wider trajectories, a fusion that might have to wait until the politics of daily academic life has loosened its grip. But as Smith's book also suggests, when the reflections of a lifetime of research, teaching, and scholarship have indeed become intellectually embodied, the gap between "theory as usable commodity" (p. 214), as Smith puts it, and praxis can collapse so that the work of critical analysis is "no longer to be distinguished" from the work of doing what is to be done.

Smith describes the conceptual basis for this turning point as "historical realism," which is appropriately less a new term of theoretical art than a depiction of a deeply anthropological mode of evaluation that is highly attuned to

the subversive potential in what Smith calls “different forms of attention” (p. 217). By “counter-intuitively shifting attention back and forth” (p. 217) between the vivid immediacy of everyday experience and the ways in which experience is mediated through institutions and “interpretative sensibility” (p. 217), the ethnographer is well-positioned, Smith argues, to intervene in the ambiguous spaces “between reflexivity and engagement” (p. 214) where the seeds of what he calls a “counter-politics” might be found.

Smith illustrates the value of historical realism across eight diverse chapters. Although the empirical heart of the book is to be found in the internal chapters that revisit and reinterpret different periods of long-term ethnographic research in Peru and Spain, it is in the chapters that are, as he puts it, “wrapped around” (p. 21) the middle, where the full implications of Smith’s intervention are to be found. Although he graciously counsels readers to pass over the long first chapter on “Capital” if they are already well-acquainted with Karl Marx’s analysis of capitalism in *Capital*, I think this advice should not be widely heeded for two reasons. First, because the expansive discussion of capitalism, particularly Smith’s native anthropological analysis of finance (he worked on Wall Street before studying anthropology), forms the theoretical scaffolding—and a dense one at that—on which everything that comes after hangs. One simply cannot understand later discussions of, for example, the transformation of finance capital as a form of what he calls “selective hegemony” (p. 191) without a firm grasp of the structural features of capitalism itself. Second, it is a basic argument of Smith’s book that the role of capitalism as a particular mode of production creates certain conditions of possibility—notably those that reproduce the system through exchange and the management of surplus—while excluding others. This is an economic system that depends

on quite specific relations of production. As Smith points out, these structural features of capitalism have been all-too-frequently elided in the post-Foucauldian and post-Roseian (what he calls playfully *la Vie en Rose*) move to reimagine these structural features as a form of governance. For this reason alone, Smith’s recapitulation of capitalism deserves close attention.

The final part of *Intellectuals and (Counter-) Politics* brings Smith to what he calls “politics’ edge” (p. 175)—the boundary that separates the need to negotiate with dominant blocs from the uncharted spaces of counterpolitics that deny legitimacy to these blocs and the system of production from which they emerge. Here he makes the case for the enduring role of the intellectual—including, perhaps above all, the anthropologist—as an “irritant” (p. 223), one who constantly, fundamentally, refuses to either retreat behind the walls of the “academic enclosure” (p. 16) out of sheer frustration or to concede to the ideology of inevitability that cloaks the current conjuncture. He ends with a reference to the collaborations that resulted from the Yorkshire Workers’ Educational Association, through which counterpolitical intellectuals like E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams joined forces with laborers to develop what Smith describes as a “truly radical intellectual practice” (p. 224). As this book demonstrates, Smith deserves his place as an exemplar of an intellectual whose originary sense of engaged anthropology pierces much of the surface of the current politics of recognition to go straight to what sustains and justifies the structural inequities of the present.

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Japanese New York: Migrant Artists and Self-Reinvention on the World Stage by Olga Kanzaki Sooudi

Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014. 264 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12653

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Olga Kanzaki Sooudi has written a very engaging book about Japanese migrants who eschew conventional corporate jobs and other constraints of Japanese society and temporarily relocate to New York City to pursue artistic careers. The book is a welcome addition to the literature, because it is one of the few ethnographic studies about elite, professional migrants instead of unskilled labor migrants. In addition,

most studies about Japanese who live abroad focus on corporate workers and their families on overseas assignments. Although Kanzaki Sooudi is interested in the everyday experiences and practices of these artistic migrants, the quotidian somehow becomes extraordinary because it is embedded in encounters with racial and cultural others in a foreign context.

This is a migrant population about which little is known, and I was quite intrigued by the compelling stories and narratives contained in this book. Despite being high-skilled professionals, artistic migrants have fewer financial and social resources than Japanese business expatriates and face much

more risk and professional uncertainty, especially given the nature of their careers. In fact, many of them become undocumented migrants who must work illegally in low-end jobs in order to sustain themselves while they continue to pursue their aspirations, and most do not achieve success.

However, precisely because of such challenges, Japanese artistic migrants recount triumphalist narratives that emphasize their independence, creativity, and personal strength, and they look down on their more privileged corporate compatriots in the United States, who live conventional lives without freedom and adventure. As a result, their migrant experiences are a source of self-making and personal realization that were not possible in Japan, which they view as overly controlled and provincial and lacking in creative opportunities. While they perceive their Japanese cultural background to be an impediment to universal artistic creativity and professional success in New York City, some of them also promote their Japaneseness in their artistic work as a strategic choice for marketing and publicity purposes. In this way, Japanese national identity and culture is constructed in foreign contexts as both constraining and enabling.

Despite the book's merits, it is difficult to ignore some of its shortcomings. The ethnography appears to be based on extensive multisited fieldwork in both New York City and Japan, and Kanzaki Sooudi is to be commended for conducting extensive participant-observation by working at businesses where Japanese artistic migrants find informal, low-skilled employment. However, a good amount of the material presented in the book is based on secondary sources, such as literature and fiction, films, websites and blogs, and books and essays written by Japanese migrants. The inclusion of such diverse source material is sometimes justified and enriches the narrative and analysis, but more often they tend to be digressive distractions that are less interesting and relevant. I also wondered whether Kanzaki Sooudi did not have enough primary fieldwork material to analyze and therefore inserted discussions of this secondary material.

Some of the chapters also seem to lack organizational structure and coherence. This is most evident in chapter 5, which is supposed to be about the ambivalent relationships among Japanese migrants and their lack of a sense of community. However, it ends up being a disjointed collection of three accounts, one from the author's participant-observation at a sushi restaurant, another from a film, and the third from an interview. It is never clear how these accounts relate to each other or the purported topic of the chapter. Chapter 6 begins with an intriguing, participant-observation-based discussion of gossip and rumors about failed Japanese migrants, a topic that has been underanalyzed in immigration studies. However, it then deviates into discourses about Japanese migrant pathology and ends with migrant perceptions about the limitations of Japaneseness, which belongs in an earlier chapter. In fact, some chapters read like a stream of consciousness wherein the topic and source materials shift in a somewhat disjointed manner.

The book is also characterized by limited engagement with theory. Kanzaki Sooudi chose to focus on migrant narratives and texts, and these discussions include plenty of insightful interpretive comments with citations to literature. However, the few, short theoretical discussions in the Introduction are never used in subsequent chapters, and the highly relevant theoretical literature about migration and mobility is generally ignored. The issue of authenticity is often invoked in the book, but relevant literature is hardly discussed, and the concept is defined in so many different ways that it loses its utility. The discussion of transnationalism is also very brief, and the concept is actually misapplied in two chapters to refer to strictly local encounters and lives in New York City.

The value of the book therefore mainly lies in the quality of the personal narratives, which are interspersed with often insightful and eloquent discussions. For those interested in the subject of Japanese artistic migrants, this itself makes the book worth reading.

The Mixtecs of Oaxaca: Ancient Times to the Present by Ronald Spores and Andrew K. Balkansky

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 328 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12631

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In *The Mixtecs of Oaxaca*, Ronald Spores and Andrew Balkansky shine a bright light on the 3,000-year history of the Mixtec people, or *Nuu Dzahui*—one of the largest

indigenous groups in Mexico today. The authors emphasize the northern Mixteca Alta region and focus on benchmarks in Mixtec culture history, including the initial development of pre-Hispanic urban centers, cultural transformations following the Spanish conquest, and developments during the period after independence. In many ways, it reads like the final installment of a trilogy of works by Spores, following *The Mixtecs in Ancient and Colonial Times* (1984) and its predecessor, *The Mixtec Kings and Their People* (1967).

Like those previous efforts, this book is written for a broader-than-academic audience and is neatly packaged into two halves covering the pre-Hispanic and postconquest eras. This effort is distinguished by the addition of Balkansky, who adds ballast to the book's first section on archaeology, while the second section covering ethnohistory remains very much Spores's domain. This review focuses on the book's first half, covering Mixtec archaeology.

The authors begin by promoting a "convergent" methodology for Mixtec studies, stressing the need to integrate multiple data sets, especially from archaeology and ethnohistory. This echoes the anthropological approach pioneered by Alfonso Caso, whose breadth and quality of scholarship during the mid-20th century remains a high watermark for Oaxacan studies. In terms of the book's theoretical moorings, the authors stress ecological and functional considerations, referring, for instance, to Mixtec culture as "serving fundamentally adaptive functions" and Mixtec cities as "'superorganic' means of integration" (p. 33). In keeping with this somewhat-anachronistic approach, the authors praise the "empirical utility" of archaeological results from projects "in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s," while deriding more recent "empty theoretical approaches that are often employed in Mesoamerica" (p. 6). This critique is at once indiscriminate (whose "empty" approaches?) and cynical, given Oaxaca's prominence as a virtual proving ground for innovative theoretical archaeological work. Unfortunately, the book deemphasizes or ignores many important contributions from the past few decades—especially those of junior scholars.

The second chapter emphasizes the development of the first population centers in the Mixteca Alta during the Early to Middle Formative Period. This includes a useful summary of regional surveys led by Stephen Kowalewski and a discussion of early capitals such as Yucuita and Tayata. A summary of excavations at the latter site, carried out by Balkansky, are highlighted to good effect but lack the detail necessary to be of great use to other specialists. The authors argue compellingly that more Mixtec research ought to focus on local dynamics rather than relying solely on external forces to explain sociocultural change. They reject any "mother-like" Olmec influence in the Mixteca Alta, instead arguing that sites like Tayata made contributions to new and more complex social formations through competitive interaction with peers in the Gulf Coast and elsewhere. Yet in supporting this position, they cite population estimates of 40,000 for the Mixteca Alta during the Middle Formative—a number

some will find implausibly high. Even if accurate, skeptics will point out that high population alone does not necessarily lead to complex political formations and will bristle at their suggestion that "one might readily argue that the Mixtec were the mother culture, rather than the reverse" (p. 52).

The authors suggest that urbanization in the Late Formative Mixteca Alta may have been triggered by imperial incursions by Monte Albán—located in the Valley of Oaxaca. This external threat purportedly spurred Mixtec polities to band together as a means of defense, similar to the "synoikism" model put forth by Joyce Marcus and Kent Flannery (1996) for the founding of Monte Albán. What about local political and historical considerations within the Mixteca? What is needed is more comparative data from controlled excavations at Mixtec centers to better evaluate how they emerged in tandem and their relationships to extraregional polities.

Spores and Balkansky rightly point out that variability in the urban traditions among Classic Mixtec centers resist easy characterization. This begs the question of how this variability may reflect differences in sociopolitical organization, yet the authors fail to explore this possibility. Instead, they present a facile comparison of Classic and Postclassic Mixtec polities that overemphasizes their similarities while downplaying important differences. Later, in sections covering the Postclassic *yuhuitayu*, their discussion would have benefitted from a more detailed examination of the senior author's multiyear excavation project at Teposcolula-Yucundaa.

The second half of the book traces the history and political economy of the Mixteca during the five centuries following the Spanish conquest. This builds on Spores's seminal ethnohistoric work and provides a synthesis written with a great clarity worth emulating. The most compelling sections drill down to share portraits of historical figures, best illustrated in the section describing women rulers or *cacicas* who ruled Mixtec capitals during the Colonial era.

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The Reckoning of Pluralism: Political Belonging and the Demands of History in Turkey by Kabir Tambar

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014. 232 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12611

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Pluralizing nationalist history is often understood as crucial to redress the constitutive violence, and ongoing exclusions, of nationalist state projects—perhaps nowhere more so than in Turkey, where the modernist Kemalist project of secular nationalism was in stark contrast to the premodern “pluralism” of the Ottoman Empire. This contradistinction in the administration of difference between the Ottoman and republican eras gives pluralism added valency in the Turkish context. One would expect the recent turn to history by excluded groups as crucial to an emerging pluralist Polity.

Kabir Tambar’s book critically examines the limits to minority recognition and inclusion through an analysis of the Alevi community, whose religious difference—although varied and contested—is distinguishable from the majority Sunnis. This religious difference, however, is not registered by the state, for it does not recognize sectarian differences within the Muslim community. Can Alevi religiosity, especially its Shi’i-derived religious practices, be allowed to fully and publically express alterity? Or are there limits to the representation and signification of Alevi difference? Tambar argues that the recognition of Alevi difference is only possible through publically approved forms, such as cultural performances, insofar as these do not disturb the dominant discourses and sensibilities of Turkish nationalism and Sunni majoritarianism. In successive chapters, he delineates the disciplinary knowledges through which Alevis were foundationally incorporated as ethnically Turk and their religious difference domesticated (ch. 3); the aesthetic sensibilities that manage, transform, or render illegitimate potentially potent forms of ritual difference (ch. 4); and the inadequacy of history for recognizing and recuperating religious difference.

Chapter 3 is particularly compelling as the author provides a fascinating account of how the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, in the late Ottoman and early republican era, classified Alevis as ethnic Turks while simultaneously territorializing Shi’i religious and ritual practices as local Anatolian customs and folk traditions. Explicit Shi’i ritual practices such as the commemoration of Husayn’s death at Karbala were downplayed and eventually silenced. Consequently, the Alevi were simultaneously inscribed within the nation whilst their religious practices, redesignated as folklore, were read as a sign of the nation’s historical depth.

Political inclusion was premised on the double maneuver of ethnic classification and the temporalization of difference into autochthony.

The critical project of *The Reckoning of Pluralism*, then, is to interrogate the complex array of governing techniques, disciplinary practices, aesthetic sensibilities, and norms of public sociability by examining them in relation to two kinds of critique. The first is the critical historical imperative that seeks to disrupt nationalist historiography but within the epistemological conditions of disciplinary history and modern political subjectivity. The second is the delineation of the limits of this historicism through attention to an alternative subjectivity—that is, through ethnographic attention to a small group concerned with reviving devotional mourning practices commemorating Karbala. While numerically limited, Tambar notes that the Alevi have generated disproportionate controversy because they unsettle the dense web of discourses, imaginaries, and affect that mark secular sensibilities. Those involved were primarily concerned with reconstituting a religious tradition in order to cultivate appropriate religious dispositions but have been drawn into debates with Alevi advocates of pluralism. The latter regard religious devotionalism as anachronistic and incapable of contributing toward a pluralist politics. Tambar acknowledges that these religious forms of vocality and visibility are not intelligible to modern politics, for it is the very successes of the secular disciplines, institutions, and practices of the modernizing project and its political forms that have been productive of contemporary political subjectivity. History and historicism are both formative and reflective of this, and thus he questions the political and academic turn to history as a means of writing social histories of difference, of giving “voice.” In the Alevi case, where the crucial difference is religious, history, with its epistemological and ontological prerequisites, is a trap. Yet, and herein lies the poignancy of the account, it is almost impossible to escape the iron cage of history. The revival of religious devotionalism in such a context can only serve as “critical provocation” that illuminates “the disciplinary assemblage that has framed the problem of Alevi religious identity within the historicist narratives of the nation” (p. 143).

Where does this leave us? Tambar says his goal is to “open a space for conceptualizing a certain kind of politics that arises in relation to those limits” (p. 23). As such it is a ground-clearing exercise—one that is theoretically and methodologically indebted to Talal Asad’s appropriation and inflection of Michel Foucault in the anthropology of Islam; a project whose critical force partly stems from investigating

religious forms of difference to render the contemporary structures of liberal secular sensibility, its governing technologies and exclusionary practices, as objects of anthropological analysis. While this is a compelling and necessary task, it can at times overemphasize the rationality of various discursive formations and, as such, risks overplaying fissures

while deemphasizing links between discourses and social groups that may harbor new potentialities. The “limit,” one senses, is as much a connection as a separation in this subtle, thoughtful, and unsettling account that will force pluralists to think more carefully about their attachments and practices of exclusion.

Preserving the Old City of Damascus by Faedah M. Totah

Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014. 328 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12618

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This urban ethnography seeks to disentangle the manifold cultural forces shaping the Old City of Damascus and how human-built environment interactions varyingly affect a wide range of interlinked social actors. Faedah Totah evaluates efforts to safeguard the Old City, a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1979, and the unintended consequences attendant with “heritagization,” against the backdrop of Syria’s tumultuous internal politics and foreign relations, economic neoliberalization, globalization, and manipulations and reformulations of cultural identity.

Like similar works on place making, historic preservation, and gentrification, Totah adopts multiscalar analysis, from the much-documented structuring role of the traditional courtyard house (Arabic *beit ‘arabi*) to considerations of the Old City neighborhood within the sociopolitical and economic milieu of Damascus, to the impacts of the progressive policies of Syria’s Ba’athist regime since 1963, and back to how such forces continually transform the Old City and its social actors. The analysis is diachronic, covering the period from the late Ottoman period to the early years of the Syrian Civil War, but the author’s ethnographic research in the 1990s and early 2000s forms the central focus.

Totah embraces a reflexive, phenomenological approach to human-built environment interactions to explore deeper patterns, structures, and meanings through dialectical binary oppositions. Through a historic process of accrued metonyms, the Old City symbolizes the urban, “civilized” core; its binary opposite of “backwardness”; and finally a gentrified UNESCO World Heritage Site, embodying an idealized and nostalgic *Shami* (Damascene) identity. Totah adeptly interweaves her own experiences living in Damascus as well as interviews from current and former Old City residents, heritage experts, and investors.

In chapter 1, the author reviews the policies of the Late Ottoman and French Mandate periods and subsequent nationalist governments, especially the foundational work

of French architect and urban planner Michel Ecochard and his ardent critics. Totah provides an overview of the Old City through a walking tour relating “how the history of Damascus is visible in the cityscape” and how these elements “index a civilizational component to the intramural neighborhoods” (p. 47). The author continually returns to the binary opposition of civilization (*hadarah*) versus backwardness (*mutakhalif*). The unfolding explication of this urban palimpsest takes us through the transformation of the Old City from urban center and abode of the merchant classes to what many *Shuwam* (Damascenes) viewed as a socially and architecturally atavistic enclave subsumed within, and increasingly divorced from, a modern, sprawling urban landscape of cement high-rises and townhouses. The vernacular style defied modernity because it “encouraged extended patriarchal families, gender segregation, submission of individual will, and religiosity that could border on the extreme and radical” (p. 53).

Chapter 2 expands on an imbricating binary opposition manifested and mediated within the Old City—the urban–rural divide and the clash of identities that occurred as the *Shuwam* slowly moved out, leaving the Old City to rural migrants. Totah presents a *Shami* emic perspective in which the newcomers are perceived as oblivious to the Old City’s civilization and immune to its civilizing effects. These migrant tenants would later be swept aside through real estate speculation and gentrification.

Chapter 3 surveys the architecture of the courtyard house. Totah acquaints us with the different experiences of the original *Shami* occupants and the rural newcomers and how these lifeways lead to varying perceptions of the built environment and engender conflicting social discourses. Totah educates important variations in the occupants’ perceptions, such as differing assessments of the *beit ‘arabi* by men and women in daily life.

In chapters 4 and 5, Totah examines the cultural agency of historic preservation starting with the gentrifiers, a heterogeneous class unified only by a nebulous vision of an imagined *Shami* past. Their efforts are juxtaposed with the misgivings of many Damascenes with regard to the privatized and often-corrupt process of historic preservation, frequently viewed as a “deliberate attempt to undermine the *Shuwam* and to

corrupt their culture” (p. 170). Chapter 5 continues with the renovation and restoration process with a discussion of the investors (*mustahmirin*) who transformed the Old City to provide new venues of consumption, creating an urban hotspot of restaurants, hotels, boutiques, and art galleries with a Shami veneer of authenticity to entice the Damascene elite and cosmopolitan set.

Chapter 6 evaluates the outcomes of heritage preservation. Totah returns to the assault from within on the Old City’s intangible dimensions and its built environment as well as the consequences of state-sponsored place making and safeguarding of heritage. An epilogue provides Totah’s reflections on the impacts of the current civil war.

This volume will interest all those engaged in urban ethnography, human–environment interactions, historic preservation, and the current cultural heritage crisis in the Middle East and North Africa. The author’s work is no mere “ethnographic salvage”—a twilight glimpse of prewar Damascus—but, rather, a highly revealing and engagingly written exposé on the powerful role of heritage in the construction, negotiation, and manipulation of cultural identity and cultural memory. Ultimately, Totah traverses familiar terrain: how vibrant communities are sacrificed on the altar of heritagization. Whether such losses stem from wayward idealism, calculated design, or some combination thereof is left for us to infer.

Trojan Horse Aid: Seeds of Resistance and Resilience in the Bolivian Highlands and Beyond by Susan Walsh

Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014. 352 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/aman.12615

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Trojan Horse Aid is an ethnography of a person—the author—more than an ethnography of a place or its people. Author Susan Walsh conducted research in the municipality of Ravelo, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, for her dissertation in the early 2000s while on leave from her professional position as a development officer for a large organization. She returned to Bolivia in 2011 for follow-up research, and the book is a product of these two trips.

Walsh writes in a first-person, intimate, stream-of-consciousness conversational style. We learn how happy she was to hike into her research sites, about her daughter’s emergency appendectomy, and about how she chipped her elbow and had a difficult time taking field notes. The foregrounding of her makes the study readable and relatable, important for an introductory class, but obscures some of the details and nuances of how she came to be working in Bolivia in the first place (for instance, little discussion is given to her collaborators with the local NGO). Though this style means that the book could be used in an introductory course quite easily, it is also a drawback of the book as a scholarly work. In fact, the book in many ways reads as a somewhat outdated ethnography.

Walsh made several stylistic choices that obscure the scholarly impact of the work. For instance, throughout the book, “indigenous” is capitalized, without any explanation as to why. Common convention is lowercase to avoid reifying the identity category. It is worth noting that the Spanish term is also not capitalized.

Similarly, throughout the book, frequent reference is made to romantic notions of indigenous peoples and products as somehow special or pure (“independent and productive lives on their ancestral lands” [p. 21]), which sometimes slips into expressions that are reminiscent of salvage ethnography (“however threatened and eroded, the ecological complementarity system I found in Chayanta was maintaining those fundamentals” [p. 83]).

This orientation is more worrisome than the odd capitalization choice (though perhaps related). It speaks to a rather simplistic notion of indigenous communities and their relationships with one another and with nonindigenous peoples. Walsh claims: “In the year 2000, Mojón residents’ interaction with external institutions was in fact only four years old. In contrast, Chimpa Rodeo had an approximately twenty-year history of external development assistance” (p. 35). As a reader and scholar of Bolivia, I am left wondering how “external” is defined and which institutions count. It sounds as if only foreign ones do—but then what does that say about Walsh’s view of the Bolivian state and local governments? How are these not external to local ayllus? What of older colonial patterns of settlement and interaction with bureaucracy? This is a strange lacuna, considering the emphasis placed on history and change in contemporary cultural anthropology.

Overall, I wanted more details about the various organizations, more Bolivia-scale specificity, and more critical analysis. The chapters themselves are fairly short and not always narratively well connected.

In sum, the book reads as a fairly uncritical and undertheorized case study focused in large extent on the ethnographer—a critique supported by the thin references in the chapters and the reliance on older sources in the

bibliography. However, it could be useful for new students of anthropology who need an accessible entrée into the discipline, as the story being told—about resilience and change in rural Bolivia from the first-person perspective of

the ethnographer—could easily capture their attention and interest. It could also be used to open a discussion of reflexivity, subjectivity, and trends in ethnographic theory in an introductory class.

Everyday Moral Economies: Food, Politics and Scale in Cuba by Marisa Wilson

Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2014. 258 pp.

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At a time when the U.S. government readies to end its over 50-year-old economic embargo against Cuba, which was intended to force political change in the socialist nation by restricting its access to needed goods, the photo on the cover of *Everyday Moral Economies* (a peasant's empty hand stretched out in a begging gesture) invites multiple readings. Far from being a direct reference to the impacts of the embargo, the image encapsulates two interrelated themes discussed in Marisa Wilson's book: food scarcity and the institutionalized practice of a "scaled-up" reciprocity where "good" socialist citizens contribute to the common good by giving up the fruits of their labor so that the state, through "just" redistribution, can guarantee the population's basic needs (p. 54).

In 2005, when Wilson commenced fieldwork among the residents of a rural community near the capital city of Havana, this socialist version of reciprocity had already been put into question by the economic reforms that ensued from the breakdown of the Soviet Bloc—reforms that had created a two-tier official economy in which necessities like food no longer appeared to be distributed justly. While poor-quality, subsidized food continued to circulate as social entitlement via the state redistribution networks, higher-quality food became a commodity available for purchase at market prices via new commercial food venues available to those who could afford them. Against this backdrop, and mirroring the trajectory of many other ethnographers conducting research in post-1989 Cuba, Wilson became interested in how average citizens managed the apparent contradictions between the two moral economies associated with these disparate, co-existing food networks.

Although Wilson dedicates some time to discussing the existence (and appeal) in the Cuban context of a "global," neoliberal moral economy that promotes individual initiative and legitimizes the selfish search for individual self-provisioning, profit, and pleasure, she spends the bulk of her book tracing the historical evolution (ch. 2) and the

continued resonance of a socialist "national" moral economy that places a high value on self-sacrifice, resistance against all odds, and individual contributions to the common good (chs. 3, 4, and 6), ultimately upholding the notion of food as a collective right rather than as a mere commodity. In this context, even the act of stealing from the state, when done to meet the needs of a "scaled-down" national community of relatives and acquaintances, is justified as a moral act of "just" distribution, "grabbing" from the state only what is needed by the collective (p. 136).

As a native Spanish speaker who noted multiple Spanish spelling errors in the book, I was disturbed by the extent to which Wilson builds much of her analysis around her own selective exegesis of Spanish words and expressions, such as *la lucha* (struggle), *luchador* (fighter), *familiar* (kin or acquaintance), and *cultura* (culture), among many others. While the word *luchador/a* could be used, as Wilson suggests, to morally link a hardworking, honest person "heroically" engaged in "just" food provisioning with much-admired national heroes of the past (p. 86), it can also be used, as she reluctantly acknowledges (p. 87), to describe *jineteros/as* (prostitutes), who are considered selfish, profit-seeking individuals who should be excluded from the national moral community (pp. 145–148). Regrettably, in this and other instances, Wilson does little to iron out the questions that such disparate interpretations raise about the consistency of her lexically inclined argumentation.

Another problematic aspect of Wilson's analysis concerns her rather superficial treatment of food production via an ethnographically thin overview of Havana's urban agriculture sector. The latter draws on sparse interview data and a few outdated sources to delineate the experiences and perspectives of those involved in this field. In her preface, Wilson indirectly acknowledges the serious gaps in this data by explaining that the sphere of production was "the least penetrable" to her (p. xix). Yet she chooses to dedicate chapter 6 entirely to this topic, attempting to connect her previous arguments on everyday moral economies to the limited data she collected on the politics of sustainable food production and food sovereignty in Havana. In her concluding remarks, Wilson returns to these subjects in a confusing argument on "alternative economic geographies,"

wherein she draws a contrived parallel between some aspects of Cuba's "domestic food economy" and "alternative food networks" like La Via Campesina.

The most ethnographically grounded chapters in *Everyday Moral Economies* (chs. 3, 4, and 5) provide a thought-provoking analysis of the moral underpinnings of

everyday economic practice in contemporary Cuba that merits reading. Unfortunately, the overall theoretical armature of the book, as well as the data mobilized to support the argument presented, fall short of expectations so that, in the end, the reader is left feeling "empty handed," much like the generic peasant portrayed on the book's cover.

Class Work: Vocational Schools and China's Urban Youth by T. E. Woronov

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016. 200 pp.

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Class Work examines the political economy of China's often-neglected vocational education system and its implied cultural politics of class formation. Combining subtle ethnography and insightful analysis, it offers an incisive critique of the hegemony of human capital accumulation.

Based on field research in two vocational schools in Nanjing, this book demonstrates that the high-stakes High School Entrance Examination (HSEE) serves as a watershed mechanism of "class sorting" in contemporary China, channeling millions of youth, mostly of working-class backgrounds, to low-end service jobs via urban vocational secondary schools. It points out that half of the Chinese middle-school graduates would fail in the HSEE by state design despite individual efforts. However, Chinese youth who attend vocational schools instead of academic high schools are deemed "both academic and moral failures" (p. 3) and blamed "for their own failed future possibilities" (p. 62) in public discourse. This book reveals in rich ethnographic details how such "individualized and depoliticized notions of social causality" (p. 63) conceal structural inequality and (re)produce class division. It coins the notion of "numeric capital" to highlight the fetish of numbers in China's exam-oriented education system and criticizes its underlying value system of equating young people's exam scores with their academic achievement and social value at large. In the moral economy of "numeric capital," it is the individuals, not the system that requires almost half of middle school students to fail, who have to shoulder the responsibility for their inferior positions in China's hierarchical school system. Hence the ideology of "numeric capital" is "a moral system that supports a structural one" (p. 63) and plays a crucial role in the state's class-sorting process.

The ideology of "numeric capital" extends to vocational schools and shapes their curricular designs and teaching

practices (ch. 3). The problem of "devotionalization" is found in the two vocational schools, which "skew their curricula away from practical courses and skills training toward theory and academic content to appease students and parents" (p. 76) because academic study is held as more desirable in the regime of "numeric capital." Such theoretical orientations, nevertheless, discourage vocational school students from investing time and effort in schoolwork. The incongruence between curriculum and job prospects exasperates the students' rueful yet rational behaviors of "wasting time" in the classroom. This reifies the stereotype of vocational school students being lazy and stupid and confirms their lack of "numeric capital" in the progressive future-oriented framework of human capital accumulation embraced by postreform China.

Vocational school students' experiences of internships and job markets (ch. 5) further illuminate how the normative discourse of human capital accumulation renders these students, who have neither training nor awareness to make informed choices and present progressive life stories, as deviant and inferior to middle-class norms. While it is true that employment opportunities in China's growing service economy are good for vocational students, the nature of available jobs is often "precarious, possibly short-term, likely dead-end" (pp. 114–115). Frequent "jumpings" from one entry-level job to another according to "short-term, instrumental logics" (p. 134) results in horizontal rather than vertical mobility, another way of class sorting that locks these youth "out of middle-class, white-collar jobs" (p. 135).

While Woronov shows clearly that the class position of vocational school graduates lies in the lower echelon of urban China's service economy, it remains unclear whether these students have distinct identity or class consciousness. Chapters 2 and 4 show social diversities among both schools' students in terms of family background, place of origin and native dialect, and their fluid identities that defy singular categorization. These students from "rural, urban working class, and second-generation migrant families" (p. 23) interact with each other at school and form

friendships across the common urban–rural and local–migrant divides. However, lack of close connections among them after graduation suggests the atomization of their adult lives. The regime of “numeric capital,” which holds individuals responsible for their futures through studying and producing test scores, also mitigates “against collective action and identities” (p. 149). This book hence ends with a mixed, sometimes incoherent tone on the prospects of class formation in urban China. Woronov parallels these Chinese youth with the “precariat,” which refers to urban youth in postindustrial economies who are trapped in low-skilled, part-time jobs. However, she puts more optimism in the Chinese case by pointing out how these youth still have more

opportunities than their parents do in China’s transitional economy.

As discussed in the conclusion, Woronov’s frustrating encounter with Chinese graduate students in social science who constantly questioned the significance of her research in 2013 reveals poignantly the internalization of “numeric capital” among China’s educated elites and the entrenched depoliticization of social stratification and inequality after economic reforms. Hence, this book is a timely and important addition to the literature on education, youth, class, and value systems in China and comparable societies that embrace progressive ideologies of human capital and economic development.

Consumption in China: How China’s New Consumer Ideology Is Shaping the Nation by LiAnne Yu

Cambridge: Polity, 2014. 176 pp.

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The rising middle class in China’s urban centers, with its startling spending power, has attracted global attention, particularly from transnational corporations and consultancies. The author LiAnne Yu is well positioned to provide some incisive portraits of this assortment of people through their consumption practices and attitudes. With a doctoral degree in sociocultural anthropology, Yu has been conducting research for global companies mainly in big cities such as Shanghai and Beijing. She visited China for the first time as a U.S.–China exchange student in 1990, one year after Tiananmen Square Protest in Beijing. Her work has since brought her back to China repeatedly. Yu’s long engagement has proved a valuable source of information that helps her contextualize consumption choices and expressions in social transformations.

Based on her observation and research for over two decades, Yu asks the question: What does consumption mean to the members of the emerging middle and upper middle class, “who grew up under the most austere years of socialism,” and to their children, “who have only known a prospering, capitalistic China” (p. 9)? Drawing on Thorstein Veblen’s (1899) classic study of conspicuous consumption based on his observations of fin de siècle America, Yu argues that consumption allows the middle class to surround themselves with visible symbols as a way to establish their social status (chs. 2 and 3). The old status system was associated with and maintained by a political rhetoric of class and related institutional practices such as rural–urban divide, household

registration, and the rationing system of daily necessities under the planned economy. This system gradually collapsed with the party-state’s reform efforts to vitalize its economy since the late 1970s. Facing the volatile social transformations and a drastically different configuration of social hierarchy, the desire to “be recognised for continuous striving and upward mobility, is at the heart of Chinese consumers’ everyday experiences of status making” (p. 92). Consumer goods are not merely “good” to show off one’s economic capacity; they are also “good” to demonstrate one’s achievements as a self-made individual through entrepreneurialism and hard work, a practice Yu terms “conspicuous accomplishment.” This practice distinguishes the Chinese middle class not only from the corrupted officials, the offspring of political and economic elites in China, but also from Veblen’s leisure class who sought to demonstrate effortless wealth.

Yu seeks to present the Chinese middle class as sophisticated consumers that are neither liberated agents nor victims of capitalism. They actively appropriate signs, styles, and practices, made available by the newly obtained consumption space, to refashion the self, to make sense of the past and the present, to engage in an imagined, global community, and to act out their own version of everyday modernity. They feel empowered, as consumers, to articulate concerns with eroding moral standards, food safety, environment, and other issues.

Meanwhile, Yu also stresses that a series of structural factors have configured middle-class consumption practices. Both the state’s withdrawal from certain aspects of private lives and its continuous control over reproduction has led to the emergence of the notion of family time. The reinstated importance of the family has shaped the prominence of shopping and other consumption practices in people’s

everyday life from childbearing and family care to leisure activities (chs. 2 and 5). Transnational companies, in the place of the party-state in Mao's China or family members in the Western society context, have become the educators for the young middle class to configure the ideal of the self through consumer goods (ch. 5). Increased access to technologies contributes to the valorization of the self and socialization of consumers through online shopping, commenting, and instant sharing through smartphones and apps (chs. 2, 4, and 5). However, that socialization has not evolved into a public sphere for rational debates and free expression, as nationalism and political censorship continue to act as the constraining forces (ch. 6).

Yu provides rich data and nuanced elaboration on the older generation of middle-class consumers mentioned in her main research question of what *consumption* means, but her analysis is less convincing regarding their children,

who are growing up in the new economy. The focus on consumption risks understating the influences of other structural and institutional changes, such as family and schooling, on status making and recognition. Nonetheless, *Consumption in China* is a timely contribution to the growing literature on the emerging Chinese middle class. Its engaging writing style makes it a good read for undergraduates and a general audience who are interested in China's new social landscape at large. Its rich ethnographic data will be useful for scholars who want to extend current debates on the entanglement of the market and the state, technopolitics, and consumption and the legitimization of social inequality.

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