

]RUNNING HEADS:

VERSO AND RECTO: BOOK REVIEWS[

]t1[Book reviews

]ha1[Ethnography and biography

]bref[GHODSEE, KRISTEN. *From notes to narrative: writing ethnographies that everyone can read*. 150 pp., illus., bibliogr. Chicago: Univ. Press, 2016. \$16.00 (paper)

]rp[This book is a passionate plea for accessible ethnographic writing. Galvanized by an annoyance with ‘unteachable books’ (p. 1), Kristen Ghodsee, a prolific writer, blogger, and anthropologist, argues most convincingly for the importance of training both doctoral students and senior anthropologists in writing. It is never too late to become a better writer, as Ghodsee says. As to teaching, she points out that ‘I believe it pedagogically cruel to force students to read bad books, no matter how clever or important those books may be’ (p. 1). She identifies an increasing interest in the ethnographic method in other disciplines (such as sociology and cultural studies) as well as outside academia in the business world – even (controversially) in US military intelligence. Nevertheless, ‘the writing of ethnography remains influenced by the widespread academic belief that smart scholarship must be difficult to read’ (p. 2).

]rp1[Extending standard formulas from books on writing (such as people, place, plot, and dialogue) by anthropologists, fiction writers, and creative writing instructors, *From*

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notes to narrative is a clear step-by-step guide for writing readable ethnography. This is ethnography that conveys a field experience effectively while both educating *and* engaging the reader: in other words, making an impression on the reader. So ethnography should be lucid – but what about theory? The chapter ‘Integrate your theory’ acknowledges the role of theory in scholarly work. Theory has to be there, but it is indeed treated in different ways. As Ghodsee says, for some ethnographers, theory is the guiding principle, the reason for the choice of a certain fieldsite, while for others it is merely a backdrop informing their research. Wisely, she warns against ‘a wall of theoretical analysis’ (p. 59) at the end of a piece, even theoretical discussion in the form of long separate sections. Rather than devoting certain chapters to theory and other chapters to ethnographic description, Ghodsee’s stance is to interweave these types of text, preferably including theory and ethnography at the same time, but she also suggests, matter-of-factly, that one start with one and simply ‘slip in’ (p. 60) the other. There is a crucial caveat here, which Ghodsee is well aware of: senior tenured scholars have more leeway to experiment and disregard conventional academic writing practice. Young unknown scholars have to prove their worth. This concerns, of course, writing dissertations, books, and journal articles as well as getting a first job, tenure, and eventually promotion to full professor. And as Ghodsee reminds us, there are certainly journals that require substantial literature reviews and a focus on theory. In a larger disciplinary perspective, there is, of course, a complementarity between grand theory and everyday ethnography.

I could not agree more with Ghodsee’s call to ‘Choose a subject you love’, the topic of one of the chapters. We live for ages with our research subjects. Again, senior scholars are obviously better off in this regard than young doctoral students, who may be

eager to please a supervisor, or just do not know about the variety and politics of possible subjects for a dissertation. What subject is just a fad? What subject is likely to get me a job? In line with her argument, Ghodsee makes the case that a writer will bring his or her excitement over a subject to the text – this is likely to make it an easy and enjoyable read. I also found the chapter ‘Include images’ of great interest. Images can enhance and clarify texts, and with digital images saturating social life, and the ubiquitousness of mobile cameras, there is a new expectation that they will be used in anthropological publications. Ghodsee mentions not only photographs, but also the usefulness of maps and diagrams. There is the issue of permission to publish images, which has to be taken seriously, and sometimes carries a cost, but now there is also the growth of images available through Creative Commons. Towards the end of the book, Ghodsee emphasizes the significance of revision and finding one’s own writing ritual. These are often overlooked aspects of successful writing.

[rp1[Together with my edited volume *The anthropologist as writer: genres and contexts in the twenty-first century* (2016), this excellent book is already on the reading list of my Writing Anthropology Workshop for master’s students. It will be widely used also in courses on methods, in anthropology and related disciplines, where the careful crafting of engaging ethnography is key.

]rau[HELENA WULFF *Stockholm University*

]bref[HEISS, JAN PATRICK. *Musa: an essay (or experiment) in the anthropology of the individual*. 329 pp., maps, figs, illus, bliogr. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2015. £68.37

]rp[‘The study of individuals is a theme anthropology seems to have – so far at least – been largely oblivious of’ (p. 313), we are informed by the author of this study concerning a Hausa peasant living in Niger, named (pseudonymously) ‘Musa’. There is thus no comparative mention of those many studies of individuals by anthropologists who have not been oblivious to the theme. (Taking a few sources at random, one can think of Ken Burridge’s *Mambu* [1960], David Jones’s *Sanapia* [1974], and Alan Campbell’s *Getting to know WaiWai* [1995]; also of ‘Maata’ in Jean Briggs’s *Inuit morality play* [1988], and ‘Sid’ and ‘Doris’ in my own *Diverse world-views in an English village* [1993].) To study individuals ‘as such’, according to Jan Patrick Heiss (p. 13), would reveal those particular ‘socially embedded and historically shaped’ entities that any anthropological study of society and culture must implicitly presuppose but then tends to ignore.

]rp1[Musa (whom Heiss studied between 2006 and 2011) spends the rainy season cultivating fields in the village of Kimoram, where he has a family compound. During the dry season he travels to the town of Nimari in Nigeria, hawking bread and tea on the streets. First we are introduced by Heiss to daily life in Kimoram; then to Musa’s relations with his wife, father, and children, other household members, and kinsfolk and affines; then to Musa’s life in the village and in the wider region: Musa as labour migrant; then to relations between Musa and religion and magic; and, finally, to Musa’s desires, values, plans, moods, and self-image. Following highly detailed descriptions, Musa’s life is analysed, and explained, relative to his being a Niger peasant and a Muslim.

]rp1[Considering ‘what an “individual” might be’ relative to existing notions of persons that appear in the works of theories Ernst Tugendhat, Lois Beck, Unni Wikan, João Biehl, Vincent Crapanzano, Gary Becker, Anthony Giddens, Albert Piette, and Michael

Jackson, Heiss reaches his conclusions (pp. 313-15). The individual is a malleable entity, changing over a lifetime and according to context, and without a stable stock of knowledge, competencies, and character traits – albeit he or she will have long-term desires and life-questions. An individual is a ‘nodal point of a great variety of economic, social and historical forces’: a ‘locus’ in which ‘different social fields interact’. To explain an individual is, hence, to provide a holistic theory of the society of which he or she is a part. Such a theory does not exist for central Niger as of yet, but two key sociocultural facts for explaining the main strands of Musa’s life must be peasantry and Islam.

[rp][This is a carefully argued book, appealing to those who would know how someone might assume a role within the cultural conventions of Hausa society.

[rau][NIGEL RAPPORT *University of St Andrews*

]bref[SANJEK, ROGER. *Ethnography in today’s world: color full before color blind*. xix, 291 pp., bibliogr. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. £49.21 (cloth)

[rp][In his most recent book, Roger Sanjek asks that we think consciously, not blindly, about race. Recognizing race as one of many aspects that defines the individual and the ways in which we think about groups, Sanjek creates a framework upon which we can understand and engage the challenges that accompany our increasingly ‘colour-full’ world. A colour-full world is a world based on a rich palate, and it is more than a response to the challenge of difference or a dream of colour-blind future. In *Ethnography in today’s world: color full*

before color blind, Sanjek builds upon his experiences and research to define a path that creates opportunities for a new kind of engagement and activism that celebrates the colour-full and confronts the realities of difference, which are not always easily explained but which can no longer be ignored.

Defining the colour-full and the important role that anthropology can play is most evident in part I of this exceptional collection spanning Sanjek's career. In the three chapters that are included in part I, 'Engaging ethnography', he uses his experiences conducting research in the New York borough of Queens to illustrate what ethnography can accomplish as well as what the ethnographer often misses. Central to what ethnography can achieve is a sense of the ways in which the colour-full can replace the colour-blind and how different groups (ethnicities, religions, ages, and histories) come together around political issues, ethnic festivals, and cultural celebrations to define a shared vision of life and opportunity. What we miss and what our readers miss are the events that 'remain etched in one's headnotes' but do not make it to the final page. It is a brave and bold move to share a few of these moments with us. Sanjek is taking a chance, bearing his soul as an ethnographer, and there is no promise that it will work. Learning about what he missed, we might doubt or distrust what is included, but his exercise works. Sharing what he misses, he captures the dynamic forces that are at work as we debate the past, invent the present, and prepare for the future.

Defining a colour-full future for ethnography is central to parts II, III, and IV of the book. Each section follows a period in Sanjek's research career as well as the development of theory and methods in anthropology. Part II, 'Ethnography, past and present', is a meditation on the history of ethnographic research and fieldwork. Sanjek

notes how the hierarchical relationships that defined anthropology's early years and that were rooted in colonial racism have given way to a more dynamic and multi-voiced, colour-full present defined by a celebration of difference. He locates his research into this changing milieu, demonstrating the positive ways in which such research evolves.

In part III, 'Comparison and contextualization', Sanjek builds upon his rich ethnographic work in the Elmhurst-Corona neighbourhood of Queens to bridge the topics of immigration and race. Using his experiences with community members, he illustrates how race and immigration intersect in people's lives. Sanjek is clear and incisive as he rethinks the ideas behind assimilation and problematizes the meaning of race. He extends his discussion to explore the idea of citizenship in part IV, 'Ethnography and society'. This section is more than an opportunity to muse about the meaning of research and the study of social life; it is a critical examination of the process of writing ethnography and the meaning of anthropology. Sanjek describes our efforts as a dynamic process of discovery as anthropologists and informants interact and engage in positive and problematic ways. And it is through this dynamic process that ethnography is fashioned and we gain a sense of who we are and how society is formed.

Ethnography in today's world: color full before color blind is Roger Sanjek's gift to our field. Anyone who picks it up will be rewarded. Readers of all stripes and at all levels (whether a beginner seeking a sense of what it is anthropologists do or the seasoned veteran pondering how our field is changing) will find this book accessible and engaging. It is a pleasure to read. At times it almost feels like the author is right next to you, encouraging you to dive a bit deeper. This exceptional book should find a home on any shelf, and I hope it is read, reread, and relished for years to come.

]rau[JEFFREY H. COHEN *Ohio State University*

]ha1[**Health, illness, and care**

]bref[ABBOTS, EMMA-JANE, ANNA LAVIS & LUCI ATTALA (eds). *Careful eating: bodies, food and care*. xiii, 230 pp., tables, bibliogr. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015. £65.00 (cloth)

]rp[Caring and eating, two human universals, fold person and group into each other. Once embedded in custom, lately contemporary life wrests caring and eating apart, maximizes each in its own way, and puts their meetings and mixing up for grabs. So institutional actors enact state and medical mandates amid groundswells of caring consumers and healthy eating activists who would save the world by individual action. *Careful eating* jumps into these cross-currents with a collection of sound if narrow case studies and cutting-edge theorizing that contribute significantly to food studies.

]rp1[All well crafted, each case study deserves separate if brief mention. The book divides into thirds. In the first third, where eating evokes caring, Flower and Swan describe how multiculturalism's global drama plays out on the little stage of taste tours of Sydney's ethnic neighbourhoods. Here, where guides do the emotional labour globalization asks of us all, 'tourists learn to care for the Other through the Other caring for them' (p. 40) as guests. How do social media channel healthy eating's over-wrought emotions? Rousseau analyses ways the latest digital tools democratize knowledge yet exacerbate all the old failings of human thought. Descending from cyberspace to the Southern Ecuadorian Andes, Abbot's chapter explores how four groups – indigenous folk, a migrant peasantry, the local governing class, and expats from the United States – all meet in discourses of eating and caring that 'can be politically deployed as a governance tool' (p. 85).

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]rp1[The next third reveals how the caring discourses of medicine can become uncaring when they ignore the perspective of those they would help. Lavis shows how careful eating lets those living with anorexia express a sense of self that clinicians attack as the disease itself. In Adelaide, Zivkovic, Warin, Moore, Ward, and Jones find the healthy lifestyle that public health pushes gets pushed back when the impoverished and disadvantaged eat sweets 'to make social life palatable, in effect, to make the bitter sweet' (p. 121). Studying primary care consultations, Lindenmeyer finds that talking about weight is an intensely uncomfortable conversation where caring for obese patients can trump caring about them by understanding their struggles with weight.

]rp1[In the final third, caring struggles to find a form that is effective yet true to the sentiment. Cole finds that caring-through-consuming can reject the amorality of agribusiness but only by imagining its moral geography selectively, seeing caring farms and companies while overlooking the dirty work done in abattoirs and factories. Eli, McLennan, and Schneider study a citizens' group whose website facilitates caring consuming. While the group thereby cares for the public, who cares for whom is ambiguous because the project's success requires the cared-for public to reciprocate by caring for the site. Truninger and Teixeira study school meals in Portugal. Facing growing childhood obesity, the meals push healthy eating. Although that provokes resistance, by negotiating compromises, the serving staff get children to co-operate.

]rp1[The volume opens and closes with insightful essays that integrate the chapters. In opening, Lavis, Abbots, and Attala survey the theoretical landscape and consider how caring's 'slippery multiplicity' lets politics hide in morality. In closing, Goodman argues powerfully that '[u]nderstanding and bettering the relationalities of caring, eating and bodies is central to the functioning of a just and civil society' (p. 218). In these bookends, Foucault's biopower rules where Mary Douglas's natural symbols once held sway. So caring and eating become discourses that have no deeper Durkheimian roots. Yet chapter after chapter, across a range of cultures and circumstances, shows people struggling to express contemporary moral sentiments that

neoliberalism and a self/other divide render senseless. Committed to biopower, the book surfs moral currents of person/world oneness it neither recognizes nor explains (see R. O'Connor & P. van Esterik, *From virtue to vice*, 2015).

In supposing the well-oiled workings of power, the volume also slights the long and quirky hand of history. All the cases are current, none ponder how we got here, and shorting history gets no apology. Shearing away the past makes today's caring and eating look like direct responses to current conditions. Yet case after case seems to follow in the footsteps of Sylvester Graham and other nineteenth-century food reformers. Are today's discourses of eating and caring offspring of an earlier tradition or spontaneous responses to neoliberalism? The volume supposes the latter and never discounts the former.

RICHARD A. O'CONNOR *University of the South*

BRIJNATH, BIANCA. *Unforgotten: love and the culture of dementia care in India*. xii, 227 pp., tables, illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2014. £60.00 (cloth)

Unforgotten is a beautiful ethnography of how families in India are caring for relatives with dementia. For her book, Bianca Brijnath worked with twenty Delhi families with a person living with dementia. She explores in great detail how care relations in these families vary along gender, class, and other factors. Gender, for example, comes up many times as an important variable. In six of these families, the daughter acted as primary carer, in seven it was the wife, and in four it was the daughter-in-law, while there were only three families where the husband acted as primary carer. Brijnath focuses on middle-class and elite families and points out that she did not have a chance to work with lower-class families as much as she initially planned to. Her reasons for focusing on richer households were that people living with dementia in poorer households tend to migrate to rural

areas, where the cost of living is much lower. She also found the richer households easier to contact because she did the sampling through a local Alzheimer's NGO, which has a similar class bias.

[rp1]Cases of neglect or abandonment also do not feature in this book, and instead love and the tenderness of care are foregrounded. Brijnath's extensive reflections on how her fieldwork proceeded and how she coped with the logistical, social, and emotional challenges of her work (e.g. interruptions of interviews, never becoming 'part of the furniture' of these families) make her book an indispensable source for anyone who is similarly fascinated by experiences of dementia in India and might be thinking about doing research on this topic as well.

[rp1]The dearth of anthropological research in this area is striking: Brijnath's is the first monograph to emerge since Larence Cohen's *No aging in India* in 1998. It is also a fine example of a multisensorial ethnography of dementia care. 'I want you to smell the writing', Brijnath writes (p. 36), and she succeeds in making the reader confront the odours of urine, faeces, and bodily decay just as much as the odours of flowers and foods. Caring entails taking unwanted substances away and giving wanted, needed, and desired substances, and Brijnath deals with a wide range of these substance exchanges.

[rp1]One kind of substance exchange that is well described in her book is that of biomedical drugs. Pharmaceuticals embody a quest for 'cure' (*ilaj* in Hindi) and are a token of hope, but they are also a tool of discipline and, in the end, seem to bring nothing but disappointment to the carers. A few drugs are approved to treat dementia symptoms, yet carers' experiences of them are mixed at best. Brijnath shows that drugs such as donepezil, galantamine, rivastigmine, and memantine were prescribed to the majority of people in her sample. They were also given a number of other psychopharmaceuticals, especially antidepressants and antipsychotics, by their biomedical doctors. The increasing prescription of antipsychotics – a global trend not limited to India or dementia care – seems particularly problematic because these drugs have severe side-effects and should not be given for longer periods without proper supervision, but this is not the case in India. Sometimes the

carers wondered if their relatives were confused because of dementia or because of all the drugs that they were receiving (p. 144). Brijnath observes how carers' complaints to doctors about the various drugs are either falling on deaf ears or countered with brusque refusals to engage. The giving, receiving, and refusing of drugs becomes a choreography of care. In the end, 'to expect recovery ... is foolishness' (p. 74), as one woman says about the father-in-law she is caring for. Hopes of betterment through drugs evaporated and gave way to acceptance: 'Reducing and ultimately stopping medications was for families an acceptance of the inevitability of death' (p. 76). Brijnath tracks her informants' decline, and her time in the field was long enough to witness a number of deaths as well. Again, she manages to look at dementia and death with compassion.

[rp1[Some parts of the book could have been shorter (the methodology; sections on organ donations), some parts could have been longer (especially those dealing with the role of full-time domestic workers, who hardly anyone in Western countries could afford, or how relatives re-examine the past for clues of where dementia started and what might have caused it), but, these caveats notwithstanding, Brijnath's *Unforgotten* is an unforgettable contribution to the anthropologies of dementia, care, ageing, and medicine.

]rau[STEFAN ECKS *University of Edinburgh*

]bref[FAINZANG, SYLVIE. *An anthropology of lying: information in the doctor-patient relationship*. 151 pp., bibliogr. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015. £60.00 (cloth)

]rp[In *An anthropology of lying: information in the doctor-patient relationship*, Sylvie Fainzang aims to assess 'how information is used, sought, disclosed and withheld' (p. 3) in clinical interactions where doctors and patients discuss diagnosis, treatments, and prognosis. The argument of the book is that a different approach is needed to de-psychologize how the phenomena of information provision have been traditionally understood in medical ethics. In the latter field, guidelines tend to

conceptualize the reality of information provision within the doctor-patient relationship as a 'prerequisite to exercising patient power' (p. 9). In this line, medical ethics asserts that the patient's autonomy relies on his or her ability to choose freely from different treatment options only once he or she is informed and truly understands the risks and benefits associated with each treatment. In contrast to this approach, in which success and failures in communication are explained in individual terms, Fainzang sets out to define the cognitive and moral systems that frame practices of information provision according to the structural positions associated with patients and doctors.

[rp1]Drawing on individual interviews with patients and doctors, and non-participant observation of clinical consultations in a set of unnamed hospitals in France, Fainzang analyses interactions of doctors providing care to eighty patients, of whom sixty are affected by cancer. Immersed in those interactions, the author describes consultations characterized by incomplete provision of information, concealments, and lies from patients and doctors, which are partially counterbalanced with non-verbal mechanisms through which both sides try to approximate the meaning of the other's message. Consequently, the author questions the assumption that patients are now fully informed (and therefore empowered).

[rp1]The discussion of Fainzang's findings is organized in three parts. In the first chapter, the author presents a fine-tuned descriptive analysis of the modes and justifications through which doctors provide incomplete information, keep secrets, and deliberately lie to patients. In the second chapter, she examines how patients receive the information from medical staff, and the mechanisms through which they also feed into the medical relationship with information about their symptoms, choices, and side-effects. In the third chapter, she focuses on the processes used to gain patients' consent to administer different therapeutic treatments, which turned into misunderstandings. In this chapter, Fainzang unearths what might have caused those misunderstandings, encompassing cognitive clashes which are not only associated with the lack of a common vocabulary between patients and doctors, but also related to different ways of making sense of medical conditions (e.g.

patients think in particularistic terms in relation to their own bodies, whilst doctors think in terms of statistical cases and available evidence). Fainzang asserts that the asymmetrical nature of the clinical relationship is further revealed in those misunderstandings, concluding that rather than *informed consent*, what she observed in clinical relationships could be better understood as *resigned consent*: that is, the asymmetry of the relationship tends to make patients surrender their power to decide to the medical authority.

[rp1]In the first two chapters, Fainzang skilfully describes the complexity and heterogeneity of the phenomenon at stake from the point of view of doctors and patients in their own terms. In the third chapter, the book achieves its full depth. The descriptive register previously used to discuss research findings shifts to a more theoretical one as the author engages with broader debates about effective communication and power asymmetries in clinical interactions.

[rp1]Nevertheless, the analysis presented in the book was unable to attain a deep grasp of the moral systems that frame information provision practices and lies' justifications in clinical interactions. On the one hand, it seems that the heterogeneity of the cases observed precluded the opportunity to craft a richer narrative that could shed light on the ways in which doctors and patients morally navigate clinical interactions. On the other hand, Fainzang engages little with scholarship looking at moral issues entangled in clinical interactions in other contexts such as in the United States. This could have provided valuable material for discussion and cross-cultural comparison of the moral systems that frame clinical interactions.

[rp1]All in all, however, this is a thought-provoking book that could appeal to students and researchers in medical anthropology and medical sociology. It teases out a wide range of practices through which doctors and patients provide information to each other in ongoing medical treatments, making a contribution to the scholarship of qualitative health research looking at current issues in Western European healthcare contexts.

IGNACIA ARTEAGA University College London

KAUFMAN, SHARON R. *Ordinary medicine: extraordinary treatments, longer lives, and where to draw the line*. xiii, 314 pp., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2015. £17.99 (paper)

In *Ordinary medicine*, Sharon Kaufman explores how intensive, invasive, and expensive treatments have become the new normal in US healthcare. Kaufman highlights the confluence of longer life expectancies, a shift towards chronic diseases, the tight grip of insurance companies and biomedical industries on clinical practice, the rise of evidence-based medicine, and ever-increasing expectations of patients and their relatives for living pain-free lives. Once a therapy is cleared for reimbursement by insurance, it switches from being an experimental intervention to being a new standard of care, and physicians, patients, and their families find it nearly impossible to refuse these treatments. The expanding horizon of medical interventions are locking both patients and doctors into a long chain of actors and agencies that all drive towards intervening heavily even when an individual patient's length and quality of life are only slightly enhanced, if at all. Kaufman discusses how therapies for older people account for the bulk of all healthcare expenses and how the regular uptake of new treatments adds billions to US healthcare costs. Deeper questions about whether 'more is better' in all cases, and whether not intervening might not be the best path, disappear almost entirely from clinical consultations: 'Doing nothing is non-standard' has become the mantra of this brave new world of biomedicine.

The book is based on several years of research in US clinics since 2002. Kaufman and a team of research assistants interviewed hundreds of elderly patients, their family members, and many clinicians. They also observed how doctors and patients together confronted questions of how to structure treatment strategies. A highlight of the book are the extensive case studies of individual patients who are faced with making difficult decisions about what kind of care they need or want.

One of the patients, 88-year-old Martha Walters, was hospitalized for heart failure previously, and had been implanted with an automatic cardiac defibrillator. These devices monitor heart rate and

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rhythm, and are able to deliver electrical shocks to the heart muscle if an abnormal rhythm is detected. Martha had been living with this device for a while and it saved her from deadly heart failure but also had many side-effects. Finally, a decision was made to deactivate the device, but Walters suffered because there was no clear line between when interventions should stop and when death should be allowed.

]rp1[One of the most intriguing chapters in the book, on the 'medical industrial complex', describes how clinical trials have seeped into clinical practice, and how patients often hope to become part of a clinical trial in order to benefit from the latest innovations. Older patients are excluded from trials, however. As Kaufman details, the 'status afforded to the elderly *as research material* constitutes the prime exception to the medicocultural push for scientific evidence in medicine' (p. 95, original emphasis). Older people have the most diseases, they take the most drugs, they receive the most treatments, they have the most complex disorders and co-morbidities, and they are estimated to use up 90 per cent of healthcare resources. And yet the majority of clinical trials exclude anyone aged 70, 75, or above. This creates a serious gap in evidence produced by clinical trials, because the patients who received the treatments are not the ones who have been tested in trials for them: 'The generalizability of research findings, an important tenet of evidence-based medicine, simply does not hold in the case of the old' (pp. 97-8). There is also a bioethical problem in age groups benefiting from treatments that have been tried out on younger people. A similar generational conflict also occurs in organ donations, where 'ordinary medicine' assumes that younger family members will donate for the benefit of older family members, but not the other way around.

]rp1[The healthcare dilemmas described here are dilemmas of affluence, and I would have liked to know more about socioeconomic marginality and about the experiences of people who fall through the cracks of health insurance and for whom the costs of treatment are too high. I would have also liked to see a more comparative perspective, especially because the United States is an

outlier in so many dimensions (e.g. the world's most expensive healthcare but only in the upper-middle ranges in terms of life expectancy). Above all I was struck by Kaufman's resistance against either giving easy moral verdicts or making a prognosis regarding the course of ordinary medicine in the future. The subtitle of the book asks 'where to draw the line' between right or wrong interventions, but even after reading the book the answer is not clear.

]rau[STEFAN ECKS *University of Edinburgh*

]ha1[Institutions and elites

]bref[DOLAN, CATHERINE & DINAH RAJAK (eds). *The anthropology of corporate social responsibility*. ix, 263 pp., illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. £60.00 (cloth)

]rp[The enduring presence and power of corporations in the world today has been the subject of many scholarly interventions, but few works to date directly address, track, and critique contemporary morphologies of the corporate form and especially the consequences of emerging corporate partnerships aimed at maximizing social responsibility to generate 'good' and 'ethical' business. *The anthropology of corporate social responsibility* is the first edited volume to confront this emerging corporate trend towards 'corporate ethicizing' (p. 23). It draws on ethnographic case studies to explore corporate social responsibility (CSR) in relation to a variety of themes, including virtue, disconnect, power, contradiction, commensuration, compliance, globalization, and morality. From beauty products, garments, and diamonds to petro pipelines and copper mines, this volume showcases the omnipresence of CSR, along with its promises and pitfalls.

The editors point out in their introduction that CSR is not simply a new term in the corporate lexicon. Instead, they insist that 'the grammar of CSR does not operate at a merely rhetorical level, but is part of a deeper and broader set of tools (both at the level of discourse and practice) mobilized to respond to and absorb opposition, enabling [corporations] to survive and expand' (p. 21). CSR actively extends the power of corporations by intentionally humanizing and ethicizing business interests, but this trend is 'ultimately oxymoronic', as Robert Foster insists in the volume's afterword. How can corporations really be or become ethical agents when they enjoy 'not only limited liability but also some of the basic rights of natural persons' (p. 248)?

Each chapter in this important book, in one way or another, interrogates the slippery and shady partnerships forming between transnational corporations, international development agencies, and NGOs to further augment and implement CSR programmes. For Dinah Rajak (chap. 1), CSR interventions expose what she calls 'theaters of virtue', whereby corporations *use* the discourse of collaboration and consensus to strategically bypass and actively marginalize the poor and voiceless in developing countries. The theme of 'virtue' emerges again in chapter 2, where Stuart Kirsch engages a critique of the double-headed language of CSR and sustainability that informs both the contentious mining industry and contemporary academia.

In chapter 3, Catherine Dolan and Mary Johnstone-Louis explore what might be troped *direct* CSR, or the 'door-to-door' tactics used by Avon Cosmetics to merge poverty reduction goals with beauty product sales. They find that this corporation creatively blends 'moral value and market rationality', drawing on the power of beauty products both to inform women's sense of 'self-renewal' and self-fashioning, and at the same time to 'craft

entrepreneurial subjects with the requisite traits of self-discipline, industry, and enterprise' (p. 82). This micro-level CSR intervention is also explored in chapter 4, where Geert De Neve focuses on buyer-supplier relations in the South Indian garment industry. De Neve further illustrates how compliance and resistance exist at every stage of this relationship and how larger political-economic trends in India that favour openness ultimately lead to new and creative forms of corporate exploitation that deepen the overall 'politics of compliance' (p. 105).

[p. 111] Detachment, disconnect, and subcontracting politics are all active ingredients of CSR. In chapter 5, by Jamie Cross, we learn that an offshore diamond manufacturing facility in India that intentionally creates 'short-term, nonbinding attachments to producers' (p. 113) exposes a common 'ethic of detachment' (p. 112) at the paradoxical core of CSR. Katy Gardner, in chapter 6, explains a similar situation in her analysis of Chevron's interest in 'disconnect development'. Studying CSR in Bangladesh, Gardner notes that Chevron-NGO partnerships create a greater disconnect between citizens and corporations: 'NGOs are funded as intermediaries, carrying out programs that bring repute to Chevron but enable them to have no direct contact with the landless poor' (p. 143). The global system of subcontracting is yet another example of this broader pattern or system of creative corporate disconnect. Subcontracting, as in the case of ExxonMobil's Chad-Cameroon pipeline project explored by José-Maria Muñoz and Philip Burnham in chapter 7, ushered in new standards, rules, and 'bureaucratic formalities' (p. 174) to enhance local business development, but to also display ExxonMobil's stature as a disciplined corporate enterprise. Chapters 8 (Rebecca Hardin), 9 (Fabianna Li), and 10 (Johanna Sydow) directly engage CSR discourse and practices in the realm of environmental management and politics,

highlighting in particular how environmental conservation, mitigation, and impact assessment figure in local and global contexts where CSR is folded into 'business opportunity' and 'job creation'.

]rp1[If you think critically about corporations, add this to your collection.

]rau[PETER C. LITTLE *Rhode Island College*

]bref[FUMANTI, MATTIA. *The politics of distinction: African elites from colonialism to liberation in a Namibian frontier town*. vii, 311 pp., maps, tables, illus., bibliogr. Canon Pyon, Herefordshire: Sean Kingston, 2016. £65.00 (cloth)

]rp[In *The politics of distinction* Mattia Fumanti draws upon methods and debates across history, sociology, and social anthropology to synthesize a thorough, though not flawless, account of the intergenerational tensions and relations between Namibia's ruling elite and an aspirant generation of young, educated middle-class urbanites as they play out in the frontier town of Rundu. At the heart of the book is a bold riposte towards what are by now familiar narratives of nefarious elite practices in the African postcolony usually defined by the cynical exploitation of state resources for personal enrichment and power. Following hard on the heels of his doctoral supervisor Richard Werbner's study of *Reasonable radicals* (2004) in Botswana, Fumanti identifies Namibia as another 'exception' to a general picture of kleptocratic accumulation, arguing instead that elite discourse in Namibia is characterized by a strong sense of public duty (p. 2).

]rp1[This central argument shapes the tone of the book in a not wholly convincing way – to which I shall return to below – but there is much to praise. In the first of the book's two parts, Fumanti provides a carefully historicized description of the values and sentiments of the country's 'liberation elite' – politicians of the ruling South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) who came of age under South African apartheid rule in the 1970s and 1980s. Africanists in particular will appreciate Fumanti's use of life histories to document the backgrounds of prominent members of

Rundu's senior elite. What emerges is a picture of a generation conscious of its distinctive position and concomitant responsibilities as governors and representatives of a newly independent people (p. 99).

[rp1[At times, Fumanti's analytical language lacks the subtlety one would hope of a study that offers a wealth of ethnography on how African elites discuss their public conduct (pp. 203-7). Concepts like 'values, ideals and moral reasoning' are often deployed as though their meaning is self-evident (p. 7), somewhat sidestepping a recent explosion of anthropological discussion on such topics in the pages of this journal, amongst other places. When Fumanti introduces us to notions of leadership that circulate in elite discourse like *nongwe* (exemplarity), *efumano* (respect), and *unongo* (goodness), one senses that he could have dwelt longer on whether these vernacular concepts index a distinctive type of 'moral reasoning'. This is a minor criticism though, since Fumanti is able to show ethnographically that these qualities form a conceptual repertoire through which the conduct of authority figures is evaluated whilst visibly interacting in Rundu's rich associational life, from the church to the football clubs.

[rp1[Fumanti is at his best in close proximity to his ethnography, and it is as an ethnography that the book is a success. In part two, he shifts his attention towards the 'youth elite' of present-day Namibian civic and institutional life. Sons and daughters of the elder generation, these educated and globally aware young professionals engage in ludic critiques of the stuffy formality of the SWAPO elite, and yet claim a type of aristocratic relation to the chiefly authority figures of the apartheid era to enhance their symbolic capital (p. 174). Excluded from SWAPO's memorialization of collective suffering during the liberation struggle, the youth elite find alternative sources of 'distinction' (p. 4).

[rp1[Ultimately, my biggest concern relates to Fumanti's broader argument that, contra the Afro-pessimists, elites really do promote the public good (p. 265). Comparable work from Uganda has suggested that elites create public spheres that reproduce the officialdom of the state so as to exclude from them those who lack the 'education' and thus the status to have a voice in public

affairs (F. Brisset-Foucault, 'A citizenship of distinction in the open radio debates of Kampala', *Africa* **83: 2**, 2013). Mahmood Mamdani called this the 'bifurcated public' in his *Citizen and subject* (1996). Elites may police public space with *their* notions of the good, but I would hesitate to make the type of value judgement Fumanti seems to have made about such notions amounting to an *objective* public good. One wonders how 'public' his notion of 'public space' really is, since the way it encompasses anything from church associations to 'performative spaces of everyday sociality' (p. 5) lacks ethnographic specificity. Does this public include those who dwell in Rundu's 'informal settlements' (p. 206)? Surely Fumanti's ethnography permits a counter-reading suggestive of elite hegemony, and the depoliticizing and exclusionary potential of its 'culture of officialdom' (p. 268).

That such a counter-reading is possible, however, is a testament to the quality of Fumanti's ethnography. Anthropologists of future generations departing for Southern Africa would do well to read this volume.

PETER LOCKWOOD *University of Cambridge*

NIELSEN, GRITT B. *Figuration work: student participation, democracy and university reform in a global knowledge economy*. ix, 266 pp., illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. £62.00 (cloth)

Britt Nielsen draws the reader's attention to reforms in universities, to student participation in these events, and to the changing culture of these institutions. Students are central figures with vacillating moral power and influence both on the identities they claim and on those expected of them. These issues are part of a worldwide shift from stereotypically traditional universities to ones beset by increasing commodification, rising fees, governmental expectations, and student activism. Nielsen's concern is 'how the "student" as a contested figure in a time of extensive university reform is negotiated and enacted in diverse pedagogical, institutional and political settings' (p. 225). The perspective is the student's own perception of his/her involvement in new development and the

governance of universities, particularly in shaping educational and administrative policy both in the institution and nationally.

[rp1]The ethnographic locations chosen for research are three Danish universities, ranging from a traditional professor-orientated one to a reform-centred one. Within these the focus is on third-year natural sciences courses. The methods employed are interviewing and participation in events and meetings. The methodological and theoretical approach is to introduce the notion of 'frictional' spaces or events. These involve conflict and ambiguity, a 'rubbing together of different agendas and rationales that create and promote new worlds' (p. 45), thus becoming ideal venues for examining student ideas and actions. Through these events, 'figuration work' is done in which 'different and conflicting figures of the student are generated, negotiated, dismantled ... and thus (re-)assembled and (re-)articulated' (p. 30). Such assemblages are temporary, transient, and always in process. We are reminded that the figure of a student is always involved *in* friction and is also always *creating* friction, and that progress is not possible without frictional happenings. Thus large-scale happenstances and the policies they inspire become ideal fieldwork opportunities. Among the frictional events chosen are the Danish University Act of 2003 and its amendments and the Danish government's welfare reform proposals of 2006.

[rp1]The ethnographic knowledge produced comes with an analytical background with echoes of Foucault, Deleuze, Haraway, and Marcuse. The wider historical knowledge frame of the study is attuned to current experiences and includes recognition of the rise and fall of student rebellion and activism in the Western world. We are reminded of the turmoil of 1968, of the revolts and strikes of the 1960s and 1970s, and the periodic surging and ebbing of student moral strength and its demands. One example is when Marxist theorizing dominated university discourse and students proposed appointing workers as associate professors. Among other occasions recalled is the demand for a student membership of 50 per cent on university administrative committees and in policy-making, but also on national parliamentary committees.

]rp1[The ethnographic evidence arising from reactions to frictional events show students' concern, active or passive, in relation to their education and university policies. It covers the shifting dilemmas of choice that face them regarding workplace democracy, responsibility and accountability, efficiency, independence/dependence dichotomies, creativity and risk-taking, and citizenship. It appears students deem themselves as co-owners, customers, investors, professionals in training, and as united with faculty or against them.

]rp1[*Figuration work* speaks to many academic constituencies, not only to the anthropology of policy and the anthropology of education generally, to administrative studies and conflict management, but also to those who cast their research nets into the complexities of university culture. Perhaps most pertinent among these academic offerings is the promise of a comparison of field observations and experiences of every anthropologist who has been a quiet, unintentional everyday fieldworker and ethnographer of student issues by virtue of years spent in enculturation first as a student and then, for many of us, in continuing fieldwork as a university teacher. Every academic hopes his or her research might inspire the familiar, complimentary refrain 'more research is needed'. Such enthusiasm echoes around several questions raised by Nielsen's text. The author has decided that her student population is socially homogeneous in its decisions. This inspires a challenge as it could be argued that it seems unlikely that class, gender, and ethnicity have no place in student participation decisions and self-imagery. The reader is also led into hoping for some insights into the connections between the initiatives and policies described and the 'global knowledge economy' referred to in the title. Most importantly, the volume encourages those committed to researching university cultures to suggest new envisioned futures and make some seductive intellectual stabs at the 'not-yet-thought-of university' (p. 211).

]rau[ELVI WHITTAKER *University of British Columbia*

Language and identity

KOCKELMAN, PAUL. *The chicken and the quetzal: incommensurate ontologies and portable values in Guatemala's cloud forest*. xi, 190 pp., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2016. £16.99 (paper)

Paul Kockelman's *The chicken and the quetzal* is one of the biggest little books in the history of anthropology. Despite its slim size, it serves as a thorough introduction to the work of one of the discipline's most prolific, precise, and creative scholars.

The chicken and the quetzal is about the relationship between an indigenous village (Chicacnab, a Q'eqchi' Mayan-speaking community in the Guatemalan highlands), an environmental NGO (Proyecto Eco-Quetzal, started by German ecologists to protect endangered cloud forest birds), and some of the nonhuman beings around whom the Q'eqchi' and the NGO staff organize their lives (i.e. chickens and quetzals). Kockelman describes his account of this relationship as an 'ethnography'. As such, it covers topics that are of definite interest to contemporary anthropologists: not only indigenous culture, economy, and language but also the governmental interventions that are foisted upon subaltern peoples by a host of state and non-state institutions.

The chicken and the quetzal is filled with rich descriptions of village life and environmental programmes, but it also introduces an analytical framework with global applications. In chapters that revolve around the hosting of ecotourists, the raising of chickens, the pooling of labour, and the building of houses, Kockelman provides concise explanations of his central ideas: the four-part analytical scheme of person, agent, subject, and self; the simultaneously 'disclosing' and 'enclosing' aspects of any intellectual project; and the larger set of overlapping concepts he has spent so much of his career developing ('meaning and value, quality and quantity, materiality and objectivity, utility and modality, commensuration and governance, ephemerality and portability, and ontologies in transformation').

]rp1[Kockelman was trained as a linguistic anthropologist, and much of the text is written in semiotic terms. The book is equally indebted to classical works in political economy and social anthropology. Kockelman engages the writings of many contemporary ethnographers, but he draws more inspiration from thinkers outside the discipline and/or the present moment. Anthropologists will be familiar with some of Kockelman's interlocutors – Marx, Foucault, and Peirce, for example – but they will learn more from the novel uses to which he puts anthropology's forefathers – Boas, Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard, Sapir, Mauss, and Linton – as well as its more distantly related kin, including Aristotle, Francis Bacon, Henry Sumner Maine, William James, George Herbert Mead, Thorstein Veblen, and Karl Polanyi.

]rp1[Kockelman's investigation of the interactions between Q'eqchi' Mayans, European ecologists, and domestic and wild birds gives flesh to one of his broadest concerns: 'the conditions and consequences of making value (and thus both valued entities and evaluating agents) seem relatively *portable* . . . in the sense of being widely applicable, contextually independent, or scale-free'. The reader learns about the myriad ways in which different forms of measurement, meaning, and materiality emerge from the Q'eqchi'-NGO encounter and move within and beyond Chicacnab. Kockelman is sensitive to the way the book, too, is part of the dynamic in question. After all, it discloses and encloses a content (the lives of the villagers), thereby making that content amenable to the uses to which distant readers put it.

]rp1[If there is one hallmark of Kockelman's scholarship, it is the productive relationship between the depth of his theoretical explorations and his dogged insistence that theory must prove its worth through empirical application. Many anthropologists will draw inspiration from his philosophical discussions, but they might find his unrelenting commitment to the object at hand – the real-time forms of language and life from which nearly all ethnographic material emerges – a challenging position. Kockelman is an exceptionally imaginative theoretician, but he is also a hard-nosed ethnographer who develops his arguments through evidence as much as eloquence.

rp1[In *The chicken and the quetzal*, Kockelman proves that he is one of anthropology's last great system-builders. His analytical framework can be applied to any ethnographic object, regardless of time or place. Moreover, its multiple elements are of a piece. Kockelman tells the reader that his terms work together, and that they even imply one another. The conceptual systematicity is a double-edged sword: it renders his arguments consistent and coherent, but it presents difficulties for readers who would like to adopt parts of his theoretical apparatus without embracing it in its entirety. For empirically minded linguistic and/or semiotic anthropologists, the possibility of total acceptance might be welcome. For other ethnographers, however, the invitation might be a bit too daunting to accept. Either way, pondering the lessons of *The chicken and the quetzal* is a worthwhile endeavour for any anthropologist, from the beginning student to the seasoned professor.

rau[MICHAEL CEPEK *University of Texas at San Antonio*

brief[MIDDLETON, TOWNSEND. *The demands of recognition: state anthropology and ethno-politics in Darjeeling*. xix, 278 pp., map, illus., bibliogr. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2015. £18.99 (paper)

rp[Anthropology can be a tool for analysing how notions of difference gain traction in politics. Townsend Middleton's *The demands of recognition* does this, but its most novel contribution is that it also does the reverse. The book uses a study of difference – specifically tribal recognition in the Himalayan region of Darjeeling, India – to reflect on anthropological knowledge. Middleton's aim is to '[examine] what happens when disciplinary knowledge travels from the domains of scholarship and governance to the lives and politics of everyday people seeking their rightful place in the modern world' (p. 8).

rp1[In Darjeeling, movements for recognition by Indian Nepalis ('Gorkhas') are long-standing. Under the Sixth Schedule of India's constitution, communities recognized as 'Scheduled Tribes' (STs) receive affirmative action benefits. In the mid-2000s, therefore, local political leaders

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launched an effort to attain ST status, essential to the verification of which is anthropological knowledge, wielded by state experts.

For Middleton, ST recognition efforts are an attempt to resolve a sense of ‘anxious belonging’ that has beset Gorkhas since well before Indian independence in 1947. In chapter 1’s opening vignette, the author recounts a tension between himself and a village council president to exemplify this anxiety. Middleton was conducting a survey that included questions like: ‘When did your family migrate from Nepal?’ and ‘How long have they lived in this village?’ Enraged, the village council president told Middleton that he couldn’t ask these kinds of questions. Middleton countered that everyone knew that their ancestors had migrated from Nepal. The village council president responded: ‘We know we know that! But you can’t ask these questions ... That would be proof!’ (p. 28).

In chapters 2 and 3, Middleton works to contextualize further the burdens of proof. He describes a West Bengal Department of Information and Cultural Affairs officer pulling women out of a Hindu festival procession for looking ‘too Hindu’. As Middleton explains, ‘assumptions of a radical alterity between tribes and Hindu castes’ are now central to the ‘ethno-logics’ of tribal recognition (p. 59). Working through the tension between tribes and Hinduism, he shows how the massive anthropological apparatus of the British Raj was transformed into the world’s largest affirmative action system.

Tribe is not a static category, however. Contemporary tribal recognition is not just a reappropriation of colonial categories. Chapter 4 follows the work of state anthropologists from India’s Cultural Research Institute (CRI). On their visits to Darjeeling, these anthropologists worked to verify five key aspects of ‘tribal’ status. Displays of dances, song, and even ritual sacrifice dominated community-anthropologist interactions. Middleton suggests that ‘the most telling statement of subalternity [is that] Thrust into the ethnographic spotlight ... individuals had been called upon to sing, dance, and perform their rituals, but they were not to speak’ (pp. 127-8). In

chapter 5, we follow reports written by CRI anthropologists from Darjeeling to government offices in Kolkata. Middleton shadows anthropologists as they fight to defend their work in the face of bureaucratic indifference. ST petitions get delayed, lost, disputed. This lack of resolution, Middleton suggests, is one way that 'late liberal governments handle difference' (p. 156).

[rp1[In chapter 6, Middleton explores what happens when a 'descriptive endeavor like ethnology becomes prescriptive' (p. 167). Working with ethnic organizations (*samajes*) in Darjeeling, he shows how the promises of recognition induced 'ethnic rebirths'. 'Born-again' ethnic activists began to reject both Hinduism and the syncretic cultural practices that had long shaped life for Nepalis in Darjeeling. Chapter 7 documents a subsequent rebirth – this time of pan-Nepali, or Gorkha, identification – catalysed by the success of a Darjeeling man in the *Indian Idol* television singing competition. This rebirth of Gorkha-based politics was not a full rejection of the tribal turn, but instead another example of the uncanny returns of ethnological knowledge.

[rp1[Anxious belonging is an evocative concept, but I am left wondering how other forms of inequality, namely class and gender, intersect with it. How did *samaj* leaders become leaders? How did political economy inflect 'ethno-logics'? Throughout the book, there are whispers of the voices of those (particularly women and non-elites) who were not allowed to speak in tribal performances, but they remain whispers. To be clear, this is less a complaint than a call to build upon this work to consider how the demands for recognition are felt by those who are silenced and sidelined in processes of claims-making. *The demands of recognition* is a welcome addition to the literature on difference and political anthropology in South Asia that should be read, taught, and debated for years to come.

]rau[SARAH BESKY *Brown University*

]bref[SHAUL, DAVID LEEDOM. *A prehistory of western North America: the impact of Uto-Aztecan languages*. xviii, 377 pp., maps, illus., tables, bibliogr. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2014. \$65.00 (cloth)

]rp[Shaul's goal – which is fully achieved – is 'to try to point out how a well-studied (but not completely studied) language family such as Uto-Aztecan [UA] may be used as a general instrument for prehistory, and evaluate the possible contributions of UA linguistic prehistory to the prehistory of western North America' (p.13). The book contributes substantially to Uto-Aztecan linguistics, as well as to other linguistic groups of western North America, demonstrating very nicely the role of linguistic evidence in the investigation of prehistory. Among its many contributions and provocative proposals, it thoroughly debunks the southern Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) homeland proposal with dispersal northwards inspired by Bellwood and Renfrew's Farming/Language Dispersal model. It provides evidence of several sorts against UA's putative role in the spread of corn-complex agriculture to the American Southwest (see, e.g., p. 299). Shaul argues that the PUA homeland was in the southern Central Valley of California, with possible extension into the Great Basin. He argues against the Numic Spread Hypothesis, holding that Proto-Numic could have been in place in the Great Basin already in PUA times (chap. 4).

]rp1[Throughout the book, Shaul identifies many loanwords and argues for UA contacts with various other groups (though he accepts as loanwords numerous cases that others might see as involving only accidental similarities).

]rp1[The breadth and depth of scholarship exhibited are truly impressive. The sense of erudition is only slightly lessened by a number of typographical problems and minor uncorrected errors.

]rp1[More significant are issues with hypotheses of distant phylogenetic relationships among languages: Shaul seems to prevaricate over whether he believes Penutian and Hokan may be valid (both highly disputed). He mentions 'Nadene' several times, but fails to note that this hypothesis is not accepted unless Haida is removed. He asserts that 'Vajda has presented compelling evidence that Nadene is related genetically to the Yeniseian languages of central Siberia' (pp. 13-14), but this is not so. Vajda's evidence has been challenged (see, e.g., my review of James Kari and Ben Potter's *The Dene-Yeniseian connection in International Journal of American Linguistics* **77**, 2011).

]rp1[The reader will not infrequently long for missing references, for example for statements such as 'half of the word stock of Blackfoot ... is not Algonkian and comes from some unknown language' (p. 4), or for the source of the list of Pan-Americanisms (p. 47).

]rp1[On p. 40 we read that 'a classic case of a linguistic area was England after the Norman conquest in 1066. This is the source of the hundreds of loanwords in English'. But linguistic areas are based not on loanwords, but, rather, primarily on shared structural traits, and England is not generally considered a linguistic area, certainly not a 'classic case'.

]rp1[Shaul likes the hypothesis that maintenance of a single language is a key adaptation strategy for hunter-gatherers, especially in arid desert areas. However, it is not the case that 'one would not expect ... much diversity in languages of peoples with desert adaptations who practice only hunting and gathering economy' (p. 66). Such peoples of Australia, the Gran Chaco, and some other such places are highly multilingual.

]rp1[These criticisms apart, however, this book deserves praise and attention. It presents many valuable new facts and findings, it effectively evaluates previous hypotheses and claims, and it argues for several proposals of its own that will excite many and prove provocative to others. It is a very welcome contribution to the literature on linguistic prehistory, a good example of how historical linguistics can correlate with archaeology, ethnohistory, human genetics, and ethnography to provide a fuller understanding of the past. I thoroughly enjoyed reading it and believe others will also.

]rau[LYLE CAMPBELL *University of Hawai'i Mānoa*

]ha1[Migration

]bref[FELDMAN, GREGORY. *We are all migrants: political action and the ubiquitous condition of migrant-hood*. xv, 117 pp., bibliogr. Stanford: Univ. Press, 2015. \$12.99 (paper)

Gregory Feldman has written an impassioned treatise which eloquently diagnoses the modern condition of political alienation, atomization, and disempowerment. Drawing on an impressive array of political theory, philosophy, history, and literature, he argues that regardless of whether we are citizens or migrants, we all share the ubiquitous condition of 'migrant-hood', in which we are isolated and alienated from others and are represented in mass society only as members of homogeneous groups. As a result, we are rendered incapable of constituting ourselves as actively speaking, political subjects based on our particular individuality. Feldman's short book is a call for political action to emancipate ourselves from this condition of disenfranchised political subjection and is therefore written in plain language that is intended to be accessible to the lay public.

In contrast to most anthropology, which focuses on ethnographic case studies that do not always speak to broader social issues, it was inspiring to see a fellow anthropologist discussing the human condition of migrant-hood that results from capitalist modernity, neoliberalism, and the nation-state. However, as I read the book, I started to wonder whether I was the appropriate scholar to review it. In contrast to my initial impression, the book is not about migration or citizenship, and specialists in these fields will not learn much about either. Besides some generalized discussions about the migrant experience, migration is used only as a metaphor for the social detachment, alienation, and unrootedness (migrant-hood) that Feldman repeatedly claims we all share. In fact, migration and citizenship are addressed only in the first half of the book and almost completely disappear in the second half. Most of the book consists of political philosophy based on abstract discussions of a wide range of literature, including Homer, Plato, Tocqueville, Marx, Arendt, and Agamben. I often wished for more concrete examples and

illustrations of the broad claims and generalizations made in this book, based on empirical research and ethnographic fieldwork.

Although the book has some thought-provoking insights and is written by a learned scholar with a sharp intellect, I could not ignore some of its shortcomings. The fundamental argument of the book is that migrants and citizens are indistinguishable because both are equally disempowered, atomized, and homogeneously constituted in ways that prevent them from engaging in political action as particular individuals. The only support provided for this assertion are hypothetical examples based on poor, marginalized citizens and claims that socioeconomic resources do not result in political empowerment. It may be true that at the most basic level migrants and citizens do share the same condition of migrant-hood, but we simply cannot dismiss the significant differences between them in terms of legal protections, rights, wealth, access to services, levels of social exclusion and harassment, and political power.

Feldman frequently laments how modern nation-states and capitalist mass society have reduced us to abstract and homogeneously constituted subjects, which negates particularity and individual difference. He is likewise critical of liberal acts of humanitarian assistance in which the world's elites speak on behalf of disadvantaged populations based on claims of universal identity and common humanity, which ultimately silences their particular voices and politically disempowers them. Therefore, it is ironic that his call for political action is based on reducing the diversity of the world's peoples (such as migrants and citizens) to the undifferentiated condition of abject migrant-hood, as if they were all homogenized subjects incapable of speaking for themselves.

So how do we escape this disempowered condition of migrant-hood and reconstitute ourselves as differentiated individuals through independent political action?

Feldman does not suggest ways to raise political awareness or mundane forms of collective mobilization and activism. Apparently, simple resistance against institutionalized practices is insufficient, since they will not free us from the shackles of bureaucratized modern states and mass societies. Instead, he believes true political emancipation is only possible through a type of benign anarchy, which will lead to the emergence of our natural human ability to engage in direct, political deliberation and forge democratic consensus. The only examples he provides of such a political state are the short period after the evacuation of the Nazis from the Auschwitz concentration camp (a rare historical occurrence) and the council of elders among hunter-gatherers (which would require modern mass societies to regress and disintegrate into semi-autonomous, tribal bands). If this book is indeed a call to political action, one wonders how contemporary political activists could implement such a utopian vision based on extreme historical events that are impossible to replicate or forms of human organization mainly confined to prehistory.

Author
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[bref] [HICKEL, JASON. *Democracy as death: the moral order of anti-liberal politics in South Africa*. xvii, 263 pp., map, illus., bibliogr. Oakland: Univ. of California Press, 2015. £24.95 (paper)

[rp] [This is a rich ethnographic account that sets out to explain why migrants from rural KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa blame 'democracy' for society's ills. Hickel argues that it is not simply that migrants are traditionalists and therefore unwilling to part with rural ways of life, nor that they are driven by the material benefits of a patriarchal system. Instead, he contends, the philosophical underpinnings of liberal democratic thought are inconsistent with migrants' own cultural logic. This is a tricky argument to make, especially in South Africa, where scholars and activists have long regarded theories of cultural difference as an insidious tool of colonial governance. But Hickel rejects

an essentialized view of culture, instead arguing that the prevailing logic emerged alongside the changing social conditions wrought by colonial governance.

]rp1[This moral order, which Hickel goes on to describe in fascinating detail, is based on a symbolic synonymy between the layout of the rural homestead and the relationships of difference and hierarchy that characterize kinship. Within these structures, women and men, young and old, each have a place. Women's and men's roles bind them together in a relationship of mutual dependence and responsibility to the whole. Concepts of moral code (*umthetho*) and respect (*hlonipha*) infuse the vernacular with the values embedded in these systems of relatedness and difference. Hickel extends this analysis to the ritual slaughter of cattle, and demonstrates how strict rules about the distribution of animal parts symbolically reproduce these ordered social relations. In this interconnected moral order, those in the junior ranks can be assured of the care of their seniors. In contrast, liberal democracy 'renders them hopelessly removed from remote persons of power who have no reason to care about their needs' (p. 71). Undergirded by a philosophy of egalitarian individualism, the concept of democracy threatens to flatten and homogenize the differences that underpin human life and reproduction.

]rp1[The book offers fascinating insight into why urban-dwellers continue to sustain a strong emotive connection to images and values associated with the countryside. Hickel draws on Silverstein's concept of 'structural nostalgia' to show how migrants evoke a fetishized ideal of the rural homestead, to reject the values they associate with city life. This influenced political allegiances during the struggles of the 1980s. Migrants' refusal to align themselves with the ANC-led struggle was driven by the desire to sustain this moral order, Hickel suggests, which they perceived was at odds with the liberal goals of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) – those of democracy, rights, and gender equality.

]rp1[The apartheid reordering of city life in the form of the township house not only etched values of Western domesticity into the physical environment, but also eroded the spatial ordering so

essential to preserving relationships of hierarchy and personhood. As the story of Abigail in chapter 6 vividly portrays, town-dwellers develop unease about the sources of their misfortune, plagued by the thought that their urban life-ways prohibit the rituals required to appease ancestors. Hicckel places these evocative ethnographic descriptions in the wider context of de-industrialization, HIV, and neoliberal decay, while arguing that we cannot rely exclusively on a materialist argument to account for people's experiences of misfortune.

]rp1[Hicckel is careful to point out that migrants' conceptions of the homestead do not accurately reflect life in the country. Instead, they are based on a romantic abstraction, all the more idealized because of migrants' physical separation from home. The realities of rural life, Hicckel suggests, are more ambiguous and fragmented. One limitation of the book is that it provides little insight into these more complex realities. For instance, how might land dispossession, the collapse of peasant production, or widespread unaffordability of bridewealth (*ilobolo*) in rural areas lead to cracks in the structure of this rigid moral order? The risk is that the idealized concept can no more take the burden of all that is placed on it than can the narrow instrumentalist argument Hicckel criticizes. For instance, his thesis presents a convincing case for why migrants resisted the liberal aims of the NDR, but it cannot account for the widespread rebellion of rural youth who rejected the authority of elders. Similarly, Hicckel's argument offers a compelling explanation for Zuma's remarkable popularity, but does not explain the ever-widening cracks in the ANC's hegemony under his leadership.

]rp1[The book overall adds fascinating new insight into the experience of migrancy, a topic of long-standing interest in scholarship of Southern Africa. It is a beautifully written account that offers a compelling explanation for the continued salience of the rural as a site of moral agency. It makes an important contribution not only to scholarship on South African politics, but also to wider discussions about the fraught nature of democratization processes globally.

]rau[ELIZABETH HULL SOAS, *University of London*

]bref[RAZY, ELODIE & MARIE RODET (eds). *Children on the move in Africa: past and present experiences of migration*. xiv, 241 pp., bibliogr. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2016. £45.00 (cloth)

]rp[The large variety of case studies it contains spanning the African continent and the attention it gives to historical cases of child migration make this a very rich book. In the introduction the editors elaborate on the most important debates in the field of child migration. By nature this is a difficult field, for 'the word "child" infers minority and thus a diminished capacity or complete incapacity to convey or consent', while 'from a narrowly physical standpoint migration constitutes a deliberate act' (p. xii). The study of child migration therefore often concentrates on the victim-agency debate. The authors of this edited volume aim to go beyond this dichotomy by adopting what they call a *longue-durée* and micro-level approach (p. 4). In so doing, they contribute to an emerging field of study on child migration.

]rp1[A novel aspect of this book is its multi-disciplinary coverage, including contributions from literature studies and psychology. Eight out of ten chapters, however, are written by historians or focus on a historical approach, and it lacks real interdisciplinarity in that the authors do not engage with or reflect on each other's models of studying child migration. Nor do most of the chapters really overcome the thinking in a victim-agency dichotomy. This is especially the case in the first part of the book, entitled 'Beyond the dilemma of vulnerability v. agency'. The first chapter, by Kelly Duke Bryant, is about a small group of Senegalese students schooled in France between 1824 and 1842. While it is not clear from the historical sources to what extent the selected students, who were between 7 and 13 years old when they left Senegal, had anything to say about their migration, at a certain point many students voiced (in letters) their wish to stay in France after their parents requested them to come back home, and they employed their networks in France to this end. Based on the letters they wrote and the networks they were able to engage, the author suggests that migration, once undertaken, can contribute to the agency of children. This is a bit of a simplistic and

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quick reference to the complex notion of agency. In order to contribute more fully to the debate of agency in child migration, greater attention could have been paid, for example, to the fact that as the students became older and accessed education, they were likely to develop increasing capacities to exert agency. Age differences, in fact, receive little to no attention in the book, although the migration of a 4 year old and a 17 year old are likely to be quite distinct, especially with regard to questions of agency and vulnerability. In part two of the book, containing three chapters focused on the relation between childhood migration and the becoming of a gendered adult, the authors engage more with debates on child migrants' agency from a situated and balanced perspective.

]rp1[Part three, entitled 'Mobility, imagination and making nations', has a different focus and offers interesting insights on the way in which the identity of children was shaped through educational migration in the colonial period. This focus on the processes of identity formation of children who were to become the first educated elites in their various countries also evokes the relation between child migration and adult identities, a topic briefly touched upon in chapter 8 by Uma Dhopelia-Mesthrie on the mobility of minors between India and South Africa in relation to labour.

]rp1[Many of the authors suggest that they elaborate on the experiences of the child migrant. However, most of them face difficulty in really doing so, and focus more on the systems and institutions surrounding the children owing to the limitations offered by their historical sources, but also by not giving more space to the oral histories they have collected. Chapter 4 and 5, written by a psychologist and an anthropologist, respectively, form an exception. The last chapter, by Oluwole Coker, argues that 'migrant fiction' allows us to come closer to understanding what the experience of migration entails for children. Nevertheless, this fiction is written by adults, which creates a difficulty when taking the rich and insightful fictionalized descriptions of their experiences as representative of children's perspectives, something the author does not reflect upon. Indeed, a little more reflection on methodologies used and their limitations in each chapter (as announced in the introduction) would have been welcome.

]ha1[Science

]bref[MYERS, NATASHA. *Rendering life molecular: models, modelers, and excitable matter*. xvi, 308 pp., illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2015. £18.99 (paper)

]rp[A century ago, Max Weber noted that the spreading *entzauberung* afforded by science is not a fully conscious process. Myers' engaging study of academic protein crystallographers in the northeast United States, their students, and the protein molecules they study demonstrates that magic or enchantment (*zauber*), or, in her terms, the rendering of liveliness, is more than alive and well in modern science. It may be deconstructible, but not destructible, for reasons described throughout the book, from the technical and technological to the epistemic and ontological. Myers proposes that by 'turning close ethnographic attention to the affective entanglements of laboratory practice, without losing sight of the political economy in which laboratory labor gains traction, . . . it is possible to hear practitioners' accounts of their encounters with the affectivity of matter' (p. 38).

]rp1[Nestled between an introduction and conclusion are eight chapters thematically spread over three parts and appended by a basic overview of protein crystallography. Part I, 'Laboratory entanglements', covers three chapters focused on crystallographers' lab-bench practices. Special emphasis is laid on the scientists, their student trainees, the variety of models they build and their significances, and what the lab practices and their models allow practitioners to say about the way proteins fold and behave. The two chapters addressing protein crystallographers' performances of representation and objectivity, respectively, compose the 'Ontics and epistemics' theme of part II. Here the issues of modelling are investigated further in order to consider both the limits and the generativity of correspondence theories of truth enmeshed within a 'culture of objectivity' (p. 155). 'Forms

of life' is the theme for the three chapters of part III, explicating the tensions and entanglements among machinic and animist scientific practices to life, and understanding life, at the molecular level. The overall progression for conveying this distributed liveliness is logical, theoretically, and methodologically iterative, and, most importantly, ethnographically rich and robust.

Importantly, the book primarily concerns the relationships by which and through which scientific subjects and objects are simultaneously becoming materialized rather than crystallographers *per se*, or the proteins whose structures, folds, and movements they study. Myers develops the concept of rendering, and its polysemic inflections, as an overarching device to indicate the many entangled movements traversing meaning-making *qua* materialization in the constitution of laboratory subject and object alike. Indeterminacies abound, and not just among molecules and their principal investigators, as Myers' reflexive attention to the effects of her own presence indicates. Such a relational approach is well within contemporary currents of thought, and her nuanced but not overly jargonesque blending of theory, method, and ethnographic data makes for enjoyable narration.

Drawing on feminist theories of affect and performativity, feminist science and technology studies, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, and what some (though not the author) have termed the 'new materialism', Myers strives to convey in non-essentialist terms the liveliness of, and goes-on among and through, crystallographers, their laboratories, and their proteins. Largely she succeeds in this endeavour, though an expansion of the tantalizing but short discussion of the indeterminacy and elasticity of temporality would have been welcome.

]rp1[Myers builds the case for an embodied scientific practice that cannot easily surrender to the abstractions of Cartesian dualism and Enlightenment rationality. Crystallographers conceptualize proteins' folding through moving their bodies such that comfortable or uncomfortable corporeal contortions align with likely or unlikely molecular contortions. More than metaphor, this is a material *qua* discursive rendering where dance literally can be scientific research or pedagogy. Which bodies affect and effect other bodies, and how, is necessarily open. A body's doings, human and nonhuman, always deal with feeling, hence Myers' suggestion that liveliness is distributed, while taking care to avoid the unnecessary anthropomorphization of nonhumans' aesthetics.

]rp1[Arguments about embodiment, affect, and performativity developed in parts I and II lead into arguably the most important contributions of the volume in part III. Through Myers' critique of mechanistic thinking, we are reminded that disciplinary biology is historically entangled with the Industrial Revolution. Acculturated to the metaphor of the machinic, scientists rarely recognize it in practice and consequently have developed a blind spot to its materiality and impermanence. What are we doing when we call a cell's components 'machines'? Conversely, the limitations of the 'god trick' of a pre-existing vitalism are shunned as well. The liveliness to which Myers gestures may usefully be characterized, playing on Geertz's famous double negative, as an anti-anti-vitalism. This opens exciting possibilities.

]rp1[Ultimately, Myers gives us a classic anthropological topic, magic (*zauber*), in a new guise. When liveliness cannot be reduced to rationality, ignored, or abolished, Weber need not have feared.

]rau[UDO KRAUTWURST *University of Prince Edward Island*

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The central question of this collected volume is that of how practices of magic, ritual, and sorcery, widely understood and perceived as irrational, persist and coexist with scientific ones in an era of global rationality and disenchantment. The answer of the twelve authors is that religion does not subside, even in an era of overt scientism, because belief in spiritual and mystical entities and phenomena is an essential characteristic of human life, crucial to its functioning. Several of the chapters, most notably that of Inglis, make Max Weber, the father of disenchantment, at least in the West, the target of productive critique.

The introductory quote by Wittgenstein might make readers believe that the volume's line of argument is one of classic cultural relativism – in other words, anthropologically thinking and analysing religion and science as relatively distinct from cultures and societies. Such summarization, however, does not do justice to the conceptual vigour of the volume. While culturally relativistic perspectives analyse religion and science as culturally bounded domains of knowledge, practice, and power, this volume understands them to be global flows which entangle at specific points in history, and in specific cultural and social milieus. The authors' focus on 'forms of life' is indeed one which extends beyond sociological analysis, into the tangibility and lived experience of religion and science as 'fully fledged socio-cultural systems likely to colonize ordinary people's minds and impinge upon their lives in various ways' (Salazar).

One of the most fascinating aspects of the book is its success in turning scientific objectivity on its head. While previous work in science and technology studies explored politics and hierarchies permeating the production of scientific knowledge, this volume problematizes the scientific dogma as a 'parochial' (Kwon) product of our time. The recurring insistence that religion retains a primary, superior function to science in the overall

evolutionary schema and everyday experience of humanity as a whole marks perhaps the most forceful argument of the volume. By ethnographically and analytically exploring suggestions such as ‘no revolutionary scientific accomplishment has surpassed theologians’ abilities after a time to accommodate it’ (McCauley) and ‘religious beliefs ... may be adaptive or even necessary for human life’ (Blume), this volume attempts the daring task of naturalizing religion and de-naturalizing science – in other words, of situating religion as a vital force of humanity and science as a ‘rarity’ (Coma), and a historical product which ‘must be seen as the exception – mediated by a series of methodological technologies that have been developed precisely to help us sustain that exception’ (Pina-Cabral). On the contrary, if belief in magic and the supernatural is the result of conditions of danger and uncertainty, as Malinowski’s comparison between lagoon and deep-sea fishing suggested, then such beliefs might very well become more common in societies of increasing uncertainty and risk (Sørensen).

[rp1]The volume’s focus on contradiction between religion and science is not one in the usual Marxist sense of the term. The coexistence between religion and science is not attributed to contradictions which are dialectically resolved. On the contrary, as several of the chapters in the books argue, the coexistence of religion and science unfolds through perpetual, generative tension. Science and religion do not, *cannot*, synthesize: it is exactly unresolved contradictions – the failure of people to fully make sense and reconcile science and religion in their everyday practices and modes of thinking – that (partly) sustain both science and religion. For example, the iconic figure of the human embryo, at once ‘sacred and profane’ (Melhuus), is the result of such tension. Moreover, opposition between science and religion is largely attributed to what can be labelled a Sisyphean labour of scientism – that is, the overwhelming desire, urgency, and ultimately inability of those who believe in science to separate themselves from those who don’t. As Simon Coleman points out in this volume, ‘an

approach that also helps precisely create or at least provoke its own opposition is not one that is likely to see the end of religion in the world'. In their failure to unite in a coherent, unitary corpus, science and religion proliferate perspectives and hybrid practices (Jenkins; Sansi).

The publication of this volume marks a rich addition to long-established anthropological fields of magic, religion, and science. More importantly, however, the book is an important, much-needed injection to arguably sidelined anthropological fields of belief, disbelief, and, relatedly, unresolved contradiction.

THEODOROS KYRIAKIDES *University of Manchester*

SORMANI, PHILIPPE. *Respecifying lab ethnography: an ethnomethodological study of experimental physics*. xvi, 278 pp., illus., figs, bibliogr. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015. £70.00 (cloth)

Should social scientists who study the practice of science – or scientists doing research in a lab setting – be adept at the same research techniques themselves? Is participant observation in any laboratory still valid if a scholar has no scientific training or background and uses concepts from outside of science to interpret what he or she sees? How should we practise ethnography in a laboratory? What methods and approaches produce good ethnographies in scientific settings?

This is the set of questions at the heart of Philippe Sormani's recent 'reflexive ethnography' of an experimental physics lab performing scanning tunnelling microscopy of complex superconducting compounds (STM of CSC). The book as a whole is Sormani's self-conscious attempt to produce a 'new' type of ethnomethodological lab study – one that does not make the same mistakes as its famous predecessors within the field of science and technology studies (STS). Sormani's main critique of prior work within scientific spaces – such as Latour and Woolgar's seminal *Laboratory life* (1979), Sharon Traweek's pioneering *Beamtimes and lifetimes* (1988), and Michael Lynch's now-classic *Scientific practice and*

ordinary action (1995) – is that it focused too much on the ‘social construction’ of scientific artefacts and ignored the ‘constitutive practices’ (p. 16) of work in any lab. He argues, convincingly and with an astonishing level of rich, granular ethnographic detail, that STS scholars make a fundamental error whenever they go into a lab with the intention of fitting whatever they observe back into ideas or theories that originate outside the lab. Rather, Sormani’s research in STM of CSC is a concerted effort to use lab work to talk about lab work (p. 233), to use the concepts from inside the lab to theorize the lab. There’s no attempt, as in other works that focus on the daily routines of scientists, to apply philosophical concepts to the lab.

Instead, Sormani takes as his grounding research object a complicated model equation and looks at the ways in which that experimental equation forms the routines and daily work operations of the lab. The physicists whom Sormani studies and works alongside are bound by the equation and yet need to work around the limits of both their skills and the capabilities of the machines and tools they use. The first chapter orientates the reader to experimental physics ‘*in situ* and *in vivo*’ (p. 25), where experiments happen in an already-constituted field (p. 40). The ‘need to measure’ phenomenon drives all the actions and conversations of the physicists. In the next four chapters, Sormani shows us his own immersion in the field of STM. As he participates in the daily negotiations between scientists, the objects of their study, and the instruments they use to take measurements, his own disorientation and transformation into a competent member of the lab is palpable – making this one of the richest ethnographic explorations of laboratory work in existence today. If lab machines are often left out of anthropological explorations of labs, and people are often left out of STS explorations of science, then Sormani’s ethnography is a nice blend

of both. It is satisfying to see so much detail about the interactions between people and the technologies they use, as well as how those interactions necessarily determine the shape of scientific research itself.

Although this is a worthwhile read for anyone interested in lab ethnography, Sormani misses an opportunity to engage meaningfully with the practice of ethnography within anthropology. Instead, he grounds his arguments solely within the fields of ethnomethodology, sociology, and STS. As a result, his definition of 'reflexive ethnography' will read like a reinvention of the wheel to any practising anthropologist. Sormani's arguments about ethnographic methods and writing are hamstrung by a lack of any mention of reflexivity as it has been commonly practised by anthropologists since the 1980s with the publication of James Clifford and George Marcus's *Writing culture* (1986). Sadly, he also ignores the work of excellent anthropologists already doing 'reflexive ethnography' within the sciences, such as Paul Rabinow in *Making PCR* (1996) or Stefan Helmreich in *Alien ocean* (2009). Sormani wants to use reflexivity to counter the effects of over-theorizing that often plague work within STS. To this end he is successful, but the stilted and formal writing style he uses throughout this book makes it difficult to recommend as a teaching text for both undergraduate and graduate use. Scholars planning on doing fieldwork inside a lab, however, might find this an excellent resource for thinking through methodology and the construction of expertise.

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Social movements

FILLIEULE, OLIVIER & GUYA ACCORNERO (eds). *Social movement studies in Europe: the state of the art*. xviii, 508 pp., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. £75.00 (cloth)

Manuscript
Author

This collection reflects on the social movements and popular challenges to authority that have accompanied capitalism since its beginnings and, as the editors' introduction puts it, it sets out to do this in a nuanced way. This is important, as illustrated by Erik Neveu's chapter revisiting the iconic mobilizations of 1968. Commentators within and outside academia still approach social movements with crass ignorance as well as arrogance, and Neveu makes a powerful case for research that gives flesh and more complexity to our understanding yet is wary of over-identifying with research subjects. The volume itself demonstrates that we sorely need contributions by anthropologists and others committed to empirical but theoretically robust research. Much research, however, follows quite a different route, debating the scientific merits of concepts and schools in political sociology and surveying sometimes intriguing trajectories within academia.

The book is divided into two sections. Part I includes essays by both established figures, for example Donatella della Porta, and younger scholars on the ways in which social unrest and collective behaviour have been approached in the political and social sciences in Europe. Part II consists of fifteen national case studies and a concluding chapter.

Several of the authors are quite clear that any tendency to go native is a threat to good research. Anthropological work on social movements is mentioned sporadically. One possible overall reading of the volume is that ethnographic, often sympathetic, engagements with social movements are marginal but growing in number and influence. Consequently, so other authors suggest that as movement intellectuals increasingly straddle academic and political roles and write in different languages for different audiences, intellectual sophistication ensues.

In the national overviews of part II (Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Romania, and the Soviet Union/Russia), there is considerable tension between the authors' and chapters' individuality and the way that the whole is presented as a comparative exercise. Readers looking for historiographies of particular places may be richly rewarded, but the intellectual reasoning underpinning the

compilation is flimsy. Respected social movement scholar Dieter Rucht comments on this shortcoming in summing up the book.

[rp1]If Rucht decries the authors' varied positions vis-à-vis the movements they study, throughout the book authors invest great effort in stabilizing the object of study and to justifying their interest in it. From the empiricist perspective of anthropology, the effect is somewhat odd, not only in view of the speed and unpredictability of change everywhere at present, but also given the highly varied conditions under which collectives and individuals can engage with political change, whether as activists, scholars, or both. Quite a few authors in the book have undoubtedly taken personal risks, as academic and political actors, in doing the work they do, while others have sought to render intelligible the work of groups whose activities are hard to document because they are illegal or illiberal or otherwise out of bounds.

[rp1]Sociologist James M. Jasper's generous foreword sets the scene for an engaged treatment that refuses the fiction of scientific neutrality in such a context. Jasper values the extent to which research and activism increasingly overlap. Like several of the chapter authors, he also remarks on the fact that the current upswing in academic social movement research comes in the wake of committed social movement action. This can mean, further, that working on social movements as academics often amounts to a dream situation of dealing with highly reflective interlocutors who are themselves experimenting with how to talk and to listen. And as Jasper notes, they themselves are highly aware of being caught up in distortions imposed by power. He writes that the book offers 'conceptual souvenirs' (p. xiv) for researchers, putting a positive spin on the drawback that an edited collection running to almost 500 pages is almost inevitably mixed and uneven.

[rp1]The book's value probably lies more in the extensive bibliographical sources that it brings together in one place than in the analyses themselves. Nevertheless, among these, one finds many important observations about efforts to make sense of the diffuse convulsions shaking up

places that only yesterday seemed to be classroom exemplars of modern, national democracy and pinnacles of human achievement. Writing from Greece, Kostis Kornetis and Hara Kouki put it thus: 'Confronted with the shattering of normality at every level of public life nowadays, what we need is a radical restructuring of the paradigm of social protest that will function as a contestatory depot for activists, theorists and citizens, worldwide' (p. 382).

]rau[Eeva Berglund *Independent Scholar*

]bref[Hirai, Kyonosuke (ed.). *Social movements and the production of knowledge: body, practice, and society in East Asia*. 196 pp., illus., bibliogr. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2015

]rp[*Social movements and the production of knowledge: body, practice, and society in East Asia* is a collection of papers organized and published by the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan, as part of their occasional series 'Senri Ethnological Studies'. Kyonosuke Hirai edited and contributed to the collection, which focuses on contemporary movements in capitalist East Asian societies that have significantly challenged their respective governments since the late 1980s. In particular, the volume includes work on post-dictatorship Taiwan and South Korea in addition to post-Hanshin earthquake Japan; it notably excludes work on China and Hong Kong.

]rp1[Readers already conversant with the work of Arjun Appadurai, Hannah Arendt, Fredrik Barth, Pierre Bourdieu, Arturo Escobar, Dorothy Holland and Jean Lave, Jeffrey S. Juris and Alex Khasnabish, and Victor Turner will find a familiar intellectual home in this work. As editor, Hirai presents a clear analytical framework significantly comprised of the above theorists to open up more discursive space for a post-sociological, anthropological approach that foregrounds emotion and context through the interplay of agency and social structure. Hirai also aims to demonstrate 'modern society's protests against the contradictions generated by state control or capitalist expansion' (p. 2). The volume argues

for and shows the breakdown between academic and activist knowledge as well as the need for more sophisticated examples of reflexivity in anthropological knowledge production. There are, however, consequential gaps in Hirai's review of the anthropological literature – namely the work of Timothy Choy, Cori Hayden, Marilyn Ivy, Eben Kirksey, Hiro Miyazaki, Annelise Riles, and Anna Tsing – that blunt the collective theoretical and methodological impact of the volume. Although there is much of great interest in the diverse papers that comprise the volume, many of these treasures remain buried and/or disparate ethnographic moments for the reader to stumble upon. For example, the two Korea-focused papers by Mun Young Cho and Shimpei Cole Ota, respectively, are extraordinarily rich and sophisticated in their reflexive engagements with collective memory, nostalgia, ideology, and temporality. There is much that is exciting and fresh in this work for any anthropologist – particularly any Koreanist. Yet there is very little reference to and marshalling of Cho's or Ota's respective insights in the collective analytical architecture of the volume. The addition of a volume-wide conclusion would have greatly, if not completely, disposed of this criticism.

[rp1]The volume is replete with signposts for ethnographic praxis that would appeal to a neophyte in East Asia as well as to more seasoned scholars of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Hirai's paper 'Storytelling as political practice: habitus and social change in the Minamata disease movement' is remarkably resonant with Keith H. Basso's notion of 'stalking with stories' among the Western Apache (*Wisdom sits in places*, 1996). While the Minamata disease storytellers were explicitly engaged in political practice, one of the main goals of this volume is to shift the frame of politics, culture, and knowledge.

[rp1] *Social movements and the production of knowledge* follows Barth in his considered move to use knowledge rather than culture for some subjects that anthropologists have long researched. In the introduction, Hirai writes that 'ethnographic cases treated in this volume include some movements that have long been objects of anthropological inquiry without being treated as proper social movements' (p. 2). The best example of this is Atsushi Nobayashi's paper 'The significance of museum materials in the name correction movement of the Pingpu peoples of Taiwan'. In this contribution, Nobayashi demonstrates how material culture, particularly in the form of museum collections, becomes not only a means for indigenous cultural contention, but also political and social knowledge-making that disrupts how Taiwanese people view their language. In particular, language comes into view as partially distinct from Japanese, Spanish, or Dutch colonial administrations as well as Han Chinese influences. To treat the Pingpu name correction movement as knowledge rather than culture is to underscore its dynamic quality as well as to better account for its political and legal effects.

[rp1] Hirai's edited volume is, therefore, a timely application of Barth's concept of knowledge – which includes embodied feelings, verbal taxonomies, objectifications, artefacts, rituals, institutions, actions, technologies, and procedures (p. 6) – to the politically tumultuous, capitalist, and fractious parts of East Asia. The volume gestures towards more improvisation, spontaneity, and emergence, which is in line with broader methodological and theoretical trends in the anthropology of social movements, knowledge, and East Asia. Its ethnographically rich and diverse contributions – particularly on South Korea – exceed its considerable analytical framework. There is much to discover and savour in this volume,

and it would lend itself well to introductory undergraduate courses as well as graduate seminars.

[rau[AMY LEVINE *Pusan National University*

]bref[KRØIJER, STINE. *Figurations of the future: forms and temporalities of left radical politics in Northern Europe*. vii, 247 pp., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. £68.00 (cloth)

]rp[Krøijer's monograph is a highly readable analysis of left radical politics manifest in a loosely networked, usually DIY-inflected rejection of prevailing sociopolitical norms and forms, which flourishes today in so many contexts. The second volume in Berghahn Books' 'Ethnography, Theory, Experiment' series, it makes excellent use of anthropological theory to think imaginatively about change-making but also about the good life in our crisis-ridden historical moment, and it demonstrates the particular power of ethnographic fieldwork for investigating contemporary politics, even where the exercise is fraught with ethical dilemmas. Composed of five theoretically ambitious chapters together with three ethnographic inserts, plus an introduction and conclusion, the book draws on an anthropological as well as social movement research elsewhere to create a valuable scholarly contribution. Furthermore, Krøijer's sophisticated engagement with the growing activist anthropology of political struggle (e.g. the work of David Graeber and Marianne Maeckelbergh) points to a new and welcome seriousness about the genre as a whole.

]rp1[Prior involvement in direct action gave Krøijer access to networks of left radical activists in northern Europe. Her ethnography introduces us to some relatively durable activist spaces in Copenhagen and then takes us on a journey through a series of international actions, small and large. The world of extra-parliamentarian left, autonomist, and anti-capitalist politics that has been horrifying and baffling the media for over two decades now really comes alive here. Without labouring the point unduly, Krøijer's sensitive narrative also captures dilemmas and tricky situations familiar to anybody involved in researching protest: the need for pseudonyms, the paranoia about

but also the discovery of infiltrators, the boredom and the exhilaration, and a range of other complex, visceral, collective, and affective processes that characterize political activism everywhere.

[rp1]The quality of the observant participation cannot be faulted, but the relatively short length of the book, 247 pages, does not quite do justice to the rather complex and certainly innovative conceptual moves being tried out. One key argument is that activism consists of particular forms of action, which are not so much about prefiguring the future in the present, as both activist themselves and researchers often claim, but about figuration, giving 'determinate form to an indeterminate future' (p. 33). Along the way, Krøijer makes good use of anthropology's imaginative rendering of human potential and develops several interesting insights about activist practice, drawing, for instance, on Victor Turner on ritual (already quite developed in activism research), Alfred Gell on the agency of objects, and Marilyn Strathern on persons and 'the aesthetic'.

[rp1]Temporality, and the future in particular, are beginning to be ubiquitous targets of anthropological and other scholarly attention, drawing researchers into conversations that can be difficult both intellectually and emotionally. Krøijer's treatment is a robust development of this recent work. Alert to multiple ways of reckoning and experiencing time, her ethnography highlights the punctuated quality of activist time, oscillating as it does between elongated periods of waiting or deliberating in meetings, on the one hand, and intense and often collective periods of excitement, on the other. Inspired by this and by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's theorization of Amerindian sociality, Krøijer proposes a perspectivist model of time. The argument pivots around the need for activists to synchronize their generally creative and sometimes illegal actions in the absence of apparent command and control. As activists confront the police in particular, they often act as one body so that time, space, bodies, and intentions do not appear in forms recognizable to mainstream politics. At play is a radically different political cosmology, as Krøijer calls it. This in fact makes the very idea of collective action as a research problem seem exceedingly old-fashioned. The more pressing research problem that Krøijer opens up is what happens to politics when the future is

cluttered with both fear and technological complexity but where futures appear, as she suggests, as bodily experience, not individual aspiration.

The conceptual moves here are sometimes complicated and often built on contested theoretical terrain (arguments about ontology, for example), but the careful description of activist practices and motives should be of interest to anyone curious about the contemporary political moment. Activists themselves may be bored by, even intentionally silent on, the topic of anti-capitalism. *Figurations of the future* demonstrates that there is nevertheless much that anthropologists, with their comparative insight, can say and do to enrich the ways politics is understood and conducted.

EVA BERGLUND *Independent Scholar*

Space and place

EWART, ELIZABETH. *Space and society in Central Brazil: a Panará ethnography*. xv, 283 pp., map, table, illus., bibliogr. London: Bloomsbury, 2013. £27.99 (paper)

Panará people from Central Brazil have lived through dramatic social changes since their contact with Brazilian national society in the early 1970s. After they had been decimated by previously unknown illnesses, their remaining village was moved to the Upper Xingu National Park by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), where they lived for around twenty years near their former enemies, the Kayapó. In 1997, the Panará initiated their move back to their original territory to then settle in the new village of Nansepotiti, where they started recovering numerically and eventually expanded, founding new villages.

Elizabeth Ewart's book is an excellent example of how to combine a rigorous ethnography with an ambitious theoretical framework. The key question that the author addresses is: how do indigenous categories and real-life experiences shape each other and result in

sociocultural transformations? The book shows that change and continuity only become meaningful anthropological categories if we are ready to consider the profound implications of what people say and do within the shifting conditions of their lived world.

]rp1[This work combines a masterful ethnography of kinship, sociality, ritual, and material and visual life – based on fieldwork spanning over almost twenty years – with a renewed interest in dual organizations as ‘systems in a state of constant disequilibrium’. Moving the debate on Central Brazilian social organizations beyond the classic opposition between nature and culture, the author shows that ‘selves’ and ‘others’ (Panárá and *hipe*) ‘are the key terms of *panará* dual organization’ (p. 232). Previous authors described dualism as an internal device that rendered indigenous societies self-sufficient and impermeable to exterior forces. This feature, instantiated in the circular layout of villages, was famously addressed by Lévi-Strauss in a seminal article. Ewart argues that dualism does not only pertain to the spatial organization of the village and cannot be understood without taking into account what exists beyond the limits of the village. Panará sociality and its intrinsic historicity therefore become meaningful when we consider the multiple relations that Panará people have entertained with changing forms of alterity. The term *hipe*, ‘other’, has gradually moved from referring to other indigenous peoples, enemies, witches, to referring to non-indigenous Brazilians.

]rp1[Looking at how relations with *hipe*/others occur nowadays, and how they were described as occurring in the past, one is struck by the centrality of otherness in the construction of Panará social life. As the author shows, the moiety system, which is not relevant in terms of affiliation and political life, has to be considered as a system that allows for the logical possibilities of transformation. She further suggests considering contact with white people ‘as an event that allowed for a new logical step on a path of continuous transformation’ (p. 67). The ‘view from the centre’ of the village affords a vantage-point over such transformation. This is instantiated, among other things, by the different architectural arrangements of the men’s house and the presence of a football pitch in the village plaza. Moreover, visitors from Brazilian cities are always brought to the

centre of the village, where meetings are hosted; so are their goods, before being distributed between the households.

[rp1]While the village centre is closely connected to the exterior, it is also opposed to the residential circle. Centre and periphery are respectively sites of change and continuity for the development of relations with non-Panará and Panará people, and, as the author claims, 'it is possible to consider the residential circle and the center as instantiating different modes of temporality' (p. 58). The peripheral houses deny transformations; the village centre stresses change and process. Describing the coexistence of these two dimensions of Panará social life, this work provides an important contribution to current debates on the processual and constructional notions of personhood and identity in Amerindian anthropology.

[rp1]It is through the 'view from the house' that we are shown how the lived experiences of women and men contribute to the constant creation of what the Panará define as a proper life. This is characterized by an aesthetics manifested by a state of 'energetic sociability', *suakiin*, which generates a village full of children. This is the outcome of mature relations between men and women, more readily visible in the successful creation of the beautiful gardens surrounding the village, at the centre of which peanuts are cultivated and collectively harvested. The proper growth of peanuts is an index of the garden-owner's moral stance, of his contribution to the maintenance of proper social relations, understood as intersubjective availability and sociability. As Ewart beautifully summarizes, 'Panará people live through their gardens and reveal themselves to be real people through the success of their gardens' (p. 230).

[rp1]This brings us back full circle, as one might say, to the main opposition highlighted in the book: that between, on the one hand, the making of gardens, people, houses, and proper social relations mediated by clans, and, on the other hand, social transformations, the centre, and relations with others. History is as much inscribed in the way people live with each other as it is in the way

they construct relations with the Other. But it is only through looking at both aspects together that one is led to appreciate what life might look like through the perspective of Panará people.

Parará social life has been marked by their struggle for survival, escaping from illnesses and death, to then slowly re-start living as real people in their new village. Equally importantly, their life over the same period was orientated by the search for good land to cultivate peanuts. But peanuts alone are not enough; viable relations with *hipe* are needed to carry on living as Panará. Through showing not only that dual organizations exist, but that they are alive and well, the author gives us a powerful new way to look at indigenous Amazonian historicities and their creative solutions in the face of adverse historical circumstances.

PAOLO FORTIS *Durham University*

GAIBAZZI, PAOLO. *Bush bound: young men and rural permanence in migrant West Africa*. xiv, 218 pp., maps, illus., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. £56.00 (cloth)

Bush bound is an ethnography of the ways in which young peasants in contemporary West Africa 'explore the possibilities and impossibilities of creating and inhabiting agrarian futures' (p. 188). How is the daily life constituting those futures lived and conceived? How do Gambian young men, in particular, navigate the narrow interstices between patronage, a culture of emigration, global agribusiness, international migration restrictions, and socioeconomic and governmental injunctions to go 'back to the land', or succeed in coastal Gambia? Drawing upon an aggregate seventeen months of fieldwork in 2006-8 and in 2012, Gaibazzi looks for answers in Sabi, a Soninke village in the upper Gambia River valley.

Part of the book's introduction, together with chapter 2, questions dichotomous epistemologies of mobility ('hustling') and immobility ('sitting'). In this respect, the text offers an ethnographically grounded understanding of migration and sitting as *processes*, and contributes to a kind of migration studies that does not conceptualize

migrants and those who stay behind as reified entities. Chapter 1 traces the political-economic history of Sabi. The village emerges as a fluid community – from the West African merchants who live there, to the villagers' changing aesthetic aspirations; from new madrasas and 'reformist' Islamic religiosity ('*Sunna*') foregrounded by imams trained in the Middle East (chap. 4), to the consumerist change in cuisine and taste, and the daily renegotiation, literally around communal dishes, of age hierarchies and of 'hesitant patriarchy' (chap. 5). Such dynamism is nothing new for historically mobile Soninke farmers-traders. But it now collides with recurring droughts, the global competition in the groundnut sector, the surging appeal of salaried labour, and the many barriers to international migration. On the one hand, this has resulted in a growing 'gap between previously symbiotic migrant and sedentary livelihoods' (p. 54). On the other, the book does succeed in making an ethnographic and theoretical contribution to the analysis of contemporary migrations by focusing precisely on sedentary livelihoods, and by privileging the lenses of age and gender. Indeed, one of the author's main objectives is to demonstrate how 'immobility' is not a 'static, natural, or residual category'; and to show how both spatial 'movement' and 'stillness' constitute enplaced and transnational social life (p. 3). *Bush bound*, then, speaks to analyses of globalization that investigate 'the socio-material infrastructures (or moorings) that make mobility possible' (p. 12).

Chapter 2, in particular, explains how Soninke migration builds upon sustained enculturation into an agrarian ethos of discipline, masculine respectability, moral vigilance, and compassionate community life. In chapter 3, the local demand for liquidity, partly related to domestic and international migration, emerges as not necessarily detrimental to interpersonal relations and moral economies. While the book as a whole explicates the

multiple meanings and social functions of sitting (including the administration of hometown associations' remittances, and the education of the children whom the emigrants send back), chapter 4 focuses on the most undesirable form of sitting, 'just sitting' in the 'ghettos'. This is undesirable not merely as it might coincide with spatial immobility, but as a signifier of socioeconomic immobility along the cultural path to respectable adulthood. The 'haunting, unfulfilled aspiration of migration' (p. 125) augments young men's sense of entrapment. Having no economic ability to become household authorities, they may escape this generational-spatial entrapment by assuming responsibilities for the village community. Thus, chapter 6 focuses on the Sabi Youth Committee and its call for civic morality. These youth tried to decouple adult respectability from the social currency of wealth. They built critically on the tradition of age grouping ('*sappanu*'), which, Gaibazzi explains, had 'collapsed' in the mid-1980s, for a variety of reasons, including the *Sunna* normativity of early childhood male circumcision. (Thus, migrants would return from Sierra Leone with their children already circumcised.)

[rp] *Bush bound* is a readable, nuanced, and timely monograph, complemented by a glossary and by original photographs and maps. It responds to the under-theorization of emplacement in migration and transnationalism studies. It does so as a rich ethnography of rural permanence and global mobility, thus resisting, for the most part, over-theorizing on the subject. In his conclusions, Gaibazzi shares a potentiality that has been haunting him: 'What would happen in Sabi if restrictions to the freedom of movement were lifted?' (p. 181). What is sure is that Gambian and other West African youth constitute a substantial portion of those seeking to cross the central Mediterranean Sea, from Libya to Italy. *Bush*

bound helps illuminate why they venture across this maritime bush, and risk their lives, to 'look for something [*fo mundiye*]' (p. 81).

Maurizio Albahari *University of Notre Dame*

Miguel Brink, Judith, Joachim Otto Habeck, Nuccio Mazzullo & Peter Koch (eds). *Nomadic and indigenous spaces: productions and cognitions*. xvi, 281 pp., maps, figs, illus., bibliogr. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014. £65.00 (cloth)

This wide-ranging, ethnographically grounded edited volume is the result of a conference of the same title held in Leipzig in February 2011. The volume has a detailed, theoretical introduction followed by eleven substantive chapters, of which two are theoretical studies. The remaining nine chapters are ethnographic studies framed in a variety of perspectives on the theme of people and place. The volume is quite unique in that seven of the ethnographic studies are from the Arctic and Subarctic of Eurasia – two Saami studies and five from Siberia (Nenets, Evenki, Buriat, and one general study on law). As exceptions, the last chapter, by Claudio Aporto, examines new wayfinding technologies among Canadian Inuit and a preliminary chapter by Denis Retaillé explores the concept of mobile space in the Sahel. The volume concludes with a short epilogue by Tim Ingold on the relation between movement and place which addresses a divide within the volume between cognitivist approaches and chapters based on observing knowledge-in-practice.

To my reading, the volume is unique for the amount of thought and observation that has gone into the representation of space, and in particular how electronic representations have rapidly become incorporated into the lives of many people living in unbuilt landscapes in the high Arctic. Chapter 5, by Nuccio Mazzullo, examines the way in which paper maps are wielded to represent alternate perceptions of the Finnish forest by

the forestry service and Saami herders. Chapters 10 (Kirill Istomin), 11 (Florian Stammer), and 12 (Claudio Aporto) all examine alternate uses of GPS units in tundra environments. Each posits the contrast between person-centred (aka 'traditional') ways of orientating oneself in the landscape and the growing use of geo-referencing units which triangulate the position of the holder in relation to orbiting satellites. For the most part the chapters study the gradual diffusion of the technology from the first path-breakers to general use among the tundra population. However, each author has a different view on how person-based experiential knowledge is incorporated with the data on the machines.

The second major theme throughout the volume is the classic topic of how powerful states interact with rural peoples through the contested interpretation of space. Chapter 4, by Gail Fondahl, examines the unique production of 'legal spaces' for indigenous peoples in Russia through an analysis and comparison of recent laws which compartmentalize livelihoods. Chapter 6, by Peter Koch, gives a highly detailed analysis of the 'condominium-like' portioning of Saami spaces through international boundary-making. Chapter 8, by Otto Habeck, uses historical photographs, maps, and interviews to show how state-designed compartmentalized spaces, ranging in size from hunting areas to rectangular cabins, have drawn Vivi Evenkis to reimagine their lives through 'cognitive enclosure'. Chapter 9, by Joseph Long, examines how shamanic actors engage with the state to encourage the creation of new sacred spaces through the creation of protected areas for cultural autonomy.

The editors of the volume are clearly aiming to make a theoretical contribution to the analysis of space, and in particular the concept of 'nomadic space'. The introduction is a detailed, thickly referenced article on the literature on place-making intertwined with an

analysis of the Deleuzian concept of a nomad. The ethnographic contributions are intended to contextualize and politicize the idealized notion of 'smooth, nomadic space', and in particular to focus on the compromises made with powerful actors as well as points of rebellion. The overtly non-ethnographic chapters in the volume build on the introduction. Chapter 2, by Denis Wood, experiments with multidimensional non-cartographic ideas of space by exploring the notion of a niche. Chapter 7, by Brian Donahoe, is one of several chapters in the volume which explore cognition with reference to recent research on synaptic plasticity and the semantic categories among a variety of groups used to encapsulate identity. The range of competing approaches gives the volume a quality of being an open debate on the relative importance of cognitive anthropology or the political ecology of space.

DAVID G. ANDERSON *University of Aberdeen*

MORETTI, CRISTINA. *Milanese encounters: public space and vision in contemporary urban Italy*. xi, 293 pp., maps, table, illus, bibliogr. Toronto: Univ. Press, 2015. £20.99 (paper)

Cristina Moretti's book addresses the perception and representation of public space in contemporary urban Italy in a time of increasing commodification of cities and cutbacks to public services. This ethnography is part of a growing focus on urban space in Anglo-Saxon ethnographies of Italy, of which two particularly prominent examples are Michael Herzfeld's *Evicted from eternity: the restructuring of modern Rome* (2009) and Nick Dines's *Tuff city: urban change and contested space in central Naples* (2012). Moretti examines the interaction among urban planning, media representations, and social movements in Milan in order to engage with broader questions regarding Italian society and politics during and immediately after the Berlusconi era, with particular attention to inter-ethnic relations in the wake of the Mediterranean refugee crisis.

]rp1[Milan is probably the most European of Italian cities, and is globally renowned as a capital of fashion. Moretti analyses the repercussions that these two features have upon public space, describing how the imaginary of elegance and public visibility conflicts with the invisibility of migrants and other marginalized groups. She explains how several political organizations have used and interpreted Milan's streets and piazzas, using the analysis of very different social groups, such as the middle-class members of a street forum called *Vivere Milano*, which aimed at converting central Piazza Duomo into an agora for public debate in 2004, and the activists of Milanese social centres, which have been organizing cultural activities in occupied buildings for over thirty years. The text is organized around 'encounters' with different informants, many of them Milanese of foreign origin, who accompany the author through the city and explain to her the meaning that different places have for them.

]rp1[Some of these 'walking conversations' are remarkable. The *passeggiata* with don Felice, a Mexican Catholic priest who describes public space as a sand dune, constantly changing its shape according to the uses that people make of it (pp. 150-5), recalls Setha Low's invitation in 'Spatializing culture' to describe ethnographically the social production of public space (*American Ethnologist* **23**: 4, 1996). Another brilliant passage is the author's guided tour with Mohamed Ba, a Senegalese community organizer (pp. 201-34). Ba is also a dramatist and performer, and the tour is narrated as a theatrical piece, juxtaposing the informant's performance in space with scenes of the ethnographer drafting at the typewriter, in an interesting montage of light and shade between fieldwork and writing. Moretti's narrative stretches the borders of ethnographic writing, through dramatization, sensory ethnography, and an abundant use of photographs. Consistent with her concern with visibility, she exposes in full view the raw material from which her theories develop, including her own autobiography: she grew up in Milan, but having spent many years abroad, she now looks at the city as an outsider.

The book's limitation, however, is in its ambition to cover the whole city. Ethnography requires a well-defined group or territory in order to contribute to the understanding of social phenomena. The cases studied here are too many, and the author often reproduces the informant's self-representation instead of offering a thorough analysis of each one. The criteria for choosing the informants are also arbitrary: for instance, the short-lived experience of *Vivere Milano* seems to me scarcely relevant if compared with other political uses of public space that developed during the same years (an example could be the Five Star Movement, whose headquarters are in Milan). Moreover, the informants do not 'encounter' each other: they appear as monads, suspended in the ocean of city life, while the city as a whole, and the potentialities of urban ethnography to describe it, remain unaddressed.

Moretti deals with issues that are timely and crucial in contemporary Italian debates, which benefit from a critical gaze from a different cultural tradition: for instance, the role of social centres in creating spaces and services alternative to the state, or the legacy of events such as Expo 2015. However, following a trend recently criticized by Victor Crapanzano ('The ends – and end – of anthropology', *Paideuma* 56, 2010), she preferred to engage Anglo-Saxon scholars (or Italian scholars writing in English) rather than the local scientific debate. Italian social scientists such as Tommaso Vitale, Paolo Cottino, or Andrea Staid – brilliant observers of Milan's urban space, migrations, and contested uses of the city – or the seminal work of Franco Alasia and Danilo Montaldi on migrations and urban space in Milan (*Milano, Corea: inchiesta sugli immigrati negli anni del 'miracolo'*, 1959) are not included in her bibliography. Moretti's project is relevant and experimental; yet, without proper contextualization, her depiction of Milan may be too generic and fit any other big city of the world.

STEFANO PORTELLI *Sapienza University of Rome*

States and governance

]rp[This compelling account of moralities engaged in the French state's management of social problems reveals the complexity faced by functionaries whose work variously supports, punishes, and attempts to reform the country's most precarious citizens. It consigns still-prevalent images of the state as a monolithic monster to the dustbin, fleshing out the Foucauldian critique of that misrepresentation through a mixed-methods approach in which, in particular, historically contextualized ethnography and interviews clarify 'the diversity of its [i.e. the state's] rationalities' (p. ix).

]rp1[This approach conjoins the tempo of social interactions, the temporality of personal histories, and the sometimes glacial but always unpredictable pace of institutional change. In an age when neoliberal managerialism provokes caricatures as simplistic as the social cures proposed by its exponents, Didier Fassin and his team offer an absorbingly nuanced analysis of how a central institution shapes and responds to its margins. They illustrate how state actors' moral entailments display the drag of past ideologies and present restrictions as well as the impact – however fractured, limited, and uneven – of those actors' consequent actions on the lurching development of state-citizen relations.

]rp1[The main body of the book is divided into three sections, each title nicely highlighting the key strains of state management: judging, repressing, supporting. In each theme, elements of the others appear. The individual essays, as well as Fassin's introductory chapter on 'governing precarity' (in which the main focus is on the development of subjectivities among functionaries and clients alike), open with

conventionally but effectively deployed vignettes, which then segue to historical background; they thereby establish useful intersections between social and temporal contexts. Under 'Judging', Chowra Makaremi examines legal process in the 'real time' of 'immediate appearance' trials, showing how the pace of judgement is affected by the search for evidence of recidivism, itself an inexorably expanding concern of state authorities. Mandatory sentencing laws merge with contrary pressures to reduce incarceration, exposing decisions to personal predilection and career orientations. Nicolas Fischer similarly tackles trade-offs between legal rigour and humanitarian concerns in assessing immigrant residence applications, showing how moral discourses frame the justification of eventual decisions, while Carolina Kobelinsky tackles the terms in which asylum seekers' credibility is assessed and shows that differences in the assessors' backgrounds partially but not always predictably determine whether suspicion or empathy will prevail. A salutary warning about anthropologists' own analyses lies in the clearly contingent character of the assessors' claims to 'objectivity', while the insertion of brief disclaimers or modifying phrases in otherwise negative assessments signals a lurking desire to staunch moral discomfort such as could otherwise undermine judges' faith in an increasingly harsh system.

[rp1] Under 'Repressing', Fassin shows how 'symbolically affirming the government's interest for these disadvantaged populations' (p. 100) has increasingly yielded to an audit-culture evaluation of police performance, reinforced by lingering colonial racism that targets specific groups. Despite the braking effect of conscientious personnel, Fassin suggests, such audit-conscious official rationales always generate abuse, reducing police ethics and professionalism to 'fragile resources' (p. 114). Fabrice Fernandez, with a sharp look at excuses, shows how the incarcerated must play the game of suffering as just punishment in order to have their treatment alleviated, thereby reinforcing the 'moral economy of

punishment' itself. Yasmine Bouagga describes a similar trap on the functionaries' side:

social workers – again a somewhat diverse population – effectively become probation officers, thereby moving from support to punishment, with significant variation in the ease with which they can accept the occlusion of the moral dimension of their roles.

In the third main section, 'Supporting', Sébastien Roux writes of socio-judicial work as producing 'paradoxical effects' (p. 190) because the educators fear the boomerang effect of culturalist excuses for their clients' behaviour. Somewhat like anthropologists agonizing over whether to use pseudonyms, educators fear that 'respect' for adolescents' background can negate their personhood. This fear is exacerbated by neoliberal responsabilization, although Isabelle Coutant and Jean-Sébastien Eideliman emphasize that psychological treatment, seen as stigmatizing by some adolescents, does enable those wanting to loosen family ties to gain new confidence, much as adolescent job seekers in Sarah Mazouz's account do better when they present their main goal as self-realization rather than simply as financial security – recalling the fear, discussed by Kobelinsky, that asylum seekers might really be economic profiteers.

Avoiding both sentimentality and objectivism, these authors together offer informed insight into the ever-changing and endlessly complex dilemmas of the French state as an arena of everyday experience and ethical negotiation.

MICHAEL HERZFELD *Harvard University*

ILANA. *Police encounters: security and surveillance in Gaza under Egyptian rule*. ix, 207 pp., map, illus., bibliogr. Stanford: Univ. Press, 2015. \$24.95 (paper)

Police encounters uses historical anthropology and archival research to reconstruct Egyptian rule in Gaza. The book will make an important contribution to the regional literature on governance and to the international literature on policing. In recent years we have seen the publication of a number of important ethnographic studies of policing, and

Feldman's historical anthropology will no doubt contribute to discussions about policing, security, and violence. In short, there is much to recommend *Police encounters*, but the book promises more than it delivers.

[rp1[The archive Feldman draws from is patchy and lacks context. The author supplements the archival information with interviews conducted during the 1990s. But the gaps are too numerous. Therefore, this book must be considered in terms of the strength of its theoretical intervention. The author mines Michel Foucault's Collège de France lectures on security for inspiration and then stakes out a position vis-à-vis his discussion of security laissez faire. However, Foucault's brief comments on security mark a transition in his own thinking, and when Feldman attempts to grapple with the 'security society' in Gaza, she does so mostly in terms of the production of uncertainty. But what of those anthropologists – Limor Samimian-Darash and Paul Rabinow, most recently – who tracked Foucault's contribution to understanding uncertainty?

[rp1[In chapter 1, Feldman describes the establishment of Egyptian security in Gaza as one of incorporating Palestinian police (many of whom served under the British Mandate) and 'cultivating suspicion' among Gazans. The key police unit in question was the CID. They maintained files, solved crimes, and also engaged in censorship and telephone tapping. The source of insecurity was not only the fragility of rule but also the threats posed by communists and members of the Muslim Brotherhood. But the most striking passages of this chapter are when the apparent incongruity between repressive force and public safety are discussed. People recognized the force of order and yet seemed fond of the safety it provided. For Feldman, fear and safety were part of a single process, sides of a single Möbius strip. Gazans, however, seem to emphasize the production of safety as the key part of the process.

[rp1[Chapter 2 focuses on surveillance. Much of the archival case material is interesting. Hussein Sharif was questioned because he liked photographing young women and

Gazans clearly didn't approve of this activity. The police made him literally swear off the practice. For Feldman, this incident shows the potential danger of a security 'society'. Then there is the case of *shabab* (young men) in the Shati camp sexually harassing girls. Gazans were keen to deal with the issue, while the police kept their distance. Of course, more often than not there was nothing to report at all.

Chapter 3 turns to explore reputations and criminal investigations. Feldman makes the point that the modern institution of policing, culturally sensitive but universalizing, must be understood in terms of the content it acquires in local interactions. 'Reputations' were key formations in social control and very useful in policing also. A fascinating set of discussions about 'traditional' crimes and popular policing is presented in this chapter, including the information on a bomb attack in Rafha that occurred because of a family feud. The police apparently solved the case with local co-operation and cunning rather than violence. Chapter 4 explores protest and public life, showing how Egyptian rule demanded compliance in matters of activism and political demonstrations and yet left room for Gazans to influence politics through policing. The fifth and final chapter explores the era of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in Gaza, and the book concludes with a discussion of the Occupation today.

All in all, *Police encounters* presents interesting if patchy archival information in an engaging way. From a theoretical perspective, the book questions the always-negative representations of security and surveillance that dominate today. The resulting analysis is illustrated in the introduction and restated throughout the book: during Egyptian rule in Gaza (1948-67), policing became 'a space of both constraint and possibility, of control and action' (p. 3). Beyond this, *Police encounters* raises important questions about the dangers of 'safety'.

MARK MAGUIRE *Maynooth University*

PIERCE, STEVEN. *Moral economies of corruption: state formation and political culture in Nigeria*. xvi, 282 pp., maps, bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2016. £18.99 (paper)

‘Fantastically corrupt’: David Cameron’s unguarded depiction of Nigeria just before the UK government’s anti-corruption summit in May 2016, and the strong rebuttal from President Buhari, may have been buried in the Brexit/Trump new world order, but the designation sticks. From vast government oil revenues diverted to private overseas bank accounts, to allegations of grand-scale electoral misconduct, to fraudulent email requests for bank account details, Nigeria has become almost synonymous with corruption. But what exactly *is* this collection of practices labelled as ‘corrupt’, and what does the designation of ‘corruption’ mean and *do*?

Based on an extended period of careful study in Nigeria, extending over more than two decades, Stephen Pierce traces the cultural and political history of ‘corruption’ that has led to its present-day manifestations and sense of moral crisis. Carefully avoiding any temptation to simplify and draw universalizing conclusions, Pierce instead focuses on unpacking the complexity, instability, and polyvalence of ‘corruption’ as a shifting set of practices and a conceptual category. He asks not just what corruption *is* and why it occurs (especially to the extent it does in Nigeria), but, crucially, what ‘corruption’ – or rather the designation of certain practices as ‘corrupt’ – *does*. Pierce contends that corruption has become a global concern not simply because corrupt acts *occur*, but rather because certain acts are *labelled* as ‘corrupt’. Moreover, he argues that both the acts of malpractice themselves and the discursive designation of ‘corruption’ have been intimately bound up with the political work of statecraft in Nigeria.

The book is divided into two main sections. Part one (the first three chapters) provides a detailed historical account of what Pierce calls the ‘corruption-complex’ in Nigeria – with an emphasis on northern, Hausaphone Nigeria – from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. (The term ‘corruption-complex’ is borrowed from Olivier de Sardan but is used in a rather different way, to represent the totality of phenomena encapsulated as ‘corruption’ in a particular time and place.) Pierce claims that this is not ‘a definitive history of the Nigerian corruption-complex’, but it is the closest thing to that that I have come across. Meticulous in its detail, it traces the shifting phenomenon of corruption (acts and designation) from the Caliphate through the immediate postcolonial period to the federal republics punctuated with periods of military rule. Pierce’s contention that ‘corruption’ is a highly unstable, contingent, and polyvalent category is revealed with great clarity though this often murky political history.

]rp1[The second part of the book takes up two themes that emerge strongly from the historical account: the idea of moral economy (chap. 4) and the state (chap. 5). The discussion of moral economies seeks to unravel certain paradoxical features in the Nigerian corruption-complex, such as the internal contradiction that government officials are, on the one hand, exhorted to refrain from 'corrupt' practices (such as over-taxation or diverting public funds to private accounts) while, on the other hand, they are expected to fulfil certain patronage obligations that effectively require them to deploy these same practices. But here, still, Pierce studiously avoids simple comparisons with other contexts, insisting again on the cultural and historical specificity of the Nigerian situation (what he calls 'radical particularism'). He does the same in the following chapter, tracing the ideological contours of the state in relation to 'malpractice' and resisting simplifying explanations that blame a 'weak state'; instead, he argues, deploying the charge of 'corruption' has become *central to state practice* throughout recent Nigerian history, serving particular political ends at particular times.

]rp1[This is a challenging book in several respects. The first three chapters are quite heavy-going for those (like me) not very well acquainted with Nigerian political history; the careful attention to detail means that there is a lot to take in. For me, it was in the second section of the book, where the various threads emerging from the historical account are brought together to produce some really insightful reflection, that I was really gripped. Pierce recognizes this and notes that, depending on their background and specific interests, readers may approach the two parts of the book in different ways. It is also challenging in that it forces one to re-evaluate a lot of what seems to be 'obvious' about corruption but (or and) it doesn't offer any straightforward answers. It becomes clear why the usual steps taken to 'tackle' corruption – condemnation, moral exhortation, or greater 'transparency' and 'accountability' – are typically doomed to failure. But (as Pierce acknowledges) the alternative – aligning the constitutional order with local political culture (or, in the case of Nigeria, a diversity of local political cultures) – is easier said than done.

]rp1[In summary, this is a superb and path-breaking book. Through meticulous attention to detail, it builds an argument that is as important as it is compelling. And, ironically, it is by refusing to compromise on historical and cultural specificity that it makes its most important contribution to understanding and engaging critically and constructively with a global discourse.

]rau[KATE HAMPSHIRE *Durham University*