

Allen, Lori. 2013. *The rise and fall of human rights. Cynicism and politics in occupied Palestine*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. 280 pp. Pb.: US\$21.87. ISBN: 9780804784719

This book examines how a once thriving community of political activists, the human rights movement in Palestine, became a group of NGO professionals implementing donor-driven projects as part of an agenda completely detached from the community they claimed to serve. As a consequence, Palestinians came to consider the human rights movement as a group of power-hungry, self-serving elitists with a fat cat mentality.

The author distinguishes between human rights and the human rights industry, with human rights being the discourse for framing demands while the industry is the system or structure providing materials and financing for human rights work. This industry includes institutions, professionals and international funding. The book examines the rise and fall of the human rights framework developed by the industry or the delegitimisation of human rights (p. 187).

Allen uses an operational concept for this research: *cynicism*. She also offers a historical enquiry into when things started to go wrong and assesses the merging of human rights with local politics. First, the concept of cynicism is the author's interpretation of the politics of *as if* and she claims that while the human rights system has essentially failed in Palestine – only a few success stories can be cited – it has nevertheless continued to grow. This growth is due to representatives of the system acting *as if* it did work, that is, they continue to apply for funding, produce reports and assessments, organise workshops and make public statements. The Palestinian Authority (PA) also plays this game, organising human rights training courses for law enforcement officials and responding to reports issued by the quasi-state Independent Commission for Human Rights (ICHR). For Allen, however, the politics of *as if* requires further elaboration

'because beyond people acting "as if" through human rights activity, in Palestine cynicism is an emotion tied to political stasis, apathy, and hope, all uncomfortably combined and anchored in a political phase of perceived limbo' (p. 26). Cynicism therefore conceptualises a specific form of the politics of *as if*, motivated by pessimism, despair, criticism, disappointment and sarcasm, while reflecting hope for something better.

The book's historical analysis (Chapters 1, 2 and 3) examines when and how the human rights movement emerged and its subsequent decline. The first human rights NGO was Al-Haq, founded in 1979 by a lawyer and a behavioural scientist who used the rule of law and the collection of data for exposing Israel's repressive politics against Palestinians. The work of Al-Haq maintained a nationalist view of rights and responsibilities, and had strong links with the community since anti-occupation activists were heavily involved in human rights work. However, after the Oslo process (1993), NGOs multiplied and depoliticised the movement due to their dependence on international funding. This was the beginning of the decline, which accelerated with the requirement of university degrees for people wanting to form part of the human rights elite, as well as training for law enforcement and government officials. The construction of human rights expertise and training are a reflection of this cynicism, since everybody knows torture and abuse will continue.

In Chapters 4 and 5, Allen assesses cynicism and hope in the human rights performance of the PA, and the new, internationally rejected Hamas government. Palestine is not a state and achieving this status is one of the main objectives of political activists. In a globalised world, for a state to be legitimate it must comply with international human rights, so even though the PA's human rights record is appalling, it cynically engages with the ICHR and seeks human rights training for its employees. Meanwhile, Hamas' nationalist interpretation of human rights brings hope since it challenges cynicism and tackles human rights issues beyond rhetoric

and the politics of *as if* by reintroducing community and structural issues such as 'occupation' to the human rights debate (p. 184).

The book is a breath of fresh air in the context of a human rights literature dominated by unrealistic and optimistic assessments of human rights actions and campaigns which fail to acknowledge that human rights movements have changed little despite their institutionalisation, legitimisation and international funding. Human rights organisations produce reports, diagnostics and participate in public policy design while people's lives remain the same. The most important contribution of the book is that, although it talks about Palestine, it recognises a general pattern of development in contemporary national human rights movements. As Allen rightly claims, the book can serve to illustrate the evolution of the human rights movement more broadly since the case of Palestine is both unique and quite representative of this trend.

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Allerton, Catherine. 2013. *Potent landscapes. Place and mobility in Eastern Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 240 pp. Pb.: US\$25.00. ISBN: 978-0-8248-3800-3.

Potent landscapes presents us with a charming account of the meaning of place and mobility in southern Manggarai on Flores (eastern Indonesia). From the way it is written one can also gather how much the author herself must have liked being there. Following Tim Ingold and Maurice Bloch, she adopts a 'broadly phenomenological perspective' (p. 4) that emphasises everyday practice and the tacit knowledge on which it is based. Although there are many rituals that accompany key moments of change in the individual life cycle and others that mark recurring stages in the cultivation of crops, she does not construct an underlying cosmology, as was typical of the influential

Leiden 'school', but embeds each ritual event in the practical activities associated with the space where it occurs. As the Manggarai do not distinguish between nature and culture, she is also critical of approaches that separate the physical environment as an etic category from its emic representations and symbolic associations. She argues that anthropologists like Lévi-Strauss, who emphasise the role of 'houses' as corporate kin groups, neglect the fact that material dwellings are agents in their own right. Allerton also demonstrates how marriages, including those between (classificatory) cross-cousins, are not just part of (potential) conubial systems but may better be understood as sequences of place-based practical actions.

Most of the fieldwork for this book took place in a village located near the coast where wet-rice fields are cultivated, but also high up in the mountains, several hours walking along paths through forests and across steep slopes. Here a different range of crops are grown on slash-and-burn fields and coffee gardens yield a valuable cash crop, part of which is retained for abundant home consumption. Other coastal villages had abandoned their mountain sites when the government relocated the population in the 1960s, but in this case people had felt unable to do so because their coastal site belonged, at least for ritual purposes, to another neighbouring village. So they could not move their ritual centre, a large house where the drums are kept that are used to summon spirits for essential annual celebrations. Each of the eight branches of the single clan associated with the village has its own room in this house, occupied by one of its senior representatives.

Ordinary Manggarai houses are also often the home of several families, each with its own room for sleeping and separate fireplaces for cooking. Before a newly married couple can start using such a bedroom, the bride and groom are ritually marked with the blood of a chicken that is sacrificed for the ancestors who, together with the room itself, are called upon to witness the event. This is only one example of how rituals can personify rooms, but also other spaces. It is believed that such locations have agency

and can influence the well-being of the people connected with these sites. Other rituals that are not specifically concerned with rooms, such as funerals, have yet to be performed inside houses. These have to be ritually inaugurated, in contrast with temporary shelters in the fields. Now it is the land that becomes personified as it is persuaded to accept the new house. Agricultural land use also requires various rituals marking the stages of the crop cycle. Flat stones or other kinds of 'altars' on which offerings are placed are the medium through which ritual speech is planted in the ground for both ancestral and place spirits. The latter are so much connected with the land that talk about them can often be understood 'as a kind of front, or a shorthand, for talking about the energy that belongs to the land itself' (p. 108).

Although Allerton by no means neglects the impact of national policies and ideologies that for instance compelled people to rebuild their drum-house in traditional style for touristic development, she still leaves the impression that the Manggarai experience their life as part of a thoroughly enchanted realm. Catholicism, to which they have also been converted, is only of marginal importance. The church is quite tolerant of their traditional ritual practices, which the Manggarai purposively keep apart. Perhaps their world would look different if more information had been given here on those aspects of everyday life that are not part of their 'spiritual landscape' (p. 108), some of which has been published elsewhere. In this respect a more systematic treatment of long-term changes affecting social stratification and politics during the last century would also have been useful.

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Allison, Anne. 2013. *Precarious Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press. 248 pp.: US\$18.75. ISBN: 978-0822355625.

Within wider Anglophone circles, Japan is often held up as an example of productivity, or a

model to emulate in terms of health and organisation. At the same time, concerns about Japan's future have been broached by many Japanese studies scholars with the recent Fukushima crisis reminding the world that Japan is home to communities that are potentially fragile. Anne Allison's *Precarious Japan* treads a careful line, connecting the consequences of Japan's economic history to humanistic tales of woe and hope. From horrific examples of violence, disasters and lonely death, to the activists who combat these issues, Allison's work reminds us why ethnographic writing is important. She skilfully weaves recent theories of the 'precarious' between personal accounts, interviews, statistics and textual analyses, making *Precarious Japan* as much an exemplar of ethnographic methodology as an account of the vicissitudes of life in post-bubble, post-crisis and post-Fukushima Japan.

Precarious Japan starts with an honest and personal explanation of how the book, in its final form, was the product of crises. Allison originally intended the book to be about specific issues that had arisen from Japan's neoliberal economic reforms since the early 2000s. However, her focus expanded after the succession of disasters occurring in Japan as she started the project. From the precarity created by economic reform and the 'liquidification' of Japan's labour forces, Allison shifted focus to consider the precarity of life in itself, as well as the ways in which Japanese people continue to cope. Consequently, some of the chapters of *Precarious Japan* are focused overviews of Japan's recent economic history and its effects on youth, ageing and mental health, while others mull over Allison's wider theoretical interest, combining personal accounts with discussions of the politics of hope and precariousness.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of Japan's bubble economy, its subsequent crash, the neoliberal reforms that followed and the effects these wider trends have had on people's lives. Japan is posited as a wealth paradox, because despite being the world's third largest economy, it also has the second highest level of poverty among countries in the Organization for

Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This chapter is perhaps the most successful as a separate reading and is highly recommended for undergraduate courses on contemporary Japan.

From this quantitative and mostly text-based overview, Allison moves into the messier terrain of ethnography in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, showing how exclusion and exploitation have worked to disrupt previously important aspirations in Japan, such as the 'home'. Adapting the concept of 'refugeecisation' (*nanminka*) from Japanese activists, Allison argues that trends such as a total retreat from life among youths (*bikikomori*) and homelessness are in many senses a sign of how contemporary Japan's political economy makes refugees of many of its own citizens. Allison follows the theme of precarity into perhaps its most harrowing area in these chapters. Inverting Franco Berardi's phrase 'the soul at work' (2009), she shows how Japan's high suicide rate, as well as other trends of violence and death, can be interpreted as the 'soul on strike', whereby due to abject lifestyles and disenchantment, a wide range of things once unimaginable become imaginable.

Precarious Japan provides a wide survey of ethnographic encounters with writers, activists and community groups, but falls back onto newspaper articles and media-texts for its more harrowing examples. This leaves the reader wondering whether it is possible or desirable to be ethnographically exposed to the 'precarious'? Allison's final chapter in many ways answers this question. Written as an autoethnographic epilogue to the wider themes of the book, it considers the emotional process of volunteering in post-tsunami-stricken villages. Discussing her own sense of the precarious alongside the devastation she witnessed, Allison shows that ethnographic encounters which reveal the precarity of life must acknowledge the deeply affective position of the ethnographer. Many of her fellow volunteers came from precarious backgrounds such as those she described in the rest of the book. However, it seems that faced with new crises, the position between ethnographer and activist collapses, suggesting a politics

based on the fostering of intersubjective hope through practice, whether it be writing or cleaning up mud.

Reference

Berardi, Franco. 2009. *The soul at work: from alienation to autonomy*. Translated by Francesca Cadel and Giuseppina Mecchia. Cambridge, MA: Semiotext(e).

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Binford, Leigh. 2013. *Tomorrow we're all going to the harvest: temporary foreign worker programs and neoliberal political economy* (Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture). Austin: University of Texas Press. 299 pp. Hb.: US \$54.00. ISBN: 978-0292743809.

Leigh Binford's *Tomorrow we're all going to the harvest* is a timely critique of migrant contract labour regimes in North American agriculture. Binford focuses on the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), looking particularly at the circulation of workers between Tlaxcala, Mexico and Alberta, Canada. The SAWP is part of the Canadian government's temporary foreign worker ('guestworker') system that issues short-term work visas to more than 25,000 Mexican and Caribbean migrants each year. There is much at stake here with the SAWP, because the programme is often held up as exemplary among global temporary foreign worker programmes. Binford's choice of the programme gives us the best chance possible to look beyond complaints of poor implementation or poor regulation and concentrate instead on the very logic of how guestworker programmes are *supposed* to work. Most significantly, Binford undermines conceptions of a benign 'complementarity' between the interests of temporary foreign workers and their hosts. He shows convincingly that this complementarity has been produced and is

reproduced with violence through global capitalism and temporary foreign worker programmes, respectively.

Drawing from nearly 200 interviews with Tlaxcalan migrants, Binford combines rigorous analysis of quantitative and qualitative data with a full chapter dedicated to more detailed narratives of SAWP experiences. The text is best read as a whole so as to benefit from Binford's multiple scales and topics of analysis, but the book's chapters are also neatly compartmentalised and make for convenient and targeted article-length reads. Without alienating his anthropological audience, this allows Binford to speak more directly to specialised readers from development studies, labour history, public policy and other disciplines.

The book's chapters trace an encyclopaedic range of topics intersecting with the SAWP. Binford begins with the historical developments that both produced and articulated demand for migrant labour in Alberta with an exploitable, mobile labour reserve in Tlaxcala. Binford's second chapter contains what is likely the book's most forceful anthropological challenge to the SAWP. Here Binford asks why, even in the absence of direct threats or coercion, SAWP participants 'volunteer' to work at self-destructive rates and durations. In his explanation, Binford points to two defining characteristics of temporary foreign worker programmes – circulation between home and host country and limited mobility within the home country's labour market – that create an effective but unspoken form of coercion. The implications of this are profound, as this coercion exists not outside of the programme's regulations but well within and between SAWP regulations. These are not governable power relations (at least not within the framework of a temporary foreign worker programme) and might even evade intentionality. Indeed, as Binford shows, violence arises in part from the very mechanisms meant to protect and care for SAWP workers.

The chapters that follow treat a variety of additional issues that are crucial to the reproduction of the SAWP labour force and the maintenance and increase of its exploitability. Binford

makes an unexpected application of Amartya Sen's (1999) concept of 'development as freedom' to assess the degree to which the SAWP complements workers' needs. Ultimately, Binford finds that while SAWP wages partially and temporarily alleviate the 'unfreedom' of economic precarity, the programme also creates additional forms of unfreedom for both workers and their families. In a chapter co-authored with Kerry Preibisch, Binford describes how racialised 'common sense' among Canadian employers has fundamentally segmented the SAWP labour market between Mexicans and Caribbeans, assigning each group to different tasks with different employer expectations of skill, docility and productivity. In his final chapters, Binford addresses severe challenges in Canada to collective organising and claims making among SAWP workers; he projects a grim future for such efforts. If lacking in anything, the book could benefit from a focused chapter on the role of kin – particularly spouses and, in the case of younger workers, parents – in SAWP workers' migratory decisions, as well as kin's own experiences with SAWP workers' seasonal absence and return. Such details, however, do appear at different points throughout the text.

Tomorrow we're all going to the harvest is an essential read for scholars interested in migrant and contingent labour, agricultural economics and rural labour relations in North America. The book also comes at a time when logics of managed migration are becoming entrenched, and guestworker programmes are once again increasing across the globe, both in terms of individuals and countries involved. This makes the book a key resource in understanding broader contemporary dynamics in global labour markets, transnational movement of people and goods, economic precarity and the nature of citizenship.

Reference

Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Callan, Hilary, Brian Street and Simon Underdown. 2013. *Introductory readings in anthropology*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 442 pp. Hb.: US\$125.72. ISBN: 978-0857459688.

How should one introduce a discipline where very little consensus reigns about its fundamental research questions, aims, scope and applicability among its practitioners, let alone standardisation in its theories and methods? In conceptualising an introductory reader in such an undisciplined discipline one is inevitably faced with three key questions: what constitutes the contemporary *canon* of the discipline; which *curriculum*s to target; and how to *connect* the plethora of contents? *Introductory readings in anthropology* brings novel editorial perspectives to bear on these three questions.

The editors have chosen a very broad thematic approach, which singles itself out in this genre by building bridges between physical and social anthropology. The editors argue that 20th-century anthropology was marked by very limited intellectual dialogues across the 'biological-cultural divide', while in 'the beginning of this century, we are seeing more sharing of ideas and findings among anthropologists across the divisions, and as a result new insights are beginning to emerge in answer to the fundamental anthropological question: what is it to be human?' (p. 2). This newly found unity between physical (or biological) anthropology and social anthropology has been epistemologically and historically problematic both in North America with the institutional career of the Boasian four field approach parting ways at various junctions, as well as in Britain. The volume's proclamation of the unity of these diverse modes of anthropological inquiry is a return to 'a science of humanity', which was most tightly articulated a century ago as a tale of human diversity through a multifaceted evolutionary process. The reader carries and translates this legacy as a concern with 'the events and processes in the distant evolutionary past that have shaped our humanity, and with the realities of human life in the here and now' (p. 3).

The contents are organised in themes that adhere to the structure of the A level/pre-university course in Anthropology (General Certificate of Education Advanced Level) currently being taught in the UK. The first section, entitled 'Being human' deals with paleo-anthropology/evolutionary processes, the body broadly conceived, communication, kinship, gender, human ecology and material culture. The second section, 'Becoming a person', is about personhood, identity and ritual, followed by the third section on migrations, where the integrative four-field approach is most apparent, covering biological, archaeological and cultural forays to the movement of people and things from prehistory to contemporary tourism. Section four 'Practicing anthropology' deals with the making of anthropological knowledge in the form of methods and ethics, followed by section five 'Anthropology in the world', which offers glimpses into some cutting-edge themes of the discipline, such as the politics of cultural recognition in Canada, derivatives and risks in the global financial system, connections between organ donation and race in the UK, the anthropology of science and the public presence of the discipline. Altogether, the volume comprises 70 articles, of which five have been written originally for this volume and the remaining 65 have been drawn primarily from other introductory textbooks, as well as the journal *Anthropology Today*. The editorial apparatus is comprehensive, with longer introductions to each section, as well as shorter prefaces to each article, which contextualises and connects the diversity of the contents. Many of the articles do a brilliant job in introducing a topic; however what is under review here is the principal ideas of the editors and not the quality of any single contribution.

Most generally, the ambition of the volume to introduce the plethora of anthropological themes as 'a series of conversations – sometimes of debates – between different anthropological interpretations' (p. 2), is achieved through the extensive editorial apparatus linking the diverse material, fledging out key arguments and positions and helping the student to navigate a path through the volume. The second ambition is to

'awake interest' (p. 3), which is partly achieved through cutting the original articles down to very short extracts (some less than two pages), which serve as appetizers to enticing worlds and intriguing questions that can be made objects of anthropological inquiry. This editorial policy of fashioning the original texts as teasers, rather than treatments, works pedagogically well at the educational level this volume caters to. The many evocative images throughout the book enhance this effort. These pictures are almost exclusively made up of film stills drawn from RAI film festival screenings, which elegantly serve to make the student aware of the rich visual record of the discipline, albeit the volume does not include articles on Visual Anthropology.

Given the didactic principle of introducing anthropology as a series of conversations/debates between different anthropological interpretations, some might find it odd that the most prolific contemporary debates of the discipline have been omitted (about Captain Cook, for example). However, these are complex debates, which are not easily schematised and do not lend themselves well to condensed summaries at pre-university level, so the choice might be justified. And yet, the exclusion of business anthropology and historical anthropology is perhaps less defensible, especially when the volume opens with a definition of anthropology drawn from Eric Wolf: anthropology as 'the most humanistic of the sciences, and the most scientific of the humanities' (p. 1), for which Wolf is not credited.

One might be puzzled to see that section four on anthropological knowledge production and ethics introduces 'reflexivity' as the 'core concept' (p. 307) of the discipline, which runs through the cluster of articles in this section. This elusive concept – especially for students – also held sway when I was an undergraduate student in the early 1990s. Any newcomer to the discipline would ask what methodological advances have been made in the past three decades and the answers are not readily found in this volume. Moreover, for North American audiences, it would have been relevant to include the AAA Code of Ethics and a reference to Robert Borofsky *et al.*'s book *Yanomani* (2005), which

raises all the central questions concerning the practice of fieldwork, the production of knowledge and anthropology's ethical vision of itself in a captivating form.

Any textbook in anthropology faces the question of how it relates to what is considered the 'canon' of social anthropology. How does this volume relate to those considered to be the foundational figures of the discipline? More than two decades ago, James Clifford asked in *The predicament of culture* (1988) why Franz Fanon, E.P. Thomson and Stuart Hall were considered 'outsiders' and Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead and Clifford Geertz 'insiders' in the contemporary anthropological canon. I think Clifford himself would be surprised to find an Introductory Reader in Anthropology anno 2013 to include a text by himself and omit the 'canonical figures' of the discipline such as the three mentioned above, as well as the founder of North American anthropology, Franz Boas. The lesson is of course that the anthropological canon is always rewritten and this volume is in and of itself a contribution to this constant reinvention.

References

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 Clifford, J. 1988. *The predicament of culture.* Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

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Deeb, Lara and Mona Harb. 2013. *Leisurely Islam. Negotiating geography and morality in Shi'ite South Beirut.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. 296 pp. Pb.: US\$15.49. ISBN: 978-0-691-15366-7.

Two topics have in recent years gained increasing attention within the anthropology of the Middle East: the development of new public places of middle-class consumption and the morality of leisure activities among young Muslims. *Leisurely Islam* is a timely contribution to both these fields. It explores the post-2001 development of a new leisure

industry in Dahiye (South Beirut), the area known as Hizbollah's main quarters and probably one of the most exoticised neighbourhoods in Beirut. Based on interviews, participant observation and surveys, the book sheds light on the relationship between morality, geography and leisure in the Lebanese Shi'i Muslim context.

One of the book's major questions concerns how young, 'more or less pious' Shi'i Muslims navigate the many opportunities offered by the new places of leisure. As the authors interestingly point out, contrary to the 'vanguard generation' who initiated and institutionalised the Shi'i Islamic movement in Lebanon, the young generation has grown up in an environment where being a pious Muslim is now a common and taken-for-granted fact. The question for these young people is not whether or not to be pious, but rather how this piety is lived out in daily life. By investigating how young people negotiate between different 'moral rubrics' (primarily the social, political-sectarian and religious rubrics), Deeb and Harb are able to show the flexibility and dynamics of young Muslims' moral choices. Sometimes they negotiate within the rules, other times they negotiate the rule itself, as the book highlights in relation to practices such as listening to music, visiting places serving alcohol or evaluating the appearance and behaviour of other customers. In their moral evaluations, the young people put more emphasis on personal choice and social obligations than the older generation.

The interaction between space and morality is another central focus of the book. What makes a café legitimate and morally appropriate? Throughout the book's six chapters, the authors map the development of new leisure spaces, for instance by discussing the main political, religious and economic players behind the production of leisure sites, outlining the situation and interior decoration of the different places and taking a close look at how primarily young people use these places and interact within them. They show how spaces both shape people's behaviour and become shaped by the actions and moral evaluations of their users. Deeb and Harb also situate Dahiye's leisure sites in the larger

geographical and political context of Lebanese society, thereby giving attention to sectarian and class hierarchies in Beirut more widely.

The book's major contribution is the detailed ethnography it provides. It gives very good insight into the moral dilemmas that young people face, and it shows the diversity in a milieu otherwise often considered as rather homogeneous. The reader is left with no doubt about the authors' in-depth knowledge of their field. Yet, the detail also becomes to some extent the book's weak point. The chapters are so full of quotes and different dimensions that it almost overwhelms the reader with examples. At times it might have been useful to lift the major points out of the rich ethnography and discuss them in relation to larger questions and other relevant studies in this field. Likewise, while the book ends with a relevant discussion about the potential for social change possibly implied by the new leisure options in Dahiye, it does not revisit the major debates that were mentioned in the introduction. In what ways do the findings shed new light on broader discussions about morality, leisure and space beyond the Lebanese context?

That said, *Leisurely Islam* provides an interesting study of an area many people know very little about. It will interest scholars and students alike. While the book speaks particularly to those working on Lebanon and the Middle East, it will also be relevant to researchers dealing with issues regarding youth, morality, space and diversity in general.

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Dole, Christopher. 2012. *Healing secular life. Loss and devotion in modern Turkey*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 320 pp. Hb.: £45.50. ISBN: 978-08122-4416-8.

In *Healing secular life*, Christopher Dole investigates how religious healing is embedded in people's intimacy with secular rules and discourses. The Turkish nationalist secularisation

project carried out by Atatürk since 1923 aimed to separate and control political and religious institutions and practices by assigning 'religion' to the private or domestic sphere. Dole shows how Atatürk's strong biomedical modernist project in the health care sector contributed to the relegation of local religious healing practices even further into the shadow of 'backward' and 'un-modern life' in order to reinforce the role of the state over the private lives of Turkish citizens.

Secularism, accordingly to Dole's argument, is not just a political doctrine but also a politic of aesthetics that shapes the sensibilities, images and performances within communities. Starting from Rancière's notion of 'distribution of the sensible' (pp. 8–10), Dole explores 'the intersection of the aesthetic and political entanglement of the therapeutic power and political rule' (p. 10) by analysing the challenges of marginalised forms of religious healing. The author relies both on archival documents and on multisided ethnographic field data collected in Ankara where Dole spoke to healers and patients who shared their everyday experiences with him.

In chapter one, 'Medicine and the will to civilization', based mainly on archival research, Dole presents the history of health care in Turkey. By examining journals published during the 1930s he discusses the campaign against practitioners of religious healing and how they were excluded from the nationalised 'traditions'. The state adopted the dichotomy of scientific/modern mentality in opposition to the religious/traditional irrational thinking in order to create a new national imaginary based on modernity and secular life in which all the non-biomedical therapeutic techniques were refused and exiled.

In chapter two, 'Healing difference at the limits of community', drawing from his ethnographic work in two *gecekondu* neighbourhoods ('squattered settlements'), Aktepe and Hürriyet in Ankara, Dole explores how these two different communities shape their everyday life conversations on religious healing with continuous references to secularism/Islam.

While the Alevi community in Hürriyet considers religious healing as a product of ignorance still alive within the Sunni community of Aktepe, the residents of this latter neighbourhood consider these therapeutic practices as unauthorised by 'true' Islam. By discussing their opinions on religious healing, both communities negotiate their own sensibilities, which go beyond their political and religious visions, and reveal the untold commonalities embedded in their everyday struggles for national belonging.

Chapters three (Hagiographies of the living) and four (The therapeutics of piety) explore from the healers' perspective how their religious authority and existence are negotiated in this hostile political, social and economic environment. Two encounters with healers, as representative of two of the four principal genres of religious healing, are presented in these chapters. The *evliya*, Zohrë Ana, cultivates her 'sanctity' with references to the secular modernity project but also by referring to the tradition of saintly devotion in Turkey (for which she was repeatedly imprisoned); whereas the *cinci hoca*, Ibrahim, a Qu'ranic healer, who is perceived as 'the ever-present allegory of social and moral decay' by both 'secularist' and modern pious Muslims (p. 129), struggles to embed his illegal practices in the discourse of legitimacy through capitalism and ethics.

Chapters five (A malaise of fracturing dreams: the care of relations) and six (Healing secular life: two regimes of loss) analyse the patients' dense narratives on suffering and healing not as a result of structural forces but as forms of subjectivity: Hüsniye's relationship with Zöhre Ana allows Dole to investigate the themes of relatedness and intimacy. Dole argues that a sense of loss is experienced due to constraints entangled in the secular model of sociability as well as state discourse on Islam.

Considering that the Turkish context is understudied in the field of medical anthropology, it would have been interesting to hear more about how in the Turkish secular and religious framework, gender shapes everyday practices and discourses on health and healing. Dole's book is a must-read for those interested in

medical anthropology or religion in Turkey and the Middle East more broadly. The author provides an original and extensive analysis concerning the interplay of state policy and discourses and practices of healing, which are historically situated and at the same time in continuous transformation.

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Eckstein, Susan Eva and Adil Najam (eds.). 2013. *How immigrants impact their homelands*. Durham: Duke University Press. 261 pp. Pb.: US\$21.36. ISBN: 978-8223-53995-9.

Eckstein and Najam's collection is an explicit corrective to a literature on migration that has focused too much on the countries of settlement, largely those in the global North. It attempts to cover multiple and overlapping dimensions of migration, from economic and socio-political developments to 'transnational mothering' and the impact on health, through case studies as diverse as the Philippines, Mozambique and the USA. In doing so, the collection moves away from the standard criticisms of migrants as either causing economic instability in the countries of settlement or necessarily causing detrimental 'brain drains' in homelands, although these aspects are also explored.

The first five chapters concentrate largely on economic factors, building on and critiquing previous assumptions regarding the economic contributions and destabilising effects of migrant economies. Important relating factors in these chapters are the ways in which policies of both homelands and countries of resettlement are crucial in determining whether immigration will have a negative or positive effect on the economy. The remaining chapters (6 to 11), by contrast, shift away from the economic perspective underscoring the socio-political impact of immigration. The later chapters also engage with issues of gender and the domestic domain, adding a further dimension to this timely collection.

All contributions have their strengths, but of note are chapters by Portes, Fitzgerald and Kastoryano. Portes raises the significance of permanent versus temporary migration in evaluating the impact immigrant organisations in countries of resettlement have on home countries. He terms this 'globalisation from below' (p. 34). According to Portes, transnational immigrant organisations aimed at philanthropy projects eventually cease to mitigate against the negative aspects of migration as family kin ties weaken with subsequent generations being born. This is an important empirical thesis, although one that raises questions as to what other vectors of economic flows exist, such as religious and charitable institutions that may, or may not, diminish with succeeding generations. This goes beyond the collection's objectives, but these questions do provide examples of how such contributions can provide the building blocks for future analysis.

Further, Fitzgerald's chapter introduces the notion of 'dissimilation', which acts as an opposite to assimilation models, arguing that 'the concept of dissimilation focuses attention on the creation of *difference* between populations divided by the border' (p. 116). With the growth of transnational literature and the challenges transnationalism is supposed to pose to nation-state political identity, 'dissimilation' may provide a useful tool to conceptualise the nuances of contemporary identity formations. Building on the notion of transnationalism, Kastoryano explores in a different chapter the 'new expressions of nationalism' and religion of organised Turkish migrants, arguing that nationalism can endure while being partially deterritorialised, 'redefining links 'between territory, nation and political space' (p. 152).

It rarely happens that works purporting to set a new agenda are as original as they claim to be, and in this case much literature has already focused on the impact of immigration on countries of origin, particularly in regard to remittances. The editors have set themselves a serious challenge with such a wide remit and diverse range of case studies, but one in which they largely succeed. The collection

demonstrates the complex and at times contradictory consequences of immigration, allowing a theoretical and conceptual move beyond standard examination of remittances and effects on countries of settlement. These well-written and highly accessible case studies will be of use to both academics and students, and together grant an enriched understanding of the witting, and unwitting, consequences of migration. The wide-reaching discussions allow for sections of this collection to be utilised in a range of student courses from globalisation, transnational non-state actors and international global economy.

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Fardon, Richard. (ed.). 2013. *Mary Douglas. Cultures and crises – understanding risk and resolution*. London: Sage. 344 pp. Pb.: US \$43.81. ISBN: 978-1446254677.

This collection brings together some of the most powerful and influential of Mary Douglas' later writings that have previously been unanthologised. These essays, all conceived on the basis of collaborative discussion whatever their authorship, chart the culmination of Mary Douglas's career-long concern with the ways in which our perceptions of danger in our social and natural environment support positions about the value of the institutions that organise us and hence move us to act on the basis of our own fears, or to resist action on the basis of others' fears that we do not share. That the essays are collaborative means that Douglas' is not always the dominant voice. However at their heart is an ongoing distillation of the cultural theory pioneered by Douglas in her earlier writing on risk and particularly on Grid/Group analysis. In the course of the essays we see the implications of cultural theory explored and the theory itself extended.

Within all societies, and not simply between societies, debates between proponents of different institutional arrangements encourage different perceptions of the urgency of risks, the

need to resolve them and the resolution to do so. The collection's sub-title picks up this double sense of resolution as both 'solution' and 'resolution' to pursue it. Grid/Group analysis assigns two values (high and low) to the grid and group dimensions identified in types of social organisation. Grid measures the extent to which role differentiation constrains the behaviour of individuals: 'structure'. Group, by contrast, gauges the degree to which an overriding commitment to a social unit compels the thought and action of individuals: 'incorporation'. This analysis correlates four ways of life and social solidarities to four value orientations: the stable hierarchy; the fatalistic isolate; the egalitarian enclave; and robust individualism. Applying this deceptively simple analytical structure to a wide range of current societal challenges, which include climate change, gun control, world poverty, terrorism, Douglas and her collaborators advance an argument about the indispensability of the social and cultural context for understanding human activity, and hence the inadequacy of a-social, a-cultural or otherwise invariant accounts of human divergence and disagreement, especially in the contexts of risk and threat.

At the heart of the collection are two powerful reflections on the 'dialogue of the deaf' that continues to characterise attempts to achieve consensus on climate change. Does global warming put the future of the world at risk? Is time running out? Or should we take our time in order to investigate and evaluate soberly the possible risks presented by greenhouse gases? We don't have agreement on the answer to these questions, but Douglas argues that cultural theory teaches us that vigorous debate among rival perspectives is the best way to address them. That is because the debate on global warming will never be resolved simply by making a rational choice on strictly scientific grounds. It is a struggle between groups of actors with different perceptions of time and risk and urgency that derive from conflicting ways of organising and justifying social relations. Cultural theory suggests that between these extremes there exists the possibility of constructive dialogue. It will often be a noisy, discordant, contradictory

dialogue, but this is the *clumsy* process that offers the best, most honest chance of progress. *Clumsy* institutions are those institutional arrangements in which none of the voices – the hierarchical call for ‘wise guidance and careful stewardship’, the individualistic emphasis on ‘entrepreneurship and technological progress’, the egalitarian insistence that we need ‘a whole new relationship with nature’, and the fatalist’s asking ‘why bother?’ is excluded, and in which the contestation is harnessed to constructive, if noisy, argumentation. *Clumsiness* emerges as preferable to elegance (optimising around just one of the definitions of the probable and, in the process, silencing the other voices) once we realise that what looks like irreconcilable contradiction is, in face, ‘essential contestation’.

Among Mary Douglas’ major contributions to social theory is her notion that universal, organised tendencies in cultural bias can be delineated. Acceptance that socio-cultural variation is necessary prepares us to anticipate the persistence of social divisions even as material and technical circumstances become more similar, i.e. more global.

This is a collection replete with riches. Douglas leavens her theory with illuminating, and sometimes surprising ethnographic and anecdotal detail, whether it be the example of how an automated system of checking tickets at South London Tube stations reduced fare evasion, or why the views of the scientific elite dominate so many political and social discussions in India. The essays reveal that Douglas’ original fieldwork with the Lele in Central Africa was a source of lifelong reflection and at the core of her anthropological wisdom.

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Fassin, Didier. 2013. *Enforcing order. An ethnography of urban policing*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 320 pp. Pb. US\$23.70. ISBN-13: 978-0745664804.

In the context of tightening the regime of security the French Ministry of the Interior closed

its doors to social science research on law enforcement. By then, Didier Fassin had already completed 15 months of fieldwork with the anti-crime squad, in charge of patrolling the housing projects in the outer cities, known as *banlieues*, of Paris. The prohibition was a worrying sign, but in not allowing him to continue research, it motivated Fassin to set to work. The result of his resolve is a detailed ethnography of the police, and an invaluable contribution to the anthropology of the state. Although written from the perspective of a particular spatial and temporal conjuncture – that of French law enforcement in the mid-2000s – the implications of this study reach much further, opening a timely and important discussion about the function of the police in a neoliberal democratic state.

The main argument advanced in the book is that instead of enforcing the law or protecting public order, the police are enforcing a social order characterised by swelling economic inequality and racial discrimination. Patrolling the disadvantaged neighbourhoods, where they use ‘stop and search’ tactics to intimidate working-class youths of ethnic minorities and immigrant background, police officers are reminding them of their inferior place in relation to the state. Fassin situates this fundamental shift from law enforcement to enforcing order at the interface of national politics that instrumentalise the police and local practices stemming from police insularity. These findings come from his meticulous ethnography of everyday policing.

The police and the residents cannot be held solely responsible for tensions between them, writes Fassin. Rather, their interactions should be understood within the context of the retreating welfare state and the rise of its repressive apparatus. As unemployment grows, leading to widespread poverty and inequality, people’s social anxieties are moulded into the fear of crime, which politicians use to justify their agendas. Under the new ‘politics of numbers’, the police are encouraged to register violations that are ‘easy to get’, primarily breaches of drug and immigration laws, which boost their performance in terms of absolute figures and the clearance rate. However, these results are achieved

by practising targeted identity checks and body searches. Fassin carefully documents interactions between the squad officers and the youths in the projects, showing how proactive policing separate citizens from subjects, erasing any distinction between deviant and honest youngsters, as long as they share the same physical, social and territorial characteristics. Police impunity perpetuates moral violence and humiliation, which youth of North African and sub-Saharan origin have become used to.

Throughout the book Fassin describes the police routine that he observed at the station and while on patrol with the anticrime squad. The details of their ordinary shifts explain police practices by situating them within institutional constraints and political circumstances, as well as biographical trajectories and professional training of the officers. Against the popular perception, their everyday work is characterised by boredom rather than adventures depicted in television shows, and the only danger often results from reckless driving to the crime scene. Because in France law enforcement is a matter of national jurisdiction, many of the officers come to the banlieues from the interior of the country. Even before being cast into 'war against crime', these white middle-class men are taught to see the projects as 'the jungle' and their residents as 'savages'. Steadily, Fassin traces how conditions of a microcosm where racism and discrimination flourish intersect with the 'moral economy of police work', underscoring the tension between a logic of resentment and the principle of justice, which leads officers to take the law into their own hands.

Doing fieldwork with the police is certainly not an easy endeavour for an anthropologist. Fassin describes his form of engagement with the anticrime squad as 'non-participant observation'. His position was to not get involved in situations that he witnessed, even when they were problematic, in order not to compromise the research project. Some degree of complicity and duplicity, which Fassin addresses when reflecting on the compromises he had to make, is unavoidable in any fieldwork. Here they were justified in the name of writing a public

ethnography of proactive policing. Its goal is to render the police work intelligible in anticipation that indignation can lead to action. Considering its loud reception in France, Fassin's book – the most significant contribution to the public anthropology of policing – has opened up space to discuss the unresolved tension underlying the contemporary state, that between providing security and protecting human rights.

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Geschiere, Peter. 2013. *Witchcraft, intimacy, and trust: Africa in comparison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 328 pp. Pb.: US \$19.92. ISBN: 9780226047614.

In *Witchcraft, intimacy and trust: Africa in comparison* Peter Geschiere focuses on the notion of witchcraft and how this is strongly linked to intimacy in present-day Africa. Geschiere contradicts the assumption that witchcraft is a rather 'exotic' topic. By comparing historical emergences of witchcraft in many places in the world, he argues that the connection between witchcraft and intimacy might even be universally human. Witchcraft is a slippery term and is often left without a clear definition in anthropological work. Geschiere stresses the importance of having a clear notion of what is meant by 'witchcraft', but underscores that the flexibility of the term might actually be its strength. The challenge lies in finding a balance between defining the notion and leaving its flexible character intact.

According to the author, in present-day anthropology one tends to be inspired by an approach focused on ontological differences between cultural areas that are seen as more or less given (p. xxvi). Instead, Geschiere advocates another approach: comparisons in historical rather than cultural terms. Thus he provides us with a historical overview of the conceptual triangle between witchcraft, intimacy and trust in Africa and early Europe and presents some examples from Latin America and Oceania.

Like witchcraft, intimacy and trust are slippery concepts, though useful for a better understanding of the notion of witchcraft.

In his book, Geschiere follows three lines of argumentation. The first is that the link with intimacy as a core element may help to contain the notion of witchcraft. In earlier work Geschiere (1997) classified witchcraft as 'the dark side of kinship'. In this book he shows that in Europe witches were mostly sought amongst neighbours, while in Africa amongst relatives. He notes however that African perceptions of 'relatives' are rather elastic (so neighbours could possibly be part of this category). Second, Geschiere points out the comparative potential of focusing on the relationship between witchcraft and intimacy. The feeling that intimacy brings not only protection but also danger is not specific to Africa; it is experienced in different parts of the world. Thus the preoccupation with witchcraft in many parts of Africa is not a sign of the continent's 'otherness'. It reflects, rather, one way of addressing issues that are crucial to human society (p. xv). Third, Geschiere argues that a new outlook on sociality is needed because of the inherent danger of intimacy that can be present in witchcraft. According to him, the family turns out to be not only a safe core within the broader social organisation (the view classical anthropology propagated), but also a possible source of danger. Here Geschiere raises an important question: 'If witchcraft is the unsettling realisation that intimacy can be terribly dangerous, how is it possible to build nonetheless the degree of trust necessary to live and work with one's intimates?' (p. ix). In search for an answer he offers many examples from research around the world concerning among others Candomblé in Brazil and Pentecostalism in Ghana.

According to Geschiere, recurrent patterns can only be traced if the three poles of the conceptual triangle of witchcraft, intimacy and trust are seen as strongly interrelated and constantly shifting. Caused by the elasticity of the three main concepts, witchcraft has not disappeared through time. On the contrary, the discourse of witchcraft in Africa has become even more prominent in modern societies. It constantly adapts to changes

in society. For example, due to international migration the reach of accusations has expanded from a search for 'suspects' in the neighbourhood to a search for suspects in a wider area and even overseas. Next to international migration, the new media of communication play an important role in the way truth is presented, and thus in the way trust is established.

In brief, *Witchcraft, intimacy and trust: Africa in comparison* is a great read in which Geschiere manages to de-exoticise the notion of witchcraft and shows its universal dimension. In his search for answers, he poses many fascinating questions that open up new areas for research on the topic.

Reference

Geschiere, Peter. 1997. *The modernity of witchcraft: politics and the occult in postcolonial Africa*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

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Jansen, Yolande. 2013. *Secularism, assimilation and the crisis of multiculturalism: French modernist legacies*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 336 pp. Pb.: US\$49.95. ISBN: 9789089645968.

In this book Jansen provides a critical evaluation and reconstruction of multiculturalism in terms of secularism, assimilation and integration. The author examines the layers of meaning surrounding each of these terms, in political as well as scholarly debates. She sheds light on the problematic nature of these discussions by revealing the rich semantic fields that can potentially become explosive in a political context. She also sketches the contours of a fair and democratic idea of citizenship as a political alternative that could provide fairness to minorities in present multicultural societies.

Jansen proposes that tensions felt in the present dilemma regarding the position of minorities are specific to the current times while they also follow historically established patterns

enhanced by collective memory. She compares present debates about Muslims to 19th-century discussions about Jews, the former discussed through the prism of Proust's 'In search of lost time', with keen attention towards the interplay between memory and the way individual and collective forces contribute to this process. Following Proust's insistence that creativity and objectivity are created through individual meaning-making as a part of the collective memory process, Jansen expresses an idea of cultural fairness by finding the right balance between particularities and generalities. She contends that questions about diversity, plurality, citizenship and cultures that have deep roots nourished through cultural memory are burdened by politicised and technocratic normative positions and definitions.

Jansen shows these processes at work in many examples, including the French Republic after the Revolution when citizenship for all was introduced to support equality; the moment from where ideas about a modern liberal democracy have taken off. However, this process also created unwillingly the basis for new inequalities (p. 123). This is a pattern that has been repeated throughout history. For example secularism has been completely redrafted within the European context in late 1980s in the context of (Muslim) minority struggles often defined as 'multicultural struggles'. However, Muslims are at present considered as a specific case in the context of secularism, which makes the pattern reappear. As the book points out 'multiculturalism has created what it itself was struggling against: rigid differences between groups, sometimes even enmity among them and institutionalised categorisation and control of minorities leading to perpetuation of their unequal position' (p. 31).

Jansen contends that it is not intolerance towards the public aspects of religious practice but the cultural tensions that result from the demand to secularise and/or assimilate that cause a problem for religious minorities today. She demonstrates that contemporary policies of integration, especially those that build on *laïcité*, are reminiscent of assimilation, which she understands as a normative expectation that all

cultural, visible aspects of religion will disappear. These tensions can be solved in her opinion by taking a historical perspective towards Islam and Muslims, and consulting written histories of the Islamic world, which are crucial in a post-colonial context. Also, scholars need to pay more attention to the fact that Islamic identities can be hybrid and simultaneously pious and orthodox, she says. This complexity needs to be understood in the light of the causal structure of history and requires normative concepts that make us aware of actually existing inequalities. Pluralism should not be based on an essentialist idea of culture or religion but rather on the complexity of relations of individuals to others and to different kinds of social groups and on 'the power differences that are at stake between these individuals and groups' (p. 274).

This book offers a sharp analysis supported by a surprising array of materials; contemporary scholarly and political debates, policy documents and public sphere discussions, Proust's novel and political cartoons are used to support the core argument graciously although somewhat eclectically. In this way, the author's aim of philosophising in the manner of 'critical activity' rather than composing an ideal theory is successfully achieved. From an anthropological perspective, the book offers its foremost disadvantage as an open door for further inquiry: the author makes little use of direct contemporary individual and collective experiences of minorities. In this way, the reader misses the voice of religious minorities the author actually aims to reintroduce in the spotlight.

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Konrad, Monica. 2012. *Collaborators collaborating: counterparts in anthropological knowledge and international research relations*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books Press. 318 pp. Hb.: US\$90.00. ISBN: 978-0-85745-480-5.

For anthropologists, participation has long been a requisite part of immersion fieldwork,

whether in the form of rolling up one's sleeves, getting stuck into or experiencing the field. The participant observer engages, interacts, lives and shares with her or his informants. In the 21st century, it would appear that such a participatory imperative has been joined by a collaborative imperative. This at least seems to be one of the subtexts of Monica Konrad's densely edited collection *Collaborators collaborating*. Not only do anthropologists enter into collaborations of their own, as Konrad suggests, they are also increasingly studying 'emergent forms of international research collaboration at a time when knowledge intensification appears to assume explicitly collaborative forms' (p. 6). The result is a 12-chapter foray into collaboration and its forms across a diverse range of settings across, albeit with a distinctive medical slant.

While there are many thematics that one could pick up as they arise from the empirically rich studies contained within the book, it will suffice here to examine two ways in which contributors relate collaboration to processes of recognition. For some of the authors, recognition is about bringing to light – through ethnographic study – some of the invisible relations that in fact are indispensable to projects, achievements or endeavours. In Rebecca Empson's engrossing account of Mongolia's first successful organ transplantation, she argues that for all the accolades that the surgeon received, 'it is due to the networks of different connections with people, be those surgeons, government officials, or the patients willing to undergo the operations, that he was able to perform this operation' (pp. 101–2). Similarly, in her chapter on global clinical trials Ann Kelly argues that 'the process of translating research participants into medical information involves local drivers, data entry clerks, fieldworkers, medical experts, ethics boards and funding bodies ... the success of a clinical research project depends on the connections made between them' (p. 177). Collaboration, in this sense, is requisite to getting anything done, not least in increasingly complex 'knowledge societies' where operations like organ transplantation and clinical trials emerge out of complex

assemblages of knowledge and practice which involve numerous actors, technologies, objects, etc., many of which remain 'invisible' in publications, media coverage or other forms of reporting. The ethnographer must play a role in rendering these relations visible.

For another set of authors, the collaborative imperative points to an urgent intellectual task facing today's ethnographers 'to take seriously all people's theories of how the world is' (p. 235). Barbara Bodenborn chronicles the ways in which Inupiaq whale hunters and biologists in Alaska interact, each contributing particular kinds of knowledge about whales 'into the mix'. She reflects: 'I suspect that I have been more socialized by Inupiaq kinship relations: *ilyagiit*; additions, than I have by intellectual encounters with Deleuzian rhizomes' (p. 236). In their chapter, Douglas Holmes and George Marcus summarise this newfound collaborative imperative: 'We have no interest in collaboration as a "division of labor" among the investigators who control the design of the project or as the basis for blending of academic expertise or as gestures to a canonical interdisciplinarity. The corrective is, again, to integrate fully our subjects' analytical acumen and insights to define the issues at stake in our project, as well as the means by which we explore them' (p. 131). Recognition here – alongside other proponents of the so-called 'ontological turn' – is aimed at the intellectual work carried out by ex-informants who are now rather interlocutors in such a way that their analytics form and inform the ethnographer's analyses.

Collaboration, then, is both an imperative (for the ethnographer) and a precondition (for social life), while it is the task of the collaborating anthropologist to re-cognise. *Collaborating collaborators* succeeds in catalysing what is undoubtedly one of the most salient debates within 21st-century anthropology. The rich ethnographic chapters provide readers with food for thinking through the changes – from participation to collaboration, from informants to interlocutors – that are both the object of study for contributors and the imperatives that they are confronted with. If this subtext is

successfully sown into the fabric of the volume, another remains frustratingly under-conceptualised, namely the 'global'. Each of the collaborations explored in the volume are somehow 'global', whether in scope, in form or in name. This raises numerous questions about whether and if so how collaboration has become a crucial component in the ongoing formation of a global anthropology.

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Lebow, Katherine. 2013. *Unfinished utopia. Nowa Huta, Stalinism, and Polish society, 1949–56*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. 256 pp. Hb.: US\$45.00. ISBN: 978-0-8014-5124-9.

When a journalist came back after 20 years to Nowa Huta, Poland's very first socialist city built 10 kilometres away from Krakow's Old Market Square, she was perplexed. First, children of the pioneers 'looked no different from their peers in central Warsaw' (p. 152). Second, 'they listened politely' to her stories of the strange old times, 'but afterward a young chit, with a big bow entwined in her flaxen braid, said emphatically: "We thought that you would be telling us about what really happened, so why are you telling us that they used to raise pigs in their apartments"' (p. 152). This detail reveals how shrouded in mystery, misunderstanding and prejudice the story of Nowa Huta has been. Lebow's book is a brilliant account that in many ways brings us closer to understanding 'what had really happened'. I am not afraid to put it this way, because Lebow does not tell the 'true' story of Nowa Huta in an authoritative voice, but focuses on its psychological, social and political complexities. This is a book that thrives on nuance and detail. In this sense it represents a rare feat of scholarship.

The first chapter shows how the origins of Nowa Huta were embedded in Polish history and the deep-seated modernising ambitions of its elites. She argues that Poland's communist

leaders 'were apparently unable or unwilling to articulate visions of socialist urbanism' (p. 42) and this is why they left it to the architects and urban planners, who despite their ambiguous relationship to the regime were very enthusiastic to realise their 'complex agendas' through the construction, and were motivated primarily by their professional ambitions. 'There was amongst us a conviction' one of them recalled, 'that this city would outlive us and probably the [political] system as well' (p. 30). The second and third chapters describe how this (late) child of Polish modernist/functionalist spirit became the magnet for indigent peasant sons (and, to a lesser degree, daughters) for whom the 'chaotic, unfinished, sometimes anarchic' (p. 45) nature of Nowa Huta urbanism turned out to be a virtue and not a vice. Nowa Huta was both radically different from the 'rural' life they abjured and traditional urban living, as in the nearby Krakow. Their personal narratives and the story of Nowa Huta is one of a 'success against the odds', and while describing the hardships of daily life, Lebow emphasises the 'fierce emotional attachment to the new town that reflected the non-utilitarian dimensions of their quest for a different life' (p. 72) such as struggle for agency, equity and citizenship.

Chapter 4 discusses the peculiarities of the balance between the Stalinist tendency for 'homogenising' and 'differentiating' their subjects in the cases of women and Roma for whom Nowa Huta represented a chance to liberate from patriarchal and ethnic prejudices. Lebow also deals with the moral panic generated by spontaneous urban cultures that flourished in Nowa Huta. Its 'spatial openness and its freedom from the past' (p. 112) was very appealing to the youth, and they embraced these freedoms often against the grain of high-brow moral indignation. Lebow describes how the youth, poised between traditional rural and urban cultures, were more liberal about sex than the elites, and how their promiscuity and experimentation lead to them being labelled either as 'prostitutes' or 'hooligans'. Those cultures of rebellion, working-class cosmopolitanism and how the Nowa Huta youth rejected the tutelage of

Polish intelligentsia, is discussed in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 is about the enduring civil heritage that the new generation of Nowa Huta residents embraced in the 1980s, and thus describes the ‘continuities traceable from Stalinism to Solidarity’ (p. 154) as far as cultures of dissidence and defiance are concerned.

Martha Lampland once argued that Stalinism is the evil twin of the 1990s ‘transition’ from socialist to capitalism – both periods are described as moments of rapid change, although morally they are charged very differently. Lebow shows that the totalitarian paradigm that sees Stalinism as pure evil is erroneous, and describes the enduring effect this Stalinist *Sturm und Drang* urbanisation had on Polish society – not as a stigma but rather as a political potential. Although Solidarity activists, let alone Catholic church officials, would probably vehemently oppose such interpretation, Lebow shows the enduring culture of dissent and militancy that surfaced in different guises in the ensuing decades. Nowa Huta represents an unfinished utopia, because it was a promise that was only partially fulfilled; yet, the promise has been so appealing that its residents have been striving for it ever since, despite the changing global context. Nowa Huta was a project once initiated not so much by the communists (although the ideology was important, but more as a cover under which new urbanites/citizens could fashion their very own way of urban and political life) but more by the residents themselves, liberated from the shackles of the ancient regime and the class structure that froze them in place as ‘peasants’ and disenfranchised as citizens and members of a nation.

This is not a ‘genius loci’ type of argument, but one that is able to show how radically different (or unique) were the 1950s in Poland, and to discuss the legacy of this experience today. Unlike those who saw in the builders of Nowa Huta merely former peasants unfit for ‘real’ urban life (hence the stereotype that young migrants kept livestock in their apartments), Lebow shows how they tinkered a form of urban life that was both different from their rural ways and the ‘established’ urban cultures from Poland’s past (but still preserved, e.g. in

the nearby Krakow). Thus the salience of this book is greater than just debunking the ‘totalitarian’ myth and adding to arguments put forward by scholars such as Stephen Kotkin, Padraic Kenney or David Priestland. It is also highly pertinent to a number of debates in urban studies. Lebow achieves a very elegant balance between theory and empirical detail, and masterfully unravels the ‘contradictions of the Stalinist ends, means and results’ (p. 98) presenting to us a unique urban culture. This is why this book may be of interest not only to aficionados of East European history, but to all those interested in the intertwining of urbanisation and politics, and the construction of alternative urban cultures of dissent and emancipation.

KACPER POBLOCKI

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Ottinger, G. 2013. *Refining expertise: how responsible engineers subvert environmental challenges*. New York and London: New York University Press. 221 pp. Pb.: US\$23.00. ISBN: 978-0-8147-6238-7.

Refining expertise is the fascinating story of New Sharpy, a small community in Louisiana, USA. This community actively opposes the neighbouring refinery’s health and environment claims but suddenly ceases its opposition and accedes to the refinery’s expertise. As such, Ottinger’s ethnographic analysis of the New Sharpy case shows how American petrochemical facilities may thwart environmental justice activism and attempts to democratise science.

Concerned Citizens of New Sharpy (CCNS) were convinced that Orion, the refinery next door, made them ill and defiled their neighbourhood; suspiciously many residents suffered from respiratory problems and/or cancer. Moreover, residents could smell Orion’s emissions and they saw the deposits coming from the refinery in the neighbourhood. To prove their suspicions, residents collected their own data on air-quality and campaigned for relocation and improvement of the neighbourhood.

The CCNS campaign failed. The settlement that was eventually reached stipulated that Orion would invest in educational programmes and activities in the community, but residents' health and environmental demands were not granted. Moreover, CCNS agreed to stop gathering their own data, drop their lawsuit and accede to the authority of refinery experts. As Ottinger argues, the settlement meant that relevant science is left undone.

In the first chapters of the book it is argued that a combination of factors was responsible for the shift in community–industry relations in New Sharpy; dominant neoliberal ideologies, the high costs of opposing the refinery, and the refinery's clever use of its power and resources helped refinery experts to regain control over research agendas and over what counted as evidence.

Refinery experts deployed neoliberal ideals and policies about responsible citizenship and corporate responsibility to reclaim their authority. Neoliberal governments tend to promote self-governance and stimulate citizens to act as responsible choosers and enterprising individuals. In keeping with these ideals, refinery experts argued that they would not have *chosen* to live nearby the refinery with their families if the refinery would have a negative impact on their health. With this they also implied that residents had made a deliberate rational choice to live where they lived. Structural factors affecting choices were not treated as relevant in public deliberations. Interestingly, experts' individual choices ended up being treated as evidence, whereas individual residents' health problems were not. The author could have explored this in more depth, given that this finding is not entirely new. Neoliberal policies also tend to increase citizens' dependence on (local) industry. State funding of local communities is sparse and dependence tends to undermine one's bargaining power.

Another important factor was that challenging the refinery's health and environment claims came at high costs to residents. It meant that citizens had to admit publicly and to themselves that they did not live in such a nice community after all. Ottinger also narrates how a

second resident group came into existence – with or without help of Orion – that wanted the refinery to act as a sponsor to the community. This second group ultimately undermined CCNS's position. Moreover, in contrast to residents, refinery experts could draw upon the considerable authority, power and resources of the institution they were members of.

In the later chapters Ottinger looks at how the citizen–industry relationship evolved after the settlement. Intergroup dialogue came to be dominated by community–industry and community participation panels. Experts imposed the rules in these panels and in practice largely controlled what got discussed and what not. For instance, panel members were not allowed to bring individual experiences up to substantiate their arguments.

Ottinger's book is an enjoyable read and contributes to the literature by analysing an unsuccessful case of democratising science. She shows that community–industry relations are far more complex than they appear to be at face value. However, the author could have been more thorough in her discussion of the implications of the study. For instance, one could glean some useful directions from the study in the way citizens can be supported to relate to the more powerful and resourceful, something she could have brought out more explicitly. Finally, the strong impact of neoliberal ideologies and policies in the New Sharpy case makes one wonder whether a comparison with Europe would show any difference in the way experts are enabled (or not) to deploy neoliberal ideologies in such manner. In Europe the impact of neoliberal ideologies tends to be softened by a more supportive state than in the USA.

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Rolle, Valérie. 2013. *L'art de tatouer*. Paris: Maison Des Sciences De L'homme. 389 pp. Pb.: US\$47.07. ISBN: 9782735116157.

The dramatic popularisation of tattoos since the 1990s comes in hand with the emergence of the

figure of the professional tattooist and the establishment of sanitary rules to regulate the activity. Whereas these sanitary concerns somehow constrain professional tattooing, apprenticeship and professionalisation remain characterised by the absence of regulation and institutionalisation. According to the author, scholars focusing on tattooing fail to address the creative and artistic dimensions of the activity. Since understanding these complementary dimensions is essential in the current normative context of the European Union, Rolle aims to fill this gap by offering an insightful ethnographic account of professional tattoo making in French-speaking Switzerland. Two of the recurring themes in the book are the making of a tattooist's career and the great divide between his/her artistic aspirations and customer wishes. Rolle structures her account around the relationships between newcomers and professional tattooists and illuminates the relative struggle against popular representations associated with the activity.

The first section of the book focuses on reputation building and the everyday social drama of work, highlighting negotiation as the defining relationship between tattooists and customers. Rolle provides us with a detailed description of two working spaces: the street-shops and the private studios. She acknowledges the need for tattoo artists to establish good reputation and legitimacy through diverse strategies of building strong relationships with their customers. Since tattooists work on bodies and constantly deal with pain, the act of tattooing relies on both the emotional work of both the tattooist and the customer. In this vein, tattooing is a collaborative process. Being fully aware of the social consequences of tattoos and their high percentage of irreversibility, tattooists influence the choices of their customers by following their own values to find a compromise between customers' wishes and their personal appreciation.

In the second section of the book, Rolle briefly stresses the transformation of the legal framework that addresses tattoo making through a comparison between France and Switzerland.

These transformations raise economic and symbolic issues about the legal status and the informal deontological code that organises this field. Rolle describes a learning process based on an on-going acquisition of Bourdieu's practical reason, yet reflexive and embedded in self and collective observation. The acquisition of knowledge draws on an informal appropriation of techniques and conventions. The competences of a tattooist are evaluated visually and his/her inspiration is found in books, common imaginary or popular culture. Rolle makes these informal conventions intelligible by using photo stimulation, presenting awkward pictures to tattooists and learning from their reactions and comments; she underscores that the tattooist's book works as a visual curriculum vitae that demonstrates competences and builds reputation.

In the last section of the book, we learn that whereas access to professional tattooing is not regulated by institutional rules or apprenticeship, it relies on intense commitment and social networking as well as close collaboration with established professionals. Throughout the book, Rolle explores two different learning processes, apprenticeship and autodidactic. In a highly competitive context, newcomers show an intense commitment and are multiple jobs holders to overcome temporal non-remunerated labour necessary while learning the techniques and building social networks among established tattooists. The book concludes with a discussion of the reluctance of tattooists to accept the institutionalisation of apprenticeship and sanitary regulations conceived as constraints to the development of their activity; and a presentation of the status of tattoo artists, tattooists or good tattooists.

The major strength of the book lies in its rich and accurate description of professional tattoo making. Rolle opens the doors of street-shops and sits alongside tattooists, revealing to us some of the 'tricks of the trade' and everyday routines. The book alternates great descriptions, field notes and excerpts from interviews, which make for a vivid and extremely valuable ethnography for scholars working in the field of work and professional groups. One could conceive of

additional layers of analysis that may further her endeavour, for instance a better articulation with the literature on artistic work and professions as well as an in-depth presentation of the participants in the text. Rolle starts out by saying that she aims to present the careers of tattooists, but they remain somehow in the shadow throughout the book.

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Shore, Chris and Susanna Trnka. 2013. *Up, close and personal. On peripheral perspectives and the production of anthropological knowledge*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 284 pp. Hb.: US\$95.00. ISBN: 978-0-85745-846-9.

What have anthropologists living in the Antipodes been up to over the last five decades, a region where a growing anthropological community has built up a vast and previously unsuspected array of relations with research interlocutors? Where former so-called natives have themselves become professional anthropologists? What links between post-colonial political engagements and theoretical challenges emerged and how have these anthropologists and the people with whom they conduct their research experienced them? These are just some of the questions this volume addresses.

The editors have brought together 12 short, but very precise, testimonies from white academics whose careers are intimately connected to a series of unsettling fractures and promising reassemblages. In the opening and closing chapters, they provide the reader with a comprehensive overview of the state of the art concerning biographical trajectories and their importance in building knowledge relationships in anthropology, but also a panoramic view of the sites and issues with which the contributors have been engaged.

Born in the post-war period, most of them in apartheid-like societies (pp. 11, 99), these

anthropologists experienced critical changes in their personal lives that have, in different ways, reflected shifts in the academia. At the time they graduated, what had been previously recognised as a stable field of research melted away and turned against condescending positivist approaches. Most of those whom we get to know better over the course of the book reconfigured their colonial fate as settlers by deciding to follow a career as anthropologists in this challenging new scenario. What they have encountered during their lives, research and activism has been altogether quite different to any lesson they would have learnt had they belonged to an earlier generation. Meanwhile their interlocutors have changed too, starting to do anthropology themselves, becoming deeply engaged in the fight against dispossession and violence, willing to shape a new relationship with academia and with property rights in a broader sense, engaged in tackling inequality and committed to the 'demand for post-colonial redress and compensation for historical injustices' (p. 249).

Twelve black-and-white portraits open each of these biographical dialogues. Interspersed among the text are also various snapshots of intimate moments in the field, allowing us to appreciate both the solitude (Graburn and Rapport) and companionship (Wright) that anthropologists experience during their research. When pictured among their hosts, some have chosen images from their inaugural moments (Strathern), while others have decided to show themselves at an advanced age, emphasising how they have grown old alongside their friends over the intervening decades (Jackson and Trigger). Some have decided to insert pictures they themselves took, emphasising their location behind the camera (Peterson, Pinney). Others who have not illustrated their conversations suggest the unportrayable aspects of our experiences (Morphy, Cowlshaw, Metge and Salmond). All these choices are inspiring insofar as they evoke different attitudes and engagements to which we are all susceptible as anthropologists. Among the many issues raised by each

collaborator, doing anthropology 'at home' (Peirano 1998) is perhaps the all-encompassing theme, since it foregrounds issues like autochthony, alterity, alienation and racism (sensitively approached by those from New Zealand and Australia whose incongruous belonging as *pakeha* and *whitefelas* is consciously tackled and reworked through friendship building, language learning and a reconfiguration of the surrounding cosmological landscape).

Despite many shared considerations, there are also sharp divisions among the interviewees. One critical subject in particular provokes antagonistic positions; the so-called 'public anthropology' elicits an intense debate in which concerns such as academic freedom, political engagement and policy, or even market-driven fundraising are at stake (pp. 54, 90, 192). Some authors are clear about their role on the periphery, where, as Salmond writes, no anthropologist '[can] make false claims of authority' (p. 68). However, when asked by the editors to specify 'what distinguishes anthropology as a professional practice and a way of knowing' (p. 28), some of the contributors like Pinney go against the grain, stating that 'we need [anthropology] in order to have something to rebel against' (p. 166). While some interviewees are emphatically enthusiastic about the pragmatic effectiveness of our expertise, others like Strathern are more cautious, observing that 'analytical solutions aren't necessarily practical solution' (p. 241).

Although each chapter can be read independently, the interviews as an ensemble resonate with dilemmas and challenges that anthropologists faced not only in New Zealand, Australia, India, Canada and the United Kingdom, but also in many other regions of the world, including countries like South Africa and Brazil, for example. The book thus offers both unsettling and highly inspirational reading material, especially for academics emerging from the world's metropolises. It raises issues that are frequently overlooked and which represent unavoidable starting points for those doing anthropology today in the Antipodes and elsewhere.

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Steinmetz, George. 2013. *Sociology and empire. The imperial entanglements of a discipline*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 610 pp. Pb.: US\$31.14. ISBN: 978-0822352792.

If sociology is the science of the present, and if its main goal is the analysis of 'our' societies, there is no need to study its possible entanglements with imperial themes. Other disciplines, such as anthropology, history and geography, seem to have developed closer relationships with imperial policies, but sociology is generally viewed as immune from any colonial contamination. This statement may sound obvious, but it is totally wrong. George Steinmetz, who has edited this big and complex book, is well known for his pioneering work on the role of the social sciences in German overseas imperialism. He has invited 19 excellent social scientists to explore the links between sociology and empire. They have produced fresh and provocative knowledge, aiming to put an end to a long disciplinary amnesia. Pierre Bourdieu, whose sociological endeavour started in the colonial context of Algeria, argued that 'a social science of "colonial science" was one of the preconditions for a genuine decolonization of social science' (2013: 284).

The authors of the chapters have taken up a project that Bourdieu could not fully develop, and the outcome is quite impressive. The collection of essays is not only devoted to the historical sociology of a discipline considered in an imperial context. It mixes three agendas: the first is precisely the history of sociology as it was, and still is, embedded in imperial settings and purposes; the second aims to provide the reader with case studies of colonialism and empire, past

and present; the third is more theoretical: in the posterity of Negri and Hardt's *Empire* (2000) and of the much discussed English translation of Carl Schmitt's *Nomos of the Earth* (2003), is it possible to sketch a unified theory of empire? The excitement comes from the complex intertwining of goals, as well as at times, some frustration.

Let us begin with the best things: analysing together earlier theories of empire developed by sociologists and their effective contribution to the imperial state is extremely productive because it avoids the undue isolation of the conceptual level, which is the usual trap of intellectual history. Most of the chapters bring fresh information on the processes by which empires become objects of knowledge for the social sciences as well as on the proper effects of colonial situations over the mode of production of sociology. The analytical frame is most of the time the imperial nation-state, although the comparative dimension is not absent and even central in some chapters. This methodological choice is fully justified: the nation-state remains the main frame of colonial enterprises and of imperial construction. Sociology, as Johan Heilbron (2008) has shown, has developed strong national styles. There is no alternative if one wants to historicise the process in order to understand it as sociological fields are, until recent times, largely national. Thus we have in the first part of the book five well-crafted contributions on Russian, American, Italian, German and French sociologies. This part, titled National Sociological Fields and the Study of Empire is undoubtedly the strongest in the book, along with Steinmetz's superb introductory chapter on the major sociological contributions on Empire since 1830. The second part is not as convincing, since the four chapters do not deliver what is promised in the title, 'Current Sociological Theories of Empire'. The four chapters are worth reading, but they are mainly devoted to the two main examples of present imperial strategies, the USA and China. However, Krishan Kumar's contribution titled 'Empires and Nations. Convergences and Divergences' gives a partial answer to the

theoretical programme: it shows the coexistence of two forms of the political imagination and stresses the 'political after life of Empires' after their formal disappearance. The third part is extremely diverse (from developmentalism in Colonial India to architecture in Italy's fascist empire), but the seven chapters show a fair level of conceptual cohesion that expresses the editor's programme. Raewin Connell, who published in 1997 a classical article 'Why is classical theory classical?', a virulent and somewhat unfair attack against the disciplinary blindness concerning the colonial origins of sociology, is in charge of the conclusion. She expresses a quite radical point of view: an imperialist epistemology underlies the general theories put forward by Coleman, Giddens and Bourdieu. Thus the conclusion goes well beyond the nuanced and well-informed reports that make the book a wonderful tool for research and teaching. Randall Collins' reply to Connell in the same issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* is almost as classical as its radical counterpart. Is it really necessary for sociologists today to get a ticket to what Collins called a 'guilt trip' and to blame relentlessly the founding fathers? Were they as unaware or malevolent as the radical critique portrays them? If it were entirely true, we should instantly abandon the very idea of sociology and should pursue radically different goals. Clearly, it is possible to think that Durkheim, Weber and Bourdieu, although white middle-class men, are still worth reading. As we like to unveil our ancestors' colonial amnesia, we should ask ourselves why we take for granted the notions of autonomy, self-awareness and critique. Our daughters and sons will certainly find us blind and amnesic. The final remark does not diminish the multiple virtues of this great book, which will be a lasting reference in the field.

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Wentzell, Emily. 2013. *Maturing masculinities: aging, chronic illness and viagra in Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press. 224 pp. Pb.: US\$19.20. ISBN: 978-0822355069.

In *Maturing masculinities*, Emily Wentzell expertly interweaves insights from a range of academic disciplines including medical anthropology, science and technology studies, and the anthropology of gender. In doing so, she presents an ethnographic account of the varied, complex and composite ways through which Mexican men construct and enact both changing and context-specific 'ways of being men' throughout their life-course (p. 21). In particular, Wentzell focuses on the ways in which participants revise their embodied practices and ideas of what it means to be a 'good' Mexican man as participants age and begin to experience decreases in their erectile functioning, chronic illness and associated physical and emotional changes, shifting social expectations, and gender relations, all within diverse structural contexts.

Wentzell's research was based in Cuernavaca, Mexico; her primary fieldwork site was at the urology department in the government-funded hospital Unidad de Investigación Epidemiológica y en Servicios de Salud (UIESS). Throughout her fieldwork, Wentzell interviewed 254 middle-aged male urology patients (48 of whom were interviewed along with their wives or family members), physicians at the UIESS and in private practice, pharmacy technicians, and erectile dysfunction (ED) drug

pharmaceutical representatives. Of the 254 men interviewed by Wentzell, 70% reported decreases in their erectile function; however, only 28% of these sought medical treatment for this condition. Interview data were supplemented by observations of the routine functions of ED drug representatives, participant observation of patient consultations conducted at the UIESS urology department, and discursive analysis of ED advertisements found in Mexican media.

Wentzell's analysis of narrative and observational data illustrates her key finding that despite both the increasing medicalisation and marketing of ED as a biomedical problem remedied through the use of ED drugs and the persistence of local stereotypes and individual beliefs that characterise Mexican men as innately macho and overtly sexual, most study participants chose to reject medical ED treatment. The study participants' experiences and narratives demonstrate the various ways men challenge and reify dominant stereotypes of Mexican men and masculinity. Furthermore, they illustrate how a man's ability 'to attain firm erections can be central to his manhood at certain times but become insignificant as circumstances change and other markers of manhood come to the fore' (p. 4).

A particularly novel theoretical strength of Wentzell's work is her application of Annemarie Mol's (2002) concept of 'compositeness' together with the understanding that 'practices of coordination generate objects' seeming singularity' to both gender and chronic illness (p. 28). Wentzell argues that we can understand masculinities and chronic illnesses as 'composite objects' consisting of experiences, emotions, embodied states, social expectations, personal relationships and structural socioeconomic conditions (i.e. economic hardship) that are linked together through 'coordination work'. Wentzell defines composite masculinities as 'contingent and fluid constellations of elements that men weave together into masculine selfhoods' (p. 26).

This text offers insight into how participants' relationships with a variety of persons and institutions work to structure and influence their sexual experiences, beliefs and feelings regarding appropriate sexual conduct, and ultimately, their maturing

composite masculinities. As Wentzell demonstrates, it was often through negotiations and conversations with wives and physicians that participants came to understand change in erectile function as a natural 'physical prompt' that signalled their transition to a new stage of life. Consequently, most participants began to incorporate what they understood to be age-appropriate lifestyle changes such as adopting new and more socially positive forms of self-care, leisure and work into their composite conceptions of how to be a man in Mexico.

The compelling and comprehensive ethnographic detail and accessible writing style of *Maturing masculinities* make this text appropriate for both graduate and undergraduate students in various disciplines. Wentzell succinctly conveys the complexity of men's narratives, modes of embodiment, interpersonal relations, structural conditions and cultural expectations. Through its emphasis on highlighting the co-construction of masculinity alongside a range of other aspects of life, this text contributes to the social scientific understanding of gender, sexuality, male embodiment and illness. Moreover, Wentzell's inclusion of some participants' spouses in the interview process allows for a more robust analysis of couples' intersubjective constructions of masculinity and how these shape men's gender practices. This text advances the global scope of critical studies on men and masculinity, answering Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) call to further explore the geography of masculine configurations, provide a more sophisticated treatment of the dynamic processes of male embodiment, and attend to the ways in which configurations of male gender practice unfold and change over time.

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Tomasello, Michael. 2014. *A natural history of human thinking*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 192 pp. Pb.: US\$28.16. ISBN-13: 978-0674724778.

Few people today can hope to explain the uniqueness of human thinking by building upon such rich and groundbreaking scholarship as psychologist Michael Tomasello. This relatively short but densely-written book seldom betrays the outstanding research pursued in collaboration with his colleagues at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, where Tomasello works to pry apart what makes humans so special in contrast with their primate relatives. The short answer will make social anthropologists exclaim 'we knew it all along!': the uniqueness of human thinking is shared intentionality built upon human cooperation. The longer answer may, however, raise other questions along the way.

The book proposes a two-step evolutionary story, moving from individual intentionality (arguably shared with non-human primates) to joint intentionality (interpersonal) to collective intentionality (group-cultural). The core of the book begins with an empirical account of the many mental capacities common to great apes and humans. Apes entertain abstract cognitive representations, make causal inferences about the physical and social world largely resembling the logical structures of human thinking, and they have the capacity for cognitive self-monitoring (e.g. knowing about knowing). What stops them short of human intelligence is the orientation of their cognitive capacities for competition, constricting apes solely to individual intentionality.

Somewhere on the human evolutionary path, individual intentionality was complemented by joint intentionality. Building upon impressive empirical material, the third chapter explains how this 'second-personal' mode makes possible the conceptualisation of e.g. 'we are hunting' as an ensemble of joint goals and joint attention, but also allows for distinguishing first-person from second-person perspectives. Such a system of thoughts is unavailable to, say, chimps, who, even when group hunting,

amount to a set of agents, each driven exclusively by his individual intentionality. In contrast, humans as young as 12 months can engage in joint actions, and can quarantine their perspective to account for other people's perspectives of the same event. Perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of this cooperative mode of thinking was the enabling of communicators – driven by mutualistic motives – to inform others in inferential communication.

The evolutionary pressures of early human cooperation increased the adaptive horizon of joint intentionality, but also opened up the way to complex human sociality as we know it. In the fourth chapter, likely to be of particular interest to social anthropologists, Tomasello discusses collective intentionality, the final evolutionary step towards psychologically-modern humans. This group-mindedness encompasses a set of psychological capacities enabling social conventions, language, norms, group identity, the institutional reality of societies, argumentative reasoning and objective thinking or 'the view from nowhere'. The evolutionary advantage of collective intentionality in particular, makes humans capable of culture as a cumulative phenomenon – the ratchet effect earlier portrayed by Tomasello in his 1999 book *The cultural origins of human cognition*.

After being swamped by models of homo economicus and selfish genes, social anthropologists could feel vindicated by Tomasello's insistence upon the cooperative origin of human thinking. However, they may be less satisfied with his account of social institutions, language, or culture in general. To a social anthropologist, Tomasello's main argument in this chapter could appear to provide the psychological counterpart to (avowedly anti-psychological) Durkheimian theories of sociality. At least in its irreducibility to individual properties, 'collective intentionality' evokes 'conscience collective'. However, even anthropologists who engaged seriously with the Durkheimian notion of collective consciousness conceded that not all social life enfolded around collective representations. Often, conceptual collectiveness even came to the fore in direct opposition (if not explicit negation or suppression)

of individual intentionality – one classical example is ritual. Collective intentionality would then seem more of an artefact of cultural processes (i.e. metarepresentational) than an effortless, directly accessible property of human minds. Tomasello acknowledges the problem of linking individual and collective intentionality in his Conclusions and leaves it as an open point for disagreement – and, I might add, a promising avenue for research.

The final chapter engages, less extensively than one might have wished, with several alternative theories of the evolution of human thinking. Here, the book's emphasis on cooperation leaves one wishing for more. It is highly unlikely that our enhanced cognitive capacities are unrelated to the fact that humans are a far more cooperative species than any primate relative. But focusing on cooperation also obscures the fact that the complexity of human deceptions is also unparalleled in nature. What happens with collective intentionality when I knowingly pass a false banknote to a naive partner? Do we collectively intend the note to be a store of value, yet I individually intend it to be a forgery? How can one go in and out of collective intentionality? These may seem like side problems, but there are no free gifts in nature: if humans evolved to cooperate as much as they do, they are very likely to have also evolved cognitive capacities to avoid deception and cheating.

Tomasello's hypothesis of shared intentionality takes us closer to understanding the uniqueness of human thinking, but it needs a solid account of how the evolutionary interplay of cooperation and cognition beyond individual intentionality was not derailed by free-riding and exploitative intentions. Nevertheless, Tomasello's book packs an impressive argument, backed by cutting-edge research, for the fundamental social nature of the origin of human thinking.

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