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Book Reviews

In Football We Trust. A video directed by *Tony Vainuku* and *Erika Cohn*. IFWT Productions, Idle Wild Films, and the Independent Television Service in association with Pacific Islanders in Communications, 2015. 87 min.

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As Pierre Bourdieu taught us, personal taste, be it for art or recreation, is not personal at all but, rather, is constituted by class background or class aspiration. Unlike professional golf, tennis, or swimming, US football is a popular rather than a middle-class or niche sport. As a game that demands collective submission to discipline and relies on individual strength and aggression, its appeal is consistent with a habitus in which work involves an instrumental relationship to the body. This correspondence makes it hard for both the fans and the players, most of whom hail from blue-collar backgrounds, not to see their authentic and true selves in the moment of the game. They find little role distance from it, to use Erving Goffman's term.

Working-class immigrants in the United States have long been drawn to popular sports—not just for joy but as a means of acculturation to the ethos of their host society and as a shortcut to “getting over.” For such immigrants, football is more than a game. Nothing less than the whole person takes his stance on the line, and therefore nothing less than his manliness, family, and ethnic identity are at risk with the snap of the ball.

Tony Vainuku and Erika Cohn have made a handsome, multilayered video about the subjective and sociological significance of football among a segment of working-class Polynesian immigrants in Salt Lake City. *In Football We Trust* is a nicely paced, bittersweet film featuring talking heads along with images of home, school, the field of play, the weight room, and, inevitably, lunatic high school coaches raving in locker rooms. All this allows us to come to know the aspirations and tragedies of a handful of Tongan and American Samoan young men whose parents or grandparents left home in the Pacific, under the aegis of the Mormon church, and resettled in Utah.

“There’s a lot of pride in our culture,” one Tongan player currently in the NFL tells the camera. “We have great

families and we try to represent them.” The athletes identify closely with their parents, aunts, and uncles, who in turn identify with them. One player writes all the names of his kin on the inside of his wrist before every game. A middle-aged mother, dressed as a cheerleader with her son’s number painted on her face, leaps about in front of the bleachers in a humiliating effort to arouse the young and old, mostly middle-class spectators. After the game, the whole family picks up trash from the stands in return for not having to pay admission. At the same time, however, we learn about a young man who returned to Tonga to spend a year with his father, whom he found to be a drunk and a womanizer. “Seeing him shows me what I don’t want to be. It gives me more drive to do what I need to do to take care of my family.”

The video specifically follows the careers of four high school players who carry the weight of the world on their shoulder pads. They have no role distance. Expectations are enormous; they must set an example for younger siblings by doing well in school, by excelling at football, and above all else by staying out of trouble. All this is meant to get them athletic scholarships to a Division I university and eventually jobs in the NFL. As one of the players’ fathers says, “I’m paycheck to paycheck. Football is not a way out. It’s a way up.”

The young men see themselves as disliked by the white majority at school, mistaken for “big Mexicans,” or stigmatized as gangbangers. By excelling at football, they are able to put a positive spin on their ethnicity, whether as pan-Polynesians or Polys or, less frequently, as Tongans or Samoans. However, as the video unfolds, it focuses more on the young men’s struggles to stay out of trouble. One youth is suspended from high school for marijuana possession, and his scholarship offers are withdrawn. Another is expelled for having a handgun in school and is subsequently sentenced to a year in a juvenile detention center. A third tears up his knee. Out of the four, only one young man is left. His high school team wins the state championship, and he decides to play football for the University of Utah. But he gets no playing time in his freshman season and withdraws from school to do the two-year mission service required of all members of the Mormon church. “I’m going to come back,” he swears to the camera, “and show everyone that Polys can play running back!”

An epigraph informs viewers that Tongan and Samoan immigrants are 28 times more likely to play professionally than any other ethnic group in the United States and that Utah is the biggest funnel into this Polynesian football pipeline. What the video depicts, however, is not success but poignant struggle, struggle that returns kids right back to the working-class habitus where they started.

The body, as a decisive repository of its habitus, is not static or intractable, according to Bourdieu. But when subjected to the contingencies and stresses of rapid transformation—in this case to the pressures of shifting from ethnic particularisms to the universalist, bourgeois values and worldviews that are taken for granted in academic and athletic contexts—it encounters obstacles and suffers injuries, both physical and emotional, that shut the door to upward mobility. This video portrays how hard it is for players, belonging as they do to extended families, to maintain role distance on the streets and in the classroom. Their stories are punctuated not by self-control or by disinterested respect for the game but by tears, tears at having let kin down on or off the field, tears that express the self's unequivocal commitment to the normative requirements of particularistic roles as sons, brothers, and young Polynesian men set apart from middle-class life. Football is no game in such a setting; there is no role distance from it. Rather, as one young man said, "Football means a lot."

In addition to appealing to general audiences, *In Football We Trust* is rich enough to be put to excellent use in a range of college classes, from introductory cultural anthropology courses to more advanced courses on sports, the anthropology of the body, immigration, and stratification, generally or specifically in US society, as well as courses on the contemporary ethnography of Pacific peoples and cultures.

Reel World: An Anthropology of Creation. *Anand Pandian.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015. 360 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12433

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Anand Pandian writes vividly about the production of Tamil cinema while pressing us to draw larger insights about our lives from filmmaking itself. Claiming that the contemporary world is cinematic, he derives lessons from cinema for understanding the nature of everyday life—and the crafting of ethnography—in "a world of enduring flux" (5). In charting this flux, he takes readers on an exhilarating, often

enchanting, sometimes hilarious, and at moments exasperating ride.

Pandian's representation of his subject is like no other book on Indian film. Most of the 19 chapters portray distinct aspects of cinema, with titles such as "Color," "Light," "Imagination," and "Fate." Simultaneously, they draw readers chronologically through the processes of crafting and releasing a Tamil film by masterfully quilting a pastiche of events from the different phases of 17 film projects. Pandian also aims to reproduce the rhythms of a cinematic "form and voice" (14) in his writing. The chapter "Desire," for example, consists of a single tumbling sentence that spans five pages; "Speed" is a sequence of 86 abrupt short-paragraph cuts that describe his observations of a volatile editor's work. (One of Pandian's intricate patterns reveals itself when the reader realizes that there is nothing random about the typesetting in "Speed": each page begins with a new cut, and it takes only a bit of imagination to recognize the resemblance to reels of film.) He frames these experiments as gambles, as chances taken on generating new ways of thinking through unexpected forms. Indeed, more than once he refers to cinema as a medium of thought.

An exceptional array of film personnel (and their creations) appears: set designers, assistant directors, music directors, stunt masters, theater owners, dubbing artistes, actors, choreographers, and producers. Rather than follow the production of a single film (a plan that proved unworkable) or even the biggest films or the biggest names in the industry, Pandian took advantage of happenstance, trailing film personnel wherever they would let him in or take him along. He entered tiny recording booths and editing studios in Chennai and traveled to sets in other parts of India, the Middle East, Europe, and Malaysia. The beauty of this strategy of necessity is that as readers we not only learn about film processes that would otherwise be overlooked, we also hope—in tandem with their creators—for these films' success. We discover much about the particularities of making a film in India: the compromises, ingenuity, risks, repurposing, anxieties, constraints, and contingencies fundamental to every production, including the many that fail or never materialize.

Contingencies of chance are also integral to the project of an "anthropology of creation." This project becomes steadily more central as the chapters progress, and Pandian applies it in equal measure to cinema and ethnography and often more broadly as well. By the time he reaches the chapter "Wonder" toward the end, he is reflecting on the magic of unexpected happenings and unpredicted insights in filmmaking and research alike. Wonder itself, he states, has "critical potential" (249). Pandian challenges common understandings of creativity in two striking ways. First, he deconstructs and rejects

assumptions about individual creative genius. Thus when looking at a renowned scene that is credited to a famous art director's genius, he explores the dispersal of creative roles and responsibilities among the many unheralded personnel who produced the set (welders, carpenters, molders, and painters). Then, he goes even further in charting processes of creation, coming to argue that creation happens to us: rather than imposing our will on a script or a book or the world, he writes, we find "ways of participating in the creative process and potential of a larger universe beyond the human" (8).

Of this book's numerous revealing treatments of film personnel, film audiences, and creative processes, I find two especially striking. The first is the filmmakers' lack of disparagement of their audiences, so different from what I found in the 1980s and early 1990s in the Tamil industry and from Tejaswini Ganti's observations among Hindi filmmakers in the 1990s and 2000s. Instead, Pandian argues, these cinema makers identify with their audiences; indeed, they see themselves as test viewers. The second is the related contention that analysts who wish to expose the political truth behind a film (e.g., of patriarchy or casteism) have misapprehended their role. "Too often," Pandian argues, "our critiques have relied upon naïve and flimsy distinctions between truth and fiction, reality and representation, the tangible matter of the world and mere images of it." He neither denies the social violence running through most films nor disavows the pleasures that audiences find in them (which is perhaps why, unlike many other analysts and critics, he acknowledges rather than dismisses the presence of "Dreams" and "Pleasure" in cinema). Instead, he works toward "a different way of thinking with the worlds that cinema creates, a more intimate way of engaging the feelings of desire and fear that such media make possible" (4).

Pandian interweaves the insights of an exceptional variety of thinkers, from medieval Indian poets, European philosophers, and anthropologists to South Asianists, film scholars, and critics. My minor exasperations arose when the relation of some authors' thoughts—often evoked with minimal framing—to the concept at hand was less transparent to me than the author would wish. In retrospect, this style may well be another form of collage. Nonetheless, one of the book's delights remains the frolic across time, genre, discipline, field, and emotions that these many references gather and synthesize.

Do I believe that the world is cinematic? Not really, not entirely. I wasn't persuaded by Pandian's opening illustrations of this claim. But I am compelled by his depictions of the similar processes at work in film and in other parts of human lives. And by the end, it is this relationship between cinema and the universe that Pandian interrogates. What if, he asks, cinema could teach us something about living in the world?

Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today. Sharon Macdonald. London: Routledge, 2013. 320 pp.

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The promise of the title of Sharon Macdonald's book is ambitious, and the volume lives up to this promise with impressive erudition and grace. Although the book was published in 2013, the current debates around the influx of refugees and the place of Islam in Europe make it even more relevant.

Macdonald strikes a masterful balance between the goal of theory to generalize and her desire to present an incredible diversity of cases across Europe. In her words: "the aim should not be to try to fulfill the collector's dream (or is it nightmare?) of the full set. Rather, the task is to probe into what is going on, explore subtleties and nuance, as well as to grasp any commonalities" (108). Macdonald identifies issues, deliberates with opposing views, and humbly offers her own evaluation without the combativeness and self-promotion that often mar academic discussion. The theoretical questions hold the mass of ethnographical detail together, and we glide smoothly from one issue to another.

The questions prompting this study are important ones. What accounts for the memory boom—the myriad ways of making the past present—in Europe over the past several decades? What are the major tendencies in academic study of the European memory-heritage-identity complex? How do the memory boom and its academic study relate to contemporary European politics?

The introduction is a skillful work of synthesis. Macdonald outlines major approaches to social and cultural memory, the relation of memory to history, the heritage industry, and the relation between personal and collective memories. By reflexively situating anthropological methods and questions in time and in relation to other disciplines, she provides one of the best arguments I know of (although the book is never argumentative) for why anthropological approaches to memory, heritage, and commemoration are absolutely essential. Macdonald's background as an ethnographer in Scotland and Germany and her positions at universities with different disciplinary orientations (social anthropology in Manchester and York and European ethnology in Berlin) give her a multiperspectival view not only of the field but of theory and its disciplinary practice.

The first half of the book is divided into several chapters. "Making Histories" discusses the growth of questions about the past in anthropology and recent attempts to construct European histories, traditions and historical consciousness. "Telling the Past" explores the similarities and

differences between anthropology and history and the relation between forms of telling the past and its content. “Feeling the Past” describes the heritage industry as well as concerns about commodification.

In the second half of the book, Macdonald deals with the “musealisation or heritagisation of everyday and folk life” (25) and the challenges faced by traditional institutions in an age of migration, multicultural citizenship, and transcultural and cosmopolitan memories. While these chapters devote more space to her fieldwork sites, they also raise new theoretical issues thankfully postponed from the introduction. For example, “Selling the Past” provides a delightfully clear and historicized consideration of authenticity at tourist and heritage sites. It helped me better understand the intense, often violent passion that I routinely witness (I live in Jerusalem) surrounding discussions of authenticity and the origins of heritage sites. This chapter also presents short discussions of the affordances that different material objects offer memory, the ways that focusing on the material may marginalize other cultures’ understandings of heritage, and the structural (if not necessarily moral) tensions between the struggle for authenticity and the forces of the marketplace.

The next chapter offers a similarly nuanced treatment of the musealization of everyday life. While removing objects from the home and placing them in museums radically change their nature, Macdonald argues for the continued social role of such objects as inalienable possessions and as bases for telling stories. She suggests (citing Andreas Huyssen) that museums not only provide an escape from modern alienation but may be “a site and testing ground for reflections on temporality and subjectivity, identity and alterity” (140).

In “Transcultural Heritage,” Macdonald explores whether the concept of heritage is capable of accommodating hybrid, transcultural, or migrant identities—a topic that is very much with us today. Her interesting ethnographic cases notwithstanding, the broader answer remains fragmentary. Extending this analysis is a chapter examining cosmopolitan memory of the Holocaust and its representations in museums, monuments, and ceremonies. Here Macdonald relies on her own fieldwork in Nuremberg as well as that of other scholars. She presents the influential argument, advanced by Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, that cosmopolitan European openness to difference is fueled by the assumption of responsibility for the Holocaust and the determination to prevent a future one by using sites associated with it to teach multicultural and ethnic tolerance. As such, Holocaust memory serves as a kind of totem of contemporary transnational European identity. Macdonald then brings in a series of examples from various countries, showing how cosmopolitan frames of remembering are inflected nationally in ways that subvert the larger message. For example, the Polish legislature’s

recent attempt to outlaw any mention of Polish complicity in the Holocaust as a besmirching of national honor further demonstrates how ineffective this openness to difference really is.

In her final chapter, Macdonald addresses the future of European memorylands. In keeping with the rest of the book, rather than providing conclusive answers she raises further questions. Does collective identity require shared memories? Will genetic mapping change group identity? What particular conceptions about self and identity are reflected in European spatial representations of everyday life? These and other questions remind us that in an age of striving for common European belonging, we need to look carefully at local understandings of heritage and its relation to identity.

In the end, Macdonald warns us not to restrict our view of heritage to identity politics. Heritage, she claims, enables us to compare and reflect in ways that engage us emotionally and sensorially. It reflects and influences how we conceive of home, property, the nation, and belonging. It enables us to pay a debt to our ancestors through “visiting” them. While forms of transmission may change—Macdonald notes the greater personalization of sites, an increased use of art installations, and the solicitation of affective responses from visitors—heritage will continue to be a way for Europeans to reflect upon the past and shape the future.

Memorylands is a magisterial and highly readable synthesis. It is deep enough for advanced scholars and clear enough for undergraduates, and it has an extensive bibliography of fieldwork studies. It should be required reading for anyone interested in the anthropology of Europe, collective memory, heritage, museum studies, and the intersection of anthropology and history.

Tourism Imaginaries: Anthropological Approaches. Noel B. Salazar and Nelson H. H. Graburn, eds. New York: Berghahn, 2016. 304 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12435

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Tourism imaginaries affect our understanding of the world because they often provide us with initial images of places and peoples. In their introduction to this edited volume, Noel Salazar and Nelson Graburn define tourism imaginaries as “socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people’s personal imaginings and that are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices” (1). The volume explores how tourism imaginaries play a significant role in connecting diverse locations and

shaping the relationships among variously situated peoples. The editors suggest that tourism imaginaries function as the motor that sets tourism in motion and, as such, they are “potent propellers of sociocultural and environmental change, and essential elements in the process of identity formation, the making of place, and the perpetual invention of culture” (16). The collection illustrates how tourism imaginaries are circulated, interpreted, negotiated, institutionalized, and materialized in tangible objects, monuments, and the built environment as well as in natural landscapes. With grounded ethnographic examples, the authors of each of the ten chapters demonstrate that critical analysis of tourism imaginaries is essential to understanding the social dynamics brought by tourism encounters.

The central theme that runs through many chapters is how tourism imaginaries are produced by playing out the difference between self and other. The authors suggest that this difference is often framed by sets of dichotomies such as culture-nature, here-there, now-then, global-local, and cosmopolitan-indigenous. The discourses of spatial and temporal differentiation are foundational to the creation of the imaginaries of distant destinations and timeless pasts, as Federica Ferraris clearly demonstrates in her analysis of Italian tourism imaginaries of Cambodia. The editors point out that anthropology is not innocent in the making of exotic cultures, peoples, and places, since the tourism industry often borrows from scholarly work to construct reified and homogenized ideas of peoples and places. They set out to go beyond the binary distinction between hosts and guests by focusing on the complex and fluid social dynamics brought about by tourism encounters and pointing out the significant role that intermediaries play in circulating tourism imaginaries, as they filter and translate information and guide the actions of tourists and locals.

A signal feature of this volume is that each chapter offers detailed illustrations, from a variety of theoretical perspectives, of the negotiations that occur in the production and circulation of imaginaries. Tourism imaginaries are inseparable from power relations because the origins of these imaginaries can often be traced back to colonial and imperial histories as well as neocolonial relations in global capitalism. While recognizing the power asymmetry that shapes tourism imaginaries, the editors argue that there are more complex relations at play. In order to go beyond the conventional analytic model that assumes the distinction between mobile cosmopolitan tourists and immobile local peoples, they propose to pay close attention to “the relationship between various elements and relations of tourism circuits, and the contradictions, anomalies and paradoxes that these entail” (17).

The issue of power negotiations is most strikingly featured in Alexis Celeste Bunten's insightful analysis of the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in Australia. Instead of simply describing the mechanism of commodification

of indigenous people and culture, perhaps informed by postcolonial and subaltern theory, Bunten convincingly illustrates how Tjapukai hosts actually engage in covert resistance to and manipulation of tourism imaginaries and subvert the meaning of the cultural park for their own purpose of healing intergenerational wounds in a settler-colonial setting. The strategy of appropriation used by historically subjugated people is also addressed in João Afonso Baptista's analysis of the development of community-based tourism in Mozambique. Baptista explains that while community is a foreign concept in the village of Canhane, people appropriate the concept and engage in the global circulation of moral imaginaries in order to legitimize and empower their positions with powerful outsiders.

Rupert Stasch approaches tourism dynamics from a different angle by juxtaposing the exoticizing stereotypes that Korowai of Papua and tourists hold about each other with the concept of symmetry. Dimitrios Theodossopoulos describes the reciprocal yet contradictory process of exoticization that contributes to the negotiations of cultural difference among Emberá, nonindigenous Panamanians, and foreign visitors. Margaret Byrne Swain focuses on the dialectic coproduction of indigeneity and cosmopolitanism in the neighboring communities of Sani and Axi Yi in Yunnan, China. Looking at the role of imaginaries in place making, Michael Di Giovine introduces the concept of *imaginaire dialectic* in his analysis of Pietrelcina, a small Italian town and the birthplace of an early 20th-century Catholic saint, and illustrates how diverse refractions of tourist imaginaries are manifested in tangible events and the built environment. Paula Mota Santos, in contrast, proposes the *rhizomic* as an analytical lens and discusses how the Portugal dos Pequenitos miniature theme park provides a site for visitors to imagine a national landscape where people's lived experiences and phenomenological relations with the landscape are highly diverse and intense. Kenneth Little combines Gilles Deleuze and Brian Massumi to describe the processes of assemblage, in which tourism imaginaries of Belize as a seductive tropical dreamworld have emerged, by tracing how disparate images and stories are affectively conjured up through the movement of material objects—such as a beer coaster or a mystery ship—while containing the uncanny potential to become otherwise. Anke Tonnaer uses the notion of performativity in her analysis of conservation movements in the Netherlands and how competing imaginaries of nature and wild landscapes are performed and contested.

As Naomi Leite points out in the afterword, while the authors' analytic approaches are diverse, the chapters highlight the tension between imaginaries of commonality and difference and also signal a novel direction of analysis as the tourism imaginaries “span the mental, representational and ideational realms and readily transcend geographic and even cultural borders” (274). While the book focuses on

tourism, its contributors also provide important hints for analyzing various other forms of cultural encounters and global connections. Because tourism imaginaries widely circulate and deeply permeate everyday lives in contemporary societies, the analysis in this collection offers broader insights beyond the study of tourism itself.

Rainforest Cowboys: The Rise of Ranching and Cattle Culture in Western Amazonia. Jeffrey Hoelle. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015. 212 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12436

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Rainforest Cowboys makes for delightful reading, while cowboys, of course, exert a certain fascination in the United States and also in Brazil. Despite the title, Jeffrey Hoelle does not attempt a sociological analysis of cowboys, much less of their work life on the ranches carved more than a generation ago out of the rain forest. The subtitle is more accurate. This book is about cattle culture, also called *cauboi* (cowboy) or *contri* (country) culture, in its current Brazilian incarnation. Hoelle has an eye for colorful and significant details in the lives and cultural ambiance of the people of Acre, the far western state of Brazil's Amazonia. Stories of individual Acreans and sketches of their social interactions illustrate his analysis. Informants' own concepts and terminology are used to describe their cultural practices. Symbolic and ironic aspects of how they reflect upon themselves are noted.

The influence of cattle culture in Acre reaches far beyond the actual cowboys—in a manner paralleling country and western culture in the United States. Manifestations of the *cauboi* lifestyle have spread widely in recent years into both rural and urban classes: dressing “Texano’ style with cowboy boots, blue jeans, plaid shirts, tooled leather belts, felt hats, and big belt buckles” (93); listening to rural *sertaneja* music, often in *contri* bars; and flocking to large rodeos and cattle-centered agricultural fairs and festivals. The lifestyle is epitomized by *churrasco*, the large-scale barbecuing of beef, at all celebrations. Acreans avidly consume the meat. The only classes that deliberately distance themselves from the *contri* way of life—though they enjoy beef, too—are some of the educated elite of the state capital, Rio Branco, and some of the larger ranch owners desiring to maintain status differences.

Hoelle analyzes Acre's cattle culture thoroughly from various theoretical viewpoints that readers may or may not find helpful. But his most important point is that the material basis underlying the rise of this culture is the growth in cattle raising itself—the number of cattle in Acre

increased 400 percent between 1998 and 2008. Significantly, smallholders have become “the main drivers of cattle expansion, as cattle raising became their only economically viable livelihood” (22). Migrants brought in by the government in the 1970s and 1980s to colonize agricultural settlements have turned to cattle raising, as have even the longer-established rubber tappers and Brazil nut gatherers. Hoelle details the many advantages that small-scale cattle raising offers these relatively poor rural groups as part of diversified livelihood strategies that include some farming, perhaps some nut and rubber extraction, and intermittent wage labor, often for the large ranches of Acre, which are thriving.

This robust development, certainly not intended by the recent political establishment, might be seen as an ironic twist to the narrative of Acre known to many readers. This is the legend of Chico Mendes and the forest-dwelling rubber tappers who struggled in the 1980s to slow down the appropriation and deforestation of land by big ranchers. Their cause, which culminated in the martyrdom of Mendes, won the support of the international environmental movement. The Brazilian government responded by establishing reserves where rubber tapping and Brazil nut gathering could continue and the forest could be preserved. A “forest government” came to power in Acre to promote this new ecological vision of Amazonian development.

As a result, 88 percent of Acre is still covered by forest. Remarkably, the cattle boom has nevertheless occurred in the remaining 12 percent of the state on land cleared long ago. The forest has been protected, but the new ecovision has not won over the people of Acre. Instead, the cattle culture has captured the popular imagination, as cattle became essential to the ways rural dwellers make a living. Hoelle provides a number of surveys indicating how various groups in Acre value cattle as opposed to the forest. Cattle invariably emerge more positively—except, of course, among the political establishment and the non-governmental organization *ecologistas* who promote the proforest ideology.

The cultural shifts have inevitably led to shifts in political perceptions in Acre. No longer can the ranchers be portrayed as they were in the 1980s—as rich outsiders and ecovillains threatening the rain forest and the rubber tappers. The land wars have ended; no more forest is being destroyed. While remaining economically and socially powerful as a class, ranchers are no longer favored by the government. (The author defines a rancher as someone owning five thousand head of cattle—large indeed by US standards, where many ranchers get by on herds numbering only in the hundreds.) Moreover, the author discovers that this class is more complex than its former image indicated: some ranchers, rather than inheriting wealth, come from humble origins and are self-made. Upward mobility occurs, as successful cattle raisers climb into this class.

Ranchers resent government environmental policies, which they see as inhibiting economic growth. They are developing a new political argument, stressing the positive social good of beef production: the need to increase access to affordable foods among the lower classes. Framing this argument as being in the national interest, they question the motives of the international environmental movement as an imperialist attempt to keep Brazil from competing in the world market by developing its own resources.

The spread of cattle raising and the rise of cattle culture mean the ranchers' argument draws sympathy from the other rural classes—and even from urban people in Acre. These constituencies also resent the government policies, wondering why a concern for “butterflies and monkeys” outweighs economic development that would benefit “the people.” They see the *ecologists* as being disconnected from rural realities. The book ends on this note, foreseeing political conflict and real problems for the ideal of rain forest preservation in Acre.

To his great credit, Jeff Hoelle explains these issues with the open-mindedness and astute analysis we should expect from really good cultural anthropology.

The Blue and the Green: A Cultural Ecological History of an Arizona Ranching Community. Jack Stauder. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2016. 338 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12437

JODIE ASSELIN

University of Lethbridge

More than a century of increasing government regulation and public concerns about environmental protection has had large effects on small-scale ranchers. These are laid out in detail in Jack Stauder's account of ranching history in small-town rural Arizona. *The Blue and the Green* takes on the intricate process of disentangling influence, action, and consequence through a historical examination of the political, legal, and environmental processes that have shaped ranching and, in particular, access to public grazing land. The Blue River area is an isolated region of the state, dominated by mountainous terrain not amicable to farming that has been home to nearly a century and a half of cattle ranching and that, more recently, has seen the establishment of the Blue Range Primitive Area. Stauder documents the origin and contemporary manifestation of disputes among local ranchers, the US Forest Service, and environmental activist groups that have resulted in Blue region cattle ranching being increasingly unviable. The emphasis of the book, however, is on the cattle ranchers themselves and their interactions with their society and environment.

Despite the book's narrow regional focus, Stauder discusses broad trends in ranching and in the US environmental movement. In this case, the local is influenced by national policy and public sentiment—a public increasingly concerned about sustainable land use, endangered species, and protected spaces. Stauder lays out the impact of crisis narratives that have led to sweeping regulations resulting in, among other things, limited access to rangeland for cattle ranchers in the Blue region. In tracing shifting ranching patterns, regulations, and legal arguments, he artfully reveals a series of contradictions within these broader narratives, including the tendency of heavily affected areas to be interpreted from afar as wilderness despite the long history of intensive and at times damaging cattle ranching that he describes.

Stauder explores this fascinating region through local oral histories and publications, historic and legal documents, and contemporary interviews with Blue ranchers. Taking a cultural ecology approach, he outlines shifting land-use norms, beginning with the heavy overgrazing of the Blue region's alpine forests and their subsequent environmental degradation. He moves on to discuss the introduction of mandatory fences to restrict grazing area, regulations controlling cattle's access to freshwater, and eventually the consideration of endangered species by the US Forest Service before approving grazing permits.

Stauder raises some well-founded critical points regarding the precarious position of ranchers who rely on state land for their livelihoods and the deep interest that they have in the health of the land and their cattle. Likewise, this work touches on the power of a well-organized environmental movement to use legal mechanisms and bureaucracy to influence the decision making and capacity of state agencies. However, while the region's status as wilderness is brought into question, detail regarding the protected or at-risk species and landscapes that are described is not abundant.

The author focuses primarily on the late 19th century to the present day, narrowed further by examining the Blue community mainly through cattle ranching and through working with the ranchers themselves. As a sad consequence, the Apache history of the area is quickly and uncritically summarized, leaving the reader longing for a richer and deeper social understanding of the region. Given the book's attention to land access and the power of the state, it would have been appropriate to track the fate of these users and shapers of the terrain as well.

Though Stauder details the negative environmental impact of early 19th-century overgrazing and shifting grazing practices through time, readers may likewise be left with a desire for a more detailed critical examination of exactly how ideas of sustainable use differ among the groups mentioned. This is tantalizingly touched on, for instance,

when Stauder establishes the dedicated interest of ranchers in maintaining the land in a healthy state, but he fails to explore more thoroughly what that healthy state actually means. Similarly, Stauder suggests that bureaucratic hand tying has led to minimal to no actual on-the-land surveys to determine vegetation and soil quality on rangeland, but he does not delve into the quagmire of virtual or scientific monitoring versus experience-based local knowledge. Though he briefly discusses this, he could have made a stronger contribution to the literature pertaining to representation of land through satellite or aerial imagery, which is notoriously problematic in determining types of land cover and foliage densities.

Overall, *The Blue and the Green* is a rich example of the importance of integrating historical patterns into ethnographic research about land use. It is from this perspective that the precarious nature of local livelihoods is best understood and, likewise, the pervasive influence of bureaucratic processes that are beyond the ability of many individuals to successfully navigate. It is well researched and well cited, and both contemporary and historic data are integrated to create a compelling story. Historians, anthropologists, and geographers as well as all those interested in the politics and culture of land management and ranching may find this book a gem. It provides a valuable addition to ranching literature as well as the literature of cultural and political ecology.

At Home in the Okavango: White Batswana Narratives of Emplacement and Belonging. *Catie Gressier*. New York: Berghahn, 2015. 244 pp.

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An engaging and timely ethnography, *At Home in the Okavango* details the narratives and experiences of white Batswana in a remote and beautiful part of the world, the Okavango Delta in northern Botswana. Engaging, because individual Batswana emerge from the ethnography as fully realized characters—people we get to know and understand. Timely, because it addresses some of the most pressing complexities of today's political landscapes—namely, how do minority communities forge a positive connection to place and a sense of belonging, particularly in contexts of “interracial and ethnic unease” (6)?

To answer this question, Catie Gressier draws on theories of autochthony, which she finds compelling as “a rich concept that has at its core connections of a people to the land” (10). For Gressier, an analytical emphasis on autochthony is more useful than one on

citizenship because of its grounded focus on territory, as her interlocutors assert that they are primarily attached to the Okavango region and not to the nation. Their attachment stems from their interactions with and knowledge of the environment, which began when they were children and coalesced into a deep sense of emplacement through their involvement—oftentimes as guides—in the safari industry. Gressier describes their sense of belonging as a mobilization of experiential autochthony. Distinguishing it from political autochthony, she uses the term to refer to “the primary and practical experiences of individuals or groups in relation to the social and physical worlds in which they are born and raised” (12). This does not preclude political autochthony, which she links to the distribution of rights and resources based on one's insider or outsider status. However, for Gressier, focusing on experiential autochthony opens up more possibilities for attending to the subjectivities of her interlocutors and their connections to the Okavango as white Batswana. Such possibilities also allow her to concentrate more on individual experiences, an endeavor that works well with the small size of her research population.

Gressier estimates that 5,000 white residents live in the Okavango region. However, only about 500 are citizens of Botswana, while the remaining—approximately 90 percent—are white expatriates working in the tourism industry. For Gressier, the entitlements accorded to white Batswana, along with their unique upbringing in the Okavango, make their perspectives and experiences markedly different from those of the expatriate community.

The distinction between the two groups is a useful one, for the expatriates frequently serve as a foil to the sense of emplacement and belonging expressed by white Batswana. Hunting, a long-standing tradition among white Batswana, reveals these differences readily because it exemplifies some of their most valorized ideals, ideals that are closely linked to a frontier masculinity and cultural values of stoicism, resourcefulness, freedom, and antimaterialism. Expatriates, meanwhile, have voiced strong opposition to hunting because their preoccupations align more closely with the dominant discourses of global environmental movements that view hunting as incompatible with conservation efforts. In recent years, this debate has become muted, for the government has banned all forms of hunting—from subsistence to safari hunting—in Botswana. Much to Gressier's surprise, the majority of her respondents have accepted the government's ban “without excessive anger or despair” (145), despite losses to their livelihoods, not to mention their sense of connection to the land.

In part, this acceptance can be explained by a collective national ethos of *kagiso*, a Setswana term meaning “peace and harmony” (5). As Gressier describes in

several ethnographic vignettes, Batswana place a high value on maintaining a peaceful coexistence; similarly, the government, in its official rhetoric, downplays interethnic tensions and disunity. Of course interethnic tensions and disunity exist in Botswana, as does racial discord, and Gressier carefully documents these structural inequities and interpersonal conflicts. The underlying tensions of race are perhaps most prominent in the marital patterns of white Batswana, who rarely marry black Batswana. In fact, Gressier writes that white Batswana tend not to engage in meaningful relationships with black Batswana at all. This may, to some degree, be explained by their commitment to the bush, because many of her respondents remark on the relationship between their misanthropic tendencies and their desire to commune with the environment and animals instead of people. However, Gressier also notes that marriages between white Batswana, of both British and Afrikaner descent, and white expatriates are common.

More could have been done to explicate these relationships. For instance, how do marital unions with expatriates—and their ensuing offspring—complicate the emplacement of white Batswana in the Okavango? Much attention is devoted to individuals and their experiences in the bush, yet we know very little about their intimate relationships and how they interact with family, lovers, and friends when they return home. The stories also are very gendered, and while Gressier includes narratives from women and explains their position in the safari industry—mainly as administrators—we do not gain much sense of them embedded in personal relationships or oriented to their homes. Rather, the stories of family and home life, when they appear, tend to be narrated from the perspectives of men. Bringing in more participant-observation and interviews in this regard would have helped strengthen the ethnography's focus on experiential autochthony and Gressier's call "to look beyond the politics to the personal" (13) when investigating the connections that minority groups develop toward their homelands.

The contributions that Gressier's work makes to a number of scholarships are nonetheless noteworthy. It solidly positions itself within a literature of settler cultures as well as the anthropology of place and tourism studies. Moreover, her close attention to the dynamics of whiteness and how it interplays with racial and ethnic categories lends itself to important insights into the construction of social identities. Such insights are strengthened through her vivid and accessible writing, which makes this book a pleasure to read. In sum, Gressier's research with white Batswana has much to offer, particularly as a comparative case study where white settler communities in neighboring countries have a more ambivalent and fraught relationship with claims to autochthony.

Refugees of the Revolution: Experiences of Palestinian Exile. *Diana Allan.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014. 328 pp.

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"I speak for the poor who have been canceled from the world map" (113). So orates Abu Faruq, one of the eloquent residents of the Shatila Palestinian refugee camp in the southern suburbs of Beirut, Lebanon, whose desires and frustrations lie at the core of this moving and elegant ethnography by Diana Allan. For, while this is a book most certainly about the specific kinds of historical, discursive, and institutional relations that have shaped the lives of Shatila's dwellers, it is also one that covers much broader terrain. It is a book about the structural conditions of poverty and what it means to cope, survive, and dream amid the daily challenges of securing the resources to feed one's family, pay medical bills and burial costs, and access basic infrastructural services. In her conclusion, Allan asks herself whether she was able to offer something of the "multitudinousness of the Palestinian refugee experience" (213) in the preceding pages. Through the stories of Shatila's residents that she shares and her thoughtful, penetrating analysis of them, Allan gives us just this—a rich portrayal of life in the camp, centered on the everyday material and affective practices with which its residents engage. It is a sad commentary on the reality of the Palestinian refugee experience in the region that while Allan draws largely on research from more than a decade earlier, the lives she portrays are lived pretty much the same today.

Based on fieldwork in Shatila from the early to the mid-2000s, when Allan also embarked on several film projects, including an archive of memories of the catastrophic events of 1948 (the Nakba) when an estimated 750,000 Palestinian Arabs were driven from their homes during the establishment of the Israeli state, the book was motivated by her desire to "consider the various ways in which refugees are pushing back against the assumptions and impositions of nationalist discourse" (5). Allan argues that these assumptions and impositions emerge not just from the "ideological matrix of Palestinian nationalism whereby a pre-1948 Palestinian homeland is the normative focus of narratives of belonging, yearning, and political attachment" (4) but from scholarly examinations of the Palestinian refugee experience. In both sets of discourse, refugees are constituted primarily as national subjects; in the process, Allan asserts, the realities of camp life and alternative forms of social and political identification have been neglected. Allan aims to tell the story of Palestinian exile through everyday modes of experience that constitute dynamic

forms of subjectivity and belonging that “cut against the grain of officially sanctioned nationalism” (26). This is a project, she observes, that seeks not to erode the politics of solidarity but to reflect critically on these politics in an attempt to shift the focus on refugee experience away from the lens of nationalism and toward the local material realities of life lived in long-term displacement and economic hardship.

Residents of Shatila, one of 12 Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, are part of what is now considered the poorest and most deprived Palestinian community worldwide. Treated as stateless foreigners by the Lebanese state, Palestinians in Lebanon’s camps live in severe economic distress, in poorly built and insecure homes with little or no access to essential services, and face an acute lack of legal protection. They are trapped in a seemingly permanent state of temporariness because the Lebanese government presupposes their ultimate repatriation to Palestine, and the absence of economic opportunity has made them largely dependent on a constellation of inadequate programs and services delivered by a range of NGOs, many of which are in fact politically affiliated.

It is in this context that Allan examines the practices that enable people to navigate poverty and create a meaningful existence. Three chapters interrogate the fixed relations to territory and home that Allan argues undergird both Palestinian nationalist discourse and most ethnographic accounts of the Palestinian refugee experience. In chapters about quotidian modes of remembering and forgetting the traumatic past—set against the conventional narratives of commemorating and recalling the Nakba, stories of migration from the camp and the creation of new Palestinian diasporas that put into contention the notions of both “home” and “return,” and residents’ discussions of the right of return—Allan demonstrates that exile is a diverse experience for different generations of Palestinians living in Shatila. Three other chapters address the pragmatics and politics of survival. While one chapter tracks how refugees meet basic needs and secure material and emotional support through relations of lending and borrowing that draw on neighbors and fictive kin as well as family near and quite far, another chapter explores a different register of survival, that of the ritual of recounting and interpreting dreams as a means of engaging the future. The most compelling account of how Shatila’s residents get by is found in the chapter “Stealing Power,” which in its investigation of “electricity as a lens through which to examine the ontologies of power in Shatila” (134) shows in stark relief how camp residents struggle to access resources and improve their lives amid the kinds of politics—on multiple scales—that determine resource distribution.

Refugees of the Revolution is a beautifully written ethnography of life in Shatila. It is unwavering in its aim to

see refugees as contemporary and material subjects rather than historical, abstract, and ideological ones. It will be read by many working in Middle East anthropology and refugee studies, but it should be read more broadly by students and scholars engaging with theories of structural violence, memory, and the informal economy, to name only a few. Allan offers careful observations of the politics of Palestinian studies scholarship as well as of herself and her own motivations as anthropologist and filmmaker. But it is the residents of Shatila—their wit, their losses, and their resolve—who animate this work. In a book that resists their cancellation from the world map, here they stand and are recognized.

Two Arabs, a Berber, and a Jew: Entangled Lives in Morocco. Lawrence Rosen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 400 pp.

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Following a long career devoted to the advancement of anthropological theory and the study of Moroccan culture, Lawrence Rosen presents the title of his latest foray in the form of a well-known joke. In play is a rhetorical ploy that places categorically different ethnic and religious characters in humorous, often dangerous scenarios. Neither preventing communication nor resolving into harmonious understanding, their culturally marked social differences are at once presupposed and subjected to critical comparison. Such jokes are rarely meant to point out the foibles of one social category alone but, rather, to poke fun at all of them. If the stereotypes are not entirely subverted, any naive commitment to them is made laughable.

At the heart of this book is a sequence of four ethnographically grounded biographical portraits—the title’s two Arabs, a Berber, and a Jew—that span Rosen’s own ethnographic journey from the 1960s past the end of Morocco’s long 20th century. As with other anthropological life histories, Rosen’s book moves among the vicissitudes of the main characters’ lives, the broader cultural patterns they represent, and the historical transformations in which they are embedded. By combing four such stories rather than focusing on one, Rosen represents modern Morocco as a nexus of articulated social differences rather than a homogeneous system of common identities. Indeed, one great strength of this book is its refusal to reduce Morocco to a single social form (e.g., tribal, patronage, market), identity (e.g., Arab, Berber, Jew), or historical determination (e.g., Islamic, colonial, nationalist). While the scope of the book is dizzying, the stories unfold elegantly in captivating narratives that span overlapping periods from the 19th century to the present.

In the first chapter, Rosen focuses on an Islamic court functionary whose memories extend back before the installation of the French protectorate in 1912 and whose life continues after Moroccan independence in 1956. The chapter traces how “big man” politics functioned prior to colonial control and how it was appropriated afterward. In the next chapter, Rosen shifts to a second character—variously teacher, café owner, and imam—who reflects on his understanding of Islamic cosmology as one in which flexibility, choice, and moderation are paramount. A third chapter introduces a Berber entrepreneur whose dealings provide a prism for considering market exchange, landownership, labor, and tribal relations as they operate fluidly across rural and urban contexts. In the final chapter, the life of a shopkeeper, whose transience within Morocco ends with eventual migration to Israel, represents the distinctively structured place of Jews as intimate strangers in local economic, political, and religious relationships.

Sefrou, the Moroccan town to which Rosen has been returning for half a century, provides more than just the local setting. The small city is situated within extended itineraries negotiated by the main characters, who move among various urban centers and rural regions within Morocco and beyond. Tracing these lives demonstrates how such movements (economic, political, military, etc.) have been an integral aspect of Moroccan social patterns, whether expressed in the precolonial political processes, rural to urban migrations under the protectorate, or postcolonial migrations itineraries that have channeled Moroccans primarily to European metropolises and, in the case of Jews, to Israel.

In this way, Rosen argues that Sefrou exemplifies the social patterns, cultural meanings, and historical transformations that have variously characterized modern Morocco more generally. As such, the book serves as a compendium of reflections on many of the major ethnographic categories (*baraka*, *ar*, *makhzen*, *siba*, *cherif*, *asl*, etc.) and analytical frames (patron-client relations, segmentarity, reciprocal exchange, rites of reversal, etc.) that have been central to the anthropology of Morocco since the early 20th century. While Rosen draws productively on numerous scholarly interlocutors, from Edvard Westermarck to Ernest Gellner, his approach remains within an avowed Geertzian orbit. Morocco, in this view, is understood as being organized primarily through person-centered webs of interaction in which individuals creatively deploy available cultural schema to stake their own claims for always emerging social realities.

Reflecting lines of argumentation that trace back to Rosen’s earlier works, this book presents a noteworthy narrative experiment, at once personal and expansive, not easily placed into existing genres of ethnographic writing. Much of the narrative emerges in autobiographically rendered voices that Rosen constructs from recollections and field notes compiled over the decades. The particularities

of individual lives open onto broader social, economic, and political histories, whose well-known contours are conveyed in more conventional historiographic prose. Added to this are periodic reflections on the ethnographic enterprise, represented warmly as the imperfect effort to appreciate and translate the ordinary lives of others in terms that readers can understand and value.

Rosen further situates this effort in a broader humanistic context, where individual Moroccan lives are brought into dialogue with a constellation of scholarly, literary, poetic, philosophical, and artistic voices captured in abundant quotations sprinkled throughout the text. Between Robert Burns and Lewis Carroll, whose words introduce the book’s prologue and epilogue, respectively, Rosen often hearkens to figures ranging from Frédéric Chopin to Ibn Khaldun, arguing also that the perspectives of ordinary folk from North Africa contribute no more or less to the human quest for meaning than do the celebrated luminaries of record.

Rosen’s endeavor succeeds on many levels. For a general audience, the book provides an entrée into Moroccan sociocultural history, filtered through the lives of four fascinating characters. It also offers a portrait of Islam as a flexible and moderate system whose North African adherents creatively craft their lives in modern contexts. For more specialized readers, the book provides a useful overview of major academic debates, ranging from the nature of tribalism to the place of Jews in Muslim society. Working scholars, however, will find that the absence of citations beyond suggestions for further reading places some limits on the book’s usefulness as a resource for further research; Rosen’s earlier works will continue to prove more helpful in this regard. Likewise, his commitment to the ideas of Moroccan “culture,” Islamic “mentality,” and “the Arabs” may trouble critical readers trained to question such reifying categories. If, however, we are sympathetic to the challenge of addressing a wide readership, for whom those categories remain deeply entrenched, then Rosen’s invitation to work through associated stereotypes in order to render them more dynamic and complex is worthwhile indeed.

Return to Casablanca: Jews, Muslims, and an Israeli Anthropologist. *André Levy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 240 pp.

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André Levy was born in Morocco and raised in Ashdod, Israel—a port city closely associated with Moroccan Jews. In 1990, when he returned to his country of birth as an Israeli anthropology graduate student, his fieldwork prompted

questions about the fluid and sentimental meanings of “homeland” and “diaspora.” In *Return to Casablanca*, he gathers his reflections across 30 years, inspired by his scholarly interest in Moroccan Jews and curiosity about his nostalgia for a past that he hears echoed in the stories of those who left Morocco and settled in Israel. Although he does not claim to offer political insights, Levy sifts his accumulated observations through theories authored by familiar canonical 1980s thinkers, including Clifford Geertz, James Clifford, Arjun Appadurai, and Renato Rosaldo. Reader-friendly though perhaps too similar to a dissertation chapter, his introduction maps out methodological questions about fieldwork, home, and borders—metaphors that invite scrutiny because they essentialize experiences in a world where belonging and displacement are salient realities that frequently go together.

After situating himself as an anthropologist insider-outsider, Levy turns his attention to his main purpose: understudied interactions between Jewish and Muslim Moroccans from the perspective of local Jews who remained behind when the majority of Jews left, beginning with Moroccan independence and continuing through the Six-Day War. In subsequent decades, Jews in Morocco accommodated themselves to an underlying tension of uncertainty, a collective sentiment that permeates this internally class-divided community and shapes interactions with Muslims in public and private domains.

In chapter 2, Levy presents Yithak Ben Yais Halevi, a late 19th-century intellectual who wrote in Hebrew for a newspaper in Poland. This contribution to the Jewish Enlightenment, a philosophical movement centered in Europe and influenced by European thinkers, offers neglected evidence of the presence of a multilingual, multicultural Jewish sector in Morocco. Ben Yais Halevi's publications contradict a prevailing image in Israel of Maghrebi Jews as backward and primitive; yet ironically he also harbored similar disdain.

Chapters 2 and 3 highlight bookends: the Jewish community at its peak in the early to mid-20th century and its dramatic demographic decline. French colonialization proved fortuitous for much of the Jewish population, liberating them from the inferior although protected status of *dhimmi*s. In contrast, colonialist discrimination against Muslim Moroccans helped drive a wedge through relations between Jews and Muslims. Jews began to move into cities and to assimilate as upwardly mobile French speakers while inhabiting Jewish enclaves that set them apart. In contrast, Muslims mobilized a nationalist movement that cultivated political linkages among Islam and Arabs and, though Levy never mentions it, Africa. Quite pointedly, his anecdotes show Jews in Morocco insisting on difference that privileges French Europeanness as the distinction between them and Moroccan Muslims. The issue is one not of religion but of class, which cuts across the general Moroccan cultural

landscape. Parenthetically, Levy omits—and this must be intentional because it is a political issue in Israel among Mizrahi Jews—references to Jews from Arabic-language countries as “Arab Jews” that parallel the phrase “European Jews.”

Levy devotes several pages to disciplinary gatekeepers and ethnocentric presumptions about Moroccan Jews among Israeli Ashkenazi academics. In the 1950s and 1960s, these preconceptions informed discriminatory policies, some of which were inexcusably racist, that disregarded educated and upwardly mobile immigrants from Morocco and lumped them together with the urban poor and rural illiterates. A significant number of Moroccan Jews, who resented the elitism of Eastern European Jewish bureaucrats and politicians as much as the poor physical conditions, left for France and Canada. The larger majority came to be represented in public and political discourse as either a social problem or an ethnological curiosity. Levy reproaches both anthropologists and sociologists for objectifying North African Jews as well as ignoring the more compelling question about the impact of colonialism and urbanization on Jewish communities in Morocco and other Afro-Asian countries.

In chapters 4 and 5, Levy focuses on Jewish interactions with Muslims in the physical confines of home. An unfavorable portrait emerges characterized by pretense and prejudice. The arrogant attitude of Jewish employers toward Muslim household help is astonishing, given their anxiety about anti-Jewish attitudes, and it begs a comparative analysis of madams and maids. In the public arena of the beach, Muslims and Jews play card games together; here rules and protocols of social interaction are very clear and internalized. Stability means controlling relations—a strategy of survival and resistance—and therefore cultivating internal antennae that are always ready to identify and dissipate conflict.

Levy also neglects to accentuate the extent to which Casablanca is a cosmopolitan city where French and Arabic are both used and frequently mixed. The Jews who remain—and perhaps their visiting relatives from France and Canada—are no longer a miniature reflection of the approximately 250,000 Moroccan Jews before the great exodus following the establishment of the State of Israel, many if not most of whom were indeed more fluent in Moroccan Arabic than in French. In fact, fluency and familiarity with Judeo-Arabic languages—and a desire to use them—mirror the very different subsequent trajectories of Jews of Moroccan origin in Israel and those who left for French-speaking countries (for a prime example, see the films of Israeli director and actor Ronit Elkabetz ז"ל, which incorporate Hebrew, Moroccan Arabic, and French dialogues).

Return to Casablanca concludes with Moroccan-born Israelis who experience their return to Morocco as a pilgrimage; they do not recognize themselves as tourists and

instead identify as Israeli Jews in search of roots and familiar childhood places. Levy's final chapter challenges the idea of Israel as a center that necessarily defines the diaspora as the outside and as a consequence seeks to recruit Jews back to Israel, the homeland. By suggesting the reverse—Israel as the diaspora of Morocco, the imaginary homeland—Levy offers an intriguing if not quite persuasive thesis.

At Home with the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry. Iver B. Neumann. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012. 232 pp.

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The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is like and unlike other foreign ministries. It is both a product of the general development of diplomacy from the late 18th century to the present and an almost quaint holdover—even while it is a relative newcomer—of archaic practices inherited from others (such as the British).

The meanings behind this complex of practices lie at the heart of *At Home with the Diplomats*. Iver Neumann recounts his experiences working for the ministry from 1997 to 1999 and 2001 to 2003, mixing ethnography, political science, and what amounts to memoir in order to contextualize and reflect on the broader genealogy of European interstate interactions. He argues that diplomatic practices at home differ from those abroad: the former focus on keeping things the way they are, while the latter focus on information gathering for the state. The latter function is increasingly being superseded or at least challenged by a growing number of other information gatherers, including the media, new participants in social media, businesses, and nongovernmental groups. The result is the potential for a significant series of changes in diplomatic practices.

The book nicely complements others written on diplomacy in the last generation, including James Der Derian's *On Diplomacy* and Cynthia Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. Neumann is probably unsurpassed in his familiarity with the workings of diplomacy: he was the author of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs's hundredth-anniversary history, and his coverage of the genealogy of diplomacy in Norway from 1905 to the present is comprehensive. He has also written about diplomacy in a series of articles that have put the topic back on the map of significant practices that underpin international politics and that deserve further conceptualization and investigation. Neumann does an excellent job of tracing the inner workings of the ministry in several dimensions. For example, he

delineates the history of women in the diplomatic corps, from typists to secretaries (all of whom were previously male) to heads of departments and even ambassadors, and his interviews demonstrate the gendered attitudes and practices that women continue to confront and sometimes replicate in the service. This is interesting if often unsurprising reading, and Neumann's recounting of the homosociality that still pervades the ministry is well done.

At base, however, the book is more a reflective memoir that positions the author as both object and subject of inquiry than an ethnography or a political analysis of diplomacy vis-à-vis international politics. This comes through in the style of writing, the content and development of the chapters, and particularly in the conclusion, which normally brings home the central purpose and argument of the book but in Neumann's case is quite different.

Neumann writes in an elegantly parsimonious style, which can be read as providing a less anachronistic model for diplomatic writing. This style is sometimes too suggestive to allow for a full development of the author's very interesting conceptual and substantive arguments, even while it is very illustrative of the acknowledged tensions regarding his own subject position. For example, Neumann recalls numerous occasions in which the collective process of diplomatic speech writing evacuates the speech in question of any new thoughts or policy content, reproducing again and again what had already been said and done in the past. The fact that these stories tend to end with the author's surprise about other diplomats' shrugging acceptance of the process makes for amusing reading. Yet given that the central point is about the production of knowledge, it would be good to have a clearer understanding of the kinds of meanings that were discarded in the process of writing texts such as speeches. What was the content of the ambassador's preferred feel-good speech compared to the discarded one that introduced new policy ideas, for instance? Or given that policy sometimes evolved, how did other diplomats view the process of textual production and change? The point that texts in the ministry are jointly produced in ways that shake any innovation out of the final product is well made, but more on what meanings are assigned to these texts by successive writers and audiences throughout the ministry would help reinforce the broader conceptual issue. It is possible, of course, that Neumann was prevented from divulging some of these debates in print. As a result, I felt at times as though I had entered into a diplomatic realm in which, as he indicates very well elsewhere, assumptions are made and questions are not asked. Neumann's own reactions become the object of the reader's gaze without the reader fully understanding how to situate the intersecting meanings at play.

Neumann provides more than a glimpse into the tensions in his own positionality in the final chapter, in which he comments that each of the political scientists

who read his manuscript suggested he be more explicit and tie things together in the conclusion. He compares these requests to the demands of anthropological writing. But anthropologists are also explicit in detailing both their conceptual apparatuses and the granular substance of their ethnographies, in situating themselves within their subject matter, and in following and probing the story lines of their interlocutors.

In the end, I liked the way that Neumann contrasts his more personal style with that of academic conventions. He does not delete the chatty or the bawdy, and he situates his conclusions in the center of intersecting social fields. But it did require some effort to figure out how he defined concepts such as discourse and field, among others, given his very spare prose and his tendency to privilege the narrative over the theoretical. Nevertheless, his ongoing discovery of self vis-à-vis not only diplomatic practices but also the broader evolution of international politics represents an effort that all readers of this and other journals engage in through their own work, although they frequently do not acknowledge it. Entering into Neumann's world, therefore, also begs questions about how to be more reflexive regarding our own.

The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism. *Liisa H. Malkki.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015. 296 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12443

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In *The Need to Help*, Liisa Malkki raises questions about the motivations for aiding others seen among members of the Finnish Red Cross, many of whom are affiliated with missions of the International Committee of the Red Cross. By concentrating on the psychology and ethics of aid providers, she seeks to shift the focus in studies of humanitarianism from the consequences of interventions to the ways that aid is conceived by those most committed to giving it. *The Need to Help* adds admirably to a growing literature produced by anthropologists, as well as scholars in geography, history, law, and sociology, on the politics of aid. Much of the book centers around the theoretical concept of the mere, referring to depictions of humanitarian work as soft compared to military interventions. Malkki links this concept to the seeming triviality of domestic (in both the national and the gendered senses) yarn craft aimed at producing blankets, trauma teddies, and aid bunnies for children in conflict zones and to the idealization of the global child as an iconic and innocent object of need.

Although framed as an ethnography, the book primarily blends the memories and postfield analyses of Finnish aid workers—solicited during extended and repeated interviews conducted between 1996 and 2012—with Malkki's own reflections on her fieldwork with Burundian refugees in Tanzania in the mid-1980s. Overall, this method produces a compelling psychological portrait of the ethical dilemmas of care. However, this is not primarily a text in which Malkki observes the provision of aid directly to a recipient amid a crisis in a disaster zone, although some chapters present contemporary portraits of domestic aid workers in these capacities. Instead, she analyzes how Finnish citizens imagine the Other and thus how they individually choose to help overseas and collectively offer the products of domestic craft work to traumatized children abroad. In contrast to the imagined needy populations they serve, Finnish care providers also engage in transnational humanitarian relief to satisfy their own deep desire for personal connection.

Although the book primarily focuses on domestic and international humanitarianism, it also touches upon the politics of witnessing and of intervening that have been well analyzed in other anthropological studies of human rights. In several sections, Malkki notes the human rights component of the Finnish Red Cross's work and the double bind of remaining politically neutral as an institution. Such institutional mandates can produce doubts on the part of staff members about the organization's neutral stance and the care given or withheld in the aftermath of an intervention—what Malkki terms “affective and ethical insufficiency” (54). One wonders how her analysis would have unfolded had she engaged with Stephen Hopgood's excellent study of the history and practices of Amnesty International, which captures similar individual and institutional dilemmas on the part of human rights workers, many of whom refer to the International Committee of the Red Cross in rationalizing their own work.

The bulk of Malkki's ethnographic material understandably derives from interviews with Red Cross fieldworkers reflecting on their work between or after missions rather than in situ. We read how aid workers (the author's preferred term) reach out to others from a deep need for care and connection. We learn how they grapple with the limits of their ability to help in crises, or at least we receive post-mission reflections on such practices, when hindsight can be 20/20. It is precisely because of the many contiguities and slippages among human rights discourses and practices—and those of humanitarianism, broadly defined—that readers would have benefited from a deeper engagement earlier in this book with content now addressed only in the last chapter and the conclusion: an analysis of a particularly Finnish variant of the domestic arts of care rooted in the societal challenges of loneliness.

For readers who may seek centralized information on the history of Finland's humanitarianism, the book does

not truly provide an account of the nation's foreign policy interventions or of its welfare state. Nor do we receive much in the way of biographical histories of the individual aid workers in the Finnish Red Cross—doctors, nurses, and nonmedical staff members. At times, the persons presented can appear as disembodied voices whose stories of shock, ethical challenges, and remorse over being detached amid crisis render them fragmentary subjects who compose the larger apparatus of the Red Cross. Perhaps this is a by-product of agreements to keep the subjects of the project anonymous. Perhaps this is emblematic of the culture of the Red Cross.

What the reader does receive, especially in chapters 4 and 5, is an intriguing portrayal of Finland's struggles with globalization and neoliberalism. These chapters outline Finnish aid workers' conflicts between the need for solitude and sociality, between social reserve and cravings for sensual connection, and between discomfort with social difference and the desire to achieve radical alterity by going abroad. The examples suggest long-standing individual and institutional challenges (and the politics surrounding them) of providing care in many humanitarian, charitable, and development contexts. It is with this cultural background that a reader can analyze the rich material describing the crafts of knitting and sewing therapeutic soft toys and blankets, as well as the other humanitarian domestic arts intended to support or heal an imagined traumatized other. Malkki writes, "The temporal 'figural' . . . of the Aid Bunny in the process of making enabled the knitters to imagine a relationship with the very human (indeed, ultrahuman) need of the child in crisis" (119).

To solicit ethnographic reflections upon humanitarian craft work, Malkki knitted or crocheted on trains and in public, reached out to strangers in craft stores, and analyzed the online sociality of knitters via web blogs and discussion groups. Although linking plush animal toys to imagined needy children and morality is depicted as the "triangulation of animality, childness, and humanity" (126), such anthropomorphized objects are like fetishes and simulacra for the distant child Other who, in theory, will be "touched" by the hands-on craft work of the object's maker. It is in suggesting that the reader consider these handiworks as power objects that Malkki's analysis begins to approach the way that such practices may reflect a desire to reenchant Finnish society and, by extension, global neoliberal societies in which international humanitarianism flourishes.

In chapter 6, Malkki highlights the similarities between international and domestic realms of voluntarism and the exhortation in Finnish society to be selfless, in both the positive and the negative senses of the word. Loneliness and isolation, particularly among elderly Finnish populations, are depicted as another kind of humanitarian crisis, that of domestic "slow death" (139). Thus, the story of the domestic

Red Cross Friendship Service, in which volunteer "friends" adopt and connect with immigrants, the elderly, prisoners, and immigrants, raises questions about the meaning and nature of face-to-face sociality, especially in contemporary Finnish society.

Finally, Malkki raises questions about the underlying philosophical motives for intervention. Using A. O. Scott's term, she decides that Finnish Red Cross workers adhere to a certain fanatical humanism that is secular rather than religious in origin. Although this is one interpretation, I want to suggest that Malkki's book provides strong evidence of the embedded Christian roots of contemporary Finnish secular humanitarianism. What is more important, however, is that this book provides finely textured material with which to debate the salience of the various rationales that people give for helping others.

Losing Afghanistan: An Obituary for the Intervention. *Noah Coburn.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016. 264 pp.

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Losing Afghanistan: An Obituary for the Intervention explores the diplomatic, military, and international aid presence in Afghanistan after what anthropologist Noah Coburn refers to as the surge—in troops and thus funding—in 2009. At the time, he was working as a consultant for multiple research organizations and think tanks in Afghanistan.

Coburn's basic premise is that the intervention has failed (hence the obituary). He wants to "write a more nuanced history of the intervention in Afghanistan, a history that looks at how individual lives were shaped socially and economically by the vast resources that flooded the country" (12). He offers this history through four interlocutors: Will, son of American missionaries who worked in Afghanistan in the 1960s and 1970s, an engineer who started a small-scale wind-powered energy project; Owen, a US Navy SEAL captain tasked with training and mentoring junior officers and enlisted men in the Afghan National Army; Ron, Vietnam veteran, US ambassador to Afghanistan from 2005 to 2007, and now diplomat whose father had been the US ambassador to Afghanistan in the 1960s; and Omar, a young Afghan businessman and erstwhile graduate student in Germany who managed a logistics company near Bagram Airbase while seeking to augment his extensive family business ventures.

Losing Afghanistan describes a culture of internationals in Kabul who remained insular—interacting "with fewer and fewer Afghans" (56)—and largely unaccountable to the

local population. Coburn characterizes these internationals as “strange tribes” (52) with distinct dress and language (English, with excessive use of acronyms), segregated living and eating arrangements, and little to no familiarity with the country. While downplaying the many times he cringed at statements about “backward” Afghans, he experienced these internationals as possessing “an undeniably progressive attitude” (56), being “socially liberal pragmatists who believed in hard work” and, overwhelmingly, “in the notion of intervention itself” (54).

Told from the vantage point of someone immersed in the consultancy scene, Coburn’s story of the intervention is an account of the shifting goals of the surge for those on the ground directly invested (often literally) in the intervention and the privatization of the intervention with its restrictive manifestations, such as the new contracting model. The book offers a rich description of the surge and what it meant for the intervention’s different sectors—military, development, diplomatic, and business. Coburn puts these sectors into conversation with each other in an attempt to craft a much-needed ethnography of a period in the history of Afghanistan that is yet to be understood.

Reading *Losing Afghanistan*, I occasionally felt that I was looking at a contemporary version of Zygmunt Bauman’s groundbreaking text on modernity, bureaucracy, and the suspension of moral obligation, *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Coburn describes the intervenors as frustrated by the “inherent problems of the bureaucracy”: “The problem with the bureaucracy of the intervention arose . . . when it constrained individual action and when it prohibited the individual from choosing a course of action that he or she believed is right,” because there was a “certain logic within the culture of intervention that constrained the ability of individuals to think creatively and critically” (37).

Coburn repeatedly refers to highly competent people forced by bureaucratic structures to be and do otherwise. Alongside Bauman’s thesis on how modernity shaped the Holocaust, Coburn’s data could have allowed for an insightful analysis of the current phase of modernity—with the longest war in US history, the privatization of war, and the expansion of the military-industrial complex. But he does not engage any literature on modernity and bureaucracy (except for a casual and problematic nod to Max Weber), nor does he try to unpack what he calls the “certain logic” (114) of the intervention. Furthermore—and surprising for a timely anthropological study that repeatedly praises the discipline’s reputation for taking a holistic approach—he does not engage any of the recent and extensive anthropological literature on contemporary iterations of the state, bureaucracy, empire, war, humanitarianism, neoliberalism, care, ethics, morality, and agency, any of which could have been helpful in understanding and critically reflecting on the role of a military-humanitarian complex made up of

“people who were concerned with making the world better” (211).

At stake in my claim that a theoretical reflection is missing is an insistence, shared with Coburn, on understanding what went wrong. To his credit, he provides tales of aid officers, diplomats, and military personnel who were prevented from enacting what he considers to be their good intentions. However, while he refers to a certain logic that constrained intervenors from acting in critical, creative ways, he doesn’t question what kind of certain logic created the conditions of possibility for care and concern to be stifled, much less squandered. Nor does he offer the analysis necessary to grasp the different stakes in the everyday life of intervenors so that any impulse to caricature them as profit-seeking, self-interested, calculating, and utilitarian could be quieted.

There is a lack of ethnographic writing about contemporary Afghanistan, including far too little writing about what Afghans were expecting, thinking, and doing while being intervened upon. It is therefore welcome that Coburn “tried to look at both what the international community was attempting to deliver and also whether Afghans really thought they needed these things at all.” He writes critically of the intervenors, who “often talked about giving Afghans this or that, whether it was public health, education, or democracy” yet “rarely asked how Afghans felt about these things” (16). Coburn’s double role, however, as intervenor and as researcher analyzing the intervention should give readers pause. His lack of reflection on this double role makes him appear to be an unlocated witness occupying a nonexistent ethical shelter. While I don’t doubt his intention to write a more nuanced history of the intervention, he never explains his methodological choice of doing so through the particular perspectives of his four key interlocutors, three of whom are American, while the fourth belongs to the Afghan business elite. If Coburn chose to study intervenors disproportionately more than Afghans subject to both to the logic of the intervention and the complicity of the intervenors, he should have more clearly articulated why.

While Coburn peppers the latter half of the text with sentiments that ordinary Afghans expressed to him, there is a discrepancy between such rather random glimpses and the more articulated perspectives of the three foreigners and the few wealthy Afghans he spotlighted. For ordinary Afghans, the failed intervention was not just money wasted (or made)—as it was, according to Coburn, for the internationals. For Afghans, it was their very lives, the future of their children, the ground beneath their feet, the collective aspirations for a different, less-beaten-down Afghanistan.

Furthermore, it is not clear why this book is so invested in presenting the minions of US empire as well intentioned. The four individuals Coburn introduces and the many

more he mentions followed the certain logic, often against their better judgment, and profited from the war—not only financially but also in social capital. Should there not be a different lexicon to capture their predicament as enablers of empire?

Coburn falls short of what he set out to do: to take what Afghans felt seriously and to articulate what the last 15 years of foreign presence have meant for Afghans living under occupation. *Losing Afghanistan* is an obituary for those intervening, not for Afghans, for whom the intervention's demise meant far more than a waste of money. It is worth pondering who or what else in Afghanistan deserves an obituary.

US Military Bases and Anti-military Organizing: An Ethnography of an Air Force Base in Ecuador. Erin Fitz-Henry. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 247 pp.

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MAXIMILIAN VIATORI

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In 1999, the administration of Ecuadorian president Jamil Mahuad Witt, who served only two years before being ousted amid political and economic upheaval, approved the United States' use of part of an air base in the coastal city of Manta. The agreement, which was not subject to review or approval by the full Ecuadorian congress, granted the US Southern Command access to the base for 10 years, allowing it to station up to 475 personnel there at one time. The forward operating location of Manta provided a new site for the drug interdiction flights that were a significant component of Plan Colombia, the United States' strategy for shifting the emphasis of the "war on drugs" from domestic consumption to stopping the supply of drugs at the source.

US access to the Manta base was unpopular at the time that Mahuad's government approved it. Removal of US personnel from Manta became a key demand of Ecuador's social movements, and this demand resonated with broader opposition to the US military presence among the continent's growing number of center-left governments. In his electoral campaign, Ecuador's current president, Rafael Correa Delgado, adopted the demand for US removal from Manta as a means of demonstrating that his government represented a break from a past dominated by US financial and military imperialism. In 2009, Correa's government rejected a renewal of the Manta lease, forcing the United States to withdraw its military personnel and aircraft.

In her ethnography of the Manta base, Erin Fitz-Henry provides a fascinating view of the local politics surrounding US access to the airfield based on research she conducted mostly between 2006 and 2009, interviewing participants on all sides of the issue: military personnel, antibase

activists, and local residents, business leaders, and politicians who supported US access to the base. At the outset of the book, Fitz-Henry notes that roughly 70 percent of Manta's population supported the US lease—an almost perfect inversion of nation-level opinions with polls regularly demonstrating that around 70 percent of Ecuador's population opposed US use of the base. The main thrust of Fitz-Henry's work involves explaining why the residents of Manta so strongly supported the US military presence. Understanding the on-the-ground mechanisms by which the US military ingratiated itself to Manta's inhabitants, she argues, provides a critical window onto the pragmatics and daily functioning of US military hegemony at a time when the number of US troops stationed throughout Latin America (and indeed the world) is on the rise.

Local support for the US military was not linked to perceived economic benefits, as one might assume. Promises of improved infrastructure, booming business, and increased tourism went largely unmet. Rather, as Fitz-Henry shows, support for the base emanated both from the failure of antibase activism to dovetail with local concerns and from the ability of US military personnel to frame support for their presence in Manta in ways that fit within preexisting political discourses and hopes for the future. For example, antibase activists conflated local damages associated with the initial construction of the Manta base in 1978 by the Ecuadorian Air Force with more recent US operations in ways that confused residents because they contradicted their lived experiences of the base. Furthermore, base advocates effectively adopted and inverted many of the claims and language of antibase activism in ways that resonated with local residents. They countered the notion that the existence of an "American" base was a violation of Ecuadorian sovereignty by noting that the base was Ecuadorian and that the portion used by US military personnel was physically enclosed within the base. In addition, they argued that antibase opposition, which eventually extended to the national government, was a violation of local sovereignty. Borrowing from Ecuadorian indigenous movements' discourses of local autonomy in the face of mineral resource extraction and other threats, politicians in Manta argued that the national government's nonrenewal of the US lease was an affront to local autonomy—Manta's residents should have had the right to decide what was best for them.

The failure of antibase activists to win over Manta's residents represents what Fitz-Henry argues is a "sobering tale about how the global anti-bases movement" was "effectively blunted and dispersed by a US military-community alliance" (xvi). Fitz-Henry focuses on the local failings of antibase activists and the power of base advocates' strategies as a means of thinking about how activism may better resist US military projects in the future. This focus at times threatens to obscure the fact that the US Air Force was ultimately ousted from the base. Despite losing at the local

level, antibase sentiment prevailed at the national. This raises questions about the ultimate effectiveness of base advocates' appropriation and redeployment of discourses of local autonomy to support their cause, questions that Fitz-Henry might have pushed further. One cannot help but wonder whether base advocates' approaches to activism represented potential liabilities or weaknesses at national and regional scales as much as they functioned as exercises of local authority, an issue that may shed light on the struggles the United States has experienced in persuading some South American governments to support its hemispheric strategy.

All of this is to say that Fitz-Henry has produced a thought-provoking study of a countermovement, one that provides an intriguing window onto the politics surrounding the expansion of US military power in Latin America at a time of considerable regional opposition. With leftist governments experiencing dramatic crises in several South American countries, it will be interesting to see how the exercise of US military power and opposition to it may shift in response. Fitz-Henry's book provides a critical foundation for all those who wish to pursue this issue.

Social Science Goes to War: The Human Terrain System in Iraq and Afghanistan. *Montgomery McFate and Janice H. Laurence*, eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. 383 pp.

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Modern warfare has changed dramatically over the course of the 20th century. Increasingly, militaries are involved less in major combat with rival national armies and more in counterinsurgency operations. Counterinsurgency warfare demands different strategic and tactical approaches, and consequently what counts as mission-relevant information is also different. *Social Science Goes to War* is a testament to this historical shift. Through accounts from social scientists sent to Iraq and Afghanistan as part of the US military's 2007 Human Terrain System (HTS) program, the collection chronicles the relationship between changes in military operations and organization in response to counterinsurgency warfare, as well as how the military uses social science knowledge in the context of contemporary state violence.

The HTS initiative was born out of a recognition by military command that conducting counterinsurgency operations in Iraq and Afghanistan required sociocultural knowledge of the local population. The term *human terrain* had been coined in the context of urban warfare to describe the population in a given area of operations. In counter-

insurgency, the term includes the "culture, political system, economy, religious beliefs, and other features of [local] countries and populations" (ix). The foreword to the book, by David Petraeus, former commander of coalition forces in Iraq and Afghanistan and of US Central Command, makes it clear that the highest levels of the military assumed that knowledge of the human terrain in these countries was essential to accomplishing the counterinsurgency mission, and that it would be necessary to obtain this increased understanding through the work of social scientists.

Military anthropologist and coeditor of the book Montgomery McFate was involved in developing the HTS initiative, and her contribution provides a fascinating insider's account of the emergence and implementation of the program. It is clear that the HTS initiative was innovative from the perspective of military culture. In past conflicts (such as Vietnam) where knowledge of the human terrain was relevant, McFate argues that it was used only in a tactical sense, meaning as information relevant to executing military operations that were decided based on military logic. The HTS, in contrast, represented "the first attempt . . . to incorporate the insights of social science into the military's *operational* capability" (15). It met with some operational success, as discussed in several chapters, but the program was also beset with difficulties resulting from the limits of traditional military institutional culture. McFate refers to the "wide gulf" (30) between academia and the military, which she suggests emerged in the mid-20th century. The strategic goals of the Cold War era led to the development of the "cult of major combat operations" within the military, which focused on "firepower, technology, and peer enemies to the exclusion of small wars and irregular enemies" (55). This included the perception that social science information was not relevant to military operations. However, this perception changed with the emergence of counterinsurgency warfare. Insurgency and counterinsurgency "involve a struggle for political power and a competition for legitimacy in the eyes of the population." To achieve mission success, lethal violence is often "an inadequate tool"; instead, "the civilian population is the center of gravity and kinship is the new order of battle" (61). Hence, within the US military, there is a new openness to social science knowledge.

The rest of the essays in the collection are written by social scientists who were members of the Human Terrain Teams (HTTs) that were sent to Iraq and Afghanistan. These chapters focus on the work undertaken by the HTTs, shedding light on how traditional research approaches were adapted to war conditions and how the demands of the military shaped research questions. These accounts also show how social science knowledge can play an important role in the context of counterinsurgency to help lessen the use of lethal force, which is the traditional tool of the military. Several chapters also address the significant criticism that

the HTS program received from the academic community, especially the anthropological community in the United States. The American Anthropological Association condemned it as “an unacceptable use of anthropological expertise” (31) and argued that any situation where “research priorities are determined by military missions, are not subject to external review, and where data collection occurs in the context of war, as integrated into counterinsurgency goals” (32) is not a legitimate exercise of anthropology. Similar condemnations came from other professional anthropology associations.

Most of the contributors respond more or less implicitly to these criticisms, but the most explicit response is made by McFate, who argues that “social science research conducted on the ground in support of the military during a war” is important because helping the military execute counterinsurgency operations more efficiently has “the potential to reduce the level of violence” (46). Thus, the goal of the HTS was “helping the military execute their operations more successfully with less expenditure of effort,” which by implication meant helping “the military reduce its need for the use of lethal force” (10). This pragmatic consideration within military discourse can be considered an ethical good from the perspective of social scientists.

The collection is fascinating for what it reveals about the role of social science in the relationship between military power and the local population. Regardless of one’s opinion about the ethics of integrating military power and social science research, this book makes it clear that it is happening. In many ways, the material resonates with Michel Foucault’s discussions of governmentality and biopolitics, particularly how these discourses involve taking up the population as an object of knowledge and calculated action. Relating to the population as an object of knowledge and control is a discursive bridge connecting contemporary militarism and social science. There is no conclusion to the book, which is fitting, because the essays convey an image of an integrating military–social science discourse that is sure to become increasingly important as modern warfare focuses more on controlling populations than on killing rival armies.

Shamanism, Discourse, Modernity. *Thomas Karl Alberts.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015. 300 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12447

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Shamanism, Discourse, Modernity is a sociological study of shamanism that should be of interest to many ethnographers. The main question Thomas Alberts tackles is how

the shaman, a ritual specialist first reported in Siberia in the 17th century, was transformed into shamanism—a category of universal religiosity. Quick to set the stage, Alberts attaches *shamanism*, not shamans, to the emergence of European modernity. He starts with a thorough genealogical elicitation of the spread of shamanism from its ethnographic origins in Siberia to the contemporary global stage. Despite missing references to Rane Willerslev’s *Soul Hunters: Hunting, Animism, and Personhood among the Siberian Yukaghirs*, this is a convincing and comprehensive account.

Central to Alberts’s theoretical approach are Michel Foucault and modernity’s double-hinged labor, which consists of an epistemological arm establishing a relationship with the present and an ontological arm establishing a relationship with the self. When this is elaborated (80–83), the reason for the surprising choice of Étienne-Jules Marey’s chronophotograph *Pole Vault* as a cover becomes apparent. Alberts’s project seeks to analyze shamanism as a representation both of time and in time. The double-hinged approach thus provides a theoretical entry point through which Alberts elicits how the Siberian shaman was transferred through discourses to emerge as a universal religious figure with a detrimental influence on three areas of contemporary global social processes. This discussion forms the three main chapters of the book, where Alberts convincingly teases out how shamanism has played a key role in the growth of indigenism, environmentalism, and neoliberalism. The title of the concluding chapter, “Imbrications,” becomes a key term for the ways that these fields are linked and partly constituted through the figure of the shaman.

The chapter on indigenism is a detailed discussion of the development of indigenous rights, including how the indigenous agitation for self-determination started at the same time that the post–World War II anticolonial claims of national self-determination gave way to liberal notions of individual human rights at the end of the 1960s. At this stage, the link between nation-state and territory was unhinged and opened for a legal understanding of land as being more than an instrument of production. To illustrate the significance of this fissure, Alberts draws on the Awas Tingni court case against the state of Nicaragua to show how the once-emic term *shaman* emerged as a universal category interpolated in legal language in ways that redefined the relationship between land and culture. Shamanism became the key trope through which this particular relationship became recognized as mutually interdependent and thus opened an acceptable space for a degree of self-governance within nation-states. Alberts develops the relationship between shamanism and the natural environment further in the next chapter.

That chapter unpacks a detailed history of how biodiversity conservation became linked with cultural

conservation during the 1980s. Through the global discourses on shamanism, indigenous peoples were recognized as possessing arcane knowledge that provided a foundation for sustainable development. Shamans were the keepers of that knowledge, and the shamanistic state of consciousness—as a stable, singular, unifying trait—became the link between indigenous peoples and the environmental concerns that emerged at the end of the 20th century. Alberts argues that this link constitutes a symbolic economy, which represented the shaman's ontological alterity as an ecocentric disposition. As such, shamanism came to signify the difference between anthropocentric and ecocentric worldviews, effectively transforming the shaman into a key figure in the emergence of the environmentalist movement.

The following chapter on neoliberalism clearly pins down the shamanistic figure as an aspect of neoliberal economy. It is this dialectical relationship between epistemological labor's tendency toward universalism and ontological labor's tendency toward contingency that makes the shaman such an interesting and dynamic figure. The conditions of possibility for these developments, Alberts argues, are found in Foucault's understanding of *Homo economicus* and governmentality, where the shaman's unique ability to engage with clients through spirits is viewed as embodied capital. In order to realize this economic potential shamanism adopted the unifying language and structures of professionalization.

Alberts then traces this epistemological labor through a detailed history, where he effectively links indigenous concerns with the global north through the establishment of NGOs, engagements with insurance companies, and the pharmaceutical industry. Through an informative discussion of the development of post-apartheid South Africa, he shows how the economic potential of the country's high measure of biodiversity promised access to a substantial and rapidly growing global market in herbal remedies. This link effectively recast indigenous knowledge in a language of intellectual property rights. Within this framework, the *sangomas*—the generic term for South Africa's traditional healers—became key figures in unlocking these indigenous resources. The case clearly illustrates the inherent dialects of the double-hinged approach: the development of national laws to stabilize shamanistic knowledge as property is essential for the shaman's entry into a global marketplace, where the individual ability to self-promote is a vital aspect of the entrepreneurial ethos, thus eroding the imputed stability of shamanism.

Though not representative of the book, the sentence spread over the last 22 lines on page 209 indicates that the book could have done with more copyediting. Alberts's prose is at times convoluted and hard to penetrate. However, I found it mostly worthwhile to spend the extra time untangling the details of his argument.

All in all, *Shamanism, Discourse, Modernity* is an intellectually stimulating book that deserves a readership within the anthropology of religion, ecological anthropology, human rights, and legal anthropology. It will be especially exciting for anthropologists interested in the so-called ontological turn. I continuously found myself pondering the connections between Alberts's expositions of the shaman's ontological alterity and ethnographies concerned with ontological differences, such as Mario Blaser's *Storytelling Globalization from the Chaco and Beyond*.

The Saint in the Banyan Tree: Christianity and Caste Society in India. David Mosse. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. 408 pp.

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MAXINE WEISGRAU

Columbia University

This masterly book is the culmination of more than 30 years of fieldwork and historical study of Christianity in Tamil Nadu. David Mosse, an accomplished ethnographer of political economy and development in India, describes this study as “a historical project with anthropological objectives” (ix); as such, he documents with stunning detail the history of Catholic missionaries in south India as well as the lived experiences of contemporary Dalit Christians in Tamil Nadu. Mosse's anthropological objectives are clearly in focus in this complex history, which spans four centuries and multiple continents. The book begins and ends in the village field site he refers to as Alapuram, illustrating his commitment to illuminating the impact of the complicated history of religious discourse and the politics of caste on Catholic Dalit communities. Throughout this journey across space and time, Mosse firmly roots his analysis in long-standing theoretical debates on the religious and secular aspects of caste in India; its relationship to culture, political economy, and colonial policy; and its persistence in communities of religious conversion.

Mosse positions Catholicism in India, particularly in Tamil Nadu, as a complicated and shifting identity embedded in caste culture and politics. What begins, according to the author, as a 17th-century Jesuit missionary experiment becomes in the 21st century a radical social and theological Dalit movement challenging caste norms. Mosse continually demonstrates, with historical and ethnographic precision, the impossibility of disentangling the history of Catholicism from the politics of caste. Even the basic question of the number of Christians in India, of which he estimates that about two-thirds are Catholic, varies widely from source to source. In a note he writes, “Informal Christian religious practice eludes official statistics, which are also

distorted by the fact that the declaration of Christian identity bars certain categories of converts from state welfare and protections as Scheduled Castes” (285).

One major theme of the book concerns the multiple meanings and iterations of Catholicism in relation to Tamil Nadu society. Catholicism is not a static, unchanging religious dogma and practice integrated into indigenous culture. Rather, Mosse explores Christianity as continually being reworked by missionaries and practitioners. Catholicism therefore changes as an outcome of historical processes in different periods of south Indian history. Embedded in these processes are contestations and debates over the very nature of and boundaries between religion and culture as constituted by religious and secular discourses. Through the life and work of Roberto Nobili (1577–1656), an Italian Jesuit who settled in Madurai under the protection of the Nayak ruler, Mosse elucidates the subsequent influence of European Christian ideas on the construction of religious and caste identities for centuries to follow.

Nobili's approach to Hinduism was what Mosse describes as “proto-emic ‘participant observation’” (34), which sought to replace prevailing Christian views of paganism with a deep understanding of Brahmanical dogma and practice. “He likened himself to St. Paul, becoming Brahman in order to convert Brahmans, following Jesuit founder St. Ignatius of Loyola's injunction ‘to enter by the door of the others in order to make them come out’” (33). Most significantly, Nobili envisioned Christian converts as retaining “caste identities and separations”; equally important, “parallel divisions were required among missionaries themselves in order to minister to those of different rank in separate churches” (34). This Brahmanization of Christian converts and missionaries in the 17th century nuances contemporary arguments that attribute the prevalence of the rigid rules of caste divisions to 19th-century British colonial policy. Nobili's vision of Brahmanical caste practice as local culture in concert with—but opposed to—Christianity as religious ideology continues to resonate in contemporary debates about the nature of religion, conversion, and ritual practice. His separation of Christian faith and the secularized Brahmanic order of caste was a significant feature in “the making of Tamil Catholicism,” but this vision of Tamil society “was ill equipped to deal with the ‘non-Brahman’ rural populations from where the majority of converts would actually come” (9).

Mosse focuses on Christian Dalit communities in Alapuram and their participation in worship rituals to explore the tensions and multiple trajectories that Christianity and caste politics take throughout the late 19th century to the present. By the time he begins his fieldwork in 1984, there are multiple Catholic and Pentecostal shrines throughout the village as well as Hindu temples and shrines, but the Christian shrines do not necessarily

replace or circumvent the kinds of separation that Hinduism invokes. Caste separation and Dalit exclusion continue to be features of residential, ritual, and public life. Economic exploitation parallels rituals of separation. Untouchability is enacted in Christian worship through seating separation in churches, the order of receiving communion, and the barring of Dalits from learning liturgy or touching icons as well as separation of burial sites by community.

Simultaneous with the history of Dalit marginalization in Alapuram and in Christian rituals is a political and theological movement of Dalit activism. Mosse guides the reader through the history of postcolonial caste-based social movements, particularly Dalit activism in reaction to conservative Hindu social and political movements of the 1990s, whose discourses further divided, often through organized violence, Christian, Hindu, and caste groups. He details as well the economic and political changes that have taken place in this formerly agricultural region. Economic diversification, access to education and employment, and social and religious activism have created new narratives of mobility and equality among Dalit Christians as well as other marginalized Hindu groups in the region. Christian churches are now mediators in accessing key resources for Dalits, particularly in areas of employment and education. Mosse sees these economic and political changes in relationship to the dynamics of both continuity and change in caste struggles. While caste “recedes as the framework for socioeconomic relations within the village, it remains important to income earning in the world beyond” (234).

This superbly researched and written book deserves a wide and diverse audience. Scholars and students of religion, conversion, missionary history, caste politics, social activism, and contemporary India will benefit enormously from a close reading of the historical, theoretical, and ethnographic details with which this complex landscape is rendered. Although they are not his primary focus, Mosse references multiple forms of exploitation of women as the result of both Christian and Hindu ideologies. Women's roles in activism and social reform deserve further exploration. This book's scope and methodologies will, I hope, serve as a model to encourage other scholars to pursue these issues in more detail.

The ongoing story of Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular in south India as documented by Mosse is characterized by complex and contradictory political dynamics. No single narrative thread summarizes any of the outcomes of “this complex mosaic” (ix). In exploring the religious, political, and social dynamics of Catholicism in Tamil Nadu, Mosse often tacks back and forth between historical periods, and the extensive notes accompanying each chapter are often as rewarding as the text. For the reader, this book is a challenging but ultimately highly rewarding experience.

Voicing Subjects: Public Intimacy and Mediation in Kathmandu. *Laura Kunreuther.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014. 324 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12449

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Anthropologists have long been interested in questions of social mediation, in how understandings of the self are produced through interaction and collective sign systems. But the discipline has begun to focus on media technologies as such only relatively recently. Laura Kunreuther's ethnography of the political and intimate aspects of the figure of the voice in Kathmandu, Nepal, illustrates effectively what is gained by placing phenomena that have traditionally been understood as particular to media, like radio or photography, within the more overarching theoretical frame of social mediation. Kunreuther's focus on the figure of the voice allows her to show how it has gained salience as the primary site of intimacy and authenticity precisely when technologies of mass mediation have become ubiquitous. It turns out that aspects of interiority and agency that we commonly associate with liberal ideologies of personhood are profoundly enabled by media technologies. Media no longer appear as new when they enter the scene in this narrative, even as social anxieties about mediation are amplified and sometimes modified via new technologies.

The other big story, one that serves as a defining context for Kunreuther's analysis, is that of the democratic reforms that have transformed political life in a country once characterized by monarchical values. In Nepal's People's Movements of 1990 and 2006, the voice emerged an important trope through which to imagine popular sovereignty. After 1990, Kunreuther argues, it became common for people to assume that one's desires ought to be voiced in public. The rise of media technologies is twinned, here, with the demise of a kingdom once sustained by indirect colonialism and the emergence of a new and broadly democratic political public sphere. While these observations might easily lead to a banal narrative of the general liberalization of Nepali society catalyzed by media technologies—such that “they” finally emerge from a feudal era to become more like “us”—the ethnography in this book paints an infinitely more subtle and interesting portrait of the changes that have been unfolding since 1990. The public culture of social reform that has developed around the figure of the voice emphasizes affective aspects of public intimacy and attachment that escape the general story line of liberal individualization, focusing instead on relationality and shifting forms of moral authority.

The architecture of the book moves from ethnographic explorations of mediation in a broad sense of the term to

an examination of specific media technologies. One overall effect of Kunreuther's innovative method is to help dismantle dubious distinctions between media production and reception by concentrating on the figure of the voice as it circulates across various channels of mediation. She begins with a national debate about gender, kinship, and law and the emergence of a reform movement devoted to securing a daughter's birthright to her parents' ancestral property. This might seem like an unlikely place to begin a book about mediation and voice until we learn that this reform centered on the trope of women's voice, in opposition to hierarchies of gender premised on the capacity of brothers to “invite” or “call” a married woman back from her marital home to her natal home. But reformists failed to recognize adequately that women's movement back and forth between these two households had come to shape people's very affective understanding of gender and ethics. Liberal rhetoric about women's voice and subjectivity is fused with illiberal but legal ideals of keeping property within the family, ideals that are themselves also in conflict with idioms of love and kinship constituted through intimate and asymmetric but reciprocal recognition between brothers and sisters. The law appears here as a medium through which these social worries are being worked out. Developing the theme of subjectivity and recognition, in her second chapter Kunreuther examines the more diffuse but charged practice of looking at someone's face. The ethnography opens up a fascinating discussion of the tactile qualities of seeing, a classic theme in South Asian studies, which enables Kunreuther to bring political photography and a ritual in which people seek blessings from their mother by looking into a lake into the same analytical framework. Like the voice, the face becomes a medium through which a sense of hierarchical immediacy can be experienced.

The second half of the book is devoted to the rise of private radio in the Kathmandu Valley, once again within the overarching question of how understandings of the voice have shifted in conjunction with the proliferation of media and the liberalization of the political order. After a chapter on radio history, the final two ethnographic chapters focus on particularly popular radio shows premised on audience interaction with a DJ that would interpellate listeners as subjects of public intimacy. The first show elicits letters from listeners about a story of personal sorrow or difficulty that are then read on the air by a charismatic radio host, who also peppers these letters with references to Nepali literature. In the second show, the program host calls Nepalis living abroad and connects them with relatives living in Nepal. Such connections, live on the air, create a sense of transparent or immediate contact and serve to produce an affective sense of the Nepali diaspora that is, in fact, actively manufactured by Kathmandu radio.

Kunreuther's deft use of ethnographic narrative throughout the book goes a long way toward grounding

and giving life to rather abstract arguments about the relationship between media technologies and social phenomenologies of immediacy. This book is essential reading for those interested in South Asian ethnography and media anthropology, in addition to those thinking about broader questions regarding the production of subjectivity. At times the argument appears to waver on questions of cause and effect regarding the relationship between media technologies and social change. But this is not surprising, nor is it even a real fault insofar as such a close ethnographic reading necessarily reveals the delicate interplay between the symptomatic and the agentive qualities of our always already-mediated social lives. By refining our understanding of the place of social mediation, in a broad sense, in the rapid democratization of Nepal, *Voicing Subjects* makes an important contribution to the ongoing debate about the place of affective intimacy in the formation of publics.

Yearnings in the Meantime: “Normal Lives” and the State in a Sarajevo Apartment Complex. Stef Jansen. New York: Berghahn, 2015. 262 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12450

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In *Yearnings in the Meantime*, Stef Jansen offers an important contribution to the anthropology of the state by focusing on how and why ordinary Sarajevans identify a “normal life” with a “normal state” even as they have neither. To them, “normal life” entails state-provided infrastructures that are dependable, predictable, and accessible: inexpensive buses that run on time, reliable and affordable heating, schooling that prepares students for jobs that will afford them a future. By looking at how Sarajevans live with and against a state that supplies none of these, he detects a blind spot in approaches to the state that equate agency with resistance to state power and offers a remedy in the form of a novel conceptualization of state-subject relations. He also provides a fresh take on the relationship among hope, movement, and temporality and anticipates a research agenda that could reinvigorate the study of post-socialism by placing anxieties about social reproduction at the center of an emerging logic of collective political action.

Jansen’s ethnography is based on fieldwork carried out in 2008 and 2010 in Dobrinja, an outlying settlement of Sarajevo that was on the front line of the 1990s war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Today Dobrinja straddles a boundary line created by the Dayton Agreement, which ended the war and split Bosnia and Herzegovina into multiple, ethnicized statelike “entities.” These entities

are institutionalized expressions of incompatible state projects and constitute what Jansen calls the Dayton Meantime, a space-time of political dysfunction where disagreements over statehood dominate every legislative and administrative issue. Whereas most studies of postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina focus on this politics of unsettled statehood, Jansen instead emphasizes Sarajevans’ concerns with statecraft: “what the state does, claims to do, and should do” (12).

The book’s major contribution is Jansen’s theorization of gridding to capture the relationship between “normal life” and statecraft. This is a reformulation of the term *grid* employed by James Scott to describe the simplifying frameworks used by states to register, monitor, and order people, places, and things and thereby make them legible and governable. Paralleling his move from statehood to statecraft, Jansen is interested in the gridding practices that produce such frameworks. He seeks to conceptualize both the social, political, and material infrastructures brought into being through gridding and the way these gridded infrastructures constitute the enabling conditions for what Dobrinja residents call a “normal life.” Gridding is not just the domain of state administrators “who wish to make people and things legible” but also “people’s routine reliance on trolleybuses, taps, cookers and light switches—and the wire and pipe grids in which this occurs” (70–71).

In order to explain gridding and its implications, Jansen analyzes two cases widely identified in Dobrinja with the suspension of “normal life.” In chapter 2, he describes residents’ antagonistic experience with the chaotic and unpredictable postwar provision of public transportation, a key gridding infrastructure that connects the outlying settlement to the rest of Sarajevo and thus to the other grids and resources necessary to realize a “normal life.” In chapter 3, he explores what occurred when Dobrinja was violently “ungridded” during the war, cut off from the state infrastructure that provided transportation, heating, garbage collection, employment, and so on. He focuses on how Dobrinja residents self-organized to maintain schooling for children and thus provide some semblance of a “normal life,” of forward movement through a vital gridded form of social reproduction. Through these cases, he shows that in the absence or breakdown of such gridding, residents exhibited a form of “grid desire,” the yearning for lives calibrated by ordering frameworks “of institutionalized predictability that would provide a basis on which one could mobilise one’s ‘agentive capacities’” and that would be “experienced as organized ‘from above’ and ... persist independently from individual practice” (72).

Identifying grid desire allows Jansen to critique a libertarian paradigm in anthropological studies of the state, most clearly exemplified by James Scott and David

Graeber, which “empirically ... privileges its subjects’ evasion of statecraft, and politically ... locates its own hope in those subjects’ hope for evasion” (105). Yet most studies show that people move in and out of the ordering frameworks of states, and Jansen points out that this paradigm provides few tools for understanding why people would live in such grids and participate in gridding practices except when coerced. By offering the concept of gridding and showing its relationship to how people conceive of and respond to the absence or suspension of “normal lives,” he demonstrates how state ideas and forms of power are the product of both self-organized as well as imposed gridding. He thus offers scholars a way to account for both grid desire and grid evasion, for hopes for as well as against the state.

Jansen extends this contribution by showing how grid desire and the “everyday concerns of those who would be [the state’s] subjects and *their* pursuit of discipline, legibility and interpellation” (129) reveal counterintuitive effects of the state as a hegemonic project, such as Dobrinja residents’ experience—and pathologization—of the lack of a system (chapter 4) or their feeling of spatiotemporal stasis, of “not moving well enough” (161, chapter 5). He demonstrates the value of a historically dynamic exploration of the state, because such state effects can be understood only against memories of an earlier time when lives—and the state—were lived otherwise.

Finally, Jansen analyzes how this failure of statecraft persists despite being almost universally condemned by citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the one hand, the impasse surrounding questions of statehood allows political parties to blame one another for the lack of a normal state. On the other, by maintaining a monopoly on crucial resources in a context of widespread unemployment, officials manage to “compel large layers of the population to pursue life projects through material channels controlled by their parties” (207). It is a sign of this system’s hegemony that many people see no contradiction between their participation in relations of clientelistic allocation and their bitter rejection of the politics constituted by such relations.

The despair and anxiety about the possibility for “normal lives” documented by Jansen anticipated the spontaneous antigovernment uprisings that occurred throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina in February 2014. Despite their distinctive genealogy, these uprisings had much in common with protests against austerity and infrastructural neglect elsewhere in the world. Many such protests channel a core demand that state actors should “do their job” and secure the conditions for a dignified life course. This book’s theorization of statecraft and social reproduction will prove extremely valuable to scholars interested in understanding the logic of this emerging form of collective political action.

Savage Frontier: Making News and Security on the Argentine Border. Ieva Jusionyte. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015. 304 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12451

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Savage Frontier is a creative and well-written study of the ways that journalism not only produces news about the Tres Fronteras or Triple Frontier, the border zone connecting Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, but also shapes what happens on that frontier. Ieva Jusionyte argues that the area is erroneously labeled as dangerous by big media sources who distort the realities of local life and construct overheated narratives about drug trafficking, terrorism, human smuggling, money laundering, and general illegality. These narratives structure and reinforce neoliberal ideology; they also promote practices of securitization and criminalization as well as support global “wars” on drugs and terrorism. As an alternative, Jusionyte offers up the work of local journalists, who subtly avoid revealing potentially damaging public secrets and present a much different perspective on local realities, one that emphasizes the threats created by outside forces emanating from the state and an uneven global and local economy and the valiant struggles of locals to survive through astute maneuvering across borders.

One of the biggest strengths of this book is a tour de force: a conceptual framework via a review of the literature that outlines key issues related to security and the media discourses surrounding it. Jusionyte provides an especially fruitful discussion of the tactical roles of visibility and invisibility, the uses of silence and the voicing of issues, and the ways that such tactics are enacted by global, national, and local groups and individuals. She also skillfully reviews the complex problematic of how journalists, politicians, and academics represent violence, human rights abuses, crime, and illicit practices, particularly in border contexts and sites of conflict where such representations may be a matter of life or death.

Another virtue of the book is its rich discussion of the similarities and differences between journalism and anthropology, two fields that are often at odds although their interests, methods, practices, and ethical challenges are quite comparable. Jusionyte has a solid background in journalism that she used to good advantage in her fieldwork: establishing strong ties with newspaper reporters in situ, writing various pieces about the Tres Fronteras region for local media, and contributing to an investigative television program. Her collaborations led to valuable projects and informed her knowledge of the unique conundrums of presenting the news in a highly charged, conflict-ridden,

and sensitive triborder environment. The complex, vital labors of underfunded and isolated grassroots journalists are thickly described in the author's fine account of her fieldwork.

Jusionyte also provides an insightful discussion of the history and history of representations of the border region of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay. The rise of a global terrorist threat and its particular manifestations in Argentina played a major role in the media and governmental construction of a vision of the Tres Fronteras area as a dark place threatening the security of civilization. This matrix of demonizing ideas and values and the state powers that sustain it are formidable obstacles to effective, serious journalism at the local level. Jusionyte presents a complex description of the clever communicative stratagems employed by reporters in the region. She lucidly analyzes the ethical dilemmas and disciplinary differences between journalism and ethnography in the handling of public secrets. Far more than most dissertations converted into books, *Savage Frontier* truly forms a tight coherent package with little extraneous information.

The author makes convincing arguments about the oppressiveness of big media and the destructiveness of sensational journalistic coverage of violence, criminality, and danger in an age of rampant securitization and criminalization of social groups and entire regions by states and big business interests. I am less persuaded, however, by her somewhat reductive view of good, hardworking locals, including journalists, pitted against evil states and corporate media. In areas such as the US-Mexico border, where powerful and organized nonstate actors (of predominantly lower- and working-class origins) also engage in mass killings and atrocities, it may not be helpful to view crime solely "as a function of unjust state policies" (243). Does individual will and personal responsibility ever enter into such a top-down, structural view of violence? Can we blame only the US "war on drugs" and neoliberal policies for the carnage that has afflicted large parts of Mexico and Central and South America in recent years? By making such arguments, are we not just presenting a mirror image of the statist ideologies and representations that anthropologists abhor? Furthermore, Jusionyte eschews efforts to confirm claims about violence and crime, but why should such concerns be downplayed? Does rejecting "the mapping of actual criminal trajectories" (26) really serve the needs of local people?

In spite of these reservations, Jusionyte's elegant new ethnography of journalism in border zones marked by inequality and perceived and real dangers is a state-of-the-art treatment of the problems caused by status quo depictions of the Triple Frontier and other border zones as lawless, dark, and savage.

Landscapes beyond Land: Routes, Aesthetics, Narratives. Arnar Árnason, Nicolas Ellison, Jo Vergunst, and Andrew Whitehouse, eds. New York: Berghahn, 2012. 226 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12452

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This smart collection of essays, published with the European Association of Social Anthropologists, presents important examples of the directions in which landscape study has been moving since the turn of the century and continues to be moving today. Almost all students of landscape catch glimpses of these directions at one point or another. That is, the anthropological study of landscape is not about a thing, an object, or a setting; rather, it is about social relationships and human experience or what contributor Catherine Allerton summarizes as a "dynamic and potent matrix of places and pathways that is historically (and continually) constituted by human activity, whilst exercising an agency that shapes such activity" (178).

The chapters, eleven in all plus an introduction by the editors, emerged out of a series of seminars held over a period of several years beginning in 2006. The landscapes explored represent an eclectic range from North and South America to the United Kingdom and Indonesia. The essays draw their strength and organization from a commitment on the part of their authors to understand landscape as embodied, participatory, lived experience. "The relations between people, animals and plants" (ix), the narratives that underpin and shape these relations, and the structures that render them political are present in various levels in the chapters. Phenomenology, politics, memory, commemoration, plotting, liminal spaces, boundaries, journeys, a concern with scale, Western and non-Western understandings, colonialism, and agency: these are a few of the concepts addressed in this slim but impressively loaded volume.

Jo Vergunst, Andrew Whitehouse, Nicolas Ellison, and Arnar Árnason's introductory essay invites readers to think about routes and mobilities, aesthetics as relationships, and narratives or the ways that social and cultural relationships are made more or less meaningful. They close with a nod to the problem of whether phenomenological or structural approaches promise a better ethnographic understanding of landscape along with a refusal to choose one approach over the other; instead, they argue, both approaches are essential.

The book opens and closes with essays by Christopher Tilley and Tim Ingold, respectively; both essays are phenomenological in approach. Tilley's essay is a rallying cry for students of landscape to, well, get out into those

landscapes, and Ingold urges researchers to join those they study in inhabiting their world. Modernity, both authors argue, encourages researchers to view, study, analyze, and interpret landscapes without ever knowing what it feels like to inhabit them. Yet Ingold stresses the importance of structure through his emphasis on position or perspective, suggesting that the human experience of landscape—and the study of that experience—is always culturally mediated.

Griet Scheldeman and Sue Lewis present an important twist on the assumption that Western approaches to landscape not only shape but often limit ethnographic understanding. The notion of a detached landscape, a passive setting “out there,” is not how landscapes always appear even to Westerners, these chapters reveal. Lewis’s informants on the Isle of Man, for example, make it clear that their social worlds are repeatedly made and remade in the context of a living, breathing, active earth. Roger Banks, the botanic artist interviewed by Scheldeman, also makes it clear that “you must be part of [the landscape]” (44).

Julie Cruikshank’s chapter on the glaciers found in the Saint Elias Mountains in Canada is an important statement on the sentient or active nature of landscape as well as the ways that different traditions—Western and indigenous—make meaning out of these harsh and uncontrollable worlds. Her essay reveals how, in an era of rapidly occurring climate change, the nature-culture divide is a problem. Similarly, Patrick Pérez critiques the notion of the cultural landscape by examining how the Arizona Hopi understand their territory, finding that separating nature and culture makes it politically challenging for American Indians to obtain recognition for the often wide-open vistas integral to indigenous landscapes.

Paul Basu explores the power of narratives and landscape to shape understandings of the Scottish landscape and creation of the Scottish diaspora. Basu’s concern is with migration, the stories migrants tell, and the ways that seemingly unremarkable stone cairns can reinforce and reproduce those narratives. Basu is concerned with founding narratives, a type of narrative often set in the landscape that became an important cultural performance in the West beginning in the 18th century. Celeste Ray is also concerned with monuments, these in the form of holy wells in Ireland that not only reinforce memory narratives but have become sites of struggle as others (New Agers or neo-pagans) make claim to these features.

Suzanne Grant examines the genealogical landscape of the Paraguayan Chaco and the role of pathways in reproducing social and cultural knowledge in a postcolonial context. Andrew Whitehouse focuses on Scottish landscapes of improvement and progress, finding that even as farms are increasingly incorporated into a wider capitalist system of production and the compatibility of new and old is promoted, a vein of anger remains toward change. The rural becomes transformed into a mythical harmonious place.

Landscapes Beyond Land is a well-edited book with relatively short chapters that reveal something new with each rereading. Despite its schoolbook appearance, its text is narratively thick, covering multiple topics in ways that both surprise and suggest directions for landscape research; it is a book that one returns to again and again. This is no small achievement, given that the book is an edited collection assembled over several years.

For archaeologists (as this reviewer is), the question posed by these chapters—what does landscape culture look like in non-Western contexts?—may appear to be addressed only partially. *Landscapes Beyond Land* is a book for ethnographers and others who study living groups of people. The archaeological features cited in the book—cairns, holy wells, old fields, and so on—are made meaningful by being perceived in the present or in recent history, a time for which written records and oral traditions survive. The challenge for archaeologists, then, is how to apply the concepts in this book to landscapes stretching back thousands of years. Phenomenological approaches, after all, can take you only so far.

This criticism should not detract from the enormous contribution that *Landscapes Beyond Land* does indeed make to the understanding of landscape and its study. This is a must-read (and reread) for any serious student of landscape.

addicted.pregnant.poor. *Kelly Ray Knight.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015. 328 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12453

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Ethnoporn is a term inspired by Hortense Spillers’s essay “Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe: An American Grammar Book.” That is one way to describe how ethnographers sometimes portray the lives of people who are poor and of color. Typically, a string of reductionist adjectives are used to immortalize such people, which makes them the mascot of societal angst and even intense dislike. Consequently, the intricacies of their experiences become a wasteland of toxicity stabilized by stereotypes trafficked to a consuming public.

With its horrifying portrayal of gender, addiction, and reproduction, *addicted.pregnant.poor* could easily have crossed the border into ethnoporn. Instead, Kelly Ray Knight critiques ineffectual policies to address these issues against the gentrifying Mission District in San Francisco. Knight, a former public health outreach worker who spent four years conducting research there, offers a cogent and detailed discussion of just how ridiculously difficult it is to

be pregnant, to be poor, and to be addicted. Yet this ethnography shows us how women make lives in a vortex of impossibilities. To keep custody of their children and to stay drug-free, they need housing, yet the new urban infrastructure in the Mission District creates a paradox: desire and desperation. Knight's descriptions read like investigative reports in which the machinations of daily-rent hotels are sorted out. As she reveals the horrors of those rooms with their rodents, peeling plaster, and exploitative owners, we see how their operation preys on and exacerbates the problems associated with the illness of addiction. For example, food insecurity is made worse by the fact that most hotels neither permit cooking nor have refrigerators, compromising both maternal health and fetal development.

I want to highlight four compelling aspects of this ethnography. First is the absurdity of gentrification in the Mission District, resulting from the rise of San Francisco's tech industry and leading to the decline in these women's ability to secure housing. The Mission District used to be a sort of refuge because housing was affordable and members of the LGBTQ community called it home. It had cheap housing and cheaper hotels—temporary shelters for the down-and-out. But developers' and the city's accommodations to the overclass have led to a housing shortage in the Mission, driving more and more people into daily-rent hotels. Knight offers an exquisite and disturbing look at life in these daily-rent hotels—the primary location of her research as well as one object of her critique. Every morning at 11:00, the women must hand over \$45 to \$60 for their rooms. This makes every day a hellish nightmare of earning enough money to assuage both a jones—an addiction—and a rent collector. Exchanging sex for money or drugs is the survival strategy. Women pay rents of \$1,350 to \$1,800 a month to live in a place where, to ensure that they can make no claim to tenancy rights, they are unable to stay beyond 21 days.

The second illuminating characteristic of Knight's ethnography is how she grafts an analysis of temporality onto her descriptions of these women's lives. By offering an impressive intervention wherein she describes the temporal aspects of addiction, pregnancy, and poverty, she demonstrates “the socially and politically constructed diagnostic contexts of mental and health diagnoses.” In so doing, she seeks to move us beyond the simplistic categorizations of homeless people, addicted people, and pregnant women as well as the tendency to rely on proving the realities of comorbidity. Instead, she wants us to “explore how understanding the demands of multiple temporalities can expand our epistemology of comorbidity into everyday life and demonstrate the ontological fluidity that addicted, pregnant women in the daily-rent hotels were forced to embody” (71). The registers of time that she details include, among others, addict time; hotel time; pregnancy time, which in fact reverses time from the expectant date;

jail time; treatment time; epidemiological time, that is, engaging in public health studies for compensation; biomedical time, which documents failed motherhood and is often an opportunity for the state to remove children; and life time, which is women's life histories.

Third, Knight catalogs the tensions among women's desperation, capitalist exploitation, systemic flaws, and *neurocracy*, a term that captures those who engage in a range of processes that can help or hinder a patient secure services. They are the go-betweens who can translate “clinical diagnoses and symptom terminologies into entitlement legibility” (122). This conceptual framework is an interesting intervention in terms of thinking about how to make bureaucracies and institutions more malleable in the face of restricted access to resources.

Finally, Knight has crafted a text, similar to Annemarie Mol's *The Body Multiple*, that is a juxtaposition of her ethnographic data and a reflection on the literature that contextualizes her findings. She structures her ethnography similarly, setting her ethnographic field notes apart from her more in-depth analysis by both fonts and graphics. In so doing, she facilitates a kind of dialogue between the women's experiences and the analytical acumen with which she critiques social policy and the degree to which poor women live (barely) in a social policy abyss.

One of Knight's concluding comments is that “traveling along and recording the multiple ways pregnancy and addiction is recognized, becomes known, and gets intervened upon can help reveal where care succeeds and where it fails” (232). But while she argues that the women actually narrate their own lives and produce evidence of need, in the end she is their interlocutor.

Constructing Transnational and Transracial Identity: Adoption and Belonging in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Sigalit Ben-Zion. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. 265 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12454

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Approaching kinship, belonging, and identity in a world of nation-states through the lens of transnational adoption is an excellent idea, and this study by Sigalit Ben-Zion seems, at first glance, to have comparative ambitions, drawing on fieldwork in three neighboring countries. Although the comparison eventually comes to naught, the book is a good read that contains many valuable insights into the self-understanding and self-representation of adoptees who are visibly different from the surrounding majorities, indicating the continued significance of race in northern Europe.

Ben-Zion aims to provide an understanding of life among those Scandinavians who have an exotic appearance owing to their birth in, say, Korea, Ethiopia, or Chile—people she says inhabit a twilight zone. She includes many telling statements from informants suggesting that this feeling of alienation is widespread. In one of the last chapters, she takes on what is the big question for many adoptees: whether to visit their country of birth or even to meet their biological parents. However, apart from showing that being transnationally adopted confers a degree of liminality on the adoptees, given that national identities are to a great extent racialized in the Scandinavian countries (as shown by Marianne Gullestad in *Plausible Prejudice*), she does not analyze the wider implications of her findings. At the end of the day, the chapters come across as repetitive and rhapsodic, with little cumulative development.

Very substantial research literatures on kinship and nationality and on Scandinavian societies exist. Many are cited in this book, but few are engaged with critically, with the exception of Signe Howell's *The Kinning of Foreigners*, about transnational adoption in Norway, which is confronted in interesting ways with informants' interpretations of their situation. Theoretically, the book is uneven, and there are some misunderstandings. For example, Ben-Zion describes Fredrik Barth's theory of ethnicity as primordialist (whereas primordialism was the main target of his critique) and misleadingly compares the experiences of Salman Rushdie (whose essay "Imaginary Homelands" she presents as a theoretical statement) to those of adoptees who have been raised in Scandinavia. Introducing Antonio Gramsci on page 86 without using his perspective subsequently, moreover, seems whimsical and superfluous.

The reader learns much about the in-betweenness experienced, at least occasionally, by the adoptees but precious little about Scandinavian kinship, the specifics of the three Scandinavian societies (such as their emphasis on equality or the politics of the welfare state), or their mutual differences. While Ben-Zion mentions right-wing nationalist groups, she makes no attempt to analyze the very significant differences between Sweden and Denmark regarding their political impact. The two countries have pursued diametrically opposite immigration policies for many years, but no trace of such differences—or indeed any differences at all—is evident in the book. There are glimpses of national grammars of inclusion and exclusion, as in the description of the popular Norwegian folk dress and the powerful displays of nationalism on that country's Constitution Day (a ritual lacking parallels in Denmark or Sweden), but the potential for a comparative analysis is not exploited.

This is a missed opportunity. Whereas the Swedish republican model has been accommodating to minorities, the Norwegian national identity has a stronger ethnic element, while Denmark has recently taken a sharp turn toward ethnonationalism—although Copenhagen remains a cosmopolitan European city and thus the country remains ideologically divided on matters of inclusion and exclusion. No such context is provided; the reader is left in the dark, pondering what is peculiar to these countries as opposed to other places.

Throughout the book, underlying themes include the criteria for inclusion into a community based on place or kinship, tangible or imagined. For this reason, devoting several pages to describing a visit to a part of Stockholm dominated by immigrants and their descendants, in one of the first chapters, seemed to be a good idea, since it might shed light on the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion operating in Sweden on the basis of certain characteristics. Adoptees may look like immigrants, but they are culturally Scandinavian; they also tend to belong to higher social classes and maintain qualitatively different social networks than non-European immigrants in the Stockholm suburbs. Alas, Ben-Zion attempts no subsequent comparison between the structural position of immigrants and that of culturally Swedish but phenotypically different adoptees. Language, class, religion (or the lack thereof), and habitus might fruitfully have been brought to bear on her observations here, indicating how different criteria for inclusion and exclusion intersect.

Construed and deployed differently, the empirical material presented in this book could have been mobilized to shed light on kinship and relatedness, Howell's concept of the process of kinning, nationhood, and the peculiarities of exclusion and inclusion in the different countries. But Ben-Zion leaves theoretical concepts unexplained, she uses concepts like class idiosyncratically (the term *upper class* is used frequently in the text, while it is rare in the Scandinavian languages), and her way of speaking about phenomena like whiteness without engaging with the relevant literatures confirms my impression that this work is promising but incomplete and uncompleted.

Perhaps *Constructing Transnational and Transracial Identity* should be read not as an academic monograph but as a journalistic narrative, and indeed the author herself presents it as "a narrative ethnography whose main concern is to give voice to people and not to theories" (20). It bears repeating that her book is readable and truthful and, as such, it is a useful contribution to our collective understanding of an important topic. Yet it fails to realize its full potential as a theoretical contribution to anthropology.

Non-sovereign Futures: French Caribbean Politics in the Wake of Disenchantment. Yarimar Bonilla. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 232 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12455

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The Francophone Caribbean encompasses both Haiti—the first Caribbean colony to win independence in a bloody rebellion—and Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana, which went from being colonies to full integration into the metropolis. These overseas departments of France are constitutional outliers in a world where political independence is the default status. Even more striking is the fact that the decision to departmentalize was taken in 1946, exactly at the moment when the upheavals of World War II set off a decades-long wave of at times violent decolonization and the end of European empire.

Central to this French Caribbean move toward deeper immersion into France while neighboring countries sloughed off colonial bonds is the seeming paradox of Aimé Césaire, the poet and politician who initiated departmentalization and served as deputy to the National Assembly and mayor of Fort-de-France for decades. Césaire was not only the region's leading political figure but also one of its great writers and intellectuals; his *Notebook of a Return to a Native Land* helped inaugurate the strongly anticolonial negritude movement. Yet Césaire invented the very word *departmentalization*, which indicates the highly textual orientation of his political praxis. His effort at departmentalization was to guarantee the black majority in these Caribbean territories the same rights and privileges as their compatriots in the metropolis and, in this way, to decolonize them by weakening the oligarchic power of the “big whites” who controlled the local economy.

Césaire's pivotal, controversial, and double-edged role in the entire departmentalization process has been widely criticized by other Caribbean intellectuals. But his own thinking and writing, while brilliant and pathbreaking, are largely part of a discourse that the typical inhabitant of these islands cannot share. So too are the critiques, even when expressed in Creole rather than standard French. They remain far from the idioms used by the majority to think through ideas of justice and sovereignty.

To understand how the average Guadeloupean conceptualizes these difficult and contradictory political trajectories, one could do no better than turn to this very fine ethnography by Yarimar Bonilla. A Puerto Rican, native of another insular territory that has resisted the path to political independence opted for by most of the Caribbean, Bonilla opens her book with a meditation, both helpful and very clear, on the idea of sovereignty in the Caribbean

context. She adopts the term *nonsovereign future* to encapsulate the sense among her Guadeloupean informants that political independence is not a realistic or even a desirable goal, even if some gesture toward greater autonomy and self-determination is possible.

Bonilla demonstrates, I think quite convincingly, that the major impetus for a nonsovereign future is generated less by the formal political actors within the French Antilles than by the labor unions. Her ethnography is centered mainly in the riveting testimony of the workers and activists who have played a part in the island's labor relations. We learn along the way that organized labor in Guadeloupe is vigorous and determined, with levels of worker participation and strike activity far greater than in mainland France and perhaps unmatched anywhere else in the world today. Bonilla shows that the purpose of strike activity often transcends the immediate economic issue to serve as a means whereby strikers undergo “affective transformations” (66). She compellingly documents how the labor strike becomes a type of antistructure, during which quotidian routines are suspended and strike participants do indeed report a heightened sense of solidarity and altered consciousness.

At the same time, Bonilla is careful to note that for those not involved in such activity, strikes often appear overly confrontational, costly, and even counterproductive. She takes the time to interview the head of the employer confederation and tellingly relates chance encounters with business executives from neighboring islands in order to give the perspective of the business community. Even some union members express doubts about the implacability of their union's strike action—for example, strikers often fan out from the site of the company in question to block highways and bring the entire island to a standstill. All this is preparatory to the narrative focus of the book, a general strike that paralyzed Guadeloupe for six weeks in 2009. The strike drew crowds of around 100,000—a quarter of the population—to the streets to protest economic injustice or what was locally termed *pwofitayson*. For many the strike was a liminal experience that dissolved antecedent bonds, including familial ones, and fashioned new forms of union-centered solidarity. It was also in many ways a spectacular success: French president Nicolas Sarkozy was forced to intervene directly, and a large pay increase was granted together with price controls on food, utilities, and rent.

Yet after it all, many of those who took part in the general strike expressed a sense of disillusionment because the promised reforms were incompletely realized. It is here that Bonilla makes a real contribution, it seems to me, by melding current Creole phrases with the ideas of Édouard Glissant to propose a more hopeful, emancipatory conception of political praxis, one encapsulated by another Creole word, *liyannaj*. Bonilla explains that a *liyannaj* is like a network but more fleeting and improvisational, denoting in effect a pragmatic collaboration for a specific

purpose without loss of difference among the groups and individuals so connected. She suggests that it is through such heterodox forms of collective action that the people of Guadeloupe have sought and will seek political change. Because such collaboration takes place outside of formal political structures, it is difficult to capture using traditional modes of analysis. Bonilla's book represents a paradigmatic and powerful instance of the indispensability of ethnography for disclosing and persuasively interpreting the lived experiences of the French Caribbean.

Tourism and Informal Encounters in Cuba. Valerio Simoni. London: Berghahn, 2016. 282 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12456

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Communities in the developing world often jump on the tourism bandwagon, thinking it will be a panacea for their economic woes. Governments, development agencies, and businesses encourage such communities to pursue tourism as an economic strategy without cautioning them against the potential downsides. Anthropologists sometimes see themselves as providing a critical corrective to this movement, pointing out that tourists from developed countries bring neocolonial attitudes with them when they visit economically disadvantaged places, while the locals chafe at such neocolonialism and even resist it in sly ways via their encounters with tourists.

This is an important critique but an oversimplified one. In *Tourism and Informal Encounters in Cuba*, Valerio Simoni points out that we, as anthropologists, tend to enjoy rooting for the underdog—the postcolonial subject who has experienced exploitation at the hands of the wealthy—and therefore tend to romanticize the use of cunning, strategy, and guile when dealing with more privileged parties. However, this narrative can all too quickly become unmoored from the ethnographic data. Rather than repeat an old story, Simoni highlights the moral ambiguity involved in the informal encounters that unfold between foreign tourists and *jinetos* and *jineteras* (terms derived from the word *jockey* that allude to the Cubans' ability to steer tourists according to their will).

Knowing that modern tourists often want to encounter what they perceive to be authenticity in the lives of the people they visit while on holiday, an assertion first made by Dean MacCannell and subsequently reaffirmed by numerous anthropologists, Cuban *jinetos* and *jineteras* steer tourists away from the so-called beaten path, creating opportunities for them to engage with locals outside the established tourist zones. Working in the tourism industry—as a

waiter, a concierge, and so on—provides Cubans with legitimate reasons to engage with tourists, thus expanding their own social networks and creating opportunities to arrange experiences for tourists that will benefit them financially. Of course, as Simoni points out, these relationships can also develop from more informal interactions. Locals may simply hang around in the touristy areas of Havana or on the beaches and strike up conversations with tourists. Locals often describe these relationships as being friendships, even if they originate from contrived circumstances.

Friendships with tourists, whether we consider them genuine or manufactured, provide Cubans with access to resources unavailable to many of their peers. By associating with tourists, they may gain access to monetary gifts, costly experiences like dining in fine restaurants, or even invitations to leave the island. The individual Cubans who are at the core of Simoni's ethnography intentionally pursue these relationships. Some do so in order to get a taste of the foreigners' lifestyle; others do it as a means of survival. The state, however, views this as a form of hustling that could cast a shadow on the entire enterprise of tourism in Cuba and thus tries to repress these relationships. *Jinetos* and *jineteras*, therefore, need to develop strategies for approaching tourists that both circumvent the police gaze and feel natural enough that tourists' suspicions are not raised. The latter issue is crucial, because while tourists want to access the backstage regions of a culture, they are also wary of being taken advantage of by economically disadvantaged Cubans whose claims of instant friendship may mask strategic intentions. To be successful, a Cuban needs to know how to be the kind of friend that a given tourist is hoping to find. The subjects of this ethnography are masters at gauging tourists' needs and desires. In the end, Simoni's readers are left with the sense that cross-cultural friendships are not impossible—even between people of vastly different material circumstances—but are often fraught with ambiguity that must be negotiated because of each party's skepticism.

This is a book that will appeal to scholars who focus on tourism as well as those who study friendship and reciprocity in relationships. For specialists, the highlight of this book is the way that Simoni synthesizes academic research on the informal economy with the phenomenology of relationship development. The author does a good job of reflecting on his position as both a researcher and a potential mark for the very same kind of hustling he seeks to understand without falling into the trap of self-indulgence or overgeneralization that sometimes accompanies autoethnography. This work urges tourism scholars to avoid overly simplistic dichotomies like host and guest or genuine and spurious. Simoni avoids this trap by arguing that in order to actually understand the relationships that develop between the parties engaged in touristic activities and the implications of those relationships, researchers

must carefully analyze the actual engagements that these parties have.

This book will also appeal to less specialized audiences, including undergraduate students—who will particularly appreciate Simoni's explanation of how the festive atmosphere in which the tourists' partying is embedded discourages them from overanalyzing the intentions of *jineteros* and *jineteras*. I did find his history of Cuba and tourism in Cuba to be a bit shorter than I needed for a full understanding of the ethnographic context in which his work took place. If a faculty member is planning to use this ethnography in a course, I would recommend augmenting it with additional readings on Cuba and tourism in the Caribbean.

Indeed, this topic will resonate with just about any reader who has traveled to an unfamiliar place in which local residents depend upon tourism for their livelihoods. However, fieldworkers should be forewarned. In explaining his research methods, Simoni mentions that one of his research consultants once described his work as *jineterismo informacional*. In other words, as a researcher Simoni was just as guilty as they were of pursuing friendships in large part because of what they could give him. This critique is not new, but to have it so clearly stated by one's so-called informants is a good reminder that our work does have economic implications and that our presence can be as onerous to the people studied as beach hustlers can be to someone on holiday. It also makes me, for one, wonder just how genuine some of my relationships are and just how often I have been taken for a ride.

Anthropology at the Crossroads: The View from France.

Sophie Chevalier, ed. Canon Pyon, UK: Sean Kingston, 2015. 164 pp.

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This edited volume aims to present the current state of play in French anthropology. Editor Sophie Chevalier states in her introduction that what distinguishes contemporary French anthropology—at a crossroads because of globalization—is its focus on the relationship between the individual and the group from the “local to the global” (2). Coming to terms with issues raised by globalization, the profession finds itself in a perfect storm as old theories and topics may be washed away into irrelevance. The collection is to be read as the French response to the dilemmas of contemporary anthropology.

In the first chapter, Sophie Chevalier and Emmanuelle Lallement describe the current situation before summarizing each chapter. The younger generation of

anthropologists has created a new association, the Association française d'ethnologie et d'anthropologie, which held its first meeting in 2011. However, the number of academic jobs continues to decline. The famous *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* and the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* retain the lion's share of positions, while museums—traditional sites for research positions—have been reorganized to serve new functions. This change came as the postcolonial critique took center stage from the previous dominance of structural and Marxist anthropology during the crisis of the 1980s. Nonetheless, according to the authors, the discipline is meeting these new challenges by recasting its classical fields—kinship, religion, and politics—in global and comparative perspectives.

The second chapter, by Emmanuel Désveaux, is a critique of two directions in which the heirs of Claude Lévi-Strauss have taken his work: Françoise Héritier's ideas about the model of complex exchange and the incest of a second type and Philippe Descola's interpretation of Lévi-Strauss's nature-culture dichotomy. Désveaux thinks that Descola distorts Lévi-Strauss's theories to suit his ontological claims about totemism. He proposes an alternative reading and chides his French colleagues for their overgeneralizing proclivities. Interesting as the chapter is, one wonders whether this discussion fits the driving problematics of the volume.

In the third chapter, Michel Agier describes the contemporary turn in French anthropology. He considers transforming moments—World War II, decolonization, and globalization—and notes the most important changes: boundaries and concepts are contested, and identities appear parodic and fictional. Agier claims, without nuance, that compared to the French the US turn was “less epistemological” (51). He cites new objects of study—development, health, migration, and poverty—and new styles of writing “in favour of a wider, open but indeterminate a priori apprehending of contemporary worlds” (50). Such verbiage, unfortunately, is frequent in contemporary anthropology.

The fourth chapter treats French anthropology at home compared, at times, with British anthropology. In France, sociology and anthropology were united under the comparative sociology of Émile Durkheim. Sophie Chevalier writes that the focus was on the national as social form, while ethnology remained for some time in marginal corners and folklore was placed in a category of its own. Under the influence of Lévi-Strauss, anthropology became a separate discipline after WWII. Chevalier presents a dry narrative of research institutions, followed by telegraphic comments on the works of Isaac Chiva, Jeanne Favret-Saada, Yvonne Verdier, and Françoise Zonabend about France and Europe. The big change occurred in the 1970s, when the Great Divide (Europe vs. the Exotic) was abandoned, anthropologists worked both at home and abroad—often at multiple

sites—and boundaries, such as the one between insiders and outsiders, were blurred.

In the fifth chapter, Benoît de l'Estoile poses a question: can French anthropology outlive its museums? He structures the story of the relationship between the two in three phases: the dominance of the natural history paradigm, when anthropological research had its locus in the famous Musée de l'Homme; the slow demise of that paradigm after WWII with the rise of one centered around systems of thought; and a crisis that became acute in the 1990s. In this post-ethnographic museum era, when museums now concentrate on shows and mass education, de l'Estoile states that anthropology has to develop in academic and other settings and squarely confront the legacies of its colonial past.

The sixth chapter treats urban anthropology. Emmanuelle Lallement's stated aim is "to understand the city as a system of communications in its social, political and cultural dimensions as different forms of modern urbanism" (105). The chapter does not do much to clarify these often slippery subjects, although we learn about important works by Michèle de La Pradelle, Colette Pétonnet, Jean Bazin, and Gérard Althabe. Lallement concludes with a discussion of her own work that deploys predictable notions such as the "staging" and "producing" (119) of urban life in the context of transnational circulation.

The seventh and final chapter, by Anne-Christine Trémon, illustrates fairly clearly the complementary notions of globalization and the study of the contemporary through ethnographies about generations of Chinese in French Polynesia. "Flexible" kinship practices preserve Chinese identity "despite deterritorialization" (127–28), while the notion of hybridization is replaced by that of *métissage* in order to emphasize the choices involved in situations of "conflicting affiliations" (129). Especially important in mixed parentage is the recognition (and nonrecognition) of offspring, a process that results in transnational clans and networks across China and French Polynesia.

This slim volume has some interesting chapters (especially the contributions by Désveaux, de l'Estoile, and Trémon) and contains valuable if repetitive information. However, the thematics of the French turn, as they appear in this book, read more like a view from the United States than from France. Furthermore, the subtitle should be *A View from France* rather than *The View from France*, since the collection mostly showcases anthropologists who follow in the footsteps of Marc Augé. Many other groups are not even mentioned, while some anthropologists around Philippe Descola and Bruno Latour are excluded on peculiar grounds. Chevalier notes that the volume sketches an "inevitably partial portrait" (1). I happen to think that even partial renderings should do more justice to other scholars in the field.

Pious Practice and Secular Constraints: Women in the Islamic Revival in Europe. Jeanette S. Jouili. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12458

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In this landmark study, Jeanette Jouili uses Islam in the West to take the anthropology of secularism in new directions via masterful theoretical innovation combined with vivid ethnography. Ultimately a project about ethics and publics, Jouili brings concepts from Islamic theology into conversation with classical Greek philosophy to better understand the moral lives of French and German Muslim women in Islamic revival circles. In doing so, she offers an erudite contribution to the project of breaking down the problematic dichotomies between faith and rationality and between East and West that persistently vex both scholarship and popular thinking about Islam.

Jouili concentrates on the everyday lives of young, European-born Muslim women who attend classes at new institutions of Islamic learning. Although born into Islam, her informants describe their most intense experiences with religion as occurring only after a kind of rediscovery of Islam—a conversion-like transformation that takes place in their late adolescence or early adulthood. Supported by institutions of orthodox Islamic learning, in particular by the female teachers within them, these women engage in self-conscious efforts to become more pious. Institutions such as the Centre d'études et de recherche sur l'islam in France and the Begegnungs- und Fortbildungszentrum muslimischer Frauen in Germany allow these women a place from which to explore orthodox Islam. They embrace a new kind of Islam to critically distance themselves from what they consider the traditional, cultural, or inauthentic styles of belief and practice held by their parents in favor of a more objectified, text-based, and globalized form of religiosity.

As members of the revival circles, the women gain expertise in Islamic sciences and confidence to engage foundational Islamic texts directly. They also learn how to evaluate the scholars and leaders who they deem offer the most compelling insights into how to be Muslim in the West. Since revival Islam is a form of orthodox Islam, the field of interpretation has clear limits. For example, among the scholars accepted by these women as properly orthodox, there is a strong and unchallenged consensus about the obligation to cover, to accept certain forms of gender complementarity, and to leave new interpretations of the holy texts to a certain kind of classically trained scholar. Within this orthodox field, however, women find freedom and choice in their ability to navigate among a relatively wide array of acceptable interpretations from

different scholars who are equally respected, even if their interpretations conflict with one another.

These Islamic institutions represent just one node in a network of sites—including places of work, leisure, consumption, and secular education—through which Jouili accompanies her informants as they craft new modes of selfhood vis-à-vis an urban public. In this exploration, she demonstrates how certain aspects of these exclusionist and discriminatory contexts inspire and shape her informants' religious transformations as much as what they learn inside the Islamic institutions. For Jouili, "these complicated and restrictive settings produce experiences of ambiguity, suffering, and injustice, thereby simultaneously creating conditions for the intensification of ethical labor" (4). Jouili provides a meticulous account of how particular secular constraints encountered in these sites present productive arenas for the dialectical elaboration of new expressions of personal and public piety. Because French secularism imposes restrictive laws, such as hijab bans, and Germany enforces its normative regimes through social conditioning, the work of revivalist women to craft comprehensible expressions of public piety across these challenging landscapes results in a reinvigorated and cosmopolitan form of faith, forged by a double consciousness that is both shaped by and capable of shaping heterogeneous publics.

A significant part of being Muslim in Europe involves learning how to accept the heavy burden of what Jouili calls "representational *da'wa*" (181)—the idea that everything one does and says as a Muslim woman will affect not only oneself but also how the larger Muslim community is understood and treated. Jouili's informants thus enact "an ethical-political commitment that does not disconnect the individual striving for pious self-cultivation from an understanding that rituals and other practices that are part of that self-cultivation exist within a web of human relationships and therefore might impact these relationships too" (3). As such, highly personal decisions about whether to wear the hijab to work, whether to pray in public spaces, and whether to delay marriage and family in favor of becoming one of the first Muslim women to break the glass ceiling of a particular "socially useful profession" (136) are all made with ideas about the common good in mind.

For Jouili, the kind of moral reasoning that women engage as they execute this delicate balancing act reflects a type of Aristotelian phronetic reasoning that is historically, culturally, and structurally connected to a mode of Islamic moral reasoning called *istislah*. When a conflict or moral dilemma presents itself, *istislah* provides a method of choosing among different goods in a way that calls upon the creativity, spontaneity, and agency of the subject. Jouili's work bridging Muslim and ancient Greek modes of morality adds ethnographic flesh to the bones of an important and growing body of scholarship, notably advanced by such scholars as Armando Salvatore, to deprovincialize Greek

ethical traditions as revered modes of thought that are erroneously assumed to be related more to European or Western traditions than to Muslim or other non-European ones.

Along the way, Jouili also makes significant interventions into an impressive array of other timely theoretical debates that cut across fields. For example, she productively ties her project to current work in the anthropology of Christianity on ritual, embodiment, and sincerity in post-colonial contexts, work exemplified by that of Webb Keane. She also contributes to new schools of feminist scholarship, as illustrated by how she builds upon Pnina Werbner's analysis of the potential of political motherhood to serve as a feminist style of public engagement. Her ethnographic findings productively critique the work of such figures as Ulrich Beck, Jürgen Habermas, and Will Kymlicka, who wish to advance new European ideals of cosmopolitanism to replace multiculturalism as the basis for an inclusive citizenship in a way that Jouili discovers to only incompletely include her informants' experiences and concerns.

This is feminist ethnography at its best, showing how decisions made at the most personal level necessarily involve and implicate the political at the level of community and society. Jeanette Jouili's book will be of great interest to scholars working on theories of modernity, orthodoxy, citizenship, gender, space, and ethics. It will be a superlative teaching aid for classes in anthropology, sociology, women's and gender studies, urban studies, philosophy, comparative religion, and more.

Gypsy Economy: Romani Livelihoods and Notions of Worth in the 21st Century. Micol Brazzabeni, Manuela Ivone Cunha, and Martin Fotta, eds. New York: Berghahn, 2015. 272 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12459

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The publication of *Gypsy Economy* comes precisely at a time when both academics and the general public need cogent analyses of Roma. Current headlines reveal that Roma are maligned by racists, xenophobic parties, and even educated Europeans as lazy vagabonds, criminals by nature, and foreign filth. Their rate of formal unemployment is much higher than that of the majority European populations, and by all other statistical measures—health, housing, education, political involvement, and so on—they are stigmatized across Europe. This edited volume, then, is a very welcome contribution to the crisis of anti-Gypsyism. Its very subtitle, *Romani Livelihoods and Notions of Worth in the 21st Century*, is a denunciation of persistent biased notions that have deemed Roma worthless and dangerous.

In contrast, this volume is a testament to the diversity and adaptability of Roma labor practices, many of which are traditionally in the nonwage sphere.

Most of the volume is very strong both in theory and in ethnographic data. The 10 case studies from Slovakia, Italy, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, Brazil, and Spain are framed by a meaty introduction by the editors and an afterword by British economic anthropologist Keith Hart. In their introduction, the editors question several older paradigms that characterize all Roma as peripatetic service providers “living for the moment” (13) or as those who opt out of wage labor and favor autonomy and self-employment. Authors invested in these paradigms invariably discuss the seminal work of Michael Stewart, who in *The Time of the Gypsies* showed how Hungarian Roma in socialist factory jobs valued market deals that they controlled over their obligatory factory work even when the latter put more money into their pockets.

The volume illustrates that Gypsy economy “is fully embedded in markets, that is, in a commercial economy mediated by money,” but “the so-called market economy is best approached as a milieu of cracks, interstices and fissures on which people confer specific dimensions and characteristics through their creative actions” (1). Furthermore, the contributors tackle economy in relationship to social position, where labor becomes an interpretive meaning-making process through exchange, symbol, and the performance of personhood. Always present are the challenges and exclusions that Roma face; precarity has become institutionalized and normal for many Roma. However, many of the authors reject the concept of marginalization because it is precisely via their economic activities that Roma become an integral part of local markets and exchanges. They rightfully argue against essentializing Roma culture and are very attentive to diversity among Romani subgroups. The title *Gypsy Economy* refers to the myriad ways of making money in each location contextualized by history and of interpreting the economy in terms of social roles, “creating more or less viable modes of living” (3).

The editors evaluate several older themes. Niche and adaptation, for example, are deemed too focused on the demand side for non-Roma; in contrast, the editors advocate for understanding “economic activities in Gypsies’ own terms” (8). Embedded ethnographic analyses focus on what Roma have rather than what they lack. Some of the contributors take a performative approach to work, focusing on events and processes and highlighting social interaction and flexibility in roles. Roma economies are often related to concepts of morality and the construction of personhood; thus, notions of worth, status, wealth, and value are examined in depth. Other contributors focus on monetary flows, economic strategies, and market interactions.

The two opening chapters by Tomáš Hrustič (on Slovakia) and Judit Durst (on Hungary) deftly deal with

moneylending among Roma as a highly nuanced social activity embedded in poverty. Both authors delve into the interpersonal nature of moneylending. Hrustič shows the difference between “clever Roma” and “fool Gypsies” and how borrowers might become lenders at strategic moments. Durst focuses on morality and the emergence of hierarchy. In contrast, Martin Fotta analyzes Brazilian Calon Roma, who lend money primarily to non-Roma, recruiting moralistic categories of shame, honor, and strength.

Cătălina Tesăr offers an insightful analysis of the ostentatious houses of Romanian Cortorari Roma. Following Cortorari on their begging trips to Western Europe, she explores the economic meanings of these castlelike houses in relation to their owners’ age, gender, and status. Marco Solimene expertly describes how Bosnian Romani migrant iron traders in Italy both assert their independence from Italians and need to establish intertwined relationships with them. Martin Olivera similarly focuses on how the Gabori Roma in Transylvania creatively develop symbolic independence from non-Roma. Jan Grill shows how Slovakian migrant Roma save money from wage labor in England to upgrade their houses and neighborhoods in their home towns. Other chapters deal with fortune telling in Brazil (Florenca Ferrari), horse traders in Portugal (Sara Sama Acedo), street dealing in Bucharest (Gergő Pulay), and the logic of gift giving among Gitanos in Spain (Nathalie Manrique).

Echoing several contributors, Keith Hart in his afterword raises the important issue of neoliberalism and the dismantling of the public sphere. He highlights the role of states and statelessness, concluding that “we can no longer pretend that we are studying stateless peoples but . . . people with a history of statelessness who interact with states, global capitalism and the rest” (247). He identifies four themes in the volume: money transfers, economic strategies, performance, and wealth and value. I agree with Hart’s assessment that *Gypsy Economy* is extremely valuable both to Roma ethnography and to economic anthropological theory.

Social Collateral: Women and Microfinance in Paraguay’s Smuggling Economy. *Caroline E. Schuster.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015. 288 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12460

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This is a fresh perspective on the feminization of microfinance and institutionalized forms of credit in the unique context of Paraguay. Caroline Schuster uses the interdependency of debt to explore how obligation is socially produced

among women in Ciudad del Este in the triborder region where Paraguay meets Brazil and Argentina. Known for its duty-free zone, cross-border trade, and smuggling economy, this region provides the context for Schuster to dissect and highlight the social life of credit in “Paraguay’s raucous free trade zone—the pinnacle, in many ways, of abstract commerce” (11). Social collateral, as the author argues, produces a very specific gendered sociality that structures not only opportunities but also inequalities for women, a process referred to as the “crediting of gender” (14); that is, while gender difference allows women to access microcredit programs, it also fashions economic scripts that reinforce formations of gender.

Part 1, with chapters on entrepreneurship and liability, focuses on the regulatory terms of credit; part 2, with chapters on creditworthiness, repayment, and renewal, shifts toward the life cycles of loans. The reader becomes intimate with the vicissitudes of situations and relations that bind and unbind borrowers such as the pseudonymous Ña Fabiana and Viki as they unite under the banner of the Committees of Women Entrepreneurs established to receive loans from the Fundación Paraguaya. These frequent ethnographic vignettes unravel “the conditions under which people living and working in Ciudad del Este are drawn together or held apart—from borrowers, lenders, kin, neighbors, business partners, and clients—by the terms of credit” (13). This scenario complements Schuster’s institutional ethnography—albeit a partial one—of the Fundación Paraguaya, a grassroots NGO focused on programs such as rural development and poverty alleviation. Established by an elite group of technocrats trained in economics and business in Paraguay and abroad, this NGO, headquartered in the capital city of Asunción, is known for its links to international funding sources. Schuster’s background in development studies led the NGO to consult with her on particular projects and issues while she was doing fieldwork, allowing her to become familiar with the workings of the NGO microcredit services related to women’s groups.

Part 1 offers insightful perspectives into the entrepreneurial vision of Fundación Paraguaya and how it shapes the lives of women in Ciudad del Este—credit counselors and clients alike—by crafting fixed categories of gender through its programs. We are led into the workings of the NGO with well-crafted descriptions of its founder and director, Martín Burt, his entrepreneurial views, and the workings of the Ikatú program (“it is possible” in the popularly spoken Guaraní language). This initiative, developed during Schuster’s tenure in Paraguay, aimed to reduce poverty by allocating microcredit loans to women’s associations that emphasize “freedom, choices, and personal agency of program participants” (46). Schuster points out the nature of microcredit as a regulatory field, demonstrating how entrepreneurship is inscribed in women at all

levels through programs directed toward “capacity building” (36). She stresses the limitations of such a model, because it reproduces gendered dimensions of class at all levels. By drawing on the vicissitudes of debt repayment by members of two women’s borrowers associations, she also reveals that despite the highly regulated repayment system of this NGO, social collateral nonetheless fostered “an intimate temporality” (99) for specific types of debt that do not necessarily follow the expected scripts. In this way, we learn how liability unfolds in subjective and unpredictable ways, not always according to the expectations of financial market regulations.

Part 2 traces how the life cycles of credit—creditworthiness, repayment, and renewal—all involve practices that reproduce feminized forms with the aim of establishing mutual support, which in turn are transformed into financial relationships. These relationships are enacted through techniques of bureaucratization that include the presentation of documents for lending and repayment, the use of credit scores, and an emphasis on group unity. Overall, this section shows how social collateral involves a set of assumptions, practices, and expectations that homogenize the multidimensional subjectivities of female borrowers. As a result, these practices erase the heterogeneity within groups and undermine the mechanisms through which social collateral is produced: “By granting microcredit a conceptual and practical monopoly on social collateral, we miss how contingent and unstable the financial form is in practice” (210). An emphasis on the social unit of debt helps illuminate and denaturalize the conceptions of solidarity and group coherence usually ascribed to women in the microfinance world.

Scholarly work on Paraguay produced in the Global South does not always reach the attention of English-speaking audiences due to the limited availability of translations as well as obstacles to dissemination. This ethnography is therefore a welcome addition to anthropological work on Paraguay. The socioeconomic panorama of the triborder region is shaped not only by the free trade economy but also by the changing ecological landscape that has followed the region’s soybean boom. This would have been a fascinating backdrop if Schuster had desired to provide a more nuanced understanding of the heterogeneities that bring people together and set them apart through social collateral. Indeed, a more detailed exploration into the life histories of beneficiaries of Fundación Paraguaya’s programs in Ciudad del Este would have enriched this already-important contribution, deepening readers’ comprehension of the social dynamics surrounding the histories of migration, dislocation, and relocation of the people that characterize this region. The book nevertheless provides a valuable look into the gender economies of Ciudad del Este’s working-class sector, unveiling how NGOs reverberate the neoliberal agenda of the

contemporary Paraguayan State. I highly recommend this book to anyone studying issues of gender and development, anthropological theories of values, and the anthropology of finance.

Enduring Uncertainty: Deportation, Punishment and Everyday Life. Ines Hasselberg. New York: Berghahn, 2016. 186 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12461

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In *Enduring Uncertainty*, Ines Hasselberg provides a compelling account of the experiences of foreign nationals who are legal residents of the United Kingdom and have been convicted of a crime and face deportation. To many it comes as a complete shock that despite having British spouses, children, and lives, they are vulnerable to a lengthy and expensive legal process whose outcome is far from certain. Moreover, as this process unfolds, not only offenders but also their family members become embroiled in ongoing uncertainty about when the next court hearing will be, what documents will be required, whether their loved one will be taken into custody, when a ruling might be issued, and whether family relationships and routines will be suddenly and perhaps irrevocably disrupted. Hasselberg's analysis of what it is like to live under the imminent threat of removal after having believed one's legal status to be permanent provides insight into a mode of existence that is becoming increasingly common.

Methodologically, *Enduring Uncertainty* addresses two issues. First, because foreign national offenders may attempt to be invisible to avoid detection, and some are in detention facilities, how does one do fieldwork within such a hard-to-reach population? Second, what are the boundaries between research and volunteer work? Regarding the former, because lengthy participant-observation of her research subjects was not possible, Hasselberg positioned herself in places where she would come into contact with foreign nationals facing deportation. In London, over 12 months in 2009, she conducted observations at a tribunal where deportation appeals took place, she spoke to people who were in queues at an immigration reporting center, and she volunteered both with organizations that assisted immigrants and at a detention center. In these ways, she met the individuals whom she interviewed for her book, and she also developed complex relationships in which her roles as a researcher and a volunteer sometimes overlapped—the latter issue—thus potentially creating expectations that she could not fulfill. Hasselberg therefore chose to treat some of her activities as strictly volunteer work, others as strictly research, and still others as a mixture

of the two. In this way, she was able to prioritize advocacy work while carrying out her research.

Using these methods, Hasselberg is able to flesh out foreign nationals' experiences of the period between learning that they may be deportable and being removed. This is an important period, one in which the state enters individuals' lives, subjecting them to invasive surveillance and control. As legal proceedings drag on, some foreign nationals begin to withdraw, isolating themselves in an effort to avoid burdening others with their cases and due to "uncertainty and disquiet, fear and need of protection" (107). Thus, filing an order of deportation "initiates a process of absence" (108) long before an actual removal takes place. The interview material that is woven into the book conveys the enormity of such circumstances. As one interviewee stated, "I am going to go back to a country where as a woman I have to be someone else that I don't know who that is" (113). This comment eloquently conveys the ways that deportation transforms individuals, forcing them to embody the unknown selves they might have been.

As a legal anthropologist, I particularly appreciate Hasselberg's attention to the technical aspects of appealing a deportation order. She describes the ways that foreign national offenders learn to narrate their lives around the legally recognized bases for appealing a deportation. The tribunal must assess, for example, "if there was private and/or family life, and if removal would interfere with it" (46), something that one might consider obvious. "Family" takes on new legal meanings as individuals attempt to meet such standards. Hasselberg also attends to the relationship between what happens inside and outside of court, as family members struggle to arrange their lives so that they may attend repeated hearings.

A fascinating aspect of Hasselberg's legal analysis is her attention to her interviewees' emotional states and emerging critical appraisals of the law. For instance, she details the emotional toll of chronic uncertainty not only for those facing deportation but also for their relatives. Many interviewees considered it unjust that individuals who were divorced had a better chance of winning their appeal than did individuals who remained married. Because their ex-spouses would presumably remain in the United Kingdom with custody of their children, a deportation would force family members to separate. In contrast, judges assumed that if deportees were married to the parents of their children, then the entire family would relocate along with the deportee and therefore remain together. Deportation was thus assumed to be a greater hardship for divorced parents than for married ones. Foreign national offenders also complained that being detained after completing their prison sentences was a double punishment.

Hasselberg makes a novel argument about the forms of resistance practiced by foreign national offenders: She

contends that complying with court requirements is itself a means of resisting. Her interviewees often assume that the convoluted requirements of the court are designed to convince them to stop fighting and accept deportation. Therefore, enduring uncertainty by following the appeals process and its associated reporting requirements to the letter is a means of countering this objective. Furthermore, although there is an active immigrant rights movement in the United Kingdom, foreign national offenders rarely participate in formal protest actions. On the one hand, the legal process absorbs their energies, leaving little time for such pursuits, and on the other hand, they do not fit the profile of the “deserving immigrant” who is the subject of antideportation campaigns. Also, quite strikingly, Hasselberg found that these immigrants do not regard the deportation of criminals as illegitimate, even though they contend that an exception should be made in their particular cases.

All in all, *Enduring Uncertainty* provides a detailed portrait of the challenges experienced by those whose lives are upended due to deportation policies. From the moving opening narrative excerpted from an e-mail sent by one of her research subjects to the final words of the book, Hasselberg leaves no doubt that she considers such policies to be counterproductive. In conclusion, she writes that “discourses of security in the context of deportation policies in the UK have been successful not in addressing a threat to security but in producing and managing the category of foreign-national offenders as dangerous to the public” (156). *Enduring Uncertainty* deftly deconstructs and counters these discourses.

Moral Laboratories: Family Peril and the Struggle for a Good Life. Cheryl Mattingly. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014. 280 pp.

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Cheryl Mattingly's *Moral Laboratories* is the second (*The Paradox of Hope* being the first) of two excellent books to emerge from an ethnographic project she conducted with her long-term research partner, Mary Lawlor. The project, which also included several other notable anthropologists as co-investigators, followed African American parents and their children for nearly 15 years in the Los Angeles area. *Moral Laboratories* received the Society for Medical Anthropology's New Millennium Book Award for being one of the most theoretically inspiring books of the new century, one very likely to have a strong impact on the next generation of anthropologists. Indeed, this is a book all anthropologists

engaged in research on the anthropology of care, morality, ethics, and medicine have been in need of for a long time. Its driving question is, How does one learn to lead a “good life”—a life that is flourishing—even if one is “often plagued by the threat of moral tragedy” (11)?

Mattingly begins with an in-depth exploration of first-person virtue ethics and its relevance for anthropological research that is unrivaled in the current literature for its clarity and depth. She argues that “we need further tools to conceptually strengthen our ways to consider moral subjectivity and its formation” (57). First-person ethics, she writes, focuses on “situated action, on practice as experienced, and on the moral deliberation of individuals acting within communities.” This brings “agency, experience, and motive into focus, enriching our understanding of the moral dimensions of lived experience and social action” (50). To do this, she foregrounds “the importance of moral discernment or judgment” that people negotiate in everyday life, which is not bound by “universal rules” or “a single choice or an act of will” (10). The aim of taking a first-person versus a third-person perspective is to move away from beginning with categories as a primary unit of analysis that then become “the focal point for explanatory attention” (13). Mattingly writes: “We do not experience ourselves, ontologically, merely as a type of being, a member of a species. We are not simply determined by these categories, properties, and practices but also in orienting to them and experiencing our lives in light of them, we are capable of putting them into question” (14). Framing her work in terms of an “anthropology of the good,” to use Joel Robbins's phrase, she suggests that anthropologists embrace the neo-Aristotelian focus on becoming and human flourishing. “To be human,” she writes, “is to care about who we are, what we do, what happens to us” (12).

To illustrate, Mattingly explores the organic emergence of first-person ethical perspectives in powerful ethnographic engagements with African American parents and their children—children with serious chronic medical conditions—in clinical and community spaces such as an occupational therapy session, a soccer field, and a graveyard. Let me be clear: these children and their parents experience radical breakdowns in their ordinary lives and face tremendous conditions of uncertainty. We meet a child with severe cerebral palsy, a badly burned young boy, a young girl with terminal brain cancer, another with sickle-cell anemia, and a toddler born with spina bifida whose nurse compared her to her own beloved but broken-down vehicle because of all the medical interventions performed in her first two years of life. Readers visit participants' homes, observe doctors and nurses at work, and even attend a six-year-old's funeral. The stories of prolonged suffering are heartbreaking and unforgettable. For the children's families, they mean “unrelenting sacrifice and the postponement or abandonment of personal dreams” (7).

Yet Mattingly brings us a radical hope in her work with these families, a realization that if as she says, “the good life for humans is not merely about surviving but concerns flourishing” (9), then we as anthropologists can look for the ways that people flourish in spite of moral tragedy and despair. To pay attention to this kind of flourishing, she asks that anthropologists envision people’s everyday experiences as experiments in a moral laboratory—a theoretical frame I expect many books and articles will engage with in the future.

Mattingly acknowledges that power and inequality have a role in anthropological analysis, but she then refocuses our attention on something “far less obvious” (72), which is the way that clinics can offer “beginnings” and spark “small events” that can “serve as experiments in possible futures” (73). She lets us know that hope for a clinical cure is not the only possible future her families are imagining. In fact, her participants spend a great deal of time in imaginative and moral spaces that are “such a distance from the way that medical problems were framed by health professionals” (15) despite the crushing presence of those medical problems in their everyday lives. For example, when a hospital-based nurse tells a mother that her daughter is a vegetable, the mother—whose religious beliefs invite her to see her God at work in all of her daughter’s medical interventions—responds: “That’s okay, we’re going to be her garden” (176).

This is just one small sample of the ways that Mattingly repeatedly illustrates how all social spaces are potential moral laboratories that emerge “in the midst of everyday life” (17) and perhaps help people experience moral transformations in spite of radical breakdowns of daily routines. Everyday life becomes a space of “narrative re-envisioning” moments that she claims are also “very embodied,” moments when one can potentially come “to see oneself in a new way, coming to reform one’s sense of possibility and reframe one’s commitments” and becoming the “kind of person capable of formulating and acting upon commitments that one deems ethical.” Mattingly concludes, “The idea that one lives a life that is, in some way, one’s own, and that is a moral project, is an indispensable intuition for the parents and families I describe” (20). Moreover, she advocates that depictions of the moral laboratories of everyday lives and the work undertaken in these spaces come from a first-person perspective, which anthropologists are well poised to offer.

I closed this book inspired to do more work on human flourishing in the face of great adversities. I have done this kind of work throughout my career, and sometimes I am disheartened. Mattingly’s book set me back up on my feet, inspired me to dust off my clothes, and made me willing to take that journey of becoming with more participants who are struggling in the future. She insists that if we look closely at the ordinary lives of others, we will see people’s

moral projects and their struggle for the good life, even in the smallest of gestures and routines, and we can then learn how humans flourish in spite of suffering. With *Moral Laboratories*, Mattingly has cast a light in dark places—and it shines.

Made in Madagascar: Sapphires, Ecotourism, and the Global Bazaar. Andrew Walsh. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. 128 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12463

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In this compelling and accessible ethnography, Andrew Walsh examines the co-implication of artisanal sapphire mining and international ecotourism in the Ankarana region of northern Madagascar. On the surface, these two activities seem completely opposed to one another: one is aimed at profiting from the region’s natural environment via the kind of extractive work that is usually considered to be destructive, while the other seems aimed at preserving the environment for future generations. But by revealing how locals experience these two economic activities, Walsh persuasively demonstrates that they have a great deal in common, and that each has marginalized Malagasy people living in Ankarana. The global bazaar, as Walsh calls the commodification of just about everything, has benefited outsiders more than it has locals, and it has transformed this place in ways that locals do not control. Yet people in Ankarana have long understood their place to be of value, and its valuation by outsiders feeds its sacrality.

Walsh’s argument is not simply that mining and ecotourism appear to be related to each other by people who live in Ankarana. As Walsh puts it, “Zooming out from Madagascar, we see quite clearly what people in Ankarana can only speculate about—namely, how it is that ... people in this region are systematically marginalized in a global economy that provides foreign consumers with gemstones and touristic experiences that are *both* unique, irreplaceable, and absolutely valuable, *and* generic, interchangeable, and thus relatively cheap” (104). This global bazaar connects Ankarana to the rest of the world, but it also brings about profound disconnection: the global bazaar offers choices to powerful international consumers and “paradoxes and limited possibilities to people in places like Ankarana” (104). The message here is that it is impossible to understand what is happening in the region without being attuned to global processes as well as to representations of Ankarana through various forms of media. *Made in Madagascar* thus introduces readers to the importance of multiple, interconnected scales in anthropology: Walsh

shows how the local is interpenetrated by the global, expanding from Madagascar to examine the demand for sapphires and tourist destinations from outside.

This is a short and pithy book intended to provide a case study in the anthropology of globalization for undergraduates to which they can relate personally. Walsh accomplishes this by showing how our desire for gemstones connects us to faraway places and shapes life in those places. He also uses the text to introduce undergraduates to the discipline of anthropology and to an anthropological point of view. *Made in Madagascar* is written in an engaging, lively, and personal style and introduces the reader to memorable characters and places. But the data and analysis Walsh provides would also be useful to specialists in the anthropology of mining and the anthropology of tourism. For example, I found that his insights into the importance of information at the bottom of the sapphire commodity chain resonated with my own research on coltan mining. Walsh also offers sophisticated insights into the temporality of mining.

Walsh begins by showing us Madagascar through the eyes of Google Search. In so doing, he demonstrates that Madagascar is first and foremost an object of knowledge—a place that “we” believe we can know because knowledge has been produced around it, even though this knowledge presents a very limited—and at times highly misleading—sense of Madagascar and its relationship to the rest of the world. The implication of this chapter is that Madagascar’s status as an object of knowledge is linked to its commodification, a process that marginalizes people in Ankarana and that is spelled out in the sections on extraction and mining.

In chapter 1, “The Place of the Rocks,” Walsh examines how the rocks of Ankarana are sacred to the people who live there, people who associate this place with the historic Ankarana kingdom as well as their own ancestors. However, Ankarana is not sacred because an isolated group of people has deemed it particularly significant. Rather, it is a cosmopolitan community filled with people who are not actually from there, and it is also sacred to these outsiders, albeit in different ways. The interest that other people show in Ankarana adds to the sacredness of the place for those who live there. This chapter does much to develop a simple understanding of emic and etic—insider and outsider—by showing how different scales of sociality help create meaning at the local level.

Chapter 2, “Living in the Wake of Sapphires,” focuses on the everyday lives of sapphire miners in Ankarana. Its themes will be familiar but nonetheless of great interest to scholars of artisanal mining. These themes include risk, reciprocity and networks, uncertainty and price fluctuations, the dangers and promises of what Malagasy call hot money (money from sapphires), and global inequality of knowledge with respect to price, quality, and the ultimate uses of raw resources among Malagasy.

The next chapter, “The Promise and Practice of Ecotourism in Ankarana,” presents a sophisticated treatment of the cultural politics and political economy of ecotourism, focusing on the appeal of the natural to outsiders. Walsh shows how ecotourism, like sapphire mining, depends upon the commodification of the natural world and the landscape. This process of commodification has ambivalent and complicated consequences for people who live in Ankarana, in that their relationship to the region is changing and they do not control the terms of its commodification.

With Chapter 4, “Natural Wonders in the Global Bazaar,” Walsh pulls back to explore how these economic activities emerge from the demands of foreign consumers, who are much like the students to whom this book is directed. It is here that Walsh zooms out, in a way reminiscent of Sidney Mintz and other anthropologists of the global political economy, to complete his portrayal of Ankarana’s connection and disconnection to the global economy.

With the conclusion, provocatively subtitled “So What?” Walsh returns us to the themes raised in the introduction, where he showed that Madagascar is already an object of knowledge mediated by the Internet and the history of representations about this island nation.

Readers arrive at the conclusion equipped with a new and enriched perspective on Madagascar as multiply and profoundly shaped by our own understanding of it. This compels us to reflect on our own knowledge practices, including the politics of anthropological representation. Walsh ends the book on a very hopeful note: “While there is certainly much to be said for how anthropology enables us ... to study existing links in an interconnected world, the greatest attribute of the discipline may be that it allows us to continually forge *new* links” (112). In a little over a hundred pages, this important book covers many big themes in contemporary anthropology—extraction, ecotourism, ecology, and globalization—while giving us a deep sense of what this region of Madagascar is like.

Metamorphosis: Studies in Social and Political Change in Myanmar. Renaud Egreteau and François Robinne, eds. Singapore: NUS Press, 2015. 448 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12464

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The rapid changes in Myanmar after the official disbanding of the State Peace and Development Council in March 2011 generated surprise and welcome worldwide. As events unfolded, aid, investments, and tourists poured in along with

academics from Asia, Europe, and the United States. The contributors to this volume are not recent arrivals on the scene; they were all involved in the study of Myanmar long before these changes began. Because of their long-term perspectives, they are able to demonstrate the nation's internal continuities—what the editors refer to as its resilience to change—and trace the origins of the current changes back to the early 2000s or even before. The title *Metamorphosis* was chosen by the editors to highlight the “deep-seated, incremental and observable transformations” (4) as well as the resilience or persistence of the previous power structure and its effects on people's lives.

The initiative for the volume comes from French scholars at IRASEC, the Research Institute on Contemporary Southeast Asia, but the authors are from diverse backgrounds in both academic tradition and discipline. The book's four topical sections represent well important trends in politics, ethnic and religious minorities, society, and Buddhism and other religions. Each author brings out the voices and interactions of the people on the ground rather than reiterate the larger trends in politics and economics that have been analyzed elsewhere. No single theoretical framework runs throughout the book, yet its authors' methods are consistent: to probe, via engagement with local subjects, the nature and future of the current metamorphosis.

Part 1, “Evolving Political Ecologies,” deals with the fluid political situation by concentrating on political actors. Renaud Egreteau analyzes the significance of the non-elected military legislators who constitute 25 percent of the parliament. He concludes, by comparison with Indonesia, that the retreat of the military from the legislature will not come soon. Focusing on a Rakhine intellectual who was elected to the lower house in 2010, Alexandra de Mersan considers how a region-based elite becomes involved in politics; she also refers to emerging political practices such as those of his son. Elliott Prasse-Freeman examines the grassroots protest movements in the country and evaluates their impact, discussing how people are experiencing and executing their new freedom as they mull over what tools they can employ to make changes to big politics.

Part 2 deals with struggles for ethnic and religious identity during the nation-building process. Drawing on the Moken people of the Myeik Archipelago, Maxime Boutry stresses the need to document the complexity of ethnic issues by underlining the malleable nature of ethnicity over time and space in order to challenge the xenophobic nature of interethnic relationships in Myanmar. Jane Ferguson portrays the intricacy of the political situation and identity of the Shan ethnic majority, laying out the vast changes that have taken place over three decades and the resulting conditions today. This includes Shan refugees in Thailand and their peculiar status vis-à-vis the Thai government. In the face of violence toward Muslims in Rakhine, Jacques Leider discusses the emergence of the Rohingya

minority and how history has become a discursive battlefield. He advocates the relevance of scholarship that mediates the disparate historical narratives among the countervailing camps. Carine Jaquet discusses the ethnic-based politics of the highland Kachin, where armed conflict erupted in 2011, disrupting 17 years of cease-fire. Here again, narratives play important roles in the politics leading to conflict as well as the efforts to solve it. Leider and Jaquet agree on the necessity of a degree of convergence of narratives to solve these conflicts, although this does not at this point seem feasible.

Part 3 looks at various aspects of society. Rosalie Metro highlights the potential of teachers and students to contribute to much-needed educational reform. At the same time, she acknowledges the low salaries and the lack of administrative support as well as the need for further training. Susan Banki throws light on activists not only within Myanmar but also in neighboring countries as well as exiles abroad. She questions what is implied by their vulnerability, both individual and institutional, pointing out that even with the increased training and activity after Cyclone Nargis in 2008, the line between precarity and security remains uncertain, and thus there is a continuing need for action from overseas. Céline Coderey discusses access to various forms of medicine in a region in Rakhine. There are great cultural and social gaps between biomedical specialists and local people regarding the policies and acceptance of modern medical services. Although reducing poverty is a crucial precondition to better health, biomedicine must adapt to local understandings and needs.

Part 4 looks at the current situation of Buddhism and other religions. Hiroko Kawanami examines three decades of the socioreligious positions of Buddhist nuns (*thilashin*), whose numbers have increased in the past decade. She points out that the nuns are coopted by the state yet construct their own position in the Buddhist as well as the social worlds. Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière argues that an emerging generation of monks, especially from the 2010s, is involved in mass preaching phenomena, humanitarian aid, and meditation. Whether they are against the junta or support its aggressive religious nationalism, the monks are taking an active role in society rather than setting themselves apart as world renouncers, even as there is a general trend toward separation of political and religious orders. Finally, François Robinne uses Christianity and Islam to address the complex relationship between religious identification and ethnicity. He finds that due to the strengthening of the ethnic-group nation of Bamar Buddhists and the pressure of the national census, members of these religious minorities have been able to effect little change in the ethnic state-based essentialist vision of the nation.

The book ends on a rather pessimistic note that emphasizes the continuing friction caused by ethnic and

religious divisions. Yet the authors also allude to some hopeful signs, prefiguring in a sense what came to pass in the 2105 elections, for they detail the surge of grassroots activities and the increased involvement in the betterment of their own society, whether by secular political activists, Buddhist nuns and monks, or minorities demanding to be recognized. The contributors' long-term, on-the-ground observations lead them to agree that the starting point of these trends predates the 2011 events and can be traced to the aftermath of Cyclone Nargis, which incited civilians to help themselves despite government fecklessness. The book shows what longtime engagement in a place as complex and diverse as Myanmar can contribute to understanding transformations, especially at the grassroots level. It is a must-read for anyone who wants to know what is really happening in Myanmar. When the editors are ready to organize another volume to consider the decade after the 2015 elections, I hope to see the participation of authors from Myanmar.

The Government Next Door: Neighborhood Politics in Urban China. Luigi Tomba. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014. 240 pp.

DOI: 10.1111/amet.12465

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Luigi Tomba's *The Government Next Door* offers an impressively nuanced and detailed examination of state-citizen relations in China at their most grassroots level—the urban neighborhood. Based on fieldwork conducted between 2002 and 2013 in housing complexes in the cities of Beijing, Shenyang, and Chengdu, Tomba provides an immensely useful overview of the nuts and bolts of neighborhood governance in urban China. Looking at the various cadres, committees, and companies that have taken over the task of governing as the *danwei* (work-unit) system has diminished during the reform period, he documents on-the-ground processes of class formation and advances several significant arguments surrounding China's urban transformation, the political proclivities of its new social classes, and the very nature of consensus and legitimacy.

Each chapter focuses on a different technique of governing, which Tomba dubs rationalities, including social clustering, microgoverning, social engineering, contained contention, and exemplarism. Students and scholars of urban space, neighborhood politics, and class relations in other areas of the world will find much of interest in Tomba's examination of China, as he skillfully brings the historical and political particularities of its cities to bear on broader debates about gentrification, class formation, and state legitimacy.

What comes through most forcefully in Tomba's analysis are the radically different ways that different urban populations in China are governed. While the hand of the state has largely become more invisible in the middle-class gated communities he studied in Beijing and Chengdu, the opposite holds true among the largely unemployed former factory workers in China's northeastern city of Shenyang. This group is microgoverned by the state—as one of Tomba's informants says, “The poorer a place, the more numerous the cadres” (66). These cadres (low-level state functionaries in China), who are largely drawn from the local population, are just as dependent as those they monitor on meager government-provided welfare. They bear the brunt of complaints and discontent, but by serving as the visible face of the state, they also serve to localize and contain grievances. Despite narratives of the retreat of the state being widespread in scholarship on post-Mao China, Tomba demonstrates the persistence of many Mao-era governing tactics.

In contrast to the poor community in Shenyang, the wealthier developments in Beijing and Chengdu are given considerable autonomy in governing themselves, with a substantial portion of public services being provided by private companies. Their autonomy is granted, Tomba argues, largely because of their status as exemplary citizens presumed to possess high *suzhi* (personal quality). These divergent governing rationalities contribute to reinforcing the spatial and status disparity between a middle class expected to govern itself and an underclass subject to intense management and monitoring by the state. These hierarchies have a very material side as well: the clustering of this exemplary middle class in particular neighborhoods creates value (primarily in the form of land prices) that is largely harvested by the state, which owns all urban land.

Perhaps most significant among Tomba's many insights is his demonstration of the role that state-directed housing policies played (and continue to play) in the exacerbation of inequalities in China. Far from China's new middle class being the spawn of the market, Tomba demonstrates that they were an intentional product of state policies. First, he shows how those who were granted housing during the socialist period were able to profit from it during marketization. Second, he shows how public sector employees have the best chance of being homeowners in Beijing through easier access to mortgage funds and insider access to so-called economy housing. Tomba's account helps explain how residents possessing relatively meager incomes are able to acquire astronomically expensive housing in places like Beijing and Shanghai. (In 2009, an 80-square-meter apartment cost 61.5 times the yearly average disposable income in Beijing.) Thus for many Beijingers, real estate investment is more important than their salaries, and many search for ways to game the system to acquire additional apartments, which are often

marked for low-income residents. Against liberal narratives of the rise of property-owning interest groups as potential advocates for democracy, Tomba shows how state policies and the continued privileges they generate render China's newly affluent urban population deeply dependent upon and largely supportive of the Chinese state.

For both groups, the effect of what Tomba dubs social clustering is the fact that discontent is both localized and contained. He refers to China's new cities as "shielded oases of social interaction and interest formation" (140). Middle-class homeowner disputes with developers and property management companies, which are common occurrences, rarely spill outside the walls of their gated communities. Just as the anger of the dispossessed working class is directed mostly at local cadres, affluent homeowner discontent is directed toward private companies rather than the state. While homeowners organize into interest groups and movements, they employ state-sanctioned rhetorics of *suzhi* and responsibility to frame their grievances. Tomba argues that this kind of contention within state-drawn discursive boundaries constitutes a particular form of consensus in China. Against much scholarship that frames neighborhood political action in terms of shared class interests, Tomba argues that homeowners in China do not identify on the basis of a shared class position but rather as aggrieved consumers demanding better protections or as investors worried about protecting their assets.

While Tomba provides fine-grained ethnography, at times I wanted him to include more voices and perspectives from residents themselves. The degree to which middle-class residents embody and articulate notions of *suzhi*, civilization, and exemplariness (outside of their strategic protests) is not fully illustrated by ethnographic examples. Tomba's compelling formulation of consensus as a dialectical process also deserved to be further sharpened with a little more engagement with other scholars' work on this issue. These quibbles aside, *The Government Next Door* will no doubt set the terms for scholars working on urban space and class in China and provide a provocative conceptual framework for scholars working on similar issues elsewhere.

At the Heart of the State: The Moral World of Institutions.

Didier Fassin, ed. Patrick Brown and Didier Fassin, trans. London: Pluto, 2015. 312 pp.

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In the manner in which eyes are windows to the soul, institutions illuminate the workings of the political state. Here Didier Fassin edits a volume that uses this premise as the

touchstone for examining how state policies are carried out, in a literal fashion, by contemporary incarnations of Michael Lipsky's street-level bureaucrats. What results is a tour of different institutions in the French judicial, penal, and youth services systems that deal with "the administration of marginal populations and spaces" (3) via a collection of ethnographies of the micropolitical processes that occur at these sites.

Reviewing this book, which is translated from French and features nine authors who take the reader through as many institutional systems in as many chapters, lends itself to tourist metaphors. The feeling this book gives is a bit of a whirlwind, yet its foreign setting provides a vantage point from which US readers can consider more familiar landscapes. The governmental structures may be different, but the services are present in all Western countries. Banlieues will be exotic to readers used to cities in the United States rather than Europe, but the underlying inequalities will not be. And the common thread underlying these institutions is very recognizable. These institutions are marked by the uncertain duality of providing assistance to and asserting control over what Fassin calls precarious populations—"those who fear the state as well as implore it" (3). It is just like home. For the US reader, perhaps no chapter more so than Fassin's ethnography of a police station in the Paris region and his accounts of routine instances of brutality and racism.

With this book, however, Fassin looks to provide something more substantial than the superficial similarities of such things as police behavior. The contributors all examine how agents of the state interact with their constituencies but also seek to identify the structures that circumscribe this agency. The moral dilemmas that arise amid the constrained choices created by this relationship between the individual and the institution become the thresholds from which the authors look into these institutions and, ultimately, the workings of the state. This process of fitting structure with agency is made uniform across chapters through a common framework that Fassin introduces. Each chapter first lays out a structural "moral economy" that represents "the production, circulation, and appropriation of values and affects regarding a given social issue" (9). The authors provide a historical deconstruction of a relevant issue, creating a genealogy that sets up the ensuing ethnography. For example, Carolina Kobelinsky's account of asylum courts is nested in a social history of asylum and represents a tenuous balance between immigration restrictions and human rights. Sébastien Roux's descent into the juvenile justice system is predicated on the contradictions inherent in the historical function of this system to mete out both discipline and education to a set of youth who are regarded as both troubled and threatening.

The dilemmas inherent in these moral economies (and the often tenuous and tentative compromises that emerge

to resolve them) then become the bases of specific policies that frame the particular chapter settings. How the actors carry out these policies is at the heart of each ethnography, illustrating Fassin's concept of "moral subjectivities" in which "individuals develop ethical practices in their relationships with themselves or others" (9). The lofty moral economies get bogged down in mundane institutional practices as officials preoccupied with creating pragmatic, routinized processes try to maintain a sense of order in settings of both urgency and uncertainty. Individual agents must reconcile these circumstances with their personal values, as we see in Yasmine Bouagga's account of probation officers who are trained as helpers but find themselves acting as agents of control over their clientele. Alternately, Nicolas Fischer shows how the legal trappings of immigration law legitimize the moral evaluations of the judges who adjudicate deportation proceedings.

Taken together (and reviving the tourist metaphors), for the US reader the ethnographies in this volume have a Continental feel. I imagine a US take on this subject would be more personal and humanizing, where here the reports from the field tend to be as rational as the bureaucracies in which they are embedded. This exemplifies Loïc Wacquant's call to eschew closeness to subjects in favor of linking their points of view "to the broader system of material and symbolic relations that give it meaning and significance" (2002, 1523). Alternately, the micropolitical observations fit what Vincent Dubois, in a study of welfare

bureaucracy, terms critical policy ethnography. And Fassin himself links the connection between the micro and the macro in these studies to Michel Foucault's concept of a critical morality that captures the tensions that lie at the heart of the state.

With this book, Fassin and his coauthors have created a compelling volume of street-level perspectives into the functioning of institutions. Different settings show different manners in which moral and hierarchical tensions manifest themselves, manners that transcend particular institutions and nationalities. Fassin sums this up with two conclusions with mixed effect. On the one hand, he argues that these studies provide evidence of a more general shift from welfare state to penal state—an assertion that in the absence of support from the book's empirical studies overreaches and crosses into the ideological. On the other hand, he finds evidence here for the rise of a liberal state, where individuals have come to bear increased levels of rights and responsibilities. Such a conclusion is more consistent with the portrait presented in this book of an institutional world shaped by often conflicted agents carrying out often ambivalent policies. I leave this book with fresh insights and a resolve to apply them to more familiar contexts.

Reference

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