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Book reviews

Belonging and belief

Casselberry, Judith. *The labor of faith: gender and power in black Apostolic Pentecostalism*. xviii, 213 pp., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2017. £20.99 (paper)

In *The labor of Faith*, a study of a New York-based African-American Pentecostal church, Judith Casselberry brilliantly demonstrates that Sunday school, bible class, auxiliary work, church breakfasts, and the like, are central to the vitality of the black church and are guided and enacted primarily by women. Through thick ethnographic descriptions of the songs, the worship, and the everyday dialogue which constitute church culture, Casselberry presents a highly variegated vision: combative, resistant, accommodative, and the docile forms of agency crucial to the women of the church as they affect the world around them.

The author brings a finely grained lens to the resistant elements of black women's spirituality while expanding the notion of 'labour' to describe religiously motivated, unpaid, affective effort. Labour here is the 'mental, spiritual and physical exertion' (p. 29) which is the core of women's efforts within the church. Casselberry argues that 'the amount of exertion, effort and practice determines the level of expertise' (p. 22). As one informant so eloquently puts it: 'Holiness is unnatural. You have to work against the world. You have to work at living a holy life' (p. 22). The effort of dealing with death, for instance, is 'intense, concentrated in time, and done while juggling the rest of life's obligations. It easily could be twenty-four hours, seven days a week' (p. 19).

Like Saba Mahmood and scholars within Pentecostal studies (e.g. Elizabeth Brusco and R. Marie Griffith, both unreferenced here), Casselberry eschews simplistic descriptions in which religious women demonstrate little agency. At times, she suggests, teamwork is a more apt depiction than hierarchy: 'Man is the head and woman is the neck that turns the head. The head cannot do without the neck' (p. 79). In other moments, women simply resist male chauvinism. For example, when the male church leader jokes that he doesn't need to remember one female member's name, she retorts: 'Then I don't have to give you my money either' (p. 70). Perhaps, she suggests, church women can 'lead from the background' (p. 113).

At first, the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith was sustained by women's informal horizontal networks in which members explicitly rejected institutional forms of governance. However, after four decades of women's leadership, a male-headed vertical hierarchy of bishops and apostles formed, although still reliant upon the 'female majority's spiritual-organizational acumen and labor for its very existence' (p. 80). In this process, as women '(re)produce women driven patriarchies', they recognize that 'the men are on top' (p. 105). Nevertheless, they sometimes pose it as 'a beautiful thing 'cause you need to have men on the top' (p. 104). In other words, women can authorize male power and that practice is a site of agency.

For Casselberry, the effort to submit becomes agentive labour. Women have the 'power to submit', but 'everyone can't do it' (p. 104). It takes strength. As one church member explains: 'It does say in the Bible that women are the

weaker vessel, but we're the weaker *stronger* vessel'. She adds that 'we can take more and be under rule more. Even though we have a hard time' (p. 115, original emphasis). For Casselberry, some agency resides in the wisdom to know how and when to yield authority.

The labor of faith paints vivid pictures of gender-based confusion and tension in the church's informal spaces: women debating the ethics of stockinged legs via biblical precedence, the everyday demands of hot New York summers, and the importance of male headship. 'If my ashy feet get you excited, you have a *big* problem', Sister Holmes explains, 'it's not *my* problem' (p. 161, original emphasis). Here, the politics of respectability that communities utilize against the hypersexualization of black people is posed against practices of ecstatic worship tied to a tradition of black spirituality.

In the end, the reader is intrigued but perhaps also struggling to clarify: what is and what isn't labour? How does redefining black women's church volunteering as labour teach us something new? Women's activities in church clearly seem agentive although limited as all agency is. Yet what is the relationship here to wages and markets and other forms of labour? Further, how does this labour intersect with other forms of power, gendered and otherwise? Casselberry's reference to race-based economic self-reliance with a locally controlled print shop, funeral parlours, grocery store, and industrial training institute suggests also that non-market labour is usefully understood as labour partly because of its relation to market forces, but that emergent notion could be taken further.

In all, *The labor of faith* joins a vivid ethnography to an intriguing provocation around the relationship between labour, religiosity, and gender.

Josh Brahinsky *Stanford University*

Holt, John Clifford. *Theravada traditions: Buddhist ritual cultures in contemporary Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka*. xii, 391 pp., map, tables, illus., bibliogr. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2017. £68.00 (cloth)

John Clifford Holt, a historian of religion, specializes in the study of Theravada Buddhism primarily in Sri Lanka, but his research now includes Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia. In *Theravada traditions* he examines what he sees as the defining ritual that characterizes the religious cultures of Laos, Sri Lanka, Burma/Myanmar, and Cambodia. His goal is to expand our understandings of Theravada Buddhism beyond texts to include the ways in which local people engage with their religious cultures. The volume consists of a brief introduction on the nature of ritual and issues surrounding the study of Theravada Buddhism; this is followed by five chapters, one on each country and its ritual. The primary aim of this study is to elucidate the this-worldly ethic of each ritual in the 'context of intense social, economic, and political change within these contemporary nation-states' (p. 9).

In the first two chapters, Holt draws on chronicles and ancient records to provide us with histories of sacred objects, respectively the Lao *Phra Bang* religious image and *Asala Perahara*, the Sri Lankan Buddha tooth relic. His argument is that these objects, imbued with spiritual powers, are intertwined with the political history in each country. Thus an important theme is the interconnections between rulers, Buddhist practices, and the legitimacy of governments. The two countries have complex religious histories – a mixture of Hinduism and Christianity in Sri Lanka, and spirit cults in Laos – that have both influenced ideas about the legitimacy of rulers and inflected the ways in which Buddhism has been understood and practised.

The remaining three chapters describe Buddhist merit-making ceremonies. While karma can be improved through the following of Buddhist precepts and practising meditation, most seek to improve their karma through the practice of generosity, that is, merit making. Monks receive people's offerings, and, in return, people make merit. Offerings to monks can range from providing food to monks every day to the larger and more expensive life-cycle ceremonies such as funerals or the ordination of sons.

The third chapter focuses mainly on boys' temporary ordination in Thai Buddhist contexts. Here Holt discusses the canonical history of ordination, the anthropological literature on the Thai ritual, and some of the variations in the ways it is celebrated. He provides descriptions of two ordination ceremonies and then briefly touches on the ordination of trees and the issues surrounding the ordination of women.

Monks who complete a retreat period known as Vassa (a three-month rains retreat) are often offered new robes that acknowledge the intensified ritual practices they have undergone. In the fourth chapter, on robe offerings, Holt examines these donations in Burma/Myanmar. He provides a summary of the canonical justifications for robe offerings at the end of the rains retreat

and provides a description of one ceremony. The bulk of the chapter discusses Burma/Myanmar's recent political history and the roles merit making plays in both justifying and supporting military rule.

Funerals require the presence of monks to transfer merit to the dead, and these offerings are particularly important for people who die from violence or who are not properly buried. Such annual offerings are especially significant in Cambodia, Holt suggests, because of all the violent deaths and the lack of proper burials during the Khmer Rouge regime. His description of four of these merit-making ceremonies includes considerable political history along with some discussion of canonical precedence for making offerings to the dead via monks. Unlike other chapters, there is a comparison with how war dead are treated in Vietnam and Cambodia and how the Cambodian offerings are similar to and different from Chinese offerings to the dead.

Holt sees these ceremonies as particularly indicative of the religious culture in Cambodia, Burma/Myanmar, and Thailand, but they occur throughout the Theravada region, albeit celebrated somewhat differently. Holt never explains why he chose these ceremonies or what makes them markers of each country's religious culture. The chapters are stand-alone discussions of history, politico-religious roles of governments in rituals and rule, and descriptions of current rituals. He simply juxtaposes these discussions rather than drawing clear connections among these three topics. Except for the chapter on Cambodia, Holt does not locate each ritual within the broader Theravada context.

Theravada's traditions' strength is its extensive review of the literature, both canonical and anthropological, about each ritual or ceremony. The intended audience is not clear; there are too many technical terms for students new to Buddhism. Advanced students of Buddhism interested in the region but without much knowledge about it might find this book useful.

Nicola Tannenbaum *Lehigh University*

Hoque, Ashraf. *Being young, male and Muslim in Luton*. viii, 118 pp., bibliogr. London: UCL Press, 2019. £15.00 (paper)

'Luton is a horrible town' (p. 23). So opens chapter 1 of this hard-hitting ethnography about young Muslim men, primarily Pakistani, living in Bury Park, a majority-Muslim neighbourhood in Luton. Luton, despite being a small town, is infamous as a 'site of fear' (p. 6), Ashraf Hoque tells us, mainly because of its activist branch of Al-Muhajiroun. This radical Islamist group influenced several British Muslim suicide bombers and murderers; openly demonstrated against the Royal Anglian Regiment's return from a round of duty in Afghanistan; protested against the Danish cartoons; and expressed its support for ISIS in Syria. The Muslim community of Luton, comprising 19 per cent of the 200,000-strong urban population, is mostly of working-class Pakistani Kashmiri origin. The first generation of migrants came to work in the Vauxhall Motor company and other factories in the 1970s. This is a book about their sons and grandsons, who claim to be 'loyal to Luton before anywhere else in the world' (p. 29).

Being young, male and Muslim in Luton is barely 100 pages, yet it packs a powerful punch, skilfully combining facts, theory, and description to provide insight into the reasons why third-generation young Muslim men combine their Islamic faith with everyday provincial 'Britishness'. Hoque presents brief interview extracts and biographical sketches of a range of young men and their choices of work, leisure, and religious observance. These add a sense of lively concreteness to his main thesis. The thrust of his argument aligns with anthropologists such as Samuli Schielke and Liza Debevec (*Ordinary lives and grand schemes*, 2016: 11), who argue against Talal Asad's definition of the anthropology of Islam as a 'discursive tradition' and for so-called 'living Islam' approaches that highlight the 'everyday' as a site of 'openness, indeterminacy, and ambiguity of religious practice'. Many young Muslims in Bury Park assert their Islamic identity but are willing to compromise on a range of practices, from drinking alcohol to having English girlfriends, or going on holiday to Ibiza. Significantly, Hoque found, the kind of Islam they prefer is 'decultured', stripped of Pakistani or South Asian customary forms of worship and celebration, in a transnational, diasporic trend also analysed by Olivier Roy.

Methodologically, the book's research focuses on several youth clubs in Bury Park and on young men attending the town's (peaceful) Salafi mosque, the recipient of an EU grant to study young Muslim men that employed Hoque as a researcher. Although he did meet other, slightly older, young men, including some who had attended university, the sample of Muslim youth he studied is obviously quite selective. We know little of men growing up in other suburbs of Luton or pursuing careers outside the ethnic enclave. Nor do we know of those who have left the town. Within the enclave, men are taxi drivers, small

business owners, and entrepreneurs. Some are members of drug gangs said to monopolize the drug trade in the region, at times engaging in turf wars. Although drug trading is disapproved of by families, they nonetheless accept the money earned by young family members.

The volume's weakest chapter, in my view, is on 'family', mainly because it reifies the notion of *biradari* – a complex term which can refer to a marriage network, a localized Muslim *zat* (caste), or a three-/four-generation patrilineage, in a shifting, situationally defined category or group. *Biradari* is not, therefore, a corporate 'clan', ruled by a 'patriarch', and much of the networking in and outside the *biradari* is managed by women. Nor do *biradaris* in the United Kingdom found separate mosques, though a *biradari* faction may control a mosque committee. Possibly, young men in Luton 'explained' their compliance with parental wishes to Hoque in terms of the power of their father's authority within the *biradari*, but in-depth research would have, in all likelihood, revealed a more complex picture. Moreover, the book tells us nothing about local ranking, whether by *zat* (caste) or class. Similarly, there are barely hints of the way in which British Pakistanis extend their social networks to co-ethnics beyond the *biradari* or village of origin as they settle locally, even if many in the older generation don't venture much beyond the community.

As an ethnography, *Being young, male and Muslim in Luton* is well written, commendably well referenced, and nicely contextualized in the relevant literature, though I missed references to Inger-Lise Lien's work on Pakistani gangs in Norway (in *Street gangs, migration and ethnicity*, edited by F. van Gemert, D. Peterson & I.-L. Lien, 2008), to Marta Bolognani's *Crime and Muslim Britain* (2009), and to Ali Nobil Ahmad's *Masculinity, sexuality and illegal migration* (2011). However, as an imaginative and insightful monograph on young Muslims in Britain, the book deserves to be taught widely in introductory courses in anthropology.

Pnina Werbner *Keele University*

Launay, Robert (ed.). *Islamic education in Africa: writing boards and blackboards*. ix, 323 pp., tables, bibliogrs. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2016. £23.99 (paper)

Islamic education in Africa's subtitle, *writing boards and blackboards*, indicates the twin motifs of transformation that have occurred in African Islamic education from the colonial era to the present. In his introduction, Robert Launay notes that the first, the writing board, is evocative of classical Qur'anic education in the madrasa, which allowed both students and their teachers to write a text, usually from Qur'an, in homemade ink that could be erased. The students learnt to read and commit the text to memory. In contrast, blackboards are emblematic of what nineteenth-century colonialism brought to Africa through mass secular state schooling.

The volume describes colonialism's varied impact in different African countries. The context of Islamic education matters when examining how colonialism intersected with it in diverse settings. Various contributors highlight how the contrasting educational systems connote neither an internal evolution, nor a 'historical sequence' (p. 2), arguing that blackboards are neither inevitable, nor a pedagogical advance. In fact all the essays interpret educational change on its own terms rather than as the development directed by the principle of progress – or a latent evolutionism – from tradition to modernity or backwardness to civilization. Thus, classical Islamic education is examined in its own right and is mostly interpreted against the backdrop of the emerging market, class dynamics, social inequalities, and how global processes intervene in specific situations. Consequently, the difference between writing boards and blackboards is seen as a difference in ways of understanding both the world and sacred words. Generally, writing boards were used for sacrosanct manuscripts and blackboards for transmitting erasable secular knowledge. There were different disciplinary practices associated with the two modes, in particular writing boards viewed 'text as an object' (p. 4). A reverential attitude was instilled in students, who were to reproduce the words exactly. In contrast, blackboards connected not to the holy but to the temporal. As part of mass education, the pupils sat in orderly rows, where they were depersonalized. With writing boards, the students sat in improvised circles, on the ground, in a personal relationship to their master.

Under colonial modernity in Africa, the emerging educational authorities viewed Islamic education negatively and stereotypically. In certain contexts, Qur'anic education came to be associated with corporal punishment, as well as being seen as 'deadening to potential intellect', 'a hindrance to progress', or 'an unwelcome alternative to colonial schools'. The view that graduates of Islamic education were 'potential allies' (p. 6), and, by implication, resistive to the state authority, echoed the British experience of India in 1857, or the French encounter with Abd al-Qadr's opposition in Algeria. On the part of the

native communities, parents had apprehensions about sending their children to colonial schools. Launay clarifies in his introduction why no sweeping generalizations can be made about parental perceptions or Islamic-secular education across different contexts (p. 7).

The volume's case studies offer assorted stories of how Islamic education interconnected with colonial rule in various settings: the British (Thurston, chap. 6; Loimeier, chap. 7; Seesemann, chap. 11), French (Babou, chap. 9; Launay & Ware, chap. 13), and Portuguese (Bonate, chap. 5). The French were reluctant to engage with Muslims on their own terms. Britain shared their disdain but in principle did not object to the inclusion of Islamic education in the secular school curriculum. This colonization of Islamic education paved the way for the creation of an altered conception of personhood, of time, as well as of literacy, followed by an attendant disenchantment of the word. The colonial project of modernizing madrasa education also finds its parallels in the Muslim world outside Africa.

The coming together of the iconic writing board and blackboard, the juxtaposition of the Qur'anic and colonial schools, hybridized the two distinct education systems 'but never on equal terms' (p. 16). Notable in this respect is the unintended consequence of the colonial engagement with religious education, which 'facilitated mass conversion to Islam at exactly the same time' (pp. 14-15).

In its emphasis on seeing the madrasa on its own terms, the present volume is a fresh departure from post-9/11 studies on madrasa reform. This study paves the way for a broader inquiry into the politics of knowledge in which global powers seek the imaginary of the modernized madrasa as part of the strategic politics of policy. *Islamic education in Africa* is a must-read for scholars who are looking for critical insights into Islamic education in the contemporary Muslim world against the backdrop of the 'war on terror'.

Mohammad Talib *University of Oxford*

McBrien, Julie. *From belonging to belief: modern secularisms and the construction of religion in Kyrgyzstan*. xv, 232 pp., map, illus., bibliogr. Pittsburgh: Univ. Press, 2017. $28.95 (paper)

Julie McBrien's explanation of growing and changing religiosity in southern Kyrgyzstan makes a valuable contribution to the anthropology of postsocialism and to our understanding of globalization as a social phenomenon in Central Asia. McBrien's fieldwork coincided with a period of public religious expression that was freer and more experimental than at any time in the previous seventy-five years. In reflecting on her fieldwork among Uzbeks and Kyrgyz in the town and region of Bozor-Korgon from 2003 to 2004, she tries to understand how people relate to Islam in the face of competing identities and affiliations, including atheism, locally rooted Sufism, and more recently introduced Sunni orthodoxies in settings that include new mosques, life-cycle events, and home-study circles (*davat*). Must Islam be all-embracing and defining of group membership, or is it acceptable for a person to select elements and practices for a religious life that reflect personal values and aspirations?

The book's introduction is an historically rich and theoretically sophisticated take on the various transformations in religion and social categories that affected belonging and official status in the region. Students and specialists in topics ranging from the sociology of religion to secularism and modernity will find the author's thinking insightful and original. McBrien argues that despite competing concepts, local people's 'ideas about religion had more to do with secular belonging' (p. 8). Hers is a study that explores international Islamic dogmas, generation gaps, contesting claims about extremism, and the meanings that faith takes for people dealing with social and economic crises owing to the state's inability to make capitalism work for most Kyrgyz.

The book progresses from the author's narration of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century changes in Bozor-Korgon, particularly the freer public expressions of religion, to a set of cases or situations that she describes in order to enable her audience to understand how people imbibe Islamic instruction at weddings, reject orthopraxic piousness, argue about its proper messages, solidarize as Muslims through the physical work of building mosques, and identify with Islam on personal levels. As an example of the generation gap and how middle-aged people reject contemporary Muslim attitudes and activities, consider the statement of Nazgul, a woman in her fifties: 'Look, we are atheists, but of course we all believe in God. We always did. Now we are free. We build mosques, people pray, that's good. But those who wear scarves . . . and keep their women at home, they are bad. They are Wahabis' (p. 120).

Particularly engaging ethnographic material and vignettes appear in chapters 2, 3, 4, and 6. The subjects include transformative wedding

celebrations; the revealing story of an influential religious leader, Tajideen; the ways that a woman embraces faith based on events in her life and her relationships; and how McBrien's interlocutors respond to a Brazilian television soap opera, *O Clone*. One element of *O Clone* is the depiction of Moroccan people and their lifestyles. In showing, for example, how the soap opera resonated with people, McBrien describes how Mukadas (the subject of chap. 4), a young married woman, is attracted to the courage that veiled Moroccan women show when in public: 'For Mukadas, seeing beautiful young women veiling in very fashionable ways confirmed her idea that veiling did not indicate that Islam was an antiquated religion, as the critics in her town intimated' (p. 164). This section of the chapter forms part of the paradox that is contemporary Kyrgyzstan: to wit, a Muslim country where many disapprove of particular Muslim symbols while others strive to show their belonging to Islam through their acts and comportment.

From belonging to belief highlights the lengthy and fruitful process of discerning contradictory positions and varied approaches to religion that remain uniquely Soviet/post-Soviet and Central Asian, including, ironically, the reality that Soviet policy sustained the sense of *Muslimness* for Kyrgyz people. A skilful writer, McBrien utilizes theories of religion and secularism, the state and religion, and postsocialism along with the existing body of monographs and articles focused on Central Asia to produce a masterful study. Yet, in her concluding comments, she shows herself to be modest and honest about some of her leading intellectual concerns, including religious extremism and her sense of mission in writing against Western views that portray the Ferghana valley as perpetually 'ripe for violence' (p. 177). For advanced students and specialists of the area, this author must be read alongside the contemporaneous books written by Sergey Abashin, Morgan Liu, Maria Louw, Eric McGlinchey, Nick Megoran, Till Mostowlansky, Johan Rananayagam, and Madeleine Reeves, among others.

Russell Zanca *Northeastern Illinois University*

Rubin, Dominic. *Russia's Muslim heartlands: Islam in the Putin era*. xiii, 345 pp., maps, bibliogr. London: C. Hurst & Co., 2018. £20.00 (paper)

In this book about Islam in contemporary Russian society, Dominic Rubin sets out to introduce a broad audience of readers to a range of individuals from the country's Muslim community, to capture their personal voices, and to illuminate different views and life stories. Rubin characterizes his approach in *Russia's Muslim heartlands* as a mixture of theology, sociology, and travelogue. Aware of the trends and currents connecting the wider Eurasian space, he focuses his gaze on Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan), the Volga area, the North Caucasus (Dagestan, Chechnya), and the Russian capital, Moscow. For those who do not know Russia too well and who wish to gain a better picture of Islam through personal biographies and interpretations, the book should constitute good reading material. I quite enjoyed the chapters about the North Caucasus, as I never had the opportunity to travel there and my knowledge of this region remains limited.

It seems to this reviewer, however, that *Russia's Muslim heartlands* also suffers from a few shortcomings. Right at the outset of his work, the author presents a scheme of the different variations of Islam that apparently have been informed by a certain security perspective not uncommon among officials in Russia. This understanding pervades all the following chapters and regularly comes to the surface in the author's reasoning. For instance, at one point he writes about a form of 'Sufi extremism where Sufism too becomes repetitive, hyper-ritualistic and highly politicized' (p. 42). What is that supposed to mean? Why should Sufi Muslims not be very strict in their religious observance, and from whose point of view can this be regarded extremist? When, on a related note, we think of Islam mainly in terms of problematic and unproblematic customs, then this second category may become a collection of ritual practices only remotely related to Islam.

There can be no question that Rubin does a good job in showing the immense diversity of Russia's national and religious cultures, but early on in the book the reader might begin to wonder what purpose is being served by outlining this diversity to such an extent. Some of the opinions held by individuals portrayed in the book are positively absurd, and while the influence of esotericism in the religious sphere of contemporary Russian society cannot be ignored, it would have been helpful if the author had concentrated on people more representative of major currents in Islam. Taking part in the everyday religious lives of Muslims and observing their religious practices in an anthropological fashion could have counterbalanced the abstraction of the empirical material.

That said, the author's writing style is reader-friendly and fresh, as when he describes

the Kadyrov regime in Chechnya as a 'Sufi theocracy' (p. 192). He also demonstrates real perceptiveness in several situations. When travelling through the Uzbek part of the Fergana Valley, it soon becomes clear that the repression of Islam and the widespread fear of arrest and punishment leave no opportunity to discuss religion in any meaningful way. Then again Rubin finds that Uzbek culture is already so strongly shaped by Islam that it constitutes an implicit presence in many discussions. This would be the case in a father's mission to find a suitable *paranja* (veil) for the future bride of his son. Elsewhere, the author points out the irony that the current leadership in Chechnya is unfailingly loyal to Moscow but that it has simultaneously turned the republic into a de facto Islamic state within a Russian homeland that in the more recent past had been growing exceedingly more Orthodox Christian in its outlook. After about two hundred years of struggling for control in the North Caucasus, genuine conflict may still lie in the future.

For this reviewer, the book would have been more useful had the author attempted to illustrate the main tendencies of Islam in Russia and beyond. Apart from that, a more concrete account of the situation could have been achieved by complementing people's ideas about humanity and God, this world and the next with their actual practices in the religious realm. It has to be appreciated, though, that Rubin strives to grasp the phenomenon of Islam in Russia through its connections to some of the Muslim-majority parts of the former Soviet Union, as all of these Muslim communities share a common culture that has existed for hundreds of years, irrespective of state boundaries, political sentiments, or ideologies. The book fulfils another important function: reminding readers that Russia is home to a Muslim community that, because of the expected increases in its population, is going to play an ever more prominent role in Russian society in the coming decades.

Jesko Schmoller *Perm State University*

Schlee, Günther & Alexander Horstmann (eds). *Difference and sameness as modes of integration: anthropological perspectives on ethnicity and religion*. 262 pp., maps, tables, illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2018. £100.00 (cloth)

This scholarly work encompasses research done in different regions of the world and covers different time periods. The goal of *Difference and sameness as modes of integration* is to analyse these concepts and explore how they function in various configurations. The approaches reflect the diversity of the contributors, representing the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, and/or ethnography. Together they provide a balanced view from several perspectives without apparently promoting a particular agenda. The purpose is to describe the world as it is, and to explain without critiquing or making moral judgements on intercultural relations. This descriptive approach is commendable.

Recent and relevant sources are utilized by all the contributors, whose work is generally well referenced, enhancing the scholarly value of the publication. Various theories are tested and illustrated against different contexts, either Africa, Asia, Central Asia, or Russia. There are references to Germany and Turkey but no reference to multicultural relations from the Americas.

Chapter 1, by Pfaff-Czarnecka, describes the Hindu caste system as it functions in Nepal, illustrating how non-Hindu groups are included in society. Although the author admits that the sources utilized in her piece might be considered outdated, the chapter is stimulating reading. In chapter 2, Ruf depicts the situation of Mauritania and Sudan by discussing the search for, and establishment of, identities in Mauritanian society. Owing to stigmatization, ex-slaves and descendants of slaves find it difficult to obtain equal status in society – although the slaves of warriors and of scholars have different status. In fact the situation is complex, as gender also contributes to problems in determining status.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 address the role of the state in determining identity. The multiple roles played by the nation are discussed: whether the state protects its own interests or whether it keeps peace between rival tribes, for example. In Diallo's chapter 4, we see how Côte d'Ivoire's government identifies with urbanized societies while protecting its rural communities, as farmers provide food for cities. Grätz (chap. 5) delineates how the identity of the inhabitants of a community in Benin is determined: this heterogenetic community is divided along the lines of ethnicity and language. Economic differentiation and specialization result in interdependence developing between the various members of its society.

Hansen and Kasier (chap. 6) discuss the Baltic states and how ethnic and religious identities are managed by Muslims living in Russia; both ethnicity and nationalism are acknowledged. In chapter 7, Horstmann considers the diversity of Buddhist and Muslim communities that practise

ritual exchange based on their cultural traditions. Chapter 8, by Schlee, investigates a new model of diverse communities' interactions. Alongside the two models of hostile and peaceful coexistence, the author proposes a new paradigm that is characterized as an 'uneasy coexistence with limited interaction' (p. 27). This is tested through three case studies, two from African societies and one from a Russian perspective.

The last chapter, also by Schlee, discusses the social formations preceding socialism and modern nationalism. Here the emphasis is on differences and sameness as managed by empires (i.e. Moghul, Ottoman, and British) and how these qualities were exploited. This final contribution adds an insightful perspective on how colonialism functioned as part of empire.

Schlee and Horstmann as the book's editors must be congratulated on combining a variety of perspectives from around the globe on how differences and sameness may either contribute to or prohibit unity. In this regard, Schlee's introduction provides a helpful analysis of four models. Yet, while several regions of the world are covered, the weight tends to lean towards Africa and Asia. The Middle East and Americas as examples of heterogeneous communities are neglected in this study. Moreover, the contributions tend to focus on migration and the integration of communities. There is, however, no contribution reflecting on the process of urbanization where a plurality of identities frequently coexist. The closest to this is the discussion on a specific urbanized community in Burkina Faso (chap. 5). This seems a missed opportunity as increasing urbanization is currently a global phenomenon and would provide good material for discussing differences and similarities.

Difference and sameness as modes of integration consists of proper scholarly research well substantiated by references and would therefore serve as good scholarly material. The presentation of the data is not too difficult for a non-specialist who is interested in inter-cultural engagement. In this regard, this collection should attract a wide audience.

Jaco Beyers *University of Pretoria*

Zack, Michele. *The Lisu: far from the ruler*. xx, 349 pp., table, plates, illus., bibliogr. Boulder: Univ. Press of Colorado, 2017. $27.95 (paper)

This is a book of impressive scope. Award-winning journalist Michele Zack draws on her extensive travels to Lisu communities, on her interviews with their socially diverse members, and on various ethnographies to provide an expansive view of this Asian ethnic group. From modernization and missionization to war and migration, *The Lisu* illuminates the struggles and everyday experiences of this people amid vastly different social and political circumstances, comparing what it means to be Lisu in Thailand, Myanmar, and China.

'Self-identification as Lisu is the single criterion I used to define who is a Lisu in this work' (p. 16), writes Zack, and by intertwining common Lisu patterns with culturally specific practices, her book allows 'Lisuness' to emerge organically and with great complexity. She frames the Lisu in relation to the scholarship on 'Zomia' (cf. J. Scott, *The art of not being governed*, 2009), arguing that despite being increasingly integrated into state apparatuses, the Lisu still maintain their strong sense of independence and egalitarianism.

The Lisu consists of two sections. 'Meet the Lisu' focuses on commonalities, paying attention to patterns that constitute 'Lisuness' across various national contexts. Most of the research was carried out in the 1990s, when the author was working as a journalist in Thailand. In this first section, Zack gives an overview of Lisu history and migration, and she includes a fascinating discussion of the history of the opium/heroin trade and cultivation in the region. She provides insights into the complex power play between ethnic groups, governments, and illicit businesspeople, usefully contextualizing Lisu lives in relation to larger geopolitical processes. The author also provides an expansive view of everyday life, describing Lisu childhood and child-rearing practices, family and gender relations, cosmologies, and economic activities.

By the 2000s, political and economic circumstances had changed drastically since Zack's earlier work. The book's second half, 'The Lisu by country: contemporary sketches', updates her original research with more recent snapshots of Lisu lives. Drawing heavily on interviews, Zack focuses on Thailand, Myanmar, and China, devoting a chapter to each. The voices of her interviewees come through vividly in her writing.

The chapter on Thailand illustrates how identities are always in flux, negotiated through action and discourse. Zack frames the Thai Lisu experience in relation to that nation's rapidly expanding free-market economy. Through conversations with Lisu business entrepreneurs, economic migrants, and NGO workers, she captures how those from various social domains negotiate 'being Lisu'. Interviewees repeatedly express their hybrid identities. As one eloquently puts it, 'I feel kind of happy to be Lisu but also

northern Thai, Buddhist, animist, and some American' (p. 194).

Zack gives insight into the Burmese Lisu's complex relationship with Christianity as well as with indigenous independence movements and the pervasive wheels of modernization. In contrast to Lisu in Thailand, a majority of Burmese Lisu have converted to Christianity. Zack provides interviews with the some of the early missionary families, including captivating accounts of their experience living with the Lisu and fleeing with Lisu converts in the wake of China's 1949 Communist Revolution. This chapter also contains Zack's interview with a Catholic Burmese Lisu senator, which sensitively conveys the entangled relationships between politics, religion, and identity.

China has by far the largest population of Lisu, who mostly reside in Nujiang prefecture of Yunnan province. As Zack notes, most Lisu – including those now living in Myanmar, Thailand, India, and Laos – came from this region. However, decades of violent revolution followed by rapid modernization have spawned a massive cultural erosion and loss of autonomy. Zack's interviews with healers, or *dashipa*, reveal one such example: one healer poignantly states, 'Our tradition is probably almost over' (p. 299). These observations of cultural loss support my own experience living and working with Chinese Lisu.

The Lisu is an informative and accessible text on Lisu ways of life, a useful resource for anthropological researchers, development workers, and missionaries operating with or within Lisu communities. At times, the author's writing in the ethnographic present obscures the historical depth of the book, especially when referring to research carried out in the 1990s. Nonetheless, the book compellingly captures the variety of Lisu experiences and the effects of rapid social change on their communities.

Ting Hui Lau *Cornell University*

Concerning ancestors

Flandreau, Marc. *Anthropologists in the stock exchange: a financial history of Victorian science*. xix, 421 pp., maps, figs, illus., bibliogr. Chicago: Univ. Press, 2016. £26.50 (paper)

Anthropologists in the stock exchange invites anthropologists and historians alike to a long-awaited spectacle: an actual 'sociological' history of British anthropology (p. 37). Despite promises in the past (by, among others, Henrika Kuklick or David Mills), historians of British anthropology rarely interrogated its self-portraits critically enough, except in histories of colonial anthropology (e.g. Schumaker on Zambia, Cohn and Dirks on India). Economic historian Marc Flandreau does not, however, completely master the historiography of anthropology to do so convincingly; moreover, he writes in a style that seems to me to be suspiciously close to the rogue capitalism he describes. The book's promises tempt one to invest heavily, only to discover that dividends will not likely be paid out in the end. Flandreau's claim to have found a whole clique of 'buccaneering anthropologists' tied into global financial predation and 'white-collar crime' (pp. 273, 276) seems as puffed as the Bolivian railway bonds of the Victorian stock exchange that he describes.

The book begins by suggesting that the involvement of nineteenth-century British anthropologists in the stock exchange is a major blind spot in the discipline's history. Flandreau sets the stage with three chapters that aim to revise the late George Stocking's conventional story of an apparently Manichean struggle between the racists of the Anthropological Society of London, known as the ASL (Flandreau refers to them lovingly as the Cannibals, after a dining club that was associated with the ASL), and the humanitarian liberals of the Ethnological Society of London, the ESL. Flandreau rightly points out that one of most important Cannibals – Richard Burton – has been neglected in the history of British anthropology. Burton's presence points to a specific way in which scientific societies – not just the ASL and ESL, but, more importantly, the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), among others – provided essential social and cultural capital for any career in London, symbolized by the membership abbreviations one could accumulate after one's name ('M.P., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.', etc. [p. 134]). This materialization of *bona fides* shows a core cultural pattern shared by politicians, financiers, and scientists alike: a crucial reliance on trust (chap. 6).

The following chapters discuss a few cases where anthropologists were involved with the vultures who speculated in foreign bonds such as the Bolivian railway scheme. The book then closes with an account of how Hyde Clarke and John Lubbock employed similar technologies of trust-and-suspicion in favour of the ESL elite, to discredit the ASL and force it into the merger that made the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland possible. The great merit of the book is this focus on the political economy of scientific societies, and how it can be used to

explain why figures who are seen as marginal to the history of anthropology (Burton, Clarke, Bedford Pim) were in fact important. Its defect is that it does not live up to its title, failing to prove that finance did more for the history of anthropology than, say, politics, class membership, colonial involvement, or plebeian culture.

Among the historiographical defects of the book, the following problem seems crucial: Flandreau makes a straw man out of Stocking. Flandreau's argument that only social standing distinguished Cannibals from elites was made in more nuanced ways by Stocking (*Victorian anthropology*, 1987: 249-52). Flandreau seems completely unaware of the overriding importance of colonial India for the history of anthropology – e.g. Army spies, colonial servants, missionaries – despite the fact that, without it, one understands literally nothing of Richard Burton (certainly not his crucial altercations with the RGS – see pp. 249, 251, 271). Flandreau seems unaware of the fact that standards of 'gentlemanly' conduct were primarily upheld by soldiers, civil servants, and missionaries against Navy rogues and the despised merchant classes. Flandreau coquettishly defends the Cannibals against marginalization, but does not show any knowledge of the special fervour with which British abolitionists fought against slavery and its polygenist defenders, especially during the American Civil War. He peppers his account with speculative phrases ('probably', 'possibly', 'may have had') and passive forms, which fail to explicate the evidence for his revelations and hide the actors on which it may be based. In other words, the book's methodology turns the blurb on the cover – '[Flandreau's new book] will force us to rethink the foundations of anthropology' – into the kind of marketing rhetoric that he puts at the heart of 'white-collar' financial criminality.

Peter Pels *University of Leiden*

Lee, Doreen. *Activist archives: youth culture and the political past in Indonesia*. xvi, 278 pp., illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2016. £20.99 (paper)

In May 1998, a popular uprising brought down President Suharto's military dictatorship, which had ruled Indonesia for more than three decades. At the forefront was a group of student activists, remembered today as the 'Generation of '98'. Diverse in terms of ethnic, religious, and class backgrounds, these activists coalesced around the cultivation of leftist ideas and images, a common enemy, and, certainly towards the end of the decade, a growing radicalism. While the fall of Suharto and the subsequent process of democratization has been generously treated, and Edward Aspinall's *Opposing Suharto* (2005) remains the standard work when it comes to the 1990s political opposition, Doreen Lee's ethnography of the student movement analyses a neglected aspect, namely the significance of a historically home-grown youth culture. The generation of '98, she argues, derived its potency from its place in a genealogy of youthful opposition, which also includes Generation '45 (central to the Indonesian Revolution and the ending of Dutch colonialism) and, more surprisingly from an ideological point of view, Generation '66 (central to Suharto's coup). The important vernacular concept is *pemuda*, which literally means 'youth', but which has strong political connotations, including the need to question, and if need be forcefully oppose, the existing order.

Pemuda, Lee convincingly shows in *Activist archives*, is a deeply ambivalent concept. The idea of an inherently political youth implies great energy and strength. Yet this view made the activists vulnerable to accusations of advocating disorder and anarchy, and ultimately led to the withering of the movement's relevance. Generation '98, Lee argues, was driven by '"pemuda fever", a contagious feeling of political belonging and identification that everybody in post-Suharto Indonesia recognized and that select youth experienced' (p. 11).

Lee's monograph takes inspiration from Jacques Derrida's *Archive fever: a Freudian impression* (1998) in order 'to theorize how the drive to document, consign, and assemble signs of pemuda nationalism became a fever, "a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin" (91)' (pp. 12-13, citing Derrida). The archives in *Activist archives* are varied in shape. They include scattered documents, flyers and pamphlets, images that travel through time and space, and a toolbox full of memories and experiences that are collected, ordered, and put to political work. Lee's argument revolves around the 'drive to history in pemuda fever' (p. 15). Its main contribution relates to the continuities that have characterized student activism in Indonesia, in spite of the idiosyncrasies of the periods in which it has risen and faded. The student activist, as a figure, matters because s/he is viewed as a guardian of the nation and is therefore always and immediately recognized and regarded as morally authoritative. This continuity is cultural in

nature. It is rooted in discourses, images, and performances that are often ignored in a literature that has been more concerned with structural changes and the breaks and continuities associated with formal politics and the economy.

The book's introduction is followed by a chapter on archival material found in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam and individual activists' personal collections. For the most part, however, the study is based on fieldwork in Jakarta from 2003 onwards. In consecutive chapters, Lee discusses the students' leading role in the culture of demonstrations that emerged in the wake of 1998; the visual culture of student activism (with a focus on sartorial style); experiences of violence and what Lee calls the 'counter-violence' used by the students against representatives and symbols of the state; the places of transience in which the youthful activists dwelled and planned whenever they were not in the street (rented rooms, 'command posts' [p. 22], organizational headquarters); and finally the afterlife of Generation '98, focusing on its role in the 2004 legislative elections. Lee has a flair for theory. She is persistent and persuasive in making her material speak to literatures about space and place, embodiment, class, violence, memory, and youth. The downside is that the ethnography seems to be pushed aside, at times, to make way for theoretical reflections. Direct quotations are surprisingly few. Having reached the end, I regretted not having gained deeper insights into the ideas, motivations, and desires of individual activists. This may well be a matter of taste, however. *Activist archives* is rich in many ways, a potential 'classic', as Karen Strassler states in her endorsement. It will find an appreciative audience, in Indonesian studies and well beyond.

David Kloos *KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

Price, Richard & Sally Price. *Saamaka dreaming*. 252 pp., map, figs, illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2017. £20.99 (paper)

'Despite physical discomforts, periods of boredom, ailments ... and periodic ridicule for being culturally clueless, we have always loved ethnographic fieldwork'. So reads *Saamaka dreaming*'s opening sentence. This profound love for long-term, in-depth qualitative research is intrinsic to the latest book by the anthropologist couple Richard and Sally Price, in which they take us back to the 1960s, the time of their first fieldwork among the tribal Saamaka Maroons, who live along the meandering rivers in the Suriname rainforest.

The eloquently narrated history takes the reader to a closely knit community where 'whitefolks' other than the occasional missionary or medical doctor rarely visit. The poetic and vivid writing style make it easy to imagine being there – sharing village gossip with Sally and the Saamaka women, going fishing with Richard and Saamaka men, and taking part in rituals. Through the couple's fieldnotes we catch glimpses of, and learn about, both men's and women's everyday lives. While the level of description allows us to picture different village events in detail, it also is, at times, somewhat long-winded and I found myself skipping several drawn-out descriptions of who said or did what, and what deities were called upon during rituals.

The Prices juxtapose the rich story of their first arrival at the community with both the gradual process of their acceptance and the progression of their cultural education, alternating excerpts from their fieldnotes with analytical insights. The frustrations in facing a wall of indifference or even hostility, the joy of new friendships and of acquired knowledge, will be familiar to anthropologists. As such, for young anthropologists who are about to embark on fieldwork, *Saamaka dreaming* contains valuable lessons regarding both the merits of cultural immersion and the considerable time it takes before local people trust outsiders sufficiently to share relevant knowledge.

Since their first encounter with Saamaka society, Richard and Sally Price have stayed in close touch with their interlocutors: deepening old friendships, making new friends, and continuing to learn about all facets of their life. Their voluminous body of work not only marks their own formation as anthropologists, but also shaped the study of African-American societies in the Western Hemisphere, and our theoretical understanding of the cultural impacts of the transatlantic passage.

Richard and Sally Price's unique, long-term connection with one specific ethnic group also allows other researchers the opportunity to reflect on sociocultural change in a rather isolated tribal community. Here television, mobile phones, Facebook, churches, gold miners, tourists, and many of the other evils and pleasures of modernity have only entered in the past half-decade. Unfortunately, the Prices have not been able to return to Suriname since 1986, and though they occasionally refer to more recent events, this book is foremost a story of that

long-lost past. It is the absence of a longitudinal view that I miss most in *Saamaka dreaming*. In the final pages of their ethnography, the couple nostalgically long for this past, when pride in First Time (traditional, ancestral) values was strong. Based on various media, the authors suggest that the 'wrenching' changes of the past years have turned present-day Saamaka realities into something resembling 'nightmares', with an 'each-man-for-himself' ethic, rather than the proud collectivity they used to be. Yet, just as the United States is not what it was in the 1960s, the past decades have brought both positive and negative changes to these communities. We must not forget that in the 1960s life also was very hard for the Saamaka. Many infants and children died from malaria and other diseases, very young girls got (unwantedly) pregnant, and unexpected climatic events caused famines.

Moreover, when interacting with present-day Saamaka in Suriname, it can be observed that beneath this cover of modern life many traditions remain very much alive – though often slightly adjusted. Many Maroon men still will not eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, but when they buy food in the capital city, they may accept that not knowing is not sinning. Likewise, for schoolteachers it is simply not very practical to go into seclusion for several days each month, but they may respect these taboos in their own home, in different ways. Mobile phones may turn some teenagers into self-absorbed individuals but also offer unprecedented opportunities in connecting to relatives in the diaspora, marketing Saamaka crafts and tourist lodges, and learning about Indigenous rights in other parts of the world. These alternative ways of modifying First Time values and accommodating them to modern life is exactly what is so characteristic about these tremendously resilient Maroon communities. I would love to read a next volume exploring these changes.

Marieke Heemskerk *Social Solutions*

Scott, David. *Stuart Hall's voice: intimations of an ethics of receptive generosity*. 185 pp., bibliogrs. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2017. £24.99 (cloth)

This is an unusual and unusually beautiful book. Following Stuart Hall's death in February 2014, David Scott, like many others (including me), felt the absence of his voice – and the conversations it animated – very keenly. This book is Scott's effort to both sustain and reflect on those conversations. It takes a distinctive form – a series of letters to Stuart Hall, written in order to 'clarify – a word I'll use a lot throughout – something of what I have found so compelling in your way of being the intellectual you've been' (p. 1). This both defines the focus of the book and gives a hint of the style in which it moves – somewhere between the conversational and the epistolary. *Stuart Hall's voice* is composed of six chapters (or letters), each addressing Stuart directly, and is both an imagined continuation and a valediction. The book reflects on the qualities revealed in Scott's relationship with Stuart, and with Stuart's work more generally.

This is a difficult review for me to write, given my entangled relationships with both Stuart Hall and David Scott. The review form is not exactly the conversation that I might want to have with David about the book, and about our different, yet intersecting, relationships with Stuart. Some of my problems are visible in the unstable naming: are these people Hall and Scott, Stuart and David, or David Scott and Stuart Hall? In real life, they are/were Stuart and David, but I am sure the form of address will wobble throughout.

That being noted, the book speaks wonderfully to aspects of my own experience, not least the sense of loss. For many of us who knew Stuart Hall, Scott's book will strike chords both in the desire to keep those conversations going, and in his uncannily accurate characterization of what it means (meant?) to be engaged by that voice. He brings out the richness and warmth of the voice (in both timbral and interactive senses), as well as the humour and the fluidity: the experience of hearing someone 'thinking out loud'. At its core is David's understanding of the conversational and dialogic quality of Stuart's way of being: his ways of speaking, listening, and being engaged with others in thinking together.

The book draws out Hall's persistent (and productive) engagement with thinking about the contingency of the present. Scott rightly argues that Stuart was committed not only to thinking about contingency, but also to thinking contingently: being open to thinking again, and thinking with others, as a condition of intellectual and political work. Significantly, Scott bends his opening focus on Stuart Hall's voice into an argument that one of Stuart's greatest qualities was the capacity to listen, developing this to articulate a view of Hall as embodying an ethics of 'receptive generosity' (an idea borrowed from Romand Coles, p. 21). This powerfully evokes the wonderful experience of being engaged in conversation with Stuart. He provided a compelling model of how such work might be

conducted – a model that proves to be incredibly hard to live up to.

The book is not without its frustrations. One of these is stylistic: the letter form is a productive device but feels less so the longer the book goes on – and I felt that the personalized address (Stuart, I wonder if you . . .) was used too often. Scott recognizes the second problem, I think, which occurs as he tries to enroll Stuart into his own politico-philosophical orientation towards the 'tragic' (also derived in part from Coles). I can imagine Stuart listening carefully and sympathetically to this argument, 'clarifying' (as David puts it) some of its terms and consequences, and then refusing the invitation. That is, of course, my imagined Stuart – in conversation with David's – and we are all doomed to perform those conversations in the absence of Stuart himself. Indeed, it may be that the main frustration of the book is that it simultaneously evokes the experience of being engaged by that voice and leaves us feeling even more deeply its absence. It is a cruel paradox.

In the end I was delighted by the book and felt conversationally engaged by it. David Scott managed to make me both smile in agreement and rear up in dissent at many different points. Perhaps most significantly, his evocation of Stuart made me cry several times – and that is not a common experience when reading academic books. I am glad he wrote it, and sorry he had to write it.

John Clarke *The Open University*

Sjoholm, Barbara. *Black fox: a life of Emilie Demant Hatt, artist and ethnographer*. viii, 391 pp., illus., bibliogr. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 2017. $34.95 (paper)

Barbara Sjoholm's *Black fox* is an interesting book about an exceptional woman. The text leads the reader chronologically through Emilie Demant Hatt's life from her birth on 24 January 1873 in the village of Selde in the middle of Denmark's Jutland Peninsula, until her death caused by congestive heart failure on 4 December 1958. For readers familiar with Sámi art and literature, Demant Hatt is well known for collaborating with Johan Turi (1854-1936), who was the author of the book *Muitalus Samiid birra* (*An account of the Sámi*, 1910). Sjoholm explores the partnership between the two, but primarily we follow the life of Emilie Demant, who became Emilie Demant Hatt in 1911 when she married Gudmund Hatt.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part, 'Nomad', opens with the story of the encounter between Emilie Demant and Johan Turi on an iron ore train travelling between Kiruna and Narvik in 1904. This meeting had a huge impact upon the rest of their lives, though in different ways. After a short stay, Emilie returned to Copenhagen, where she had the opportunity to study Sámi. In 1907, she travelled north again to stay with some of Turi's relatives and began sharing their life. This stay would later be a main inspiration for her artistic practice as a writer as well as a visual artist.

The second part, 'Ethnographer', follows Emilie from her 1908 arrival in Denmark, after her stay among the Sámi people. She brought with her Turi's *Muitalus* manuscript, and began editing it, as well as translating it into Danish. In *Black fox*, we follow her on more fieldtrips, both alone and together with her husband. In 1914, the two travelled to New York, where they met up with Franz and Marie Boas. There Emilie learned that her collaboration with Turi in producing *Muitalus* had received recognition among other anthropologists.

The last and third part is about Emilie as an artist. She was an academically trained painter but took a hiatus from painting for many years as she focused on ethnographic trips, fieldwork, and writing. In this part, we follow the changes in her artistic style and preferences. During her student years, Emilie's work was technically accomplished, and she employed a naturalistic style to represent subjects deemed suitable for a female artist at the time: portraits, interiors, and landscapes. This changed, however, after she encountered the paintings of Harald Giersing – one of Denmark's most important twentieth-century modernists. After Turi passed away in 1936, she made the first of at least seventy large paintings visualizing her experiences in Sápmi.

Previous texts about Emilie and her collaboration with Turi have emphasized her role as his 'muse' and speculated that a romantic relationship developed between them. Sjoholm's approach is very different, focusing upon Emilie as a professional with her own skills as well as desires. Until now, she has not been included within the Danish canon of modernist artists, a destiny she shares with many other female modernists. Sjoholm's text gives a broad presentation of her artistic practice, bringing her out of the shadows.

The text is close to primary sources such as letters and Hatt's two books from her stay in 1908-9: *With the Lapps in the high mountains* (1913) and *Ved ilden* (*By the fire*, 1922). Additionally, Sjoholm provides the reader with very good cultural and historical contexts for Emilie's story. The book is a mix of academic

accuracy and references, the author's own voice when interpreting the sources and the voice of Emilie Demant Hatt herself through quotations, as well as Emilie's photographs, paintings, drawings, and linocuts that illustrate the text.

The last part, which covers the Second World War, Gudmund Hatt's role in it, and the consequences he suffered afterwards, takes up too much space and could have benefited from some editing. There is another small editing detail to add: readers do not need the full description of the church in Kiruna (combining elements of a Sámi tent within a Nordic stave church) each time it is mentioned. We remember it from the first time.

Emilie Demant Hatt is described as a sympathetic, participant observer, really trying to understand the world of which she was part. I believe, after having read the book, the same description could be applied to Barbara Sjoholm in her approach to Emilie's life.

Hanna Horsberg Hansen *UiT – The Arctic University of Norway, Academy of Arts*

Corporal entanglements

Domingos, Nuno. *Football and colonialism: body and popular culture in urban Mozambique*. 325 pp., maps, tables, figs, illus., bibliogr. Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 2017. £28.99 (paper)

In *Football and colonialism*, Nuno Domingos meticulously analyses the social and political ramifications of the game in the suburbs of Lourenço Marques, colonial Mozambique's capital (now known as Maputo). It is a remarkable account in that it is squarely and unabashedly about football as an embodied activity. This is no mean feat, since this is primarily a history, drawn from documentary and archival sources supported with interview materials from old players. The book asks what the development of a popular culture, in the shape of football, can tell us about the experience of colonialism and colonial processes.

The argument ranges over a vast body of material. The first half of the book traces a series of contexts for football in urban colonial Mozambique. It attends to the construction and structuring of metropolitan habitats with their racist social orders and exclusions. It considers the problems of reproducing and disciplining the local labour force, as well as the role of sports in state projects of education, and colonial processes of class and status production. In exhaustive detail, Domingos charts the creation and evolution of sports associations in early twentieth-century Mozambique, both in general and specifically amongst black subjects of the colony, an enterprise that includes an account of the development of a sports media, the politics of black assimilation, and the various mutations of Portuguese colonial policy, amongst other things.

At the centre of these concerns, and very much at the book's heart, is an analysis of what Domingos calls the 'suburban style' of football practised in the black, suburban neighbourhoods of the city. Guided by the contemporary accounts of poet and journalist José Craveirinha and the recollections of former players, pundits, and journalists, Domingos describes a form of 'informal' football, framed within the rules of the international game, but continually transgressing them. This suburban football is violent, full of intimidating behaviour, and dedicated to individual genius rather than tactical systems. Captured through a series of local idioms for distinctive gestures and movements, this style of play, Domingos argues, following the Mozambican journalist José Craveirinha, is characterized by a certain 'malice', the attribute of the trickster. Domingos traces the ways in which this form of play created its own publics, rhetorics, and forms of narration in the production of urban communities, as well as reflecting, conditioning, and building upon poor black people's responses to the unequal and diffusely violent social contract of the colonial city. Football is central to this book because, for Domingos, it represents an embodiment of life itself as a moral and aesthetic enterprise pursued in difficult circumstances and against considerable odds. Football, in its suburban, malicious form, represents a bodily history, an account of the creativity of colonial Lourenço Marques's marginalized black population that cannot be derived from the written sources used to contextualize it.

The monograph's second half documents the interactions between this indigenous style of play – itself the product of colonialism – and the evolution of the colonial city and its social life. It examines the interactions between the malice of the trickster-footballer and the formalization of club organizations: tactical systems that emphasized passing and teamwork rather than virtuoso dribbling, and the expanding influence of metropolitan football – a game in which Mozambican players were increasingly involved, especially in Portuguese clubs. This is essentially a tale of the evolution of exclusion – the efforts to

control and delimit the 'malice' of suburban lives within the colonial project.

Overall, *Football and colonialism* makes for extremely interesting reading. Its commitment to football as a game – whose physicality is essential to the argument – is exemplary amongst studies of sport. That being said, the book's theoretical framework, which is importantly drawn from Norbert Elias, tends to render football as semiotic or language-like, with rhetorics, narratives, and so on. There are points in the argument where this literary terminology contrasts sharply with the descriptions of bodily activity and raises questions about the degree of certainty with which a bodily gesture can be ascribed a singular meaning or significance. Here, perhaps, the text's historical character and sources shape the argument, since the colonial football Domingos describes currently exists only in narrative form. The character of the data, unavoidably, affects the structure of the argument, just as a study of past practices allows more room for manoeuvre than an engagement with people in the present. The text also makes a number of assumptions about readers' knowledge of the history of Portuguese colonialism, which will make it less accessible for non-specialists, especially for teaching purposes.

Will Rollason *Brunel University London*

Han, Sallie, Tracy K. Betsinger & Amy B. Scott (eds). *The anthropology of the fetus: biology, culture, and society*. xiv, 298 pp., illus., bibliogrs. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2017. £85.00 (cloth)

'Why care about the fetus?' is the question Sallie Han, Tracy Betsinger, and Amy Scott consider in their timely collection *The anthropology of the fetus*. The editors, two bioarchaeologists and a cultural anthropologist, offer a four-field investigation of a subject that is indeed inherently biological, cultural, and social. Theirs is a genuinely holistic approach seldom seen in contemporary anthropology.

The book's eleven chapters offer multifaceted perspectives on the diverse ways that foetuses have been conceptualized in the past, and continue to be so today, as subjects and objects of investigation. The editors' inspiration for this collection came in part from their frustration with the strictly dichotomous way that foetuses are defined in Western culture, as either biological entities or political subjects. This narrow perspective has obscured the rich array of ideas about the foetus in ancient and contemporary cultures, where it may be regarded, for instance, as a symbol, a metaphor, or even the fruit of imagination.

Following the editors' comprehensive introduction orientating readers to the significance of the foetus in contemporary anthropological research, the volume consists of three sections: 'Part I: The fetus in biosocial perspective', 'Part II: Finding fetuses in the past: archaeology and bioarchaeology', and 'Part III: The once and future fetus: sociocultural anthropology'. Included is field research from Russia, Poland, Mexico, Morocco, Egypt, and the United States. Authors were asked to frame their chapters with reference to the following questions: what is a foetus and how is it defined and conceptualized within the subfields of anthropology; what methodological approaches and controversies shape anthropological research on the subject; and what does studying foetuses contribute to a given anthropological subfield, to the larger discipline, and to public concerns and policies regarding reproductive rights and practices? The chapters are for the most part quite successful in this regard. The result is a fine volume destined to become an invaluable research guide, while also being accessible for teaching graduate students and undergraduates. The chapters are uniformly well conceived and argued; the writing is clear and free of jargon, and the length of the contributions is suitable for the classroom.

'The borderless fetus' (chap. 1), by Julienne Rutherford, is a masterful exposition of the foetus as a biological entity. Conventionally, she explains, the foetus has been assumed to be a discrete and bounded entity, with a specific temporality and a unique identity. Her three-tiered analytical framework reveals a much more intricate set of interrelationships: Frame 1: a foetus's inherent genetic complexity; Frame 2: 'experiential connectivity' (p. 16), that is, interactions between a foetus's genetic make-up and its gestational ecology, a complex of dynamics shaped mainly, but not exclusively, by maternal physiology; and Frame 3: 'placental synchronicity' (p. 19). While typically the placenta is construed in a linear bounded fashion as the direct physical interface between the foetus and the mother, Rutherford demonstrates that it is more accurately viewed as a dynamic, extra-somatic foetal organ, characterized by a perpetually changing relationship to the pregnant woman.

While anthropology has traditionally taken live-born infants as the starting point for theory and investigation, chapter 2, 'The biology of the fetal period', by Kathleen Ann Satterlee Blake,

shows that much can be learned by studying foetal skeletal remains. She shows that despite prejudices plaguing such research, including sparse material and uncertain provenance, the analysis of ancient perinatal remains can cast new light and raise provocative hypotheses about ancient populations. For example, ancient burial practices are illuminated in chapter 6, by Jacek Kabaciński, Angieszka Czekaj-Zastawny, and Joel D. Irish, which describes a Neolithic infant cemetery in the western Egyptian desert, and in chapter 7 by Amy B. Scott and Tracy K. Betsinger on foetal skeletal remains discovered in post-medieval Poland.

The book's final third consists of chapters by social anthropologists examining the multiple meanings foetuses can hold for individuals and communities. 'Deploying the fetus' (chap. 9), by Jessica Marie Newman, describes the complex, interconnected, and sometimes contradictory relationships among religious, medical, and legal representations of the foetus in present-day Morocco. In 'The "sound" of life' (chap. 11), Rebecca Howes-Mischel draws attention away from widely known visual representations of the foetus to the auditory, by contrasting the foetal heartbeat's distinct meanings in a medical clinic in southern Mexico and at Ohio legislative meetings convened to restrict access to abortion.

This volume, offering a breadth of perspectives on the human foetus, appears at an important time. As the editors compellingly show in rich and complex detail, foetuses cannot exist apart from maternal bodies, and efforts to separate the two are further manifestations of the perennial struggle over who controls human reproduction.

Carole H. Browner *UCLA*

Rhine, Kathryn A. *The unseen things: women, secrecy, and HIV in northern Nigeria*. xvi, 198 pp., bibliogr. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2016. £24.99 (paper)

In recent years, there has been an efflorescence of interest in, and texts on, global health in Africa. However, the voices and experiences of marginalized African women living with HIV have often been excluded from global AIDS discourses. It is within this context that Kathryn Rhine's monograph, *The unseen things*, on women in northern Nigeria offers us a sophisticated account of the nuanced elements of their truth telling and, most critically, secrecy maintenance in relation to both their sexuality and their disease status.

A distinguishing feature of the book is that women's experiences of living with HIV in northern Nigeria have seldom been researched by anthropologists. Challenging, as it does, two dominant tropes of African women and AIDS – as either passive victims of patriarchy or heroic in the face of sexism and the disease – this ethnography can be situated within a growing anthropological tradition emphasizing the complexities of love in Africa.

This book offers the reader an exploration of 'the aspirations, dilemmas, and everyday lives of women participating in the world that HIV prevention and treatment campaigns have opened up to them' (p. 5). While the wider provision of antiretrovirals (ARVs) has improved women's health, their relationships with men provide them with 'social, financial and health care resources' (p. 5). Concealment of their HIV status and relationships is a key everyday strategy used by Rhine's interlocutors – who are mostly Hausa native-speaking and Muslim, with a few being Christian – to protect their social respectability and economic status.

The author's long period of ethnographic research (eight research visits over a ten-year period) in northern Nigeria, mostly in the city of Kano, with a few trips to Jos and Abuja, enabled her to challenge her own initial American assumptions about the effects of women's public disclosures of HIV-positive status. While in the United States disclosure in support groups is seen as uniformly stigma reducing as well as personally and politically empowering for their participants, here many women were deeply resistant to publicly revealing their own HIV status.

There are three particularly interesting, and important, themes in the book: women's bodily adornment and self-care norms and practices; their experiences of courtship, divorce, and remarriage within the context of sexism and their precarious livelihood strategies; and dating and match-making in support groups.

First, for these women, keeping their bodies healthy and neat in appearance is not only about concealing their HIV status, and gaining and holding men's sexual interest, it is also vital to their livelihood strategies, which hinge on other women's perceptions of their aesthetic appeal. One interlocutor described how she sells some women second-hand clothes, necklaces, earrings, and lipsticks from her home, as well as at weddings, naming ceremonies, and hospitals, to help them achieve this.

Second, in a context where divorce and infidelity are common, women often deploy the tactic of secrecy in relation to 'abuse, infidelity, and neglect' (p. 56). Women often circulate through husbands (either remarrying the same

man or marrying different husbands chronically) and sometimes have multiple, concurrent sexual relationships. Women's experiences of being co-wives or engaging in second marriages are described in a particularly illuminating fashion. It is against this backdrop that they maintain secrecy about HIV alongside many other sexual and reproductive issues, such as their having many admirers and boyfriends, their husbands' infertility, and their experiences of domestic abuse. Furthermore, this secrecy is not only due to the difficulties of obtaining their husband's permission for a divorce, it is also upheld to maintain their own good reputations. Finally, as regards courtship and match-making among people living with the illness, Rhine includes women's descriptions of marriages and lasting relationships having emerged from HIV support groups.

The author's own balanced analysis of her data is indicated by the fact that she acknowledges a lack of HIV-positive men's narratives. This is understandable for reasons she explains: there were more women in the support groups she initially researched; even when she began attending meetings with male members, she was doubtful that they would want to speak to her as a woman on the sensitive topics she wanted to discuss; and, perhaps most critically, her female key informants discouraged her from speaking to these men because many were their husbands and boyfriends. It could be argued that this may, implicitly, offer AIDS-focused male medical anthropologists a challenge worthy of their attention.

In the final analysis, Rhine's book is highly recommended as it offers us a compelling account of African women's voices on their HIV-related silences and thereby undermines dominant global health narratives of African women with the disease as either helplessly vulnerable or bravely resilient.

Mandisa Mbali *University of Cape Town*

Steger, Brigitte & Angelika Koch (eds). *Cool Japanese men: studying new masculinities at Cambridge.* 233 pp., illus., bibliogrs. Zurich: LIT Verlag, 2017. €29.90 (paper)

Japan has long been aware it has a gender disparity problem. The family model centred on female homemakers and male breadwinners became the norm in the post-war decades. While still favoured by many, it has grown ever less attainable in recent years, not least because of the drastic changes in Japan's post-1990s economic landscape. The nation's protracted economic slump has had far-reaching effects for the labour market, increasingly threatening men's ability to follow the established path of landing a corporate job for life and starting a family. It has also laid bare the negative economic and social consequences of the gender imbalance in the workplace and at home. Japan ranked 110th (out of 149) in the World Economic Forum's 2018 Global Gender Gap ranking, far behind other developed economies, scoring especially poorly in categories related to women's economic opportunities and political empowerment. Official initiatives to support women in the workplace have had only limited effects. While the number of female workers has increased in the last few years, the quality of their employment has not – they take up part-time jobs and work in low-productivity sectors. One of the most widely circulated news stories in Japan in 2018, which epitomized entrenched gender interests, revealed the systematic blocking of female applicants by a well-known medical school in Tokyo.

However, it is not only women who have to contend with the normative gender ideas. Just as traditional family patterns and the accompanying established gender roles are being challenged in Japan, either proactively or through socioeconomic necessity, Japanese concepts of masculinity are also due for a vital update. *Cool Japanese men*, edited by Brigitte Steger and Angelika Koch, is a collection of articles exploring this subject. This compilation of lively and thoroughly researched chapters introduces us to some of the specific dilemmas Japanese men face when they seek to express their manhood in ways that push at the boundaries of the socially and culturally mandated masculine status quo. Additionally, because men form and act out their masculinities not in isolation but vis-à-vis a female audience, the book provides us with a compelling peek into the ways Japanese women participate in shaping masculine hierarchies.

A common theme that emerges from the book's chapters highlights a departure from seeking work-related fulfilment towards self-fulfilment based to a large extent on leisure activities. Since so many Japanese men's lives today deviate from the traditional patterns prescribed for them by mainstream society, the normative salaryman masculinity embodied by a white-collar worker fiercely dedicated to the company, who is a largely absent husband and father figure, may finally be losing its sway. In this context, *Cool Japanese men* provides interesting insights into the media discourses that help promote new, softer masculinities and some of the ordinary men who try to go against the norm.

Or do they? The book's chapters are right to conclude that many of the changes that purport to chip away at the unbalanced gender dynamic appear to be superficial, if not outright cosmetic, as demonstrated in Tso and Shirota's chapter 3, which discusses the new cultural representations of ideal corporate male appearance and personal etiquette. Even in an ostensibly rebellious and anti-authoritarian setting provided by a mixed-gender university hip hop dance club, the uneven access to reputation-building resources between male and nominally equal female members frustrates the meritocratic potential of dance, as Mesimäki discusses in chapter 4.

Read together, the main chapters can be seen as representing different stages, or aspects, of male Japanese adulthood: starting with a university extra-curricular club, moving on to a corporate job, and finally enjoying family life (Vassallo, chap. 2), or otherwise finding fulfilment through surrogate 'relationships' with female pop 'idols' (Dent-Spargo, chap. 5). This gives the collection a cohesive, common-sense quality, but it also means that the book's range of representation is limited to what are all essentially various expressions of middle-class, productive, urban, white-collar, heterosexual masculinity. As a social group, such men are already well represented in media and popular culture. However, their dominant status and spending power make them a useful target for neoliberal marketing initiatives designed to convert gentler and more caring modes of masculinity into forms of consumption. This is consistent with the shift from the patriarchal tone of post-war-era industrial capitalism towards the softer, service-orientated economy of the twenty-first century. As the book also observes, Japanese men may be merely giving themselves a media-inspired, consumerist makeover, while the entrenched gender structures remain largely unchanged. Anyone with an interest in contemporary Japanese society will find value in this timely and engaging collection, but I recommend it especially for advanced students in the field.

Reijiro Aoyama *The Hong Kong Polytechnic University*

Tarlo, Emma. *Entanglement: the secret lives of hair*. vii, 407 pp., figs, illus., bibliogr. London: Oneworld Publications, 2016. £16.99 (cloth)

In his classic and perhaps the first social anthropological analysis of human hair, 'Magical hair' (*Man* **88: 2**, 1958), Edmund Leach proffered a Freudian interpretation of hair practices, mainly of men, in some non-Western cultures. His exploration of symbolic genital displacement launched a strand of anthropological research and writing on what could be called the social life of hair that continues to this day. While not directly engaged with Freudian theories, Emma Tarlo's latest monograph is testimony to the unavoidable truth that many contemporary humans, especially women, spend both much time thinking about their hair and large amounts of money in altering their hair-dos as part of their 'looks'.

Tarlo's *Entanglement: the secret lives of hair* is all about hair, particularly human hair, more particularly human head hair, and even more particularly women's tresses, and how, from the local to the global, people, knowingly or unknowingly, are related to one another through hair. Tarlo explores the diverse opportunities and challenges that hair presents for people in the United Kindom, India, China, the United States, and many places in between. The book's insights about hair desires and hair connections are often surprising, sometimes jarringly so. Tarlo enriches her cases with insights from history, as she does in describing Orthodox Jewish women's head shaving and wig needs. Her vivid description of the massive number of daily tonsures at a South Indian temple made my scalp tingle.

In many ways, this book marks anthropology's 'coming of age'. By this I mean that, in terms of research methods, Tarlo has extended the bounds of traditional, long-standing single-sited research, beyond multi-sited research conducted in only two or three places, to being informed by multiple locations and the global ties between and among them. In addition to the several geographical locations to which she travelled, Tarlo learns from a variety of micro-sites such as a Hindu temple, a hair-sorting factory, a hair salon, and a wig shop. She works up, down, across, and into the social life of hair, showing how her intellectual drive is matched by her stamina for travel and entering new research contexts. While not every anthropologist can or should attempt such an endeavour, Tarlo pulls it off with grace and insight. Her book is the equivalent of gold medal figure skating on a global rink.

Entanglement also demonstrates how human head hair is entangled with identity and self-worth, in sickness and health, in poverty and wealth, in life and death, for all genders, and for all people everywhere. No one, it seems, can get away from hair: it is a serious issue for people who worry about not having enough; for those who have the culturally defined 'wrong' kind of hair; and for people who work in hair care and hair

product sales. Tarlo's ethnography is a devastating critique of our times encompassing contemporary capitalism, the commodification of the human (especially female) body, and the exploitation of both hair-providers and hair-consumers by the hair industry. *Entanglement* cunningly delivers this message as its chapters move seamlessly from one to the other, providing both satisfying and tantalizing insights.

Where to next in hair studies in social anthropology? While reading this book, whenever I thought 'what about topic X or Y or Z?', Tarlo was always there ahead of me with material on these subjects. Nonetheless, researchers may find some space for their work in topics such as chronic hair pulling (trichotillomania) and overall body hair meanings and practices, not just head hair. Future research can and should build on expanding Tarlo's findings in terms of regional scope as well as changes that will inevitably occur in all of the practices and connections she describes. Her book offers an inspiring launching platform for the future.

If anyone still harbours the notion that hair is a trivial matter, *Entanglement* demonstrates for all time that it is not. Tarlo shows how the expression of 'having a bad hair day' can have life-and-death consequences as well as financial ramifications in the millions. Read this book, sit back, think about humanity. And worry.This is a standout book that combines impressively broad and rich research with unfailingly clear and engaging writing. Not once, while reading it, did I want to put it aside with frustration at trying to make sense of it or out of sheer boredom. All too rarely is social anthropology presented in a page turner of a book.

Barbara Miller *George Washington University*

The governance of care

Dinero, Steven C. *Living on thin ice: the Gwich'in Natives of Alaska*. 201 pp., maps, tables, illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. £60.00 (cloth)

This engaging monograph is a tightly written, balanced, and timely narrative about the indigenous people of Arctic Village, Alaska (pop. less than 300), and some of the nearby related eight communities in northern Alaska, plus an associated community across the border in Canada. It draws on Steven C. Dinero's two decades of seasonal research among the Gwich'in Nation and offers an insight into how this indigenous society, like others around the globe, copes with the catastrophes that have affected its way of life, beginning with Russians, missionaries, then Americans, and, currently, 'Big Oil' wanting to pump oil from the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), which includes their traditional hunting lands. *Living on thin ice* includes eight chapters with an excellent bibliography and index.

Dinero, whose background is in Urban Planning and Policy Development, began visiting the village after obtaining permission from the Arctic Village Council and the Tribal Council at Venetie. His research methods included multi-year household surveys, participant observation, and archival historical documentation, and he used information from his nine previously published essays about the Gwich'in – beginning in 2003 – that were based on his evolving interest in the village. 'Complementary methodological approaches' were employed that reflect the 'complexity of this work' (p. xiv). For example, chapter 2 explores the impact of the Episcopal Church coming to the village and relies primarily on archival material at the Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and the archives of the Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska at Fairbanks, as well as two other archival sources. The structured household interviews were carried out between 1999 and 2013 and included questions that evolved over time as Dinero acquired a better understanding of the people, their history and culture. The responses of his interlocutors, both male and female of various ages, reveal a world packed with honesty, the pain of being an indigenous survivor in this world, and a brilliant self-awareness. Sometimes the author's fieldwork included his own children, which allowed him a glimpse of the lives of youth.

The monograph is divided into two sections. Section I provides an overview of the 'First Century' of Gwich'in outside contact, then the coming of an Episcopalian influence, followed by what these religious efforts tried to impart in terms of 'cleanliness, hygiene, and becoming civilized' (p. 3) via Western educational institutions. Section II examines the evolving and changing life of subsistence among the Nets'aii Gwich'in and the differing local views of the effects of climate change (Alaska's climate is warming at a rate *double* that of the 'Lower 48' states). Also described are how Gwich'in youth experience feelings of worthlessness when exposed to Western education; issues of wage labour and class identity; as well as the high rates of alcohol dependency, drug use, tobacco

addiction, and suicide. Finally there is the question of Gwich'in ethnic identity.

Dinero's careful analysis of quantitative data and qualitative interview results blends, in a convincing manner, with his experiences and observations. He offers interpretations for why residents differ in their opinions regarding changes in the availability of subsistence animals, the quality of meat or fish, how climate change is impacting their subsistence efforts, and more. This is not a theoretical book. It is an accurate and respectful representation of the Nets'aii Gwich'in today, and the terrifying prospect of what opening ANWR land to oil development means to them. This is the terrain where they hunt for their traditional source of both protein and spiritual identity: migrating caribou.

A minor critique is the omission of information about the language family to which the Gwich'in (Athabascan or Alaska Dené Natives) belong: the Na-Dené is a language family that includes the Tlingit and Eyak peoples of Southeast Alaska, with speakers found from the Yukon Territory to northern British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Similar speakers include the Apache and Navaho in the southwestern United States. Recently, a Dené-Yeniseian language family has been proposed with ties to the Ket language in Central Siberia. That is, a full picture of how these resilient people adapted to change over time could begin with the Bering Land Bridge crossing over ten thousand years ago, making this language family perhaps the most extensive contiguous-territory spoken language in the world.

Overall, Dinero achieves his goal of learning from Arctic Village people how they are affected by European contact and 'civilization'. I recommend this book for a broad range of general readers and university students interested in anthropology, human geography, world systems, rural sociology, indigenous studies, Arctic societies, and environmental studies at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Kerry D. Feldman *University of Alaska Anchorage*

Gilliam, Laura & Eva Gulløv. *Children of the welfare state: civilising practices in schools, childcare and families*. viii, 290 pp., bibliogr. London: Pluto Press, 2017. £20.99 (paper)

Children of the welfare state explores the civilizing processes embedded in child-rearing practices in kindergartens, schools, and families in Denmark. The book, first published in Danish in 2012, is by Laura Gilliam and Eva Gulløv, with contributions from Karen Fog Olwig and Dil Bach, and is based on ethnographic fieldwork within various Danish institutions and contexts as part of the research programme 'Civilizing Institutions in a Modern Welfare State'.

The volume consists of nine chapters, each of which can be read in its own right, although the chapters build on each other to produce an overall argument. The general theoretical perspective is Norbert Elias's notion of 'the civilizing process': that is, an increasing structuring and restraining of behaviour and personalities through socialization. The first chapter introduces this concept as a lens through which to examine child-rearing practices. The authors offer this as 'a perspective that we can use to elucidate the phenomenon of childrearing in relation to the values, norms and standards that underlie the requirements, prioritisations and evaluations of children in families and in public children's institutions in contemporary Danish welfare society' (p. 17). In my opinion, this perspective helps the authors successfully present an analysis that sheds new light on the central mechanisms shaping child-rearing in Danish society.

Chapter 2 outlines a history of the shifting perceptions of children and child-rearing and of what represents 'civilised behaviour', all of which can be seen to reflect both the changes in power relations and conflicts within Danish society. Through this the authors emphasize that values are 'realised, manifested and have an effect' in everyday interactions between children and adults in institutions today (p. 53). Such values are influenced by specific ideological rationales and political currents that must be understood in the context of the ethos and development of the Danish society and state.

The following six empirical chapters explore how ideals such as 'equality' and 'becoming social' underpin this ongoing process and examine underlying power-relations such as ethnicity and class (particularly middle-class 'norms'). Gulløv's chapter 3 and Olwig's chapter 4 explore how these values manifest as social processes in kindergartens. As most children in Denmark attend kindergarten from the age of 1, it is usually formative for young children's identities and social lives.

Chapters 5-7, by Gilliam, focus on the 'civilising' of schoolchildren across different ages, geographical areas, and socioeconomic backgrounds. She demonstrates how these processes in effect display value-based differences grounded within ethnicity and class. For example, 'Danish' values are contrasted to those of 'immigrants' (or 'ethnic' communities), the latter

being communicated as second-rate and not an alternative to Danish 'core values'. Similarly, class is also made visible through a contrast between the lifestyle and ethics of the 'affluent' and the Danish 'middle classes'.

The eighth, and last, chapter is based on Bach's fieldwork among fifteen affluent Danish families. She discusses how family practices are crucial to the ways households relate to one another and central to how a family's identity and social status are shaped. Bach concludes that affluent families' investment of time and resources in their children can be understood as a '"defensive strategy of respectability" and not only an offensive strategy of civilising and distinction' (p. 233). I found the analysis of the symbolic meaning of childhood and children, their behaviour, and the shaping of their identities among the affluent particularly interesting as it provides a great example of the child-centred orientation of both Nordic societies and welfare states.

While the empirical arguments are comprehensive and convincing in the presentation of social change in Denmark and the mechanisms that shape processes of civilization, I missed some reflection on how neoliberal forces might influence Danish institutions. This is only briefly mentioned in the book's last pages while discussing 'decivilising' tendencies (pp. 265-7). As a result, the book's argument is focused on understanding how contemporary processes stabilize the social order and moral ideals, rather than seeing these, at least in part, as resulting from processes of globalization and/or neoliberalism. The overall argument therefore underplays the increasing influence of neoliberalism and New Public Management on formal teaching, pedagogical methods, and assessments in Danish (and Nordic) public schools and childcare institutions – as elsewhere in the public sector.

In brief, the book's empirical descriptions and analyses of child-rearing and civilizing processes are convincing. The authors present in a recognizable and interesting way everyday child-rearing practices in Danish families and other institutions. *Children of the welfare state* is well worth reading and reflecting upon, for anthropologists and anyone else interested in civilizing processes in Danish – or Nordic – society.

Marianne Rugkåsa *Oslo Metropolitan University*

McKay, Ramah. *Medicine in the meantime: the work of care in Mozambique*. x, 241 pp., map, illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2018. £19.99 (paper)

Ramah McKay's *Medicine in the meantime* is a carefully crafted ethnography of medical care in postcolonial and postsocialist Mozambique that makes a significant contribution to critical studies of global health in Africa. The book considers the networks, actors, and materials that contribute to the making of care in the bricolage of humanitarian, developmentalist, public health, and, now, global health interventions that characterize medical services in contemporary Mozambique, and what close attention to these new assemblages can reveal to us about transnational global health projects.

The volume's key ethnographic sites are two global health interventions in Maputo and Morrumbala. Their comparison illustrates the fragmented nature of health interventions and how these are shaped by local social and political contexts. Many of the tensions revealed by McKay's careful engagement with these sites and their connections will be familiar to fellow ethnographers of international or global health interventions: the definition of vulnerability, for example, and how this ring-fences resources and care; the constitution of 'communities' and their mapping and enumeration; the oft-uncertain boundaries between state and non-governmental interventions and actors described so frequently in African contexts. In this vein, McKay's analysis adds to, and enriches, an Africanist literature that has sought to question externally imposed categories and their implications. However, the analysis also goes beyond this to contribute important and original arguments about the nature of work in global health and the intricate map of relations that constitute medical care in Mozambique.

The most important tension for McKay is that between 'care' and 'work', and she portrays this through meticulous ethnographic description. Care, she argues, has become a 'technical term' (p. 9). As a result, the framing of what constitutes treatment, and who delivers it, becomes a means by which responsibilities might be distributed between state and non-state actors. McKay's analysis of the boundaries between care and work for overstretched non-governmental organizations, ambitious health workers, and entrepreneurial volunteers thus links an established literature in medical anthropology devoted to care as logic and practice to important scholarship on labour and dependence in Southern Africa. With candour, McKay shows how care and caregiving practices are part of the

making of livelihoods, inseparable from the economic flows of data, money, people, and resources that constitute global health projects. Especially important is her analysis of practitioners in Mozambique and the ways in which professional identity and class aspiration are shaped by the new medical hierarchies that transnational medicine presents. She is equally attentive to the place of ethnographic critique within these assemblages, often itself deployed as a form of boundary work that delineates the borders of legitimate intervention. That is, she meaningfully subjects her own role in this picture to equal scrutiny.

McKay captures these tensions through the term 'multiplicity', which becomes a useful concept for grappling with the duplicitous nature of global health and of care: the health practitioner as both heroic public servant and incompetent state employee; the NGO volunteer as both activist and entrepreneur; medicine as cure and as profit margin. Multiplicity describes the manifold approaches to knowledge production, data management, and healthcare delivery that McKay documented, and how these were shaped by the political and economic context, existing infrastructure, and the personal needs and desires of patients and practitioners. It imbues a familiar African narrative, which describes eroded public health efforts, the effects of structural adjustment, and of healthcare shaped by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, with details of Mozambique's layered histories: of early investments in primary healthcare after achieving independence from Portuguese rule; of fifteen years of civil war; and of the afterlives of humanitarian interventions. Steering clear of the exceptionalism that characterizes stories of global health from the African continent, this ethnography shows a contemporary Mozambique knitted into and inextricable from transnational networks and global economies.

Medicine in the meantime is a worthy addition to the 'Critical Global Health Series' published by Duke University Press. While the primary audience for this book is likely to be composed of medical anthropologists and other social scientists interested in global health, the book's contributions to African studies should not be overlooked. More broadly, the book is a master-class in ethnographic writing: McKay's attention to detail and to her own positionality make for compelling arguments based on her observations, with little in the way of superfluous theory. Her ethnography showcases the kind of slow and thoughtful scholarship that is the hallmark of good anthropological research, and is a timely reminder of why this is valuable and necessary.

Michelle Pentecost *King's College London*

Xu, Bin. *The politics of compassion: the Sichuan earthquake and civic engagement in China*. xiv, 237 pp., map, illus., bibliogr. Stanford: Univ. Press, 2017. £20.99 (paper)

The 2008 Sichuan earthquake was followed by the largest social mobilization in China since the Tian'anmen Incident in 1989. The number of volunteers who participated in the emergency relief activities rose to the millions and came as a complete surprise to the ruling Communist Party. One of the volunteers was Xu Bin himself, who used it as an opportunity to study Chinese civil engagement during a time of national crisis. His research in *The politics of compassion* is based mainly on ethnographic interviews with other volunteers and activists, participant observation, and primary documentary sources collected during this period of volunteerism. The result is a balanced and dispassionately written social scientific work and an important contribution to our understanding of the relationship between natural disasters and civic engagement within an authoritarian context.

Xu presents his study as a narrative in four parts, starting with the early consensus crisis and moving on to the period of collective mourning, then the breakdown of the consensus, and finally to the contention between activists and the state. The key concepts offered in the study are consensus crisis, civic engagement, civil society, and the public sphere, which he uses skilfully to explain the conditions that both enabled the social mobilization and then later led to its demise. At the same time, Xu allows the Chinese volunteers to speak in their own voices about their activism. Lucidly written, the text moves effortlessly between grassroots interpretive discussion and macro-level explanative analysis, while staying sharply focused on the main topic.

Consensus crisis is the key concept offered in the first chapter, on the emergency period. Through it, Xu is able to convincingly explain why during the first weeks of emergency relief activities, both state and civic organizations were able to co-operate. As he demonstrates, most of the volunteering was not organized by the state, but rather was spontaneous and came from already-existing groups and networks in a still nascent civil society. Volunteers also explained their participation in ways that mostly ignored the official explanations being offered by the Party.

The second chapter considers the public mourning for the earthquake victims. Here the nature of the Chinese public sphere is analysed, and the way public opinion, especially on-line, forced the Party to accept the public mourning is highlighted. In chapter 3, on the reconstruction period, Xu shows how the civic mobilization was ended through the reimposition of political control, which squeezed civic organizations out of action one by one and replaced them with business corporations. The final chapter analyses the contention that arose over the deaths of thousands of schoolchildren that occurred when their schools collapsed. Here the activism came mainly from already-existing 'tiny public' dissidents. The state responded with repression, silencing public debate on the issue. However, as Xu also shows, most of the civic organizations and volunteers did not engage in this contention, but chose non-engagement.

Xu's study shows how the Reform Period in China has led to the formation of grassroots groups and networks of people. Mostly, they remain small and apolitical, but under the right conditions they can quickly amalgamate into larger organizations, such as during the 2008 consensus crisis. However, when the conditions for consensus faded, the Party-state was able to regain control, and the public – by and large – returned to its 'normal apathy'. Therefore, as Xu argues, the case clearly illustrates how China does not have a free civil society in the neo-Tocquevillian sense, but rather a much more modest 'contingent symbiosis' between the state and civic groups.

Xu Bin's book is an excellent scholarly work; however, providing a more comprehensive historical background would have better explained the structural conditions that led to the 2008 social mobilization. Arguably, it was the erosion of Maoist disaster management structures and techniques, work units, and the ability to mobilize the public through mass campaigns that left the authorities with few crisis-coping tools. Although far from perfect, Maoist disaster management efforts were not as weak or as secretive as Xu leads us to believe, and, indeed, disasters could become positive propaganda moments for the Party. In 2008, very similar propaganda practices could still be detected. The propaganda slogan 'turning crisis to opportunity' (p. 154) has at least as long a history as the PRC has. However, as Xu's book does demonstrate, ultimately the disaster generally became an opportunity for the state – not the people.

Lauri Paltemaa *University of Turku*

Zeiderman, Austin. *Endangered city: the politics of security and risk in Bogotá*. xix, 290 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2016. £20.99 (paper)

More than a million migrants have arrived at the urban peripheries of Bogotá, Colombia, since the 1980s. Most are displaced people fleeing rural violence and many settle on the precarious, muddy hillsides of Ciudad Bolívar, the largest and poorest of Bogotá's southern peripheries. In *Endangered city*, Austin Zeiderman argues that a novel political technology governs these informal settlements: the production of endangerment as a 'durative and open-ended' (p. ix) condition of urban life to be governed through the anticipation of future harm.

The municipal administration classifies certain zones of the city as at risk for landslides, floods, and earthquakes. A branch of Bogotá's municipal government, the Caja de Vivienda Popular (governmental housing agency), manages a resettlement programme for families living in zones designated as environmentally risky. *Endangered city* is an ethnography of the social workers, architects, and lawyers of the Caja who manage the day-to-day 'governmentalization of risk' (p. 67) and the urban poor who encounter and contest the agency's political imperative to protect life from environmental catastrophe. Attentive to the 'routine practices and patterned interactions' (p. 28) through which the technical expertise of risk management is assembled and deployed, Zeiderman demonstrates that in Bogotá 'endangerment is both a condition of everyday life and a terrain of political engagement' (p. 131).

Endangered city situates this imperative to protect the living from threat as emerging from two moments in November 1985: Nevado del Ruiz's deadly volcanic eruption in Armero; and the violent siege of the Palace of Justice, during which the Colombian army killed more than a hundred people. In their wake, Zeiderman argues, and within the context of five decades of civil war, a logic of governance emerged that fused liberal democracy and security. In 1991, Colombia's new constitution guaranteed the right to both life and decent housing (p. 112). Risk management on the urban peripheries emerges at the conjunction of these rights.

Yet the fulfilment of these constitutional rights is linked not simply to citizenship but also to past violence or future threat. Liliana, a single mother on a hillside in Ciudad Bolívar, writes a letter to the municipality after a landslide kills her

neighbours, petitioning them to designate her home as 'high risk' and reminding them she lives with young children (p. 133). To be visible as a subject with rights, one must be visible as at risk. Yet, as we are reminded throughout the book, what could be read as the familiar 'neoliberal' displacement of responsibility on to individuals mingles with progressive political projects in Bogotá.

Those on the urban periphery engage and negotiate political relationships with the state vis-à-vis claims to vulnerability. Following Partha Chatterjee, Zeiderman terms this the 'biopolitics of the governed', in which the politics of rights are subordinated to a politics of life (p. 134). When displaced people occupy a park neighbourhood demanding political recognition, they are removed not through an act of violent displacement but following concerns for the well-being of the protesters – what Zeiderman, building on Ferguson's 'progressive arts of government', calls the 'progressive arts of urbanism' (p. 27).

The government of risk is also a temporal project. It not only orders territory, but also configures time, calling residents, bureaucrats, and municipal governments to act in anticipation of impending disaster. In Spanish, the subjunctive indicates the hypothetical; it can be invoked to name a state of doubt and hope, contingency and possibility. What Zeiderman calls the subjunctive state is a 'rationality of rule oriented toward future horizons of possibility' (p. 171). A resident of a high-risk zone visits an empty lot at the furthest edge of the city where she is shown a small cardboard model: a subjunctive home. For residents dreaming of what AbdouMaliq Simone calls 'the city yet to come', these anticipatory urban politics may instead lead to even more remote peripheries. Yet futurity is not only a terrain for urban government but also 'the ground on which people can make demands and critiques of it' (p. 191). Anticipation is not only a mode of social control but also a site for politics.

Endangered city writes in parallel to the celebration of Bogotá as a model for progressive urban planning, drawing our attention instead to technopolitical regimes of liberal recognition. Although Zeiderman avoids a discussion of the civil war, his attention to the anticipatory politics of risk contributes to a growing anthropology of the post-conflict state in Colombia, where – from land restitution to reparations for victims of the armed conflict – 'political incorporation is often predicated on conditions of vulnerability and victimhood' (p. 157). To engage the biopolitical state, citizens must become fluent in their own rights-making.

Emma Shaw Crane *New York University*

Political cross-currents

Glaskin, Katie. *Crosscurrents: law and society in a native title claim to land and sea*. xxiii, 279 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. Crawley, W.A.: UWA Publishing, 2017. £23.99 (paper)

This is an interesting book that, as the title suggests, interweaves critical considerations of contemporary legal discourse, social context, physical geography, and territoriality in Australian Indigenous rights claim processes. Katie Glaskin is well positioned to engage with her specific ethnographic focus – a native title claim by the Bardi and Jawi people of northern West Australia's remote Kimberley region – having become involved in the process as a young assistant anthropologist almost from the outset of legal proceedings. Now an associate professor (past winner of the *JRAI* Curl Essay prize), Glaskin is able to combine the personal intimacy of her anthropological encounters with the critical professional distance needed to assess the case preparation, trial, and outcomes over a journey lasting more than two decades.

Positioning itself as an ethnography of law, *Crosscurrents* analyses how key events during the early colonial and mission eras were influential in later legal circumstances, most notably the initial judgment of the Indigenous claim. The Australian native title regime and associated legal jurisprudence were relatively new when the case commenced. Glaskin describes how developments in legal thinking created theoretical, practical, and evidentiary issues that the initial judgment highlighted rather than resolved. The most notable of these developments, and the one that may hold the most interest for a wider international anthropological audience, was the introduction of the term 'society' to native title reasoning in the aftermath of the initial case trial. 'Native title' is formally the legal recognition that Indigenous property rights existed prior to colonization, yet the legislation frames indigeneity in a particular way, effectively rewarding those applicants who can demonstrate continuity in laws and customs from the past to the present day. Responding to a case law decision elsewhere, the claimants' attempt to meet an additional requirement that the continuity test be applied at the level of 'society' was to have unintended consequences,

effectively strengthening state opposition to the claim and disenfranchising Jawi interests, despite the abundant ethnographic and legal evidence of the continuity of their connections. Glaskin provides a perceptive account of the often fraught process through which nuanced anthropological analysis becomes absorbed by legal machinery and is variously reproduced as evidentiary fact, expert opinion, and/or, most significantly, legal judgment with wider applicability.

Although overturned and thereby partially 'corrected' on appeal, Glaskin's analysis of the initial Bardi and Jawi judgment emphasizes the very significant material consequences for Indigenous Australians of 'academic' social theoretical framings of group composition, language difference, identity, and territoriality. The last of these receives particular attention, as the strong coastal and maritime orientation of Bardi and Jawi people highlights how the colonizing state continues to struggle with alternative conceptualizations and consequent ownership regimes for sea space. Finally, the longevity of Glaskin's engagement enables critical reflections about the long-term effect on the participants of the legal process and the subsequent partial victory. This encompasses how once-prioritized Indigenous social distinctions between, for example, 'Bardi' and 'Jawi' have given way to formulations that imply cohesion (Bardi Jawi), and how the state, vigorous in its legal opposition, now enables and highlights other forms of valued recognition (such as the popular Bardi Jawi Indigenous rangers). Local specialist readers may occasionally find that the repetition of some content across different chapters slows the narrative, but such buffering may be of benefit to non-specialist and non-local readers for whom this context is new. *Crosscurrents* represents an important contribution to the literature on anthropology, law, and justice in settler colonial contexts.

Marcus Barber *CSIRO*

Long, John S. & Jennifer S.H. Brown (eds). *Together we survive: ethnographic intuitions, friendships, and conversations*. xxxii, 307 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2016. £24.99 (paper)

This edited collection of articles pays tribute to the anthropologist Richard Preston, who is a professor emeritus based at McMaster University (Ontario, Canada). Preston is best known for his fieldwork among the Cree (*Eenou* or *Eeyou*) of northern Quebec, which he began in 1963 in the village of Waskaganish (Rupert House) and continued until recently. He is also known for his book *Cree narrative: expressing the personal meanings of events* (2002), which was based on his doctoral dissertation, as well as for his many articles published in *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* and elsewhere.

The book's core centres on articles written by Preston's colleagues, former students, and even his two daughters. Thus, the book has the feeling of a family comprised of Preston's former students, long-term academic associates who attend the Algonquian Conference, co-author papers with each other, and have similar fieldwork experiences. Overall, the articles are a combination of reminiscences, descriptions of changing times in the James Bay area, fieldwork challenges, recorded conversations, and more academic topics.

In part one, 'Making a living, changing community', Harvey Feit and Adrian Tanner discuss how the Cree made a living and adapted to changes in their communities over a thirty- to forty-year period. This period involved massive economic disruptions in the Cree territory as contact with the outside world increased with the opening of railways, highways, and copper mines. Probably the most significant of these transformations resulted from the damming of the northern rivers flowing into James Bay in the 1970s because of hydro-electric development, and the subsequent relocation of many Cree villages, which resulted in disastrous consequences for many of the residents. However, negotiations between the leaders of the Cree people and representatives of the Quebec government resulted in Canada's first modern treaty, the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement of 1975. One conclusion that Tanner arrives at is that the Cree's 'relatively successful adaption to urbanization is that the Quebec Linuu's suicide rate is like that of the overall provincial population' (p. 85), which seems an odd measure of success.

Part two, 'Images, textures, dreams, and identity', shifts focus from community changes as a result of external influences to studies of beaded hoods of the James Bay Cree (Oberholtzer, chap. 3), the gift of a Cree hood (Peers, chap. 4), and Anishinaabe pictographs (Willmott, chap. 5). 'East Cree women', we are told, 'once wore decorated hoods in rituals before and after the hunt . . . and men wore decorated clothing while hunting – to please the spirits of the animals on which they depended for survival' (p. xxvi). Thus, we are reminded that although a hunter's success relied on his skill, 'it was his wife's skill as seamstress and

artist that had the invaluable potential for enticing the animals to give themselves to the hunter' (p. xxvii).

Part three's highlight is Darnell's chapter 7, 'Cultural structures of First Nations imagination', which discusses Richard Preston's concern with epistemology and the ethics of ethnographic research, both useful for an anthropological audience. This discussion also focuses on the narrative method of recording oral tradition and personal experience. Darnell outlines the problems associated with a course she designed on First Nations imagination at the University of Western Ontario in which she intentionally attempted to avoid any conflict of interest with the English Department. In a statement of unusual candour, she indicates that she was 'appalled by the implicit arrogance of literary critics who assume that their academic training automatically enables them to decipher meanings arising outside the presuppositions and narrative forms of the mainstream canons' (p. 183). She further indicates that interpreting First Nations narratives outside of an informed ethnographic context is 'disrespectful' and 'potentially ethnocentric' (p. 183).

Part four, 'Indigenous rights, compassion, and peace', contains articles which discuss reconciliation and justice (J. Preston, chap. 8), compassionate landscapes (S.M. Preston, chap. 9), and linking Cree and Quaker concerns (McCutcheon & R. Preston, chap. 10). These chapters largely focus on the Cree's interaction with the outside world and, in a wider context, on Canada's Indigenous people's disappointment with the country's apparent lack of support for Indigenous rights at the United Nations.

In summary, many of the articles in this book will be of interest to those scholars familiar with the historical changes among the James Bay Cree. As with many edited collections, however, especially those paying tribute to a particular scholar, the lack of a common theme among the articles is evident.

Edward J. Hedican *University of Guelph*

Vélez-Ibáñez, Carlos G. & Josiah Heyman (eds). *The US-Mexico transborder region: cultural dynamics and historical interactions*. 402 pp., maps, figs, tables, illus., bibliogrs. Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 2017. £74.50 (cloth)

Border regions are among the most complex, varied places on earth. Far more than linear or spatial configurations alone, borders are imaginaries as well as asserted divisions. They function to define limits and power, most prominently those of growing and intensified state power. They also involve both established and political, economic, and cultural arrangements. The multiplicity of interactions and modalities through which people create, cross, and even challenge borders imbue them with remarkable and ever-changing dynamism, while ensuring their continuing role in some of the most significant and difficult policy deliberations of our time.

The border between Mexico and the United States is undoubtedly the most theorized and among the most contentious in the world. Once distant from centres of power, the transborder US-Mexico region is today the setting both for far-ranging challenges that relate to human movement and hemispheric relations, and for world peace. The US-Mexico transborder region is comprehensive in scope and holistic in nature. Edited by Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez and Josiah Heyman, both eminent anthropologists, and including contributions by nearly two dozen prominent experts, it is an invaluable resource for understanding the complexities and diversity of what the authors refer to as the southwest North America (SWNA) region.

Four sections, each consisting of four or five chapters, impart thematic clarity to the wide-ranging issues and fluidity inherent in a work of this scope. Connections across chapters are clarified further by strong closing commentaries at the end of each section, written by the notable border scholars Robert Alvarez, Alejandro Lugo, and Judith Freidenberg. So while the book is comprised of eighteen chapters, along with a brief introduction and conclusion, it holds together as a solid and integrated whole, rather than being an anthology of disparate contributions.

A solid theoretical and methodological grounding is provided in the first section, comprised of anthropologically informed essays addressing the political ecology, asymmetries, and consequent resistance inherent in the US-Mexico transborder region. Cogent analyses by each editor set a high level for what follows. Vélez-Ibáñez explains how cross-border continuities are at least as fundamental as the more usual exaggeration of division and differences, while Heyman follows with insights into how substantially this border has contributed to social science theory overall. The sense that borders can be bridges and barriers, places of opposition but also of coming together, continues to be articulated across the first four chapters.

Subordination and domination figure prominently in part II, which focuses on language-based impositions of control – terms like 'the border' – as well on ways that people communicate every day, and economic realities reflect inequalities between social groups as well as between north and south. The interactive creativities that occur over time and across places through migration, exchange, and language use reflect alternations of both hegemonic and liberating forces.

Political processes and struggles for recognition and rights are particularly prominent in part III, which includes ethnographic accounts of migratory labourers, indigenous peoples, and increasingly urbanized communities. The dual dynamics of displacement and persistence involve underlying realities of new power relations. Contradictions evident in transnational and neoliberal political structures are addressed in chapters that examine shifting household structures and the persistence of racialized immigration and citizenship policies. Boundary enforcement is not discussed to the extent that this is warranted, inasmuch as this has become one of the most militarized and dangerous borders in the world. However the vertical, unequal, and harmful dimensions of this border are noted as forewarnings for what is emerging elsewhere, and for the scrutiny and challenges they call for within both academic and public constituencies.

The chapters that comprise part IV continue to probe the nature and implications of power, and how families and communities are settings for remarkable resilience. Commitments of concern and ties of mutuality, extending through forms that are often intercultural or transborder in nature, are highlighted in common endeavours directed towards environmental integrity, adapting to scarcities of water and other resources, and the promotion of healthy families and communities. The recognition of underlying commonalities of interests, and the creation of innovative possibilities and benefits, are crucial counterpoints to the disparities and injustice that might otherwise threaten or even overwhelm the ecosystems and inhabitants of this unique and endangered part of the world.

At a time when walls and divisions increasingly appear to be part of our future landscape, this volume stands as testament to the need for critical anthropological and historical perspectives. The extensive knowledge and rigorous comparative research of the authors combine to present us with a seminal resource for understanding a transborder region that is central to contemporary hemispheric and global affairs.

James Loucky *Western Washington University*

Varieties of experience and expression

Banfield, Stephen. *Music in the West Country: social and cultural history across an English region*. 456 pp., map, fig., table, illus., bibliogr. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2018. £30.00 (cloth)

As Emeritus Professor of Music at the University of Bristol, and founder of CHOMBEC, Stephen Banfield is well established as an expert in the field of historical musicology. This book, rich in archival work, provides a social and cultural history of a vast scope of musical activity across a geographically defined region over approximately eight hundred years. People and their musical activity ('musicking') are at the core of *Music in the West Country*, which focuses on performers, audiences, composers, instrument-makers, teachers, dealers, and so on, and the 'relationships that these people and their roles set up, sustain, clarify, or destroy' (p. 252). Covering a wide range of genres, the book considers 'musicking' from numerous angles, including waits, minstrels, choristers, amateur orchestras, carols, psalmody, military bands, social dance bands, folk music, glee clubs, madrigal societies, trip hop, male-voice choirs, and brass bands – to name only a few. Thus, this book is a valuable addition to scholarship beyond the confines of historical musicology.

Critically, Banfield asks 'how does one *value* all this wealth and diversity of sound across the region and across the ages?' (p. 19, original emphasis), and the book sets out to measure this value by examining the region's music through five key themes: authority, incorporation, musical livings, the musical capitalization of events and inventions, and institutions. Choosing the organ as 'the strongest musical signifier of authority' to explore the first theme (p. 22), Banfield provides a fascinating insight into both the provision of music in sacred and secular settings, and its practitioners and audience. 'Incorporation' addresses bands and choirs, again covering a broad time period and drawing on a remarkable number and type of sources, including the 1960s folk revival and the 1990s Bristol sound. He considers musical livings, or prosopography, from

two angles: first, as a broader examination into professions and trades associated with music; and, second, through research into specific lives of some West Country music practitioners.

Banfield also discusses the West Country's important relationship with the early twentieth-century folk music revival. He acknowledges the contentious 'invention' debate in the field and examines the creation of the West Country, which he views as having developed a myth-like status, placing it apart from other regions. The final chapter considers the role institutions play in 'musicking', examining both sacred and secular establishments and networks as providers of support.

Influenced by Ruth Finnegan's 1989 ethnomusicological study of Milton Keynes, *The hidden musicians* (p. 10), Banfield's regional historical approach is interesting. He argues that despite focusing on one region, his conclusions are likely found across other regions, thus the book becomes an important model for future regional musical histories. One of the book's highlights is his research into the lives of ordinary people and their everyday musical activities. He provides an immense amount of detail and believes that 'data is not lacking: it is the scholarship that has been in short supply' (p. 152). By uncovering a wealth of new primary evidence and delineating Banfield's successful methodological approach, this book should encourage scholarship into these under-researched areas. Furthermore, the author appears to have actively searched for evidence of women's participation in musical activity – providing important new insights and further scholarship potential.

Banfield's writing style is engaging and for the most part highly readable. However, the success of his archival work and depth of research over such a broad scope can become overwhelming, and whilst the number of examples and names given is impressive – and will provide precious leads for some scholars able to turn 'fragmented glimpses . . . into portraits or landscapes' (p. xiii) – it can be intrusive.

In setting out to give 'a provisional history, opening the door for the real work to come' (p. xiii), he has succeeded, producing a detailed, meticulous, and fascinating study of music-making in the West Country. Whilst not able to conclusively give a measure of value for the region's music, he thoroughly addresses the concept, concluding that, ultimately, its value 'will be what we make it' (p. 375). When more comparable regional studies are carried out, perhaps the musical value of the West Country will be more easily measured. In the last decade, we have seen a critical shift to approach historical musicology from contextual perspectives. Noting this cultural turn, Banfield comments that 'today's music historian barks up a different tree, however, and can hope to dislodge a number of squirrels' (p. 152). Banfield has dislodged many squirrels with this ambitious but impressive book, offering valuable insights into the social and cultural 'musicking' of the West Country.

Rebecca Dellow *University of Sheffield*

Biehl, João & Peter Locke (eds). *Unfinished: the anthropology of becoming*. xiii, 382 pp., figs, illus., plates, bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2017. £23.99 (paper)

Unfinished is a beguiling book which interrogates the plasticity and instability of human experience and examines how individuals respond when confronted with the volatilities of life and the fragmentation of the infrastructures around them. At its heart lies the question of what happens to people when 'things fall apart' and 'the centre cannot hold', and the answers to this are explored through a kaleidoscopic series of chapters which combine to shape an original and haunting volume.

The foreword and introduction by the editors set out the book's conceptual framework, focusing on the 'unfinishedness' of human subjects and lifeworlds. Heavily influenced by Gilles Deleuze, the introduction probes the human capacity for change, reaction, resistance, and renewal. A central thread running through the collection is the multiple impacts of different forms of violence and the subsequent responses to social and individual trauma. Several chapters explore how individuals try to hold their lives, families, and sense of personhood together as infrastructures collapse and shatter around them. In chapter 1, Biehl and Locke compare responses to structural and communal violence in Bosnia and Brazil and examine how social support is gradually being replaced by poorly funded and individualized psychological intervention, even as people yearn for collectivity and connection. It is a theme picked up by Ralph in chapter 2 on becoming aggrieved in urban Chicago, where, in situations of acute violence and social fragmentation, intense loud grief, which may be labelled pathological elsewhere, is seen as normal, appropriate, and even admirable. Similarly, Garcia's chapter 3 on informal, coercive treatment centres in Mexico examines how violence, anger, and madness become vitalizing and hopeful

responses; new ways of becoming and being in times of heightened insecurity and ontological threat. Yet such becomings are not necessarily resolutions, but also indicate decay, misery, and unravelling – negative becomings. In Bessire's searing account of life amongst a Paraguayan indigenous community (chap. 7) transfigured by contact with evangelical missionaries, the Ayoreo try to make sense of these negative becomings, exploring the experimental and often futile attempts at resilience in unliveable conditions.

Other chapters focus on different aspects of plasticity and unfinishedness. Chapter 4, by Purcell, looks at how ideas about religious practice shift and transform in a town on the Turkish/Syrian border. Becoming is understood as multi-directional, encompassing the individual and the geopolitical, as well as temporal, encircling the past, present, and future. This temporality of becoming is further discussed by Davis in her chapter 8 on forensic anthropologists in Cyprus excavating the bones of those killed in times of civil conflict and turning the 'it' of biological matter into the 'who' of social and personal identity. Yet this does not necessarily bring hoped-for closure and can reopen old wounds and trap people once more within the meanings and conflicts of the past.

The individual impacts of witnessing and trying to make sense of the experiences of others are widened to include the natural world in chapter 5 by Dave on animal rights in India and chapter 9 by Petryna on climate change. In India, becoming a witness means more than just observing and reporting animal suffering; it requires action and energy – even violence and surrender. On a global scale, Petryna examines a world in which scientific models no longer make sense; the frameworks and certainty they previously provided individuals with have vanished, leaving ambiguity and anxiety.

These impacts are also central to anthropologists' own sense of self. Schwarz's chapter 6 explores how, through interactions with others, both anthropologists and ethnography alter, and how creativity, in its many forms, interferes with reality rather than reflects it. In the final two chapters of the book, Locke and Biehl reflect on the volume's central themes of plasticity and change through a focus on their own shifting research and their responses to the transformations that fieldwork wrought upon them both in the past and present. The book ends with an afterword by Fischer, who uses a musical analogy to speak to, and critique, the various chapters, rounding off the collection with a lyrical and insightful commentary.

Although theoretically complex, the contributors never lose sight of the individuals at the heart of ethnography. While the volume interrogates new ways of knowing and new meanings, what stands out is its intricate and intimate representation of human experience, which imbues it with authority and stays with the reader for a long time.

Heather Montgomery *The Open University*

Brandišauskas, Donatas. *Leaving footprints in the taiga: luck, spirits and ambivalence among the Siberian Orochen reindeer herders and hunters*. xiii, 291 pp., maps, tables, figs, illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2017. £85.00 (cloth)

The anthropology of fortune and luck has experienced a fortuitous boom over the past decade, with a number of important contributions arising from the ethnographically contiguous regions of North and Inner Asia. *Leaving footprints in the taiga* joins this expanding literature on luck, as Donatas Brandišauskas conceptualizes the ways in which the Orochen reindeer herders and hunters of Siberia predict, attract, acquire, catch, contain, sustain, share, and occasionally steal luck, called *kutu* in Orochen. Through his lively and accessible discussion of Orochen herding, hunting, trapping, fortune, and luck, Brandišauskas positions 'domination', 'trust', and 'reciprocity' as his key logical operators for the cross-cultural study of hunting groups. He suggests that the domination which Orochen exert during hunting should be understood not solely as a response to the revitalization of pre-Soviet herding, hunting, and shamanic practices but also as a tactic that routinely underpins the exchanges of luck between humans, animals, and spirits within and beyond the Orochen world.

This observation is supported by a succinct survey of landmark anthropological works on hunting that contain reflections on the attempts by persons, animals, and spirits to dominate each other (pp. 245-9). Through this, Brandišauskas shows how domination gives rise to 'ambiguity' (a leading theme in Rane Willerslev's work on the Yukaghir); or to contests with an 'adversary' (proposed by Robert A. Brightman in his study of the Cree). He further describes how Orochen experience both the dynamics of 'domination-subordination' relationships (after Adrian Tanner's work on the Cree) and the 'dominance mode' familiar among Amazonian hunters (as discussed by Carlos Fausto, Marc

Brightman, Vanessa Grotti, and Olga Ulturgasheva). Domination in this literature is shown to be very much in dialogue with the 'dependency and non-coercive relations' (p. 247) that have been a leitmotif of comparative hunter-gatherer studies, particularly in the work of Tim Ingold and Nurit Bird-David. These non-coercive relations are also central to Heonik Kwon's admirable studies of the Orochen. Yet as Brandišauskas observes, the post-Soviet era has introduced a sea change among the Orochen, who nowadays typically experience situations in which 'domination becomes a part of a reciprocal relationship' with master-spirits, animals, and other beings (p. 246). We read that, above all, today's Orochen seek to dominate the flow of luck and every desirable thing that springs from it, such as abundant animals to hunt, the fertility of the herds and human families, and a good life in the taiga.

One key contribution that Brandišauskas sets out to make is to enlarge the anthropological conversation on the manifold ways through which luck or fortune may be acquired in any given cosmos. This contribution is likely to come into fullest focus for specialists of North or Inner Asia, to whom this book is a welcome ethnography on how today's Orochen mobilize luck, revitalize their shamanic lines, and foster connections to the master-spirits of their landscape and deep historical past, notably through engaging with rock art sites and receiving the shamanic tutelage of their Aga Buryat Mongol neighbours. There is much scope for regional specialists to take these findings further by exploring how inter-ethnic shamanic teaching lines are now shaping local cosmologies, including across national borders.

Brandišauskas's discussion of rock art and shamanic revival follows on the heels of several vivacious chapters on everyday Orochen life, from walking in the taiga to envisioning the living places (called *bikit*) of humans, animals, or spirits. We learn how Orochen seize the opportunities that come with shifting weather patterns and manage the ambiguities of luck when engaging with reindeer, dogs, wolves, and bears. Each chapter contains rewarding ethnographic expositions, but the penultimate chapter on 'Rock art, shamans and healing' and the re-creation of sacred landscapes stands out as unique. As Brandišauskas observes, the monumental Neolithic rock art that decorates the surfaces of local cliffs and boulders was a pet project of Soviet archaeology, which envisaged the religious lives of indigenous Siberian peoples in the most reductive terms, as early stages on a social evolutionary ladder. Soviet archaeologists hired Orochen guides, but viewed them as being on the verge of extinction and thus made no effort to study how they might have engaged with rock art. What Brandišauskas reveals is that rock art has featured in Orochen efforts to re-create relationships to their master-spirits, shamanic spirits, and practices of obtaining luck. Orochen who visit rock art sites nowadays may receive lucky visions of abundant prey animals or multiple children from these monumental forces in the landscape – forces which they venerate, depend upon, and perhaps increasingly seek to dominate. This book is recommended for advanced undergraduate and postgraduate students as well as specialists of fortune, luck, hunting, shamanism, the landscape, and archaeology within Siberia and beyond.

Katherine Swancutt *King's College London*

Moore, Ellen. *Grateful nation: student veterans and the rise of the military-friendly campus*. xiii, 260 pp., illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2017. £20.99 (paper)

This is an excellent book for those interested in the ethnographic approach in general and/or the student veteran experience. Data were collected over the course of three years, primarily from fifty student veterans in a four-year university and a community college. Ellen Moore also provides salient excerpts from student veterans throughout. *Grateful nation* is comprised of six chapters, with the first perhaps offering the most new information to higher education faculty, staff, and administrators as it provides an in-depth discussion of the boot camp experience. This training reifies the distinction between military and civilian personnel; removes individual differences from soldiers; teaches soldiers to act without thinking and to obey orders with few if any questions. Through this experience and subsequent deployment, a very powerful bond is created between soldiers that should be appreciated by those who assist student veterans to navigate the college campus.

The book's nuanced approach is one of its strengths, although this is less obvious in the repeated discussion of how support for student veterans is hijacked by the celebration of the military on campus. While this can occur simultaneously, these two processes can be distinct. The author argues, however, that this conflation leads to a tacit approval of recent US military operations.

Additionally, while Moore does cover trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder, and military sexual

trauma, readers would benefit from a more in-depth discussion of PTSD and its four symptom clusters: re-experiencing, avoidance, hyperarousal, and negative alterations in cognition and mood. She does suggest that faculty are instructed to avoid asking student veterans about their thoughts and feelings concerning their involvement in military operations, concluding that this, along with the militarization of campuses, leads to a silent acquiescence to war. However, the more plausible explanation for this recommendation is one that recognizes that PTSD is one of the three signature wounds of Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom (OEF/OIF). A person with PTSD must carefully titrate their processing of traumatic events. Their symptoms might include hyperarousal, which may consist of hypervigilance, problems in concentration, and irritable or aggressive behaviour. Moreover any delegitimizing of one's assigned duties, where perhaps comrades were lost, could increase irritability even in someone not experiencing PTSD. Thus, opportunities for civic discourse and critical thinking are sometimes put on hold by teachers in order to allow student veterans to absorb other intellectual material in a non-threatening way, with the educational goals of civic discourse and critical thinking applied to more content-neutral and less emotionally charged topics.

Moore highlights the contrast between the protocol of certain student veteran groups and the needs or wishes of various student veterans. She describes how, when some veterans wanted to discuss their nuanced, and perhaps negative, understanding of war experiences in greater detail with classmates, such discussions were shut down in one student veteran group, since its leaders wanted to promote a united front in support of military activities. I would contend that the possible arenas for such discussions could include a student veteran support group facilitated by university staff at the counselling centre. This location, distinct from the Department of Veterans Affairs, could address veterans' concerns without putting further deployments in jeopardy. Moore does mention IVAW (Iraqi Veterans Against the War) as a supportive off-campus group to which students could turn, and she could also have included Swords to Plowshares, a group for veterans of all conflicts.

Moore does describe how one veteran wanted to shut his military experience away in a box (p. 117) – indeed, many veterans do not process their military experiences until much later in life, when they have retired, and when they have more free time to reflect. Nevertheless, it seems to me that Moore's discussion of how student veterans might process military and combat experiences would have been strengthened by considering that another safe and welcoming arena of study can be found within the humanities. For example, Jefferson Community College in Watertown, New York, close to Fort Drum, has implemented an interesting programme: their course 'Dialogues of Sacrifice: Soldiers' Experiences in the Civil War and the Vietnam War', taught by professors of history, literature, film, art, and music, encouraged veterans to reflect on their own service and the challenges they faced during reintegration into civilian life, and how these echoed the experiences of Vietnam and Civil War veterans.

Ellen Moore studies the very complicated issue of how veterans can process material that many veterans and civilians do not want to think about, or cannot emotionally process, and how institutions grapple with helping student veterans succeed. This makes the book an excellent choice for all educators who have veterans in their classrooms.

William Zywiak *Bryant University*

Pandian, Anand & Stuart McLean (eds). *Crumpled paper boat: experiments in ethnographic writing*. vi, 252 pp., illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2017. £21.99 (paper)

In very practical ways, this important volume edited by Anand Pandian and Stuart McLean demonstrates that the ethnographic imagination can gain much by approaching the world through existential orientations more usually associated with poetry, memoir, travelogue, and the novel. What we learn is not that ethnography is fiction, but that these other genres deliver truth because they can bring us close to fundamental aspects of the human condition. These ways of creating, and indeed of being, reveal realities that are best 'described through metaphor and simile' (p. 89); so they enable ethnographers to confront experiential complexities that we usually avoid. Ethnography has traditionally looked away from the intractable in its pursuit of academic authority and prestige; it is time to work out how to convey this intractability with fidelity.

Crumpled paper boat's eleven authors move beyond reflexivity towards an intimate engagement with the texture of intersubjectivity. They question how we arrive at knowledge of ourselves and others, and what knowledge can

be. Their pieces explore in particular the kinds of intersubjectivity that arise out of fieldwork encounters between ethnographers and others. They pay attention to what unsettles, what escapes, what struggles to be defined but must be felt – not just momentous events like a psychotic breakdown, but small interactions such as the moment when a grandmother and her granddaughter look into each other's eyes. The essays extend Michael Jackson's phenomenology, who in his piece quotes Berger's and Derrida's emphases on the irreducibility of experience whilst asking 'what it may mean, ethically, empirically, and epistemologically, to do justice to life' (p. 49).

What makes this book so valuable, then, is not just its literary aspects – the skilful deployment of compelling, moving, daring writing – but its determination to confront the ambiguity and uncertainty of life, its unyielding and ungraspable qualities. In order to achieve this, the authors argue that we must challenge ethnography's generic constraints, taking risks not just with our texts but also with our relationships in the academy and in the field, and with our very sense of self. This is by no means a matter of rejecting the theoretical complexity of our discipline, or its intellectual history, but one of opening up new methodological and conceptual horizons. As the contributions demonstrate, it is also a matter of asking what anthropology is and can be, what is its purpose.

I particularly appreciate the refusal of all the authors in the volume – and not just the ones who deploy poetry or fiction to arrive at insights – to adhere to the standard structure of scholarly articles: even the most recognizably academic papers are open-ended, suggestive, and questioning rather than assertive. This open-endedness does not make the arguments and descriptions any less convincing. The refusal to wrap up the debate, to state a closure to knowledge, means that these authors are in fact proposing a new way of doing anthropology. Similarly, because ethnography is always necessarily conversational, the volume itself has a strong dialogic tone which is pushed to the forefront through both a collectively written introduction and shorter inserts in which authors comment on the pieces written by others.

This is an outstanding volume to use as provocation, to reflect on one's own practice and history, as well as for teaching. I can see students becoming excited at the possibility of an anthropology that takes as its departure point the very hesitations and unknowns that we are schooled to suppress. If I have a qualm about the volume, it is that it does not confront the institutional blockages, the walls that we meet when attempting to publish writing that pushes against the boundaries of academia, writing that takes ambiguity as its pivot. I am not just noting here the conservatism of the review process, or the fact that we 'are trained in ways of reading that attempt to destroy or undermine' (p. 187), but also the growing narrowness of the metrics that are meant to assess the value of our work. Moreover, since I write collaboratively, I was also disappointed by the absence of voices of local interlocutors in the volume: it is precisely when attempting to reconcile anthropological and local visions of our purpose that uncertainty becomes most urgent.

However, these are minor reservations. This is a remarkable collection which demonstrates convincingly why anthropology should embrace ambiguity: 'not as a sign of conceptual indeterminacy or affective confusion' (p. 61), but instead as a powerful standpoint from which to explore the fullness of experience.

Paloma Gay y Blasco *University of St Andrews*

Plemons, Eric. *The look of a woman: facial feminization surgery and the aims of trans-medicine*. xi, 192 pp., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2017. $23.95 (paper)

How does facial feminization surgery (FFS) work? This question is far from merely a technical one. The operation's success is judged not by the patient or surgeon, but by the reactions its effects elicit in others. It aims to help the transitioning person obtain social recognition as a woman. Hence, understanding FFS requires apprehending a much broader structure: the one that enables the materialization of femininity in our society. To tackle this problem, Eric Plemons conducted fieldwork between 2010 and 2011 within the surgery of Douglas Ousterhout, one of the first and most influential American surgeons in this field.

In line with texts of medical anthropology such as Annemarie Mol's T*he body multiple* (2002), the author sets out to unwrap the layers of signification that both underlie and emerge from medical practices – in this case, regarding trans therapeutics. Observing the historical evolutions in trans patients' concerns that took place between the 1950s and 1980s – where the emphasis has shifted from sexual reassignment surgery to a more global approach questioning the relevant gender markers as seen in the body – Plemons hypothesizes that the growing success of

FFS within the trans community is a sign of a change in the social understanding of sex. In brief, he analyses the practices of changing sex in order to shed light on the nature of sex itself. The fact that surgery is less focused on genitals and more on faces points to a practical acknowledgement that sex is, fundamentally, a social identity. Therefore, sex is no longer an essential property of one's body, but the product of an ongoing process of social recognition and interactions.

Nevertheless, these medical evolutions go hand-in-hand with theoretical ones. To that end, Plemons relies on a precise analysis of Judith Butler's work, and, more generally, on the academic literature that dislocated the definitions of sex and gender, queried their interconnection, and then made possible new ways of thinking and living them. Nourished by various philosophical works, such as Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, Honneth on recognition, or Austin's and Derrida's linguistic doctrines, he offers a reflection upon what constitutes a gender identity, through the lens of the one embodied by trans women. The stories of transformations that take place in the operating room lead him to reflect upon the reality of bodies being less the result of any given materiality, and more the product of a never-ending materialization, which finds its meaning within a determined social context.

One of the greatest strengths of this book is to show how theories and facts are always intertwined. Plemons both demonstrates that this is true in the field of medical practice and exemplifies it in his own writing. Each chapter beautifully combines detailed observations from his fieldwork with surgeons and trans women with analysis nourished by medical anthropology, queer theory, and trans literature. In this regard he offers the reader a very nuanced monograph that reflects the actual coexistence of multiple theories and practices regarding trans therapeutics, a diversity that corresponds to the multiplicity of ways to be trans. His book is, truly, an ethnographic work. Thus, it underlines the contradictions that structure reality itself. The lives of individuals are not an exemplification of some coherent theory, and neither is this study. It is, though, a well-written, honest, respectful, and often moving transcript of trans women's various narratives about their journeys, viewed in the light of different theories. It leads the reader to understand the implications of such discourses and practices nowadays, and how they have strong historical, social, and political roots.

However, given the number of questions addressed in this relatively short book, one might feel that each query calls for deeper treatment. While reading it, this reader felt the frustration of engaging with an analysis that appeared to fall shy of fully grasping the complexity of what it hopes to reveal. Nevertheless, starting with what could seem to be an anecdotal question, this book brilliantly raises some fundamental and very broad questions about the link between medicine and social norms, sex and gender, the body and the self. Thus, it could adequately be used as a complement to a lecture on gender studies, in order to introduce some of the philosophical issues of trans studies. It also exemplifies what can be an articulate ethnographic work, skilfully combining description and theorization.

Andræ Thomazo *Aix-Marseille University*

Vestiges of the past

Armelagos, George J. & Dennis P. Van Gerven. *Life and death on the Nile: a bioethnography of three ancient Nubian communities*. 244 pp., map, figs, tables, illus., bibliogr. Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida, 2017. £105.00 (cloth)

This volume is the completion by Dennis Van Gerven of a joint monograph with George Armelagos, who died in 2014. It covers over fifty years of their research on material excavated in northern Sudan. The long-running international UNESCO campaign to excavate sites and salvage the monuments of Nubia began in 1959 following the plans to build a new dam at Aswan. The reservoir that was created flooded the Nile Valley south of Aswan, the land of ancient Nubia, mostly in Egypt but extending over the border into Sudan. George Armelagos, at that time a Ph.D. student, worked with the University of Colorado expedition at sites just inside Sudan at Meinarti, in the region of the border town of Wadi Halfa, and at the Nile's second cataract. Large quantities of material were excavated in cemetery sites and eventually transferred to the University of Colorado, where they remain. Today, apart from the temples of Abu Simbel, the archaeological work is largely forgotten and needs to be explained to new students.

After the initial studies carried out by Armelagos, Van Gerven joined him as a student in 1965. In 1979, Van Gerven was also able to work in the area of Sudanese Nubia, including on the island site of Kulubnarti, supplementing the material from the original UNESCO excavations. These sites were of much more limited duration, covering perhaps little more than two generations of the Christian period. Overall, the earliest skeletal material examined dated from the

Mesolithic (10,000-8,000 BCE), with the later phases belonging to the Meroitic and Christian periods (350 BCE-1350 CE). One of the research's important aspects was the comparison that was possible between the island and mainland communities. The five decades of work on both sets of material have seen many other students working on it and the development of new techniques of analysis, so this is the story of changes in palaeopathology as well.

Life and death on the Nile is aimed at a non-specialist readership, and is written in an informal, conversational style, whilst explaining the techniques that were developed by several generations of Ph.D. students working on the material, as well as the results of the investigations. The volume begins with an introduction to the UNESCO campaign generally and the Colorado expedition's specific work. A chapter on cranial morphology challenges many of the older racist ideas that had such a detrimental effect on interpretations of Nubian history in the early twentieth century. The following chapter focuses on children's health and diseases, followed by a similar study of sub-adults, raising issues of disease and dietary deficiencies; this is then extended to the adult populations. A number of specific case studies include three examples of cancers: bladder cancer in a Meroitic male, probably related to schistosomiasis; an example of prostate cancer from an 'X-Group' (post-Meroitic, pre-Christian) male; and an instance of bone cancer. There are examples of hydrocephalus and scoliosis, dwarfism, rheumatoid arthritis and other bone conditions, and infectious diseases. The final summary investigates the connection between biology and culture, raising the question of whether the health differences noted between the island and mainland populations can actually be ascribed to class and economic conditions.

The techniques and analyses are clearly explained for those of us who are not bioarchaeologists. There are numerous illustrations of the material and explanatory tables and diagrams. There are images of the archaeological sites: the cemeteries, the large mainland church, and the 'castle' at Kulubnarti. Here I note one error: on Fig. 1.1, the Egypt-Sudan border is marked in the wrong place on the map. That said, at no point do the authors lose sight of the specific individuals and the particular places and environments in which those individuals lived and worked. The issues of culture, and the effect of local conditions on the separate populations, are key to the discussion.

This book is immensely valuable on many levels. It can be difficult for those of us who deal with Nubia's material culture and history, but lack the specialist knowledge of the anthropology/bioarchaeology, to integrate that information; this volume clearly demonstrates the value of such data for understanding individual lives. It also demonstrates the value of very long-term research on one collection of material, something increasingly difficult to achieve within the modern university system. It is also a fine tribute to George Armelagos and his vision.

Robert G. Morkot *University of Exeter*

Hatto, Arthur. *The world of the Khanty epic hero-princes: an exploration of a Siberian oral tradition*. xv, 246 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 2017. £75.00 (cloth)

Since Arthur Hatto was a pre-eminent folklorist of the twentieth century, any posthumous publication by him is significant. This long-gestating opus valorizing the heroic poetry of the Ob-Ugrian Khanty analyses eighteen epics recorded in the nineteenth century. Hatto's treatment exemplifies his philosophy of 'cult poetry' as based on 'rapport between bard, patron and audience' that produces dramatic 'epic moments' (pp. 228-9). The epic material featured here is difficult and uneven, as Hatto, unversed in the relevant Khanty dialects, needed to understand these diverse epics through translation using texts in Hungarian and German. His conveyance in English of the power of these epics is therefore a triumph, made possible through close consultation with linguist Marianne Bakró-Nagy. The volume is enhanced by historian Daniel Prior's scholarly afterword. While this final project was a departure from Hatto's famed scholarship on *Beowulf* and medieval German poetry, it was an extension of his fascination with comparative ethnopoetics and his leadership of the London Seminar on Epic.

Hatto's exploration is reliant on thematic organization, building from an introduction that depicts an archaic 'World' (his capitalization) of Khanty Epic Hero-Princes as a 'blend of fact and fiction' (p. 27), followed by chapters on cosmology, time, the seasons, and West Siberian geography. He then describes a panoply of spirits and deities before bringing the reader back to earthly considerations of narrative personae and their social ranking, warfare, armour, weapons, and men's handiwork.

Competitive Khanty heroes were simultaneously princely and capable of fine

craftsmanship, as were their sought-after princess-brides with their flowing tresses. They dwelled in fort-towns of wood and stone, with ceremonial hills behind them that were sites of blood sacrifices, sometimes including humans. Without sensationalism, Hatto explains the internal logics of scalping and beheading, blood-feuds, and honour codes, strategically using comparisons to Greek classics, Mohave epics, as well as Russian, Turkic, and Germanic folklore.

Ob-Ugrian epics are apt sites for understanding Khanty cosmology. Hatto's depictions of the Cosmos, Netherworld, Middle and Upper Worlds are especially illuminating concerning human transformation into ancestor-gods (apotheosis), and human relations with the supreme god Numi Torəm. However, insights reliant on selective epic narratives without a full understanding of Khanty bear ceremonies and shamanic practices can be distorting. Hatto downplays a Khanty Mother Earth (p. 38), and he claims shamanic abilities are absent or disrespected in most Khanty heroes (compare pp. 28-9, 69, 106-9, 170). Yet some of his narratives belie such over-generalizations: a hero flying home on a magic horse (p. 51) is elegantly shamanic, as is a flush-with-agency princess-bride's ability to shape-shift into an eagle-owl to be with her chosen groom (p. 118).

Hatto highlights the purposes of epic poetry sung by charismatic bards, particularly their encoding of dominant cultural values, their improvisational-within-limits aesthetics, and the contextual ethics plus etiquette of heroes. Heroes negotiate treacherous times during which brides might be substituted and allies, including brothers, can be fickle. A crucial theme of the genre is the 'Wooing Expedition', key to enforcing an exogamy so strict that warriors must seek brides in dangerous far-flung villages and towns of strangers. Along the way, important insights into inter-ethnic relations are revealed: Khanty ambiguous relations with early Rus traders who could become in-laws, and enmity with the neighbouring Samoyed. A major motif features the revenge-seeking orphan, whose strength lies in benevolent foster parents, inherited magic weaponry, and helper spirits. Tragedy is mitigated with humour, as when a spirit called Grey-Winged Elder is distracted by a 'tressy' maiden and drops his rescued hero (p. 91).

While Hatto's depictions are charming, some critique is appropriate. For this anthropologist, the background chapter on Khanty history, beliefs, and language is surprisingly simple and lacks adequate attribution. The book's organization lends itself to passages being repeated as they fit under various headings. Instead of a conclusion, final chapters on material culture 'offer archaeologists and other historians an uncontaminated source' (p. 194). Did Hatto plan to tie his analysis into a missing synthesis? Are epics in translation and filtered through collectors uncontaminated? Hatto allowed himself now-dated generalizations about 'the archaic mind'. His ranking of epic traditions, for example rating Khanty epics as greater in scope and style than related Mansi lays, elides historical context with disconcerting value judgements. However, Hatto's world-view as a deeply immersed comparative folklorist offers valuable reminders of the richness of ethnopoetics as a way to conceptualize past worlds of beauty, terror, and creativity.

Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer *Georgetown University*

Paddayya K. & Sushama G. Deo. *Prehistory of South Asia (the lower Palaeolithic or Formative Era of hunting-gathering)*. xxviii, 152 pp., maps, figs, tables, illus., bibliogrs. Bengaluru: The Mythic Society, 2017. Rs 360 (paper)

Katragadda Paddayya and Sushama Deo provide a broad overview of the South Asian Lower Palaeolithic in this volume. These two stalwarts of Indian prehistory have done the discipline a great service by reviewing one-and-half-century's worth of data within one compact tome. There are very few such books on the subject that are suitable for both professionals and students, thus the subject matter and sub-topics covered make this volume ideal as a textbook for college students at any level. The foreword and preface are respectively contributed by V. Nagaraj and A. Sundara, while the tome is aptly dedicated to the memory of Robert Bruce Foote, 'who not only pioneered prehistoric research in India but also initiated an anthropological orientation to it'. Indeed, the authors pay a tribute to this by including an anthropological, or behavioural, thrust in their analysis of the early Stone Age populations in the Indian subcontinent.

Paddayya and Deo have organized *Prehistory of South Asia* into three key sections: 'Introduction', 'Outline of South Asian prehistory', and 'Principal aspects of the Lower Palaeolithic'. The first provides historical and geographical backgrounds, as well as information on technological organization and chronology. The second section focuses more on the ecological parameters, the classification of the various

phases, and the chronology of the evidence. The third section gets into more detail about the different lithic traditions/cultures, such as the Soanian and Acheulean, and their associated technological change, variability, and symbolic behaviour. Data from excavated sites are also discussed along with other relevant information. These sections are followed by conclusions, a glossary, and an index – the last two being extremely useful. The mainstay of this volume is that the tight summaries are well supplemented with ample illustrations of stone tools, stratigraphic sections, maps, and photographs that usefully assist readers during their journey through South Asian prehistory.

That being said, the book does have some key weaknesses in terms of disproportionate content, the inclusion of obsolete data, a lack of new data, and some formatting concerns. In my view, the authors do not do justice to some evidence: several decades of research on the Soanian are covered in just two pages, and the controversial palaeoanthropological evidence from Masol could have been critiqued in detail. Key data or updated information are also missing in some places. For example, both the table of absolute dates (p. 51) and the text do not include the 140-120 Ka age bracket for the Son Valley Late Acheulean, while the older U-Th ages for 16R dune should have been replaced with the new luminescence dates for the entire sequence. Mention of Durkadi could have been updated with the results of the latest investigations that have yielded Late Pleistocene lithic assemblages and ages, thus disproving it as a Lower Palaeolithic site with Oldowan elements.

Additionally, the brief discussions and dates of the Middle-Upper Paleolithic and the Mesolithic (e.g. Patne, Jwalapuram, Kurnool Caves) appear to me to be somewhat superfluous, tending to interrupt the otherwise smooth flow of the Lower Palaeolithic content. There are also, as noted, several formatting issues that affect presentation and ease of access: one main alphabetical reference list at the end of the book would have been better than the numbered citations at the end of each chapter; the table of contents could have had additional page numbers for all the sub-sections for faster access; and some illustrations (e.g. stratigraphic sections) deserved a full page as their miniaturization has severely compromised visual clarity.

Despite this, the lucid manner in which the scientific and historical information is described leaves the reader eagerly wanting to know more about the subject. Students and enthusiasts especially will savour such cherished additions as Foote's 1916 fold-out map. Paddayya and Deo impart their respective knowledge and experience through the chapters by masterfully blending historical perspective with empirical data that has been amassed over the decades by various researchers – themselves included. Both have a history of longitudinal research in different regions of western India, including Karnataka and Maharashtra. Moreover, as a Mythic Society publication, it is easily accessible and reasonably priced for interested students and scholars. I expect that this volume, along with its few counterparts, will enrich our knowledge of South Asian prehistory and, more importantly, encourage researchers to take up more focused and long-term research in the region. In fact, readers will be happy to know that, since the publication of this book, the Indian Lower-to-Middle Palaeolithic transition has been extended to almost 400 ka, making it broadly contemporary with European and African records.

Parth R. Chauhan *IISER Mohali*

Pillsbury, Joanne, Timothy Potts & Kim N. Richter (eds). *Golden kingdoms: luxury arts in the ancient Americas*. 311 pp., maps, plates, bibliogr. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Research Institute, 2017. £50.00 (cloth)

Based on the exhibition 'Golden Kingdoms: Luxury and Legacy in the Ancient Americas', held at the J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York City) in 2017 and 2018, this catalogue, edited by Joanne Pillsbury, Timothy Potts, and Kim N. Richter, includes a dozen contributions as well as shorter descriptions of archaeological sites in Central and South America. *Golden kingdoms*' focus is on the significance of social valuables and, while departing from the use of gold, it primarily uses the distribution of goldwork to set the stage and also engage with shell, polished and ground stone materials, as well as composite artefacts. What distinguishes the object curation in this exhibit from most preceding ones on Pre-Columbian America is the effort made in using objects with at least some degree of provenience and control of context. For any ambitious exhibit on Pre-Columbian sumptuous materials, the problem of looting looms large as it largely concerns items of personal adornment recovered from funerary settings.

I had the chance to visit the exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, during which two things stood out. The exhibition narrative was not

necessarily innovative or revealing, placing an emphasis on chronological overviews, as well as the issue of emerging political complexity across parts of the Americas. However, the selection of objects on display, all included in this catalogue, was nothing short of stunning. Having visited a multitude of exhibitions on Pre-Columbian materials in the last twenty years or so, I'm hard pressed to recall a group of objects brought together as iconic as those on display in *Golden kingdoms*. The publication does justice to this selection by presenting the catalogue of objects in ample textual detail and through excellent photographs. Overall, the book is well designed, not least as seen in the clear maps that accompany the reader, and the editors are to be commended for producing a thorough and meticulous study. In 2018, it received the PROSE award in the Art Exhibition category.

Pillsbury begins (pp. 1-14) by setting out the rationale for the notion of 'luxury arts' as a focus of attention, thereby mobilizing discussions on sumptuous expressions of power and elite culture. One could question the choice of that term, as it portrays indigenous leadership as an aspect of Pre-Columbian life that was marked by a life of excess; an observation that clearly requires a careful, nuanced approach given the various areas of the Americas where sumptuous goods abound but traces of sociopolitical hierarchies are few. Concurrently, it may serve to invite novel deliberations, as, for example, Houston asking in his 'Essential luxuries' essay (pp. 79-90) whether or not sentiments such as 'enjoyment' and 'refinement' of costly things were considerations among Maya societies. The editors add to this an emphasis on the particular sensory and tactile traits of presented materials. Such a discussion is helpful in steering the interpretative gaze away from recognizing expressions of power, in favour of giving more weight to objects' material aspects and the practices involved in their making and use.

Lastly, and in stark contrast to the background of a museum exhibit and objects that were meant to be visibly worn on the body, the book also debates the antipode of display of aesthetic and technologically refined things by stressing the important practices of object seclusion and deposition, and related notions of sacred and secret knowledge.

The individually authored essays invariably widen the thematic scope of the catalogue as well as somewhat influencing its conceptual rigidity. The fluid or abstract semiotic preferences observed for some areas are combined with seemingly more codified programmes of style, such as in the case of the contributions on Mexica gold by López Lujan and Ruvalcava Sil (pp. 111-22) and the discussion of courtly commodities by Richter (pp. 99-110). Such divergence is probably unavoidable: a reflection of the broad inter-regional scope of the volume and the vast diversity of the discussed cultural contexts. The interpretative attention of the authors oscillates between the local importance of gold traditions (the essays by Uribe Villegas and Martinón-Torres, pp. 45-54) and the biographical or heirloom aspects of some of these social valuables, a point made by Hoopes (pp. 55-66) for southern Central America and Colombia. Velázquez Castro, an expert on Pre-Columbian malacology, discusses the use of shell for fashioning extraordinary objects, and ties this into the craft and skill needed in working and procuring the raw material in the first place (pp. 91-8). This catalogue succeeds in underscoring that last insight and, as such, it will be of use to students of Pre-Columbian material culture, art history, and archaeology.

Alexander Geurds *University of Oxford/Leiden University*