

Bryant, Rebecca. 2010. *The past in pieces. Belonging in the new Cyprus. Contemporary Ethnography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. ix+207pp. Hb.: \$45.00/£29.50. ISBN: 9780812242607.

L'idée centrale de cet ouvrage, caractérisé par une grande finesse ethnographique et analytique, est que l'ouverture des frontières entre le sud et le nord de Chypre en 2003 n'a pas facilité le processus de réconciliation ; bien au contraire, elle n'a fait qu'éloigner davantage les deux communautés de l'île. Le but est donc de montrer que « les frontières sont créées non seulement par le biais de l'isolement, mais aussi par le biais de l'interaction ; elles sont créées non seulement par leur fermeture, mais aussi, et peut-être plus encore, par le fait de les traverser » (p.21). La possibilité pour certains Chypriotes grecs de visiter leurs maisons dans le nord de l'île, qu'ils avaient dû abandonner après 1974, a ainsi été marquée par l'impossibilité d'un éventuel retour. Ces maisons sont maintenant habitées par des Chypriotes turcs et des Turcs ayant participé à la guerre de 1974 et ayant reçu ces propriétés en récompense de leurs sacrifices. Ainsi, les réfugiés chypriotes grecs sont passés du rêve à la réalité, en constatant qu'une autre famille habitait leur maison et cultivait leur terre. Comme Bryant le démontre, les maisons et les terres définissent des « historicités particulières liées aux mariages, aux décès et aux naissances » (p.31). Les descriptions que Bryant a recueillies concernant le travail agricole expriment « l'interpénétration physique de soi avec la terre » (ibid). Ces visites ont donc révélé que ces lieux jadis intimement familiers sont devenus étrangers. Mais la propriété n'a pas seulement une signification personnelle ou nationale : elle est aussi au centre des réglementations juridiques, les appels à la Cour européenne des Droits de l'Homme désignant de plus en plus la

transformation d'une revendication territoriale en dispute légale sur le régime de propriété (p.179).

Au centre de cette analyse se trouve la ville de Lapithos, dont l'histoire pourrait être vue comme « un microcosme dans le cadre plus large du conflit chypriote » (p.5). Lapithos était une localité mixte, où Chypriotes grecs et turcs cohabitaient et travaillaient ensemble. En 1964, les Chypriotes turcs de Lapithos laissent leurs maisons et se retirent dans des enclaves, forcés par un climat d'insécurité et de violence interethnique qui va en grandissant. Les histoires de pillage, qui ont marqué le conflit chypriote au niveau local, commencent à ce moment-là. L'appropriation des biens de ses voisins détruit ce qui était le moteur de l'économie locale et le principe de l'ordre moral : la réciprocité (p.69). Dix ans plus tard, les Chypriotes turcs reviennent à Lapithos et c'est au tour des Chypriotes grecs de prendre le chemin de l'exil. En faisant la distinction entre la propriété intime (photographies familiales que les nouveaux occupants ont parfois rendues aux anciens occupants) et la propriété d'usage (les meubles que les nouveaux occupants ont gardé et continuent d'utiliser), Bryant décrit comment « le paysage du nord a été refait lors de cette période par le biais des actions intimes de pillage » (p.141). L'histoire du conflit passe donc par l'histoire de ces objets (p.148).

L'impact de la politique officielle sur la vie et la mentalité des Chypriotes grecs est aussi analysé : ayant longtemps cultivé le désir de retour dans la partie « occupée » de l'île (qui est toujours pensée comme une île grecque), les organisations de réfugiés ont appelé à ne pas visiter le nord après l'ouverture des frontières afin de ne pas devenir un touriste dans son propre pays. Bryant considère que ces récits visent à institutionnaliser le sentiment d'être en permanence dans le temporaire, dans la vaine

attente d'un retour à cette plénitude (*wholeness*) d'avant l'exil. Bryant parle également de la déception des Chypriotes turcs après le rejet du Plan Annan par les Chypriotes grecs en 2004 ; et des touristes étrangers qui achètent des propriétés dans la partie nord de Chypre, changeant ainsi la donne concernant le régime des propriétés.

L'ouvrage est très bien écrit, dans un langage souvent littéraire qui s'appuie sur des répétitions (des « récitations » en quelque sorte) afin de mieux aborder un sujet aussi grave. Dans un Working Paper, Sarah Green examine comment une rhétorique de la nostalgie, mais aussi des stéréotypes, des perspectives politiques et des sensibilités sont souvent exprimés à travers ces types de récitations en Grèce. Avec beaucoup de subtilité, Bryant transforme ces récitations en outil analytique afin d'examiner le conflit chypriote tout en évitant de tomber dans le piège de désigner des victimes, d'un côté, et des bourreaux, de l'autre.

Reference

Green, Sarah. 2009. *Reciting the future: everyday speculations about what might happen next on two Greek borders*. COST Action IS0803, EastBordNet, October 2009

KATERINA SERAIDARI
*Laboratoire Interdisciplinaire Sociétés
Solidarités Territoires, Toulouse (France)*

Candea, Matei. 2010. *Corsican fragments: difference, knowledge, and fieldwork*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. viii + 203 pp. Pb.: £16.99. ISBN: 978 0 253 22193 3.

In *Corsican Fragments*, Matei Candea takes the theoretical problematic of difference to motivate a set of ethnographic questions and challenges related to both the context of life in a village on the island and the process of fieldwork and 'enfielding' of the author. Throughout the text Candea makes it clear that 'difference' – with all its ambiguities, tensions and libidinal

investments – permeates deep into accounts of the island. Indeed, the author highlights, importantly, the production of difference through the paradox of Corsica itself which is claimed to be inherently unknowable to outsiders, particularly the French mainland, though it is one of the highly researched regions. This is not a long book and yet Candea covers much ethnographic, theoretical (both anthropological and non-anthropological), methodological and epistemological ground. One can easily marvel at the author's attempt to unite method, ethnographic insights and the fieldworker's personal – or, in keeping with the author's preferred language, 'partial' – plight, into an account that is as much about Corsica as it is not.

In the chapter entitled 'Place', Candea delves into the classical problem of the connections and disconnections of land and people, so fundamental to accounts of identity, nationalism and dwelling. The author shows himself to be well-versed particularly in the writings of Latour, Strathern and Tarde, as his ethnographic elaborations are suffused with these authors' language, interests and theoretical inclinations. It is no accident then that this chapter draws on Latour's 'sociology of associations' as a way into the different experiences and ways of watching forest fires on the island. The author claims that the ways in which the fires are watched, the compartments and modes of engagement, reveal the differences between insiders, (autochthons Corsicans) and outsiders (everyone else), but particularly the short-term visitors and holidaymakers. Candea's claim is not that the two classes have different ways or styles of being that are exposed in such revelatory moments, rather the lines of difference are affirmed and re-affirmed in the very processes of watching the fires. Thus, one need not turn to 'alterity' as a fundamental and substantial difference in 'being'; instead, anthropologists can turn to processes, practices and connections that are continually opening-up and closing possibilities and marking differences against an always unstable sameness.

At the heart of this book is the idea that the social is a 'thick web of relations' composed of persons, things, objects and places, and it is the 'enwebment' – what Tim

Ingold would prefer to call 'enmeshment' – that substantialises these entities and beings. Working to this metaphysical picture it seems the corollary epistemological claim is that relations can be empirically tracked with no deficit between the empirical and the metaphysical. Though this conceptual problem is under-theorised in this text, the metaphysical account of sociality allows Candea to pursue the blurred lines between insider/outsider, connection/disconnection through various ethnographic problems, such as: what constitutes a Corsican as against a non-Corsican and how do persons manage difference within their own social sphere.

There is much to unpack in Candea's *Corsican Fragments*; that is both the virtue and difficulty of this book, which asks very big questions both ethnographic and theoretical in nature. Not enough space is devoted to the claim made in the chapter 'Anonymous Introductions': that through reconfiguring anthropology's approach to identity and difference following Gabriel Tarde, one can replace the problematic of 'Being' with an examination of the ways of 'having'. As fascinating as this claim is, one only really begins to get an idea of how one of the central terms in Western metaphysics can be diminished by this call towards the very end of the text. This is not a text short on ideas and provocations, nor is it merely a theoretical text with odd ethnographic interventions. If the reader is sympathetic to figures such as Marilyn Strathern, Bruno Latour, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro or Gabriel Tarde, one can find an anthropologist who puts to work these authors' ideas in novel ways.

HAYDER AL-MOHAMMAD
University of Southampton (UK)

Daniels, Inge. 2010. *The Japanese house: material culture in the modern home*. Oxford and New York: Berg. x + 243 pp. Pb.: £19.99. ISBN: 978 1 84520 517 1.

This volume by Inge Daniels, who teaches at the Institute of Social Anthropology,

University of Oxford, is an absorbing ethnography of contemporary middle-class Japanese homes and houses. It is accompanied by insightful and discerning photographs taken by Susan Andrews, who lectures at the London Metropolitan University. The volume is very well written, based on solid data and theoretically informed. Daniels brings us into the houses of 30 specific families in the Japanese urban area of Kansai (roughly Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto). The focus on actual homes both allows her to anchor her analysis in very rich ethnographic data and facilitates the link between her investigation and broader developments in present-day Japan. The dwellings where the families live are diverse and include detached houses and apartments in large and small blocks (called 'mansions' in Japanese), owned and rented units. In addition, given that the families are demographically varied, Daniels well portrays the diverse features and dynamics of kinship and neighbourhood in the country. As an anthropologist with long experience in Japan (and to be fair, as one cited in the volume), I found myself time and again learning new things about Japanese homes and thoroughly enjoying this insightful ethnography.

Let me briefly sketch out the book's contents. Chapter 1 explores ideas about the house and home in contemporary Japan through an examination of the importation of 'Western' notions of domesticity (an ideal dwelling comprises a kitchen, living room and 'master' bedroom). In addition, it examines how family relations are formed within homes. Chapter 2 is devoted to the spatial boundaries and the relations crossing these boundaries between residents of houses and their surroundings. This part includes a fascinating investigation of such things as fences and walls. Chapter 3 brings readers inside again to portray the spiritual aspects of domestic space through a focus on family altars and rituals, and the material culture protecting the family from malevolent forces. Chapter 4 is especially interesting since it critiques the often romantic idea of the Japanese house as characterised by a minimalist aesthetic. In concentrating for example on tatami rooms, Daniels shows the

diversity of their use and their often-crowded organisation. Chapter 5 again is fascinating for the way it describes and underscores the inherent tension between display and storage in all homes. Indeed, Daniels convincingly underlines consumption patterns that have led to a material surplus flowing into Japanese homes. Chapter 6 is a wonderful explication of the difficulties of disposing of objects from the home. It demonstrates how the value of many objects (primarily gifts received) is related to a sense of duty towards the relationship within which they were exchanged.

The book successfully achieves a number of aims. First, it accompanies readers into Japanese homes to examine domestic lives and ties through showing the social significance of such often taken-for-granted issues as adornments and exhibits, furniture and tatami floors, the exchange of gifts and family-centred rituals, and the places where people eat, bathe, socialise and sleep. Second, it provides excellent illustrations (some of which mirror Japanese aesthetics) of homes, rooms, fixtures, equipment or storing places that provide readers with a feel for domestic spaces. Third, the volume links specific analyses to wider issues in contemporary Japan, as gender and marriage, neighbourly ties (or their lack) and consumption, ideologies of the middle-class as well as the frictions and tensions (such as generational ones) that characterise any family. Fourth, the ethnography convincingly cites and uses scholarly work and data in the Japanese language so that readers who do not have access to this scholarship are rewarded.

Daniels provides throughout the book photographs taken by Susan Andrews. These photos not only complement and illustrate the argument found in the text but can be read and analysed in their own right. For example, chapters are divided by photo spreads that offer another way of looking at homes and houses and their diversity. Readers are thus offered insightful peeks into street gardens, neighbourhood surveillance, alcoves, doll festivals, or humour and gender stereotypes. Furthermore, the spreads' value lies in provoking sociological questions such as the importance of neigh-

bourly social control, notions about disposal of material culture and ending social ties or the reasons for seeking spiritual assurance.

To conclude, this very well-written volume will definitely appeal to an array of students (from introductory to advanced levels), to scholars interested in Japan, architecture, domestic space and family dynamics, and to general readers interested in the subject. Rich in textual and visual data, well placed in the study of material culture and theoretically informed, this is a model ethnographic work.

EYAL BEN-ARI

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Israel)

Edwards, Janette, Penelope Harvey and Peter Wade. 2010. *Technologized images, technologized bodies*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn. 258 pp. Hb.: £55. ISBN: 978 1 84545 664 1.

The ambition of this book is to examine how 'authoritative images and imaginaries of bodies are crafted technologically, how they operate in hierarchies of knowledge and power and what consequences they have for agency and autonomy' (p. 30) by using an ethnographic approach and looking at these issues from the perspective of technologies, the visual and the human body. For example, Dumit's chapter looks at pharmaceutical companies and their advertisements, and discusses how visual and verbal communications render previously undiagnosed symptoms to be recognised as a condition requiring medical attention and medication. This happens during the process of 'pharmaceutical witnessing' by invoking multiple bodily modes of attention. I find the rest of his otherwise original argument – that this is part of a rite of passage – highly speculative and unpersuasive. The same praise and critique can be partly applied to Nahman's chapter on visual representations of embryos in Israeli fertility clinics using (foreign, non-Israeli) ova donations, keeping in mind that the connections he draws between Israel, nationhood, local and global are compelling but rely on his (rather than his informants')

understandings of and speculations about the practices on offer.

Ecks's study on Indian gastroenterologists is full of amusing examples of medical paternalism. It is not clear whether imaging technology is fascinating for patients because (Western) science (and medical scans) continues to constitute a dominant discourse, or because the scans are considered conspicuous consumption. The doctors' use of imaging technology, argues Eck, helps them to assert their 'scientific' and cultural dominance in front of their patients.

Landecker looks at the level of the cells and presents a fascinating argument about how cryogenic services, with processes of (re-)freezing the cells and cell lines for later use, not only enable and increase the 'plasticity' of the living matter itself but also 'suspend' time. She also makes a bold statement by calling to re-think Foucault and his archaeology of 19th-century science. Without being a Foucauldian, I still miss in this volume more thorough examinations of power relations that many new technologies engender. For example, from this perspective Landecker could see the increasing commodification of scientific research also as a process of deskilling highly competent scientists who are no longer able to grow their own biological material but have to buy it on the market. Along similar lines, Viseu and Suchman could be more critical of 'wearable' technology as a way to free workers from spatial confines and see it instead as a new panopticon that enables even greater micro-management of workers by rendering them 'visible' all the time.

Hopefully, future studies will also pay greater attention to how those affected understand their own images (e.g. how patients understand their own scans). One such example is Cohn's chapter on the depressed patients and their mostly futile attempts to overcome social stigma of mental illness by locating it in the brain. Lorimer's chapter on how and why scientific representations of the body at an exhibition about learning and learning disabilities in Chicago Museum of Science resonate with the public is ultimately about

the mediating process of what was meant to be conveyed and what according to her analysis (rather than ethnographic work among the visitors) was actually understood. Scheldeman looks at how young diabetic patients use their pumps to deliver medication and thus make them part of their bodies, but this embodied experience is hardly graspable by the academic language.

Studies on users' (patients') perspectives are not only important from the socio-cultural and theoretical points of view, but could actually contribute to (a more ethical and financially optimal) applied health research. For example, imaging technology and scans are becoming increasingly clearer and more precise and private healthcare providers often buy and use these newest technological gadgets. Yet healthcare professionals frequently do not know what discernible shadows and scan regions might mean in the latest technology, which can cause considerable distress to their patients who are left to wonder whether a particular shadow is a sign of a (serious) health complaint or just a *signifiant* without *signifié*. Social research and semiotics could help in understanding how these apparently meaningless parts of the scan are 'read' by patients and whether they cause unnecessary distress, thus rendering the imaging practice more ethical. And the comparisons between standard and more advanced technologies would contribute to health economics.

BARBARA POTRATA

Leeds Institute of Health Sciences, University of Leeds (UK)

Fosztó László. 2009. *Ritual revitalization after socialism. Community, personhood, and conversion among Roma in a Transylvanian village.* Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia 21. Berlin: LIT Verlag. 248 pp. Pb.: €29.90. ISBN: 978 3 643 10175 4.

In this book László Fosztó presents interesting ethnography that brings out the very rich cultural diversity of Transylvania. This

ethnography also highlights the strong economic and cultural interdependence between Roma and the people they live among. Foszto's ethnography is about a group that lives among Hungarian Romanians: the Romungre. The analysis of religion and ritual praxis is especially fruitful in this social environment, with its rigid but negotiable social hierarchies. Foszto's account recalls and illustrates how Roma groups seek new forms of public recognition, not by ethno-political mobilisation, but through religious conversion and staging public rituals.

As noted in the preface by Michael Stewart, Foszto's book is one of the few anthropological analyses of Roma that does not have a holistic perspective but deals with one specific aspect of Roma life: ritual. This is welcomed as it places Roma as one case among others for anthropological analysis, and not as a separate species in need of particular treatment. The book does, however, raise several questions that highlight the need for thick descriptions no matter what theme is to be researched and analysed. The introduction presents the post-socialist ethnography of the region, the anthropological contributions to the analysis of Roma groups and a discussion of the anthropology of religion. Foszto's own interest and intention is 'to address the communicative dimensions of local religious rituals and practices in order to show the role of religion in the creation and maintenance of the public sphere' (p. 41).

Chapter 2 deals with religious and ethnic diversity in Transylvania and presents the field and research methods. The following three chapters contain empirical data on different aspects of public rituals performed by local Roma: baptisms, confirmations, burials, oaths-taking and religious conversions, with discussions of their implications both for the maintenance of locality and for the 'maintenance and transformation of the moral self among the Roma' (p. 121). These chapters present fascinating ethnography and several interesting analytical observations. More empirical data about the relationships in the village would, however, have enhanced the analysis. One of the intriguing features of the relationship

between Romungre and Hungarians in this village is their pleasant cohabitation and the active participation of Romungre in Hungarian religious life. We learn that the Romungre are Calvinists and confirm their young together with the Hungarian majority, but we also learn that most Romungre are illiterate, so who are the young Romungre that go through confirmation and what about the others? We also learn that 'some' of the Romungre have converted to Pentecostalism, but nothing about how many and about their socio-economic position. Further, as the data and analysis centre on public crisis and life-cycle rituals, we learn little about the everyday rituals of inter-ethnic relations, of village relations and of gender in everyday encounters, of marriage and of economic activities. How does religious conversion interfere or coexist with such daily rituals, and with those of the Orthodox and Calvinist church?

Chapter 6 sums up by discussing what seems to be a process of revitalisation of rituals, both aimed at consolidating collective village norms and values – as in Hungarian village festivals – and of strengthening the inner self – as in Pentecostal rituals among the Roma. The last chapter offers a discussion of the media coverage concerning the coronation of the gypsy kings in Transylvania, and the widely broadcasted event of the marriage of the king's daughter. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the images that are produced by the media-coverage of these events and the possible implications of creating them. The media creation is interesting by itself, but why not ask what images the Roma are creating by these staged events? Such public rituals have long historical roots and are staged worldwide in more modest versions. The relationship between the media coverage and the Roma response is, in my view, the most revealing aspect of this social performance as it demonstrates the Roma's ongoing negotiation for a 'social place' both in their own and in the majority society. The media coverage is only one aspect of this process.

In spite of these objections, this book represents an important contribution to the ethnography of religious pluralism in

Transylvania and to the continuous documentation of the great variety of Roma life-worlds.

ADA I. ENGBRIGTSEN

Norwegian Social Research, NOVA (Norway)

Gootenberg, Paul and Luis Reygadas. 2011. *Indelible inequalities in Latin America: insights from history, politics, and culture*. Durham NC: Duke University Press. 248 pp. Pb.: \$22.95. ISBN: 978 0 8223 4734 7.

This book on the persistent privilege and pervasive inequality in Latin America immediately grasps you with its front cover depicting two anonymous women standing side by side and staring at the reader as if asking: how much do you really know about us? Are you so sure that this scene actually takes place in Latin America? The *reason* why we are *sure* has been the main challenge to the scholars who launched a series of seminars on inequality in the Americas at Stony Brook University between 2003 and 2006, under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation, and that gave rise to this volume. Based on extensive, methodologically different research conducted in countries like Peru, Mexico, Brazil, Cuba and the US, these essays help us understand a *relational logic* we cannot find elsewhere in the world.

Not unlike Latin America itself, the cover picture shows an enigma we only begin to decipher when we examine closely the multiple and overlapping footprints left on and around the bodies of these two women. The green-eyed homeowner slightly turns her back to the house-cleaner. The *patroa's* hands seem whiter than those of her *emplegada*. The *señora* wears make-up on her lifted face and has artificially straightened and coloured blonde hair. The *muchacha* has her straight black hair tied in a domesticated ponytail. Wearing high-heeled black boots, the first seems taller and overshadows part of her maid's body. The beige leather skirt and black turtleneck sweater are in total contrast to the flip-flops and short sleeve navy-blue cotton uniform worn by the worker. One is dressed up as if feeling cold. The other's forehead is slightly sweaty. Stand-

ing together, these two women seem worlds apart.

According to Reygadas, in order to understand the paradoxes in Latin America that are so well-depicted on the front cover of this book, one must realise that the two main dimensions of its inequality – ‘the juxtaposition of class, ethnic, and gender hierarchies’ and ‘a system of power relation that reconstructs barriers and social, educational, and cultural distances between privileged sectors and the mass of the population’ – might be linked to its ‘structural tendencies toward economic polarization, and the capacity of elites to reproduce their privileges’ (p. 46). Deeply inspired by Charles Tilly, the studies in this book unearth persistent processes that build ‘categorical differences’. They demonstrate that inequality is both intentional and creatively produced to tear society into different, hierarchical types of human beings to whom equal rights and opportunities do not apply consequently.

In her chapter Ewig demonstrates how, historically, health policies in Peru paved the way for a nationalist project that obliterated indigenous agency and identity by establishing ‘a more modern and urban society of unequals’ (p. 76) where some – mainly poor women and indigenous communities – were given public health care, whereas a proper social security health system was given only to workers, or worthy citizens. Thirty years of fieldwork in Pamplona Alta, a shantytown in Lima, gives Anderson the right to criticise research methods being used to ‘investigate the poor’ as if there was an ontological difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’ that allows us to ‘question’ them according to our own parameters of what defines a good life. Anderson reacts to these violent measures taken by government, NGOs and universities by pleading with us to take into account ‘subaltern practice and its transcendence projects’ (p. 90). After interviewing Brazilians from two different mid-size cities during the electoral campaign of 2002, Renno states that although elections are crucial for democracy, if political information is not democratised, citizens from poor neighbourhoods are barely aware of the critical issues that would enable them to have political opinions.

Casamayor views post-soviet Cuba through the lens of hip-hop artists and the painter Diago, who use their performances and art to criticise how racial inequalities have been violently veiled on the island.

Unfortunately out of tune, Gray's chapter is probably symptomatic of a challenge this book did not completely overcome. Latin America was meant to be addressed in this volume through a broader theoretical spectrum by which inequality could be better explained. However, when women and men born in southern Mexico, whose mother tongue is not Spanish, are called *Mexicans* in Gray's analysis (p. 188), we realise our own difficulties in challenging the well-established 'categorical differences' that seal the destiny of people to the confines of a single nation-state, to one country or another. It is certainly a long journey we still have ahead, which will be made easier with this book as a guide.

ANTONÁDIA BORGES

*University of Brasília, El Colegio de México
(Brasil)*

Ittmann, Karl, Dennis D. Cordell and Gregory H. Maddox (eds.) 2011. *The demographics of empire. The colonial order and the creation of knowledge*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 302 pp. Pb.: \$28.95. ISBN: 978 0 8214 1933 5.

This is a volume on historical demography in colonial Africa. Most of the contributors are historians, with a few anthropologists and policy specialists. The main contribution of this book is to a growing field of anthropological and historical studies that (1) is sceptical of the idea that colonial power was all-dominant or all pervasive and (2) attempts to study the database of colonial knowledge – reports, censuses, ethnographies, maps, surveys – empirically and sociologically. The idea is that censuses and other building blocks of colonial knowledge were constituted and implemented in social space. Censuses, reports and surveys contain in their silences and absences connections to empirical social relations.

Gervais and Mandé's chapter describes the relationship of counting to colonial sovereignty in French West Africa: 'recording numbers allowed colonial authorities... to splash their colours across colonial maps' (p. 90). But the book, and all the authors, emphasise the limits of colonial power. The knowledge generated by censuses had difficulty concealing the 'local-level ambiguities' (p. 89). In their introduction the editors write that it was in the colony that the modern state was able to fully exercise its powers of control and domination with little restraint from civil society or legal obstacles (p. 9). The editors note that modern biopower was given its fullest rein in the colonial context, which Foucault ignored more or less entirely. There is a hint that colonialism was central in the genealogy of the modern state. However, they do not claim that the 'inquisitorial' power of the modern colonial state was all encompassing. Banal considerations of cost and administrative reach meant that colonial power was significantly limited. Colonial power was also limited because censuses and other means of recording reality contain a number of social and cultural encounters. Colonised subjects were not empty vessels to be counted, they responded to enumeration in strategic and wilful ways. Cordell's chapter records how Indians claimed membership in higher castes to elevate their social status (p. 39). Cinnamon's chapter studies the act of counting through two different rationalities, the oral histories of Gabonese today and colonial reports of the early 20th century. Both rationalities recount the reach of the colonial authority through taxation and labour recruitment in largely complementary ways. But the oral history is an attempt to reclaim land and landscape lost to an overarching governmental rationality that displaces local place-making for the market and administration (individuals were encouraged to move to the logging towns and villages were moved to roadsides to 'hold the road') (p. 136). Cinnamon's chapter shows how colonial knowledge-making was an encounter between different worldviews.

In separate chapters Owino and Thurshen record how labour was produced. Thurshen's

is a welcome gendered perspective that shows how the colonial state's policies on reproduction in the continent were designed to ensure the reproduction of a workforce. Owino's chapter studies self-fulfilling colonial perceptions about the inexhaustibility of labour in Kenya. When faced with what appeared to be shortage the colonial state was creative, and dishonest, in recruiting unwilling and essentially unavailable labour, leading to food shortages in some regions.

The chapters in the book together constitute an important reading of the dynamic between colonial sovereignty and social space. The introduction, though forcefully and clearly written, could have spent some time bringing out the impact that the book makes to studies of colonialism, and to the genealogy of the modern state. Some of this is left to the second chapter, written by Cordell, which seeks to distance the approach of the book from 'postmodernism' and 'postcolonialism'. The critique of postmodernism, focusing on the tendency of postmodern theory to study ways of knowing rather than empirical reality, is important but seems dated. The critique of postcolonialism, which is a critique of Said's *Orientalism* and Appadurai's study of colonial reports, does not do justice to the wealth of scholarship on postcolonialism. Authors like Cooper, Stoler, Chakrabarty and Chatterjee have tried hard to study the silences and absences of colonial discourses and colonial texts and they provide important connections to this volume. Additionally, the book, containing as it does a variety of interesting but very different arguments and approaches to demographic politics in colonial Africa, would have benefited from a concluding chapter by the editors that would draw the interesting but sometimes disparate arguments together. In spite of these issues, this is a fine contribution to a growing and important body of work on the production and implementation of colonial power and the dynamics between colonial authority and social space.

PREM KUMAR RAJARAM
Central European University (Hungary)

Jackson, Michael. 2011. *Life within limits: well-being in a world of want*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. xiii + 230 pp. Pb.: \$22.95. ISBN: 978 0 8223 4915 0.

Well-being is one of the very elusive things in life. We long for it, struggle for it, dream about it, remember it, we locate it in the distant past or the near future. We seldom if ever possess it. The sense that there is more to life than what one has seems to be something like a human universal. The gratification of desire that has become the operating principle of consumer capitalism has not exhausted this longing – if anything, it has made it more burning. The question about well-being remains an open one, only underlined by the evident inadequacy of attempts to quantify it by the means of the likes of The Quality of Life Index.

In *Life Within Limits*, Michael Jackson returns to the village of Firawa in Sierra Leone where he began his ethnographic career more than 40 years ago. Incidentally, Sierra Leone features in the Quality of Life Index as the least liveable country in the world. And yet while the people in Firawa and other places Jackson visits struggle with hardship, shortage and the memory of a terrible civil war, they certainly do not see their lives as bereft of quality. Jackson takes Sierra Leone as a starting point to wonder about what is involved in the attempt to make life liveable. The experiences, struggles and interpretations of his Kuranko interlocutors offer a powerful vision that is also very helpful in order to put into perspective the highly held Western fictions of individual fulfilment. In a world that is always one of want, lack and struggle, well-being is not a matter of what one gets but of how one carries one's load. The 'existential dissatisfaction' of 'the quest for the unknown something or someone without which one's life feels incomplete' (p. 196) is not contingent upon specific things we lack, but rather something like a 'cognitive surplus' (p. 197) of imagination that allows us always to command more energy and ambition than we need for survival. At the same time, our life is always one of limits, as the abundance of

our imagination encounters the scarcity of our possibilities.

The people Jackson encounters are usually painfully aware of the limitations they face. Their hopes of well-being are marked by a sense of reciprocity and sacrifice involved in every gain, and an awareness that individual fulfilment cannot be thought of separately from relational obligations and support, and the needs of the community. This is often a harsh, bitter and cruel world, and certainly a sceptical one, based as it is on an 'ethic of living within limits rather than struggling to transcend them' (p. 150). And yet this Kuranko vision, as it is elaborated and developed by Jackson, may be truer and more instructive about the human condition than the Western modernist ideal of cumulative fulfilment and autonomous self-realisation: 'Life is not a problem that can be solved but a situation with which we struggle, a mystery that cannot be fully fathomed' (p. 195).

What holds for Jackson's theoretical synthesis also holds for his way of writing. A travelogue, an ethnography, a philosophical diary of his journey with his son, and a friend and informant returning for a visit home from a migrant's life in the UK, *Life Within Limits* moves consciously in an open zone between literary and academic writing. Rather than trying to develop a finite argument based on a systematic data collection, Jackson moves between observations, encounters, narratives and reminiscences to take up different lines of thought that each in a different way tackle the over-arching question of well-being and existential dissatisfaction. Jackson's methodological refusal to be methodological may not be to every ethnographer's taste, but his way of narrative and argumentation is one that certainly does justice to a human condition that is full of tensions and contradictions, where things don't fit, and one's attempts to make life good may have tragic consequences. Jackson's approach is sensitive to the aporias, struggles and openness of existence that are easily smoothed by approaches that focus on 'cultures', discourses or top-down strategies of subjectivation.

In the final pages of the book Jackson relates this way of thinking about existence to the nature of fieldwork as a part of his biography. What makes ethnography a fruitful way to understand something has to do with its difficulty, improvised quality and emotional ambivalence. Far from being a representative of confessional, self-involved anthropology, Jackson offers a way of doing anthropology that is open to the people one encounters, aware of the limitations of that encounter and capable of turning the experience of those limitations into a productive ground of theoretical synthesis.

This is an ethnographic project that takes time, and it would be unfair to draw any comparisons between the fruits of half a year's PhD fieldwork and the perspective and wisdom of 40 years of companionship and friendship (allowing Jackson, for example, to take up a conversation that was interrupted 28 years earlier). But Jackson's approach and this book certainly do stand out as an example of what a good, sensitive and patient pursuit of ethnography can accomplish within the limits of a lifetime.

SAMULI SCHIELKE

Zentrum Moderner Orient (Germany)

Jacquesson, Svetlana. 2010.

***Pastoréalismes: anthropologie historique des processus d'intégration chez les Kirghiz du Tian Shan intérieur.* Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag. xi + 281 pp. Hb.: €68. ISBN: 978 3 89500 769 9.**

This monograph examines pastoralist and descent systems in Kyrgyzstan from their integration in the Tsarist colonial system to the present day. Based on extensive archival work as well as over a decade of ethnographic fieldwork in northern Kyrgyzstan, Jacquesson gives a chronological and detailed account of the impact of Tsarist rule, the formation of the Kyrgyz Republic, collectivisation, sedentarisation, the Soviet livestock economy and the dismantling of this system. The argument

about the nature, survival and interrelations of pastoralist and genealogical practices is firmly based in debates of both European and Soviet ethnography. The author's use of the literature is exemplary in bringing together these debates and its comparative dimension.

Jacquesson asks what is specific about Kyrgyz systems of pastoralism and descent, how society is structured by these two complexes, how they interact and how they have changed from the 19th to the 21st century. Rather than seeing pastoralism as a mode of production, she defines it as an 'ensemble of sociotechnical systems integrated in politico-economic regimes' (p. 16). The author demonstrates that both Tsarist and Soviet observers (including ethnographers) overestimated the role of patriline as the main principle of social organisation and demonstrates when and how descent becomes a political tool in binding clients – and when not.

Jacquesson provides the reader with a host of primary material, tables and maps to discuss changing patterns of kinship and pasture use, focusing on one kolkhoz and one sovkhos. The general description is leavened by extensive quotes and results in a sort of oral history of shepherding, with fascinating details about experiments with raising yaks, or the relations between kolkhoz and sovkhos farms and the state. Although on occasion the detail is somewhat exhausting and a little difficult to follow, it does allow Jacquesson to successfully answer many questions: how did Kyrgyz leaders mobilise support and how were they integrated in the Tsarist administration? The author shows that communities of livestock and pasture use existed *because* of existing economic stratification (the poor serving the rich who required labour and lent their livestock). She discusses what kind of leadership was required to make collective farms successful, and what kind of forms of rural authority have emerged in the post-Soviet period. She describes the Soviet era 'invasion' of sheep, a monoculture that for a while marginalised all other activities. The narrative successfully demonstrates how in the long term, Soviet policies prioritised economic per-

formance over social reforms, and how eventually a planned economy was transformed into a local moral economy that resisted the cult of production. Jacquesson further argues that in the post-Soviet period pastoralism has been marginalised as a subsistence activity rather than becoming commercialised. Pastoral wealth has been concentrated in the hands of those who were already in influential positions in the late Soviet period. Patriline meanwhile have not been successful as a principle of ordering economic units, failing to generate sufficient trust and reciprocity. Jacquesson argues that although wealth in livestock is hard to convert into other forms of material wealth, it does serve to create patron–client relations and thus social and political capital. In showing both the continuities with Soviet rural society and the limits of when and how patriline become socially and politically convincing 'glue', Jacquesson implicitly argues against the view of Central Asia as 'retribalizing' in the post-Soviet era.

One of the greatest values of this study is the richness of data Jacquesson offers to support her argument: meticulous ethnographic and archival research come together here in a convincing way. As is common with case studies, there sometimes remains the problem of assessing how generalisable the experience of the particular communes whose history she traces is: as she demonstrates, the two often have quite different historical experiences. The reader is given plenty of evidence to compare with the experience of other areas, such as Kazakhstan and Mongolia. While the argument focuses very neatly on examining descent and pastoralist practices, there are also very intriguing discussions on the nature of historical memory and narrative, forms of political leadership, governance and the effect of state policies over several generations. Since the book is in French, its valuable synthesis of and engagement with Russian, French and English scholarship will not be as widely accessible as it deserves. Hopefully a timely translation will allow Central Asian and other interested scholars to join the debate on how kinship, pastoralism and

politics have evolved over a century of major changes.

JEANNE FEAUX DE LA CROIX
Zentrum Moderner Orient (Germany)

Johnson, Christopher H. and David Warren Sabean. 2011. *Sibling relations and the transformations of European kinship, 1300–1900*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn. 368 pp. Hb.: \$55.00/£55.00. ISBN 978 1 84545 769 3.

The book under review is the second volume of a trilogy based on presentations and discussions from (mainly) meetings of the European Social Sciences History Conference during the last decade. The overall theme was the history of kinship in Europe from 1300 to 1900, with special attention to the period of state formation marking the end of the feudal Middle Ages, and the period between 1750 and 1850, when the foundations were laid for the capitalist transformation of the second half of the 19th century and beyond. The contributions expanded and supplemented earlier findings of Sabean based on his voluminous and highly detailed analysis of the history of Neckarhausen, a peasant village in the South West of Germany.

The first transition was marked by the establishment and continuation of agnatic lines stressing male primogeniture; during the second transition these 'vertical patrilineages' were replaced by horizontally organised consanguineal kindreds. The role of siblings in these changing kinship regimes was reviewed during the ESSHC in Berlin (2004), when most of the papers included in this book were first presented. Other essays were solicited by the editors. Although they do not indicate which ones, they are probably the three marked 'published previously', 'revised', 'revised and extended', all dealing with Britain 1750–1900.

Each of the two significant periods is covered by six papers. Six contributions deal with Germany, three with Britain, two with

France and one presents case studies from Manduria (Italy) and Hessen and Sachsen (Germany). Five of the authors are based in the USA, three in Germany and Switzerland (Basel), two in the UK and one in France. The other author from France died in 2010. Four of the authors (including the editors) can look back upon a lifetime of active research, four others are firmly established as scholars and three of them seem to be at the beginning of a promising career.

The consideration of the role of siblings in the functioning of kinship systems during the first transition concentrates on the aristocracy, especially in the four essays on Germany. In this time sisters were crucial as marriage partners for initiating and confirming relations between ruling houses. It is also interesting to learn that the establishment of male primogeniture created its own problems, both for fathers, whose rule was often challenged by their eldest sons, and for brothers, whose influence had to be minimised, although they might have been much better rulers. The essays on the second transition are mainly about kinship among the rising bourgeoisie and focus on the highly emotional ties between brothers and sisters, bordering on the incestuous, which often seem to have found a surrogate outlet in frequent first cousin marriages.

With regard to Neckarhausen, Sabean demonstrated that the analysis of kinship as an idiom that was used to argue about rights and obligations between individuals required a thorough knowledge of the role of labour and capital (land, crops, beasts and tools) in such a peasant community and also of the way kinship relations were constituted by the laws, rules and practices that responded to the demands and ideological justifications of the representatives of church and state. Rather than starting with the rules constituting a kinship system and comparing them with practices that are often irregular, Sabean showed how such practices actually can shape systems, the properties of which are only partially understood by the participants, but which can become especially clear when contrasting different epochs.

The essays collected here may offer interesting illustrations of aspects of kinship transformations in Europe, but they do not match the standards reached in the Neckarhausen monographs. This is not just a matter of format. Even if the contributors had had more space, they still would have lacked the quantity and quality of data that Sabeau was able to collect during many years of archival research. It is this unrivalled treasure that resulted in his marvellous 'thick descriptions'. His own contribution to the present volume on the discourse of sentimental love between brothers and sisters in Germany around 1800 is a case in point. It is mainly based on a reading of literary texts and theological and philosophical treatises, supplemented with some biographical details of the writers whom he considers, where their life seems to copy their texts. But in my opinion he fails to demonstrate how this could contribute to 'managing the flow of capital in the system of alliance', as he would have been able to do for 'his' Neckarhausen at any period.

JAN DE WOLF
Utrecht University (The Netherlands)

Karpik, Lucien. 2010. *Valuing the unique: the economics of singularities* (translated by Nora Scott). Princeton: Princeton University Press. xi + 280 pp. Pb. \$39.50/£27.95. ISBN: 978 0 6911 3710 0.

How do you choose a fine wine, a good restaurant, a great movie or the right lawyer or doctor? This book attempts to answer this kind of question by putting forward a sophisticated sociological interpretation of singularities, goods and services defined ultimately by their qualities and not by their price. Lucien Karpik is a sociologist and former director of the Centre de Sociologie de l'Innovation (Paris), a marginal but productive research centre, home also to Michel Callon and Bruno Latour. Lesser known than the stars of actor-network theory, Karpik is not, however, a complete stranger to Anglophone readers. His

previous book, a historical sociology of French lawyers, was translated into English and enjoyed a solid reception (Karpik 1999). That particular research triggered Karpik's subsequent interest in the understanding of professional markets and the economy of quality products and services.

The present book, composed of 19 chapters, is divided into four parts. The first part ('An Overlooked Reality') introduces the reader to the reality of singularities and demonstrates the failure of neoclassical economic theory to grasp the nature and the functioning of these particular markets, which deal with singular, incommensurable products and services. Karpik's aim is to go beyond the opposition between the market (the domain of generalised equivalence) and culture (the realm of singular, unique entities). Against Max Weber, Georg Simmel and Oliver Williamson, the author proposes a study of market singularities, rejecting the vision of their alleged homogenisation through exchange. He defines singularities as structures of characteristics that are uncertain and incommensurable. These multiple qualities are not aggregates (like in the hedonic price theory of Kelvin Lancaster) but a structure of qualities, whereby the evaluation of each of the dimensions is inseparable from the evaluation of all the others. There is uncertainty concerning the qualities, and these qualities are not easily commensurable. Singularities could be divided into those that are evaluated by their originality (e.g. the works of art, music, literature) and personalised services (such as liberal professions).

The status of quality uncertainty is fundamental for distinguishing between economic approaches that deal with uncertainty under the form of calculable risk (probabilities) and the economics of singularities that postulates radical uncertainty. In spite of this ontological predicament, Karpik's ambition is to propose a model that explains the coordination mechanisms and the prices of singularities. In the second part of the book ('Tools for analysis') he sets up the basic outlines of his theoretical model. Having laid out the

primacy of judgement (qualitative choice) over decision (calculative reasoning) in the world of singularities, the author describes a set of judgement devices (*dispositifs* in French, borrowed from Michel Foucault) that help the actors to orient themselves in the market. These devices are trust or delegation mechanisms, cognitive supports and active forces that orient consumers' choices.

In the third part ('Economic Coordination Regimes'), Karpik puts forward an elaborate typology of seven regimes of economic coordination (markets of singularities) that are defined accordingly in relation to a particular dominant judgement device. The impersonal devices (ranks, guides, for example) regulate four regimes: authenticity regime (fine wines, music, literature etc.), the mega regime (mega-films, luxury products), the expert opinion regime (literary or film prizes, and the quasi-markets of universities and hospitals) and the common opinion regime (popular music). Personal devices or networks define the other three regimes: the reticular (e.g. violin makers, personal tutors, diviners), the professional and the inter-firms regimes.

Anthropologists will no doubt raise issues with the book. Karpik relies almost exclusively on French case studies (with a few references to US studies). This is frustrating even for a sympathetic reader, given the extensive ethnographic literature from around the world on the production and consumption of singularities (only Arjun Appadurai and Daniel Miller get a couple of references). Moreover, *Homo singularis* might look like an improved version of *Homo economicus*, one who merely replaces instrumental rationality with judgement-based rationality. While providing a convincing critique of neoclassical economic theory, the author seems to be inclined towards a formalist approach to economic phenomena: 'The actor of the singularities is also rational and self-interested. But his action is determined by the combined effects of two orientations: the search for "good" or the "right" product and the best means-end alternative' (p. 67). Such language might make substantivists set the book down. If they do, they will miss the workings of a rigorous and subtle mind

engaged in sustained and critical dialogue with classics such as Max Weber, Georg Simmel and Karl Polanyi, and with recent innovative works in economic sociology (Philippe Steiner, Viviana Zelizer) and ANT theory (Michel Callon and Fabian Muniesa).

Given the relative scarcity of theoretical models in economic anthropology in the last decade, anthropologists should not simply discard this very ambitious, empirically grounded model of markets of singular products. Taking into account the abundant anthropological literature on the production, circulation and consumption of singularities, it is puzzling and a bit troubling for economic anthropologists that the first theoretical synthesis on the topic comes from a sociologist. But working toward such synthesis is in itself already a great achievement of the book, one anthropologists would do well to emulate.

Reference

Karpik, Lucien 1999. *French lawyers: a study in collective action, 1274–1994*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (translated by Nora Scott).

MARIAN VIOREL ANASTASOAI
University College London (United Kingdom)

Linde-Laursen, Anders. 2010. *Bordering. Identity processes between the national and personal*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing. 303 pp. Hb.: €75.14/£65.00. ISBN: 978 0 7546 7905 9.

Although the book is advertised by the publishers as a 'richly theoretical discussion', one of the strongest impressions a reader may have is the passionate, meticulous, at times surprising and inventive style of empiricist investigations into what a bordering process may involve. The author selected what is at first glance an unlikely combination of historiography, politics and policies analyses, and (inter)personal experiences to the Swedish/Danish repertoire of differences (and similarities). His chronicle of events, styles,

rationalisations, ideologies of state-building between Denmark and Sweden is a compelling read as the author is able to pepper the chronologies and narrations on the unfolding of historic events with episodes that a reader is likely to perceive as somewhat surprising sidestepping to the realm of the ephemeral, the exceptional, humorous and even bizarre. In this, the author exemplifies rather than extensively theorises a manner of reflective, deconstructive historiography as he is consistently able to present these excursions as relevant to his line of thinking. As origin stories (Chapter 1, 'A Border is Born') and genealogies of any kind present a generalised analytical danger of producing an 'organic' history that supposedly underlies the present even when actors are not aware of such deep history, the author treats his historical materials simply as 'ethnographic materials' to 'make these materials contribute to the understanding of bordering' (p. 7).

Chapter 2 ('An Idea of a Space') places the narrative in the formative times of (Nordic) modernity, the 1600s. Not surprisingly, this chapter is replete with theoretical musings, confrontations and conclusions: the (European) historical 'place' of the very birth of the nation-state was and remains one of the most hotly debated issues in the fields of ethnicity, nationalism and boundaries. The author's style of theorising, however, calls for a more detailed assessment. First, it is all but shy of decisive pronouncements that are sometimes worded as axioms ('This explains why some nations need one, and only one, language, religion, and ethnicity while other nations are able to be as strong with more of these different ingredients' (p. 115)). Second, the author hardly questions his rather sternly 'classical' analytical vocabulary: although he does problematise the relation between, say, culture and identity (p. 235ff), he never questions their contents, or the analytical usefulness of the concepts themselves ('Identity remains and must be recognised as an open-ended process' (p. 193)). These features remind a reader of a classroom, didactic style of conveying one's thoughts, whereas a book could profit from disclosing the lines of thought that lead to such decisive

usages of terminology. Third, the author often brings pronouncements that sound like the end product of a long string of thought, summary diagnoses that are, again, very strongly worded (e.g. the opening paragraphs in the Introduction where surprisingly categorical, and sometimes reductionist and unflattering, diagnoses of the practices of anthropology are given without much qualification; or, for instance, using Achille Mbembe's definition of banality in a context that necessarily seems very remote from the author's discussion given the absence of an explanation (p. 198)). Given this style of inhibiting the thought process behind such diagnoses, it strikes the reader as somewhat unsympathetic that some arguments are phrased in the manner of radical, if also brief, dismissal of theoretical propositions of other authors. Fourth, given that the book was published in 2010, there is a curious gap in the references: the author seems to profit extensively from the works published during the 1990s, but those published between 2000 and 2010 are very few. On the other hand, the book is an invaluable guide to the works pertinent for students of ethnicity, nationalism and boundaries published in the Scandinavian languages: the author presents, through his choice of quotes from these works, a picture of a vivid exchange and burgeoning scholarship.

Although the book brings a plethora of themes, an elucidating collection of historiographies both remote and recent (of the latter, the story of naming the Euroregion Øresund is both entertaining and ominous as an example of EU functioning), and a rich insider's presentation of pertinent Scandinavian scholarship, arguably the fourth chapter, 'Personal Bordering', reads as the most intriguing. Not only was the author able to make relevant for ethnographic practice Kirkegaard's notion of difference between memory and recollection; he also reminded us, through a personal experience with different principles of manual dishwashing, of the more dangerous aspects of bordering that authoritatively moralise on practical as well as ideological cleanliness of the national body, and through this story, of our own personal routinised, unreflected absorptions into these ideologies and practices.

A nation may not be a community of fate: but is it a community of fateful abandonment?

IRENA ŠUMI

*European Centre Maribor, Institute of
Multicultural and Jewish Studies (Slovenia)*

Lindley, Anna. 2010. *The Early Morning Phone Call. Somali Refugees' Remittances*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn. 192 pp., Hb.: \$70.00/£41.00, ISBN 978 1 84545 644 3.

De façon claire et structurée, l'ouvrage d'Anna Lindley traite des fonds (*remittances*) – au sens large, y compris les biens et autres denrées (p.13) – reçus et envoyés par les réfugiés somaliens à leur famille à travers le monde. Combinant une approche sociologique et historique, l'auteure décrit le contexte somalien, kenyan et londonien et dévoile un univers étonnant à travers une étude des cas puisés dans les 500 et quelques informateurs ayant contribué à l'enquête.

Tout au long de l'analyse, l'auteure s'applique à démolir des idées reçues sur les motivations des migrants et l'usage des fonds. Elle met à mal des poncifs courants, tels que l'opportunisme économique de la migration, montrant qu'avant tout, les populations migrent pour sauver leur peau. Par ailleurs, certains migrants regrettent leur départ sitôt arrivés dans la société d'accueil (p.115) et le lien entre migration et envoi de fonds ne va pas de soi (p.140). Dans l'ensemble, l'ouvrage s'attelle à démontrer que les migrants sont plus qu'une force de travail et les fonds bien plus que de l'argent (p.141). Il est par ailleurs fait mention des conséquences de l'intervention internationale sur les mouvements migratoires et la constitution de la diaspora.

D'un bout à l'autre de l'ouvrage, des statistiques éclairent magistralement la problématique et mettent en évidence la pertinence du sujet. Les fonds non officiels atteindraient 50% des fonds officiels (p.5) et constituent 23% du revenu domestique des Somaliens (p.33). En 2004, le taux de chômage urbain en Somalie était de 40% (p.69),

argument de force pour demander de l'aide; la moitié des bénéficiaires ont toutefois un emploi (p.103). La Somalie accueille elle-même une des populations migrantes les plus vastes d'Afrique (un demi million en 1979 pour quatre millions d'habitants). Le conflit joue un rôle fondamental dans le déclenchement des versements, les bénéficiaires étant majoritairement originaires de pays en guerre (p.6). L'enquête est donc malaisée, les informateurs étant peu enclins à évoquer de tels souvenirs.

Inscrite dans une continuité historique, les migrations font partie des traditions (p.23, p.33). Le nomadisme est central dans le discours et la culture des Somaliens, qui se considèrent comme des nomades globalisés (p.47); cette reformulation leur permet de surmonter les épreuves de la guerre, de la dispersion familiale et de la perte de leurs biens matériels en mettant en avant leur libre arbitre plutôt que de se poser en victimes. L'essentiel des paiements s'organise indépendamment du système bancaire, justifiant le manque de données (p.34). Le *xawilaad* (transfert de dette) sollicite les services de deux agents – dans le pays de l'envoyeur et dans celui du bénéficiaire – qui communiquent par l'intermédiaire d'un compte à Dubaï. Les rapports intraclaniques déterminent le choix des agents. Ce système est tellement répandu que les charges diminuent avec les années (p.37). Il pallie l'effondrement de l'Etat, les insuffisances du système bancaire et la corruption du système international d'aide (p.110). Le terme « informel » n'est toutefois pas indiqué pour désigner le *xawilaad*, faute de l'existence d'une économie formelle dans le pays (p.42).

La fonction capitale du *xawilaad* dans la survie n'est pourtant pas la seule. Si les tentatives internationales d'aide à la paix se sont systématiquement trompées d'interlocuteur politique (p.49), les fonds reçus furent souvent réinvestis dans les affaires politiques du pays et dans la construction de la paix (p.54). Au gré de ses interventions, la diaspora modèle l'histoire politique de la Somalie (p.81). Par exemple, 50–70% du conflit de 1994–1996 furent financés de cette façon (p.59). Les fonds sont aussi investis dans les affaires, les études à l'étranger et la reconstruction d'immeubles

détruits pendant les conflits (p.71–73). Ils rendent aussi possible une nouvelle migration (p.102), en particulier lorsque la première s'est soldée par une détention en camps (p.113). L'utilisation de ces fonds ne se limite pas à la famille étendue et sollicite des réseaux sociaux complexes. Eastleigh, à Nairobi, est à la fois un quartier prospère avec des écoles et des services financés par le *xawilaad* et un haut lieu de criminalité (p.99, p.107).

Le déclenchement des versements représente une porte ouverte pour ceux qui en connaissent l'existence (p.78). Le plus souvent, l'expatrié se sent incapable de refuser les demandes d'aide car « les gens de la brousse ne paient pas » (p.61). L'obligation relève de la réciprocité intraclanique (p.129), d'une pression de la communauté (p.130) et de la compassion pour ceux qui sont restés au pays (p.131). Malgré tout, « tout le monde envoie de l'argent » (p.123), 92% des envoyeurs étant nés en Somalie, ce qui les rend plus sensibles à la pression des réseaux familiaux. Les envois continuent longtemps après l'expiration de la raison initiale (p.67). Toutefois, la migration ne rend pas la vie facile ; seuls 16% des Somaliens établis à Londres travaillent officiellement (p.120). L'enquête souligne la lassitude des contributeurs face à l'incompréhension de leur famille pour le stress lié à leur adaptation, l'argent durement gagné et le peu d'envie de rester dans un pays parfois hostile (p.135). Certains quémandeurs inventent des raisons pour obtenir des fonds (p.134, p.135). L'effet de l'appel matinal a toutefois un effet si puissant que rares – mais ils existent – sont ceux qui l'ignorent (p.135).

S'il y a des critiques à formuler sur cet ouvrage, on pourrait regretter que le titre mette tant de temps à trouver un éclaircissement dans le fil de la lecture et soit si peu présent dans le développement de l'analyse. Le « coup de téléphone du petit matin » correspond en effet à l'appel téléphonique matinal des quémandeurs, juste avant le départ au travail de leur parent expatrié. Dans la littérature, les bénéficiaires sont davantage étudiés que les pourvoyeurs (p.123), et l'ouvrage n'y fait pas exception contrairement à ce que le titre laisse suggérer. Enfin, les agents de transfert de fonds

sont à peine mentionnés dans l'étude, alors qu'ils en constituent un maillon essentiel.

ASTRID DE HONTHEIM
Université de Mons (Belgique)

Macdonald, Cameron Lynne. 2010. *Shadow Mothers: Nannies, Au Pairs, and the Micropolitics of Mothering*. Berkeley: University of California Press. XIV + 272 pp. Pb.: £ 15.95. ISBN: 978-0-520-26697-1.

Pour son enquête sur les pratiques de garde d'enfant parmi les classes moyennes, plutôt aisées, de la région de Boston, Cameron L. Macdonald a mené des entretiens approfondis avec plus de 80 mères employeurs et employées travaillant dans la petite enfance, ainsi que des agences de placement de nourrices et de filles au pair. Dans 16 cas particulièrement intéressants, Macdonald a pu observer des binômes mère-nourrice, offrant ainsi un regard croisé sur une même situation.

Le premier chapitre donne le point de vue des mères, tiraillées entre les exigences du monde du travail et celles de la maternité, a priori irréconciliables. Les femmes interviewées par Macdonald aspirent à un professionnalisme sans faille qui implique d'être hautement disponible et flexible, tout en pensant qu'une mère devrait être omniprésente et dévouée à son enfant sous peine de ne pas arriver à créer des liens assez forts et durables avec lui. Dans les années 1990, certains travaux de recherche, relayés de façon parfois tendancieuse par les médias, soulignaient l'importance des trois premières années pour le développement émotionnel et cognitif des enfants, exacerbant ainsi le sentiment de culpabilité des mères au travail. À cela s'ajoute, pour bon nombre de femmes interrogées par l'auteur, le modèle idéalisé de leur propre mère, surtout quand celle-ci n'était pas salariée, ainsi que l'opinion répandue selon laquelle les mères au travail négligent leurs enfants pour des mobiles égoïstes comme l'appât du gain.

Dans les faits, les mères interviewées considèrent leur salaire comme un moyen

de financer les études futures de leurs enfants, ce qui ne les empêche pas de remettre régulièrement leur engagement professionnel en cause. Sur leur lieu du travail, dès l'annonce de leur grossesse, ces femmes subissent souvent des « tests de masculinité » : afin de préserver le respect et la crédibilité acquis antérieurement, elles doivent prouver à leur collègues masculins que la maternité n'entrave en rien leur performance, en reprenant leur poste peu de temps après l'accouchement et en assumant tout de suite un service à temps plein, c'est-à-dire 60 à 70 heures par semaine. Ces professionnelles cherchent alors à embaucher une femme à qui déléguer le rôle de « mère » auprès de leur enfant, en leur absence, mais qui sache se faire oublier dès que la vraie mère est de retour, bref, une « mère de l'ombre » (*shadow mother*). Comme les deux femmes se voient partager le même rôle, c'est dans la plupart des cas la mère qui recrute et salarie la nourrice ou la fille au pair. Le père reste quelque peu exclu de ce cercle restreint ; il intervient comme médiateur lorsque apparaissent des tensions entre les femmes ou endosse le rôle du « vilain » qui annonce de mauvaises nouvelles comme une baisse du salaire ou un licenciement.

Les chapitres suivants s'intéressent à la perspective des employées. Vus de France, la précarité de l'emploi et le manque de protection juridique et sociale sont frappants. Les salaires varient de \$80 à \$500 pour une semaine de 30 à 70 heures de travail, sans que le salaire versé soit de fait en adéquation avec le nombre d'heures travaillées. En bas de l'échelle, les immigrées sans papiers perçoivent le salaire le plus faible et travaillent le plus longtemps, suivies par les filles au pair, certes logées par leurs familles d'accueil mais peu rémunérées et obligées de rester un an avec leur employeur, sous peine de perdre leur dépôt de garantie et leur certificat de travail. Par contre, Macdonald ne constate pas de discrimination raciale concernant le salaire des nourrices en situation légale.

Quelque soit le tarif horaire appliqué, presque toutes les employées considèrent que leur travail n'est pas apprécié à sa juste valeur. Les mères, surtout quand il s'agit de leur

premier enfant, ont des attentes qui paraissent irréalistes aux nourrices. Les entretiens révèlent que les employées aiment suivre davantage le rythme de l'enfant et se posent des questions sur l'utilité des longues sorties quotidiennes imposées par les parents (sans doute dans l'idée de stimuler l'activité cognitive de l'enfant). D'un autre côté, elles sont nombreuses à dénoncer le laxisme des parents qui se déchargent sur les employées pour discipliner l'enfant par exemple.

Macdonald a identifié deux « styles de management » courants : celui de la mère « marionnettiste » qui entend coordonner les activités de son employée à distance, en imposant des règles strictes, et en élaborant divers mécanismes de contrôle comme le journal de bord tenu par la nourrice, la visite surprise ou l'inspection des restes du repas laissés par l'enfant. D'autres mères utilisent un style « paranormal », demandant à l'employée de comprendre intuitivement comment s'occuper de l'enfant, en agissant comme le « médium » de la mère. Dans les deux cas, les employées doivent ménager les sentiments de la mère et mettre en valeur ses contributions à l'éducation de l'enfant. Sans surprise, la majorité des employées inventent différentes stratégies de résistance, du bavardage irrespectueux entre nourrices au square, à la transgression secrète de règles excessives qui leur sont imposées. Parfois, sans l'avouer, les nourrices se livrent à des « concours de compétences » avec les mères, voulant démontrer qu'elles savent mieux s'occuper de l'enfant que ces dernières. Les employées interviewées rêvent d'être reconnues comme un « troisième parent », un membre valorisé de l'équipe qui élève l'enfant. Mais la plupart du temps, les parents, même ceux de bonne volonté, ont du mal à percevoir les compétences spécifiques de leur employée, préférant par exemple les conseils généraux donnés par les auteurs de livres sur la petite enfance à l'expertise acquise par leur nourrice.

Dans le dernier chapitre, Macdonald esquisse un contre modèle idéal, rarement rencontré au cours de ses recherches, le modèle d'un « partenariat » entre les parents et l'employée. Ces relations sont caractérisées par une bonne communication, la

confiance mutuelle, une relative autonomie de l'employée et une prise de décisions commune. La plupart du temps, les mères concernées travaillent à temps partiel, et les pères sont plus impliqués dans l'éducation de l'enfant que la moyenne. Les employées « partenaires » se sentent appréciées et sont parmi les mieux rémunérées ; les mères sont plus réalistes dans leurs attentes, peu jalouses de leurs employées et prêtes à leur demander conseil le cas échéant.

Dans une analyse très fine et pleine d'empathie, attentive aux différences de classe, *Shadow Mothers* met en scène des mères salariées et leurs employées, toutes victimes d'un système qui valorise à outrance la présence de la mère au foyer et, à la fois, le dévouement du professionnel à son travail. Pour faire sortir les ouvrières de la petite enfance de l'« ombre » d'un travail sous-estimé et sous-payé, et accessoirement libérer les mères salariées de leurs angoisses et du sentiment écrasant de culpabilité, Macdonald préconise des changements dans la législation accompagnés d'une révolution dans les mentalités. Les différents exemples européens prouvent que parmi ces deux éléments, le deuxième est de loin le plus difficile à réaliser.

ANNE FRIEDERIKE MÜLLER-DELOUIS
Université d'Orléans (France)

Manger, Leif. 2010. *The Hadrami diaspora: community-building on the Indian Ocean rim*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn. 201 pp. Hb.: \$60.00/£35.00. ISBN: 978 1 84545 762 6.

Throughout the centuries, the Hadramaut region in south-eastern Yemen was the origin of repeated waves of out-migration. People of Hadrami background today live in other countries of the Arab peninsula (the Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia), and they are part of wider Yemeni migrant communities in North America, the UK and continental Europe. While these Hadrami diaspora groups primarily emerged as the result of more recent labour migration movements of the late 19th and 20th centuries, large parts of Hadrami out-

migration to the shore zones near and around the Indian Ocean had set in much earlier. The areas today known as Sudan, Tanzania or Madagascar, as much as those now constituting Indonesia, Malaysia, India or Pakistan, have accommodated Hadrami migrant groups and their descendants. In turn, Hadrami migrants contributed in diverse ways – e.g. as traders, scholars, soldiers or craftsmen – to local and regional histories throughout the late pre-colonial periods, during the colonial era and up to the globalised present.

Scholarly research of recent years became newly fascinated by the historical roles of Hadrami migrants in Asia and Africa for two very different reasons. On the one hand, this topic offered the possibility to demonstrate the dynamics of migration cycles that did not have Europe or the Americas as their primary destination, and how that related to aspirations inside the Hadramaut. The works by historian Ulrike Freitag (2003) and by anthropologist Eng Seng Ho (2006) represent the finest examples of this research avenue. On the other hand, a very different set of motivations for recently growing research interests in the Hadrami diaspora has to do with the notorious biography of one among their offspring: Osama bin Laden's father had migrated from Hadramaut to Saudi Arabia, where he established himself as an influential businessman. The more refined elements in the literature about al-Qaida therefore unavoidably had to also deal with the Hadrami diaspora in a more or less substantial manner, such as some of the work by political scientist Gilles Kepel (2008). Perhaps it is the effort to answer to both of these two very divergent sets of interests that make the book presently under review somewhat incoherent and in parts disappointing. To me this epistemological point offers the best explanation why the treatment of a fascinating topic by a respected Scandinavian anthropologist has resulted in a volume that does not quite arrive at its own goals. Sometimes we simply do not yet know enough to answer all the questions that could be raised about a certain set of problems. Sometimes it therefore might be wiser to either raise more specific and more realistic research questions, or alternatively, to invest more time

and wider efforts for elaborating very broad sets of answers.

In its present form, however, Manger's *Hadrami Diaspora* represents a very uneven collection of articles/chapters – some of them useful, others less so – rather than one comprehensive book text. Several substantial technical flaws contribute to a somewhat tantalising reading experience: principles of transliterating Arabic and other terms vary considerably and are nowhere specified; the references fail to include most of the relevant scholarly literature in Arabic, French, Russian and German; the main text features an unusually high amount of printing errors and at times duplicates whole paragraphs (e.g. pp. 124–6).

Part one, 'Diasporic communities within empires and nation states' discusses the particular colonial and postcolonial historical trajectories of Hadrami groups in Singapore, Hyderabad, Sudan and Ethiopia. Part two, 'Identities in the making', then examines three cross-cutting topical dimensions: the maintenance of Hadrami identities in the diaspora, the dynamics between homeland and diaspora through the dimensions of internal social stratification, and finally, the Hadrami's roles amidst 'Muslim universalism' in the Indian Ocean areas. There can be no doubt that reconstructing four local-cum-regional histories (part one) represents an ambitious and challenging task in itself. It is thus not surprising that Manger's accounts are rich and full of insight where he draws on previous ethnographic experience (Sudan), or where research by de Jonge (2011), Freitag, Ho, and others has prepared the ground sufficiently (South-eastern Asia). It is also clear that, by definition, methodological approaches in historical anthropology leave less space for (multi-sited) ethnography than approaches that situate themselves in the present. Still, a critical methodological argument has to be raised here in connection with the epistemological point raised above. The methodological point holds that, by necessity, Manger's four regional diaspora histories could only be partial ones, since many important other cases (Saudi Arabia, Malaysia) and sources

(e.g. in Arabic) were not properly considered at this stage by the author. If, however, we are aware of working with extremely partial and fragmented sets of historical materials, then this requires even more ethnographic and methodological substantiation before drawing widely generalising conclusions.

In short, some clearer ethnographic grounding inside the Hadramaut is painfully missing in Manger's account, and so is a more detailed comparative analysis of the results derived from his four historical cases. Instead, the book's part two rushes forward to three chapters of generalisations that have little foundation in the first part, or in the existing literature on the topic. The most interesting section is chapter 5, where Manger shows that the conscious maintenance of an identity concept (Hadrami) is not the same as its socio-cultural content, and how this relates to gender and kinship. When it comes to homeland–diaspora dynamics, however, or to 'Muslim universalism' in the Indian Ocean rim areas, the substance of the author's arguments contributes little to what was already known. The author's main point here is that Osama bin Laden stood in a long line of Hadrami 'rebels' (p. 15) and of leading Hadrami participation in Asia's 'resistance movements' (p. 168) against globalising western capitalism, which for my taste introduces too much heroic terminology instead of providing sober and detailed analysis.

Especially in the second part, Manger's repeated normative claims as to how research in these fields 'should' be carried out are rarely met by his own historical and ethnographic accounts. For instance, a discussion of the Hadrami diaspora's historical relations with their homelands in the 20th century will remain mere guesswork as long as we fail to see how these relations worked, or did not work, during about a quarter of a century of communist regimes in southern Yemen. A critical assessment of this specific part in the Hadramaut's history of interactions will also have to take into account that many leading cadres in communist southern Yemen's governing political institutions came from

Sada families (i.e. were descendants of the Prophet Muhammad). They could therefore be regarded as merely representing the old elite in new attire. Profound disappointment with the failures of the secular political left in Arabia and the Muslim world preceded the new rise of Islamic 'universalism'. Some of the main questions about the past and present of Hadrami diasporas thus remain open for future research.

References

- de Jonge, H. 2011. 'Selective accommodation: the Hadhramis in Indonesia during World War II and the struggle for independence', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 31 (2): 343–54.
- Freitag, U. 2003. *Indian Ocean migrants and state formation in Hadramaut: reforming the homeland*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ho, Eng Seng. 2006. *The graves of Tarim: genealogy and mobility across the Indian Ocean*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kepel, G. (ed.) 2008. *Al-Qaida dans le texte. Ben Laden, Azzam, Zawahiri, Zarqawi: ce qu'ils ont vraiment dit et écrit*. Paris: PUF, 2e édition.

ANDRE GINGRICH

Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences (Austria)

McGranahan, Carole. 2010. *Arrested histories: Tibet, the CIA, and memories of a forgotten war*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 307 pp. Pb.: \$23.95/€18.99. ISBN: 978 0 8223 4771 2.

Much has been said and written about the Tibetan exile community, but rarely has a book engaged with it in as critical yet sympathetic, theoretically rigorous yet ethnographically grounded way as Carole McGranahan's *Arrested Histories*. Given the scarcity of comprehensive, in-depth studies on the history of the Tibetan exile community so far, this is a welcome and major contribution to the field. On a basic level, this book is about the

Tibetan armed resistance against China between 1956 and 1974, offering both the subaltern histories of its (mostly Khampa) veterans and an anthropological investigation of the ways in which these histories are dealt with in the context of exile-Tibetan community politics. McGranahan traces the China-Tibet conflict from the pre-modern period (Chapter 1) to the first local uprisings against Chinese troops in Kham in 1956 (Chapter 3) and the citizen-led army of Chushi Gangdrug operating on a national level, first in Tibet (Chapter 4) and later from exile (Chapters 6 and 8). Interweaving the historical narrative with ethnographic observations and theoretical contextualisation, the author shows how these histories have been 'arrested' through official denial or censorship in the exile community today: they remain public secrets that are not completely discarded, but rather put on hold (like Tibetan Buddhist treasure teachings) for a later time when their telling may be socially acceptable. The veterans painfully consent to this historical arrest out of respect for the Dalai Lama and the desire to belong to the exile community – McGranahan aptly speaks of 'pains of belonging' (Chapter 2) – while at the same time resisting the forgetting of their histories and denial of identities.

But *Arrested Histories* is about much more than the muted memories of Tibetan war veterans, and this is where the strength, but also the limits of this book lie. Using resistance histories as a lens to understand the histories of Tibet (p. 175) and, less explicitly, the condition of the Tibetan exile more generally, McGranahan argues that the veterans' histories fundamentally clash with the type of nation envisioned by the Tibetan exile government. Thus, while Dharamsala claims to represent a unified nation based on a homogenised pan-Tibetan identity, modelled on Central Tibetan norms at the expense of other regional identities (Khampa, Amdowa), the Tibetan resistance movement was based on a very different version of the Tibetan nation that allowed for multiple regional identities, dissent and a higher degree of political participation. What is more, resistance histories are connected not only to the external conflict with

the Chinese, but also to fierce internal conflicts within the diaspora community (see the particularly revealing Chapter 7), challenging not only its official image of unity but also the exile-government's democratic credentials. It is for these reasons, the book's main argument contends, that resistance histories have been arrested; and it is for the same reason that the relevance of *Arrested Histories* extends to the exile Tibetan community as a whole. While it is nothing new that Tibetan history is less about past events than about present politics and future goals, this book's most important contribution lies in offering a critical new perspective on exile politics and nationalism based on subaltern Tibetan histories rather than academic Western critique.

Two minor limitations (besides the confusion of 'inner' and 'outer Tibet' on p. 44) are perhaps worth mentioning. First, McGranahan notes that the previously arrested histories of resistance are now gradually being released (p. 202). Given her convincing analysis of the socio-political dynamics involved in historical arrest, this release appears to be an equally interesting development that, unfortunately, the book fails to explain or analyse. Secondly, as McGranahan herself points out (p. 186f), the veterans' histories reflect a dilemma that not only they, but the entire exile-community is dealing with: the tension between violence and nonviolence, between action and deference. I would therefore have appreciated a deeper ethnographic exploration of how the veterans deal with this inner conflict, these 'pains of belonging', in terms of forming an exile Tibetan subjectivity that, precisely because of this conflict, participates in but also exceeds official identity politics (cf. Chapter 9).

Compared with this book's virtues, however, these limitations remain insignificant. In terms of both its content and its analytical framework, *Arrested Histories* serves as a showcase example for the potentials of combined historical and anthropological research in any setting, making it of interest to graduate and advanced undergraduate students in anthropology, history, Tibet studies, subaltern studies and related disciplines. For those working on the Tibetan com-

munity in exile, this book is nothing less than indispensable.

STEPHAN KLOOS

Austrian Academy of Sciences (Austria)

Mittermaier, Amira. 2010. *Dreams that matter. Egyptian landscapes of the imagination*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 328 pp. Pb. \$21.95/£14.95. ISBN: 978 0 520 25851 8.

Everyone dreams. This makes dreaming a particularly compelling phenomenon for anthropological study. But what might an anthropology of dreaming, dream interpretation and the imaginations that shape dream practices look like? The answer lies in Amira Mittermaier's engaging, theoretically sophisticated and ethnographically rich *Dreams that Matter*. Taking mainly Cairene Muslim dreamers and dream interpreters (in a pre-2011-revolutionary Cairo) as the focal point of her study, Mittermaier argues that these dreamers were not conjuring up a better Egypt for themselves, but that the ways in which they ethically live their lives is often directly tied to the dreams they dream. If the topic seems esoteric, we need only consider the fact that nearly every religious tradition finds itself shaped and/or strengthened in the wake of dreams, miracles and visions, and that these phenomena have long played a role not only in personal human lives but in shaping the very contours of history.

An anthropological study of dreams among Cairene Muslims, *Dreams that Matter* undermines monolithic conceptions of Islam, taken-for-granted notions of the self-possessed subject, and a host of dichotomies ('us/them, real/imagined, subjective/objective, and either/or' (p. 239)). Indeed, this is a work that pushes far beyond dreams as reflections of personal encounters, psychological states or sites of subversion without neglecting the place that these aspects of dreaming have for many Cairene dreamers.

One of the central concepts of the book is that of *barzakh*. Mittermaier explains that

in Islamic eschatology the *barzakh* is that 'space in which spirits of dead dwell until Judgement Day' (p. 3). It is the in-betweenness of the *barzakh*, between this world and the next, that makes it such a ripe concept for thinking about dreams, for it is the spirits dwelling in the *barzakh* that often visit Mittermaier's interlocutors in their dreams. It is also the concept of *barzakh* that gives force to Mittermaier's understanding of the imagination, which, drawing on Foucault, she takes as a mode of living that erases 'the sharp line between subject and object, between the absent and the present' (p. 18). In this way, Mittermaier's interlocutors *imagine* themselves as members of a society that extends beyond a typical conception of the social as only including 'the living'.

Each of the seven chapters of *Dreams* examines a different aspect of dreaming. We learn, for example, that dream interpretation for many Egyptians is not simply a matter of knowing how to elucidate the meaning of various symbols, but more importantly, how to frame one's interpretation so that it is meaningful to the dreamer (chapter 2). The third chapter brilliantly illuminates the fact that seeing is not an innocent act. What and how one sees directly impacts everyday life. For example, chapter 4 explores sufi Shaykh Qusi's Book of Visions as revealing 'how divine inspiration and spiritual guidance are understood and narrated within [his] community of believers' (p. 120), while the fifth chapter considers the ethical aspects of visitational dreams, those dreams where the dreamer is visited by someone usually from beyond the grave. These dreams urge particular kinds of actions in the world, from feeding the poor to visiting the tomb of a *wali* (saint). Ethnographically, Mittermaier argues, it makes more sense to understand dreams as having an ethical imperative than as being sites of resistance or subversion. This is consistent with her insistence that dreams are an integral part of the fabric of Egyptian social life and do not simply fulfil particular needs.

At times Mittermaier is too quick to dismiss the ways in which power is operative

within some of the communities she studied. One finds it difficult, for example, not to be suspicious of the fact that when Mittermaier was finally granted access to Shaykh Qusi's Book of Visions she was told which entries she was allowed to read, most of which confirmed the shaykh's saintliness and authority. Addressing this aspect of power within the community, while also insisting that a reduction of dream-visions to a confirmation of authority would do violence to the fact that dream-visions play a wider role in these people's social lives, would have only strengthened an already excellent ethnography.

In the final analysis dreams matter because they are an integral aspect of many people's lives. Dreams reconfigure the 'real', they open up new possibilities of social and ethical life, and offer different understandings of temporality and subjectivity. Anyone interested in dreams, visions, psychoanalysis, the imagination, Islam, religion or media(tion) will find this to be a welcome and refreshing addition to scholarship in these areas.

ANTHONY SHENODA
Scripps College (USA)

Mügge, Liza. 2010. Beyond Dutch borders: transnational politics among colonial migrants, guest workers and the second generation. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 264 pp. Pb.: €39.95. ISBN: 978 90 8964 244 8.

'Beyond Dutch borders' aims at tackling three conundrums: the emergence and development of transnational migrant politics, the impact of global communication in relation to second-generation migrants and the relationship between political transnationalism and political integration in receiving societies. For doing so, it compares three minority groups established in the Netherlands: the Surinamese, the Turks and the Kurds, while it pedantically engages with the existing literature on migration and transnational politics, building a complex, multi-layered theoretical model.

But why compare Surinamese with Turks and Kurds? The author argues that Surinamese and Turks are the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands with a sizeable second generation; sharing the same migration reasons (compare with the first difference the author identifies); transiting from temporal to permanent stay and being heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity and religion. She also points out differences: colonial past versus labour migration, diverse diplomatic relations between the Netherlands, Turkey and Suriname and the total emigration stock of which migrants are part. Although not clear in her position concerning the reasons for migration, Mugge offers a detailed historical overview of changes in political interests on the individual as well as on the collective level. However, one remains wondering why Kurds were included as a separate 'case'. While empirically Kurdish self-identification repeatedly proved to be both strategic and fluid, theoretically it adds little to the comparison. Kurds can be seen in national terms as a subcategory of the Turkish nationality group, while their nationalist politics engage with an 'imagined' state and a 'constructed' community – thus they are transnational in different ways than those investigated by the author.

Although the writer has a background in anthropology, this book will probably be of more interest to sociologists, migration specialists and scholars of transnationalism. The author falls upon methods widely used in migration studies: country-specific background information, reliance on secondary empirical data, reproduction of study population and open-ended surveys. The reproduction of reductionist categories that ruin contemporary theories of migration is not counterbalanced in the text by the insights gained through ethnographic methods, although participant observation is employed as a data-gathering technique. Instead, the author prefers the security given by national and ethnic categories/subcategories, reflecting little and explaining even less about their content (see the use of the term second generation). This imprisoned perspective leaves little room for the larger field of transnational activities

beyond state networks and for what people consider in different circumstances as political.

Although the author distinguishes between different ethnic groups within a national category (also between different political orientations), we do not gain access to the way these theoretically informed categories are used in everyday life of migrants and those related to them. The violence of the theoretical inquiry paralyses the complex individual and collective histories under investigation, leaving exceptions out of the picture. As migrant experiences are often pressured by top-down 'integration' frameworks, strategic positioning might be reinforced rather than exposed by such an approach.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, this volume offers two theoretical insights: it shows that it is useful to enlarge the scope of enquiry by focusing on both activities and networks between both migrants and non-migrants; and maintains that in order to gain a full picture of transnational political activity we have to examine the motivation of both actors in the host country and country of origin as they enter into relationships transcending state boundaries. Thus, when speaking of transnational ties, we might want to keep an eye open not only on migrants and non-migrants in the host country but also on the ties and motivations of people from the country of origin and third-country nationals.

CAROLINA IVANESCU
Erasmus University Rotterdam
(*The Netherlands*)

Six-Hohenbalken, Maria and Nerina Weiss (eds.) 2011. *Violence expressed: an anthropological approach*. Franham: Ashgate. 251 pp. Hb.: £60.00. ISBN: 978 0 7546 7884 7.

In recent years, anthropology has increasingly turned its attention to the various subtle and overt expressions of violence that seem to pervade our field sites and analytical considerations alike. Accordingly, the anthropology of violence has also become a central feature of

the curriculum in anthropology departments in Europe and North America. *Violence Expressed: An Anthropological Approach* comes then at a perfect moment.

The editors' introduction begins by situating its analyses within this wider history of anthropological approaches to violence. Their stated aim is to build upon these works by highlighting the multi-scalar ways in which violence affects societies structurally, symbolically and psychologically. The volume as a whole, and its component chapters, effectively underline how anthropology as a discipline has often been embedded in these histories of violence while only recently willing to acknowledge and analyse this relationship.

The introductory chapter also emphasises the importance of sensory understandings of violence in anthropological analyses, or what the editors refer to as a 'haptic' approach. Thus embedded within the debate around the efficacy and ethics of realist versus surrealist and embodied forms of representation that continues to animate social science research on violence, the ensuing chapters take up this point to varying degrees. The chapter contents are divided into three sections: 'Normalisation and Aesthetics', 'Discursive Strategies – Muted Language' and 'Remembering and Aftermath'.

The first of these is also the least coherent in terms of creating a dialogue between contributions, and gives the impression of having been an auxiliary category. It consists of chapters on tuberculosis and the violence of public health policies among the Yup'ik of Alaska, the violence embedded within ideals of masculinity in tribal Yemen, displays of military pageantry in the Japanese Self-Defence Forces, and an analysis of the material and ideological dimensions of martyrdom among the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka. Many of the chapters in the book as a whole argue for the need to apply anthropological analyses to perpetrators of violence as well as its victims, and Ben-Ari's contribution in particular cleverly illustrates how the aestheticisation of Japanese military power draws citizens into collusion with and acceptance of technologies of power

that are at their core designed to inflict violence.

The second section on discursive strategies contrastingly presents a tightly integrated and complementary series of chapters, focusing respectively on the narratives of Israeli Defence Forces conscripted to serve in the Occupied Territories, communal discourses of violence among and between Kurds in Turkey and supporters of the Turkish state, metaphors of blood and spirits used by female victims of sexual violence in Guadeloupe, and strategies of conveying experiences of violence and neglect among children in low-income communities in Ecuador. In this section, each author not only effectively centres the ethnographic encounter and participants' individual voices as units of analysis, but also conveys something of the ethical and methodological challenges these forms of communication entail in conducting such fieldwork. The vividness of these depictions is compelling.

The final section focuses on the long-term residues of societal violence; as such, its methodologies and sites of analysis are innovative, including discourse analysis of published reports, archival materials and a detailed examination of film. The chapters offer specifically a historicised account of the shifting strategies in perpetrators' accounts of state violence in Argentina, the embodied memories of violence in the slave trade embedded within Afro-Cuban religious practice in Havana, the use of memory and representations of violence in the Israeli film *Waltz with Bashir*, and an analysis of witness accounts by Austro-Hungarian officers on atrocities committed against the Ottoman Empire during World War I.

It should be evident from the wide range of case studies, which are interestingly and fruitfully juxtaposed, that this volume – which includes works by well known anthropologists in the field including Robben and Green, as well as emergent voices – may serve to broaden understanding for generalists, as well as offering much detailed ethnography of interest to specialists. Some of the synchronous points raised by the chapters might have been usefully summarised and reiterated in a closing

chapter, particularly on the ethics of conducting anthropological research on and through violence; however, the volume identifies many areas for future researchers to investigate. A technical point: the volume suffers from numerous errors of grammar, punctuation and style (with, for example, random passages inexplicably presented in italics, and in some cases it is plainly obvious that the authors are not comfortable with the English language). Thus while the ethnographic content of the chapters is rich and rewarding, this reader found the lack of attention to presentation distracting; for a publication of this calibre, offered by a reputable academic publisher like Ashgate, it is unfortunate that even the most cursory editorial proofread seems to have been absent in the publication process.

Nonetheless, the volume has amassed an impressive array of ethnographic cases, many of which are novel in their theoretical approach and subject matter. This volume is a highly relevant contribution to the now flourishing body of work on anthropological approaches to violence, and will be of interest to researchers and students in the field with a wide variety of specific approaches.

SARAH KEELER

University of Exeter (UK)

Wilce M. James. 2008. *Crying Shame: Metaculture, Modernity, and the Exaggerated Death of Lament*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. xv + 274 pp. Hb. : £60.00/ €72.00 ISBN : 978 1 4051 6992 9.

Focalisé sur le genre de la lamentation, *Crying Shame* de James Wilce est une véritable prouesse basée sur une réflexion approfondie et novatrice à propos d'un genre mais aussi à propos des politiques métaculturelles qui s'articulent autour de la représentation de ce genre à l'époque de la mondialisation. Comme le suggère l'auteur dans son introduction, cet ouvrage se donne plusieurs objectifs ambitieux.

Le premier consiste à apporter une contribution à la connaissance d'un type de pratique

communicative – la lamentation – à travers une analyse comparative du genre tel qu'il existe dans les formes de performances traditionnelles et plus récentes. L'un des apports les plus précieux du livre réside précisément dans la gamme d'exemples de performances de lamentations anciennes et contemporaines présentée par l'auteur tout au long du texte.

Néanmoins, la contribution de James Wilce va bien au-delà de l'exposition de ces exemples, de l'analyse de leurs points communs et de la documentation sur le caractère transculturel d'un phénomène. En effet, le second objectif, en lien direct avec le premier, est d'offrir une analyse de la destinée de ce genre dans les temps modernes et à l'époque de la mondialisation. En s'appuyant sur son expertise approfondie du domaine de la linguistique, James Wilce utilise des outils développés par des chercheurs – tels que Hymes, Briggs et Bauman, Silverstein et Urban – afin de retracer le fonctionnement de ce qu'il appelle l'« idéologie linguistique » de ce genre dans la modernité : c'est-à-dire de l'ensemble des idées culturelles, circulant à l'époque de la globalisation, en relation avec le genre de la lamentation et avec les individus qui le pratiquent.

La circulation globale de ces idées est saisie à travers une approche dynamique des phénomènes culturels. Ceux-ci sont analysés en tant que résultats de la relation dynamique entre les processus culturels et les forces métaculturelles, c'est-à-dire les forces qui réfléchissent sur les produits culturels et exercent ainsi une influence sur eux et sur leur circulation.

Mais ce livre n'est pas une simple étude des performances et des discours culturels contemporains. Le plus grand défi que Wilce se pose est la troisième grande contribution de l'ouvrage : la tentative de relier « high theory to folk expressive forms (ix) » c'est-à-dire de construire, à travers les matériaux liés à la lamentation et à leur analyse, un compte rendu ethnographique et une théorie de la modernité. Selon cette théorie, la modernité consiste en une oscillation constante entre un enthousiasme lié au progrès et à l'idée du dépassement

de la tradition et un sentiment de deuil sur ce même progrès en tant que perte de la tradition. Tout au long du texte, le lecteur est amené à voir les discours et les sentiments de honte collective qui s'articulent autour du genre de la lamentation comme des pratiques démodées et des signes de retard. Parallèlement, l'auteur présente aussi les sentiments de nostalgie et de perte liés à l'apparente « mort » de la lamentation dans l'époque contemporaine.

La spécificité de ce livre est qu'il porte une attention simultanée aux détails ethnographiques et au cadre théorique. Le croisement de ces deux niveaux permet de comprendre la relation entre la lamentation en tant que pratique et la lamentation en tant qu'objet de représentation et de réflexion métaculturel. Si la confrontation de ces différents niveaux d'analyse rend parfois les arguments diffi-

ciles à saisir, il n'en reste pas moins que l'entrelacement complexe de ces domaines d'intérêts constitue la véritable richesse du texte. Bien que ce livre se présente comme une lecture particulièrement captivante et même incontournable pour les anthropologues linguistiques, les chercheurs qui s'intéressent aux performances et ceux qui sont spécialisés dans la lamentation, d'autres lecteurs y trouveront des réponses non négligeables à leurs questionnements et plus particulièrement à propos de l'anthropologie de l'émotion, de la méta-culture de la modernité mais aussi des questions sur la continuité et le changement culturel à l'ère de la mondialisation.

SERENA BINDI

*Centre d'études himalayennes, C.N.R.S.
(France)*