

BOOK REVIEWS

Bowman, Glenn (ed.). 2012. *Sharing the Sacra. The Politics and Pragmatics of Inter-communal Relations around Holy Places*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. viii + 185 pp. Hb.: \$75.00 / £46.00. ISBN: 9780857454867.

The role played by religion in public life has become an ever more urgent issue around the world and has raised significant questions about the relationship between “modernity” and “secularisation”. Religion has not retreated from the public arena as some secular interpretations expected, even in Western European countries where formal religious engagement has declined. Debate about the continuing public significance of religion in the West has been accompanied by anxious concerns about the degree to which religious solidarities may encourage political and social conflict. This debate focussed particularly on Muslim settlers in Western Europe and North America and tensions associated with conflicts in the Gulf, Iraq, Israel/Palestine and Afghanistan and the backlash after the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Centre.

This is the background for this well-edited collection. It successfully critiques the interpretation advanced by Robert Hayden from 2002 that the tradition of sharing religious sites and syncretism would eventually succumb to the ‘processes of competition between groups’ (Hayden 2002: 228). Drawing on careful ethnographic research, the contributors expose the one-sided character of what Hayden describes as “antagonistic tolerance” and “competitive sharing”. It contributes, therefore, to the growing literature on shared religious space by bringing together those who have made a significant contribution to that literature since the 1990s and others who are drawing on relatively recent doctoral research. This broad range of experience is combined with a wide range of religious and territorial contexts – a welcome corrective to the tendency towards focussing on particular religions and regions.

The volume begins with a well-constructed introduction by Glenn Bowman. He explains the background to the volume, which partly emerged from his critical engagement with Hayden’s model based on his own lengthy research in both Palestine and former Yugoslavia. Despite the powerful influence of centralising forces that insist on homogeneous identities, he points to the local ‘minutiae of engagements, avoidances, mimickings, avowals and disavowals through which members of interacting communities manage the presence of others’ in and around sacred spaces (p. 4). He also argues that most of the contributors demonstrate the ways in which ‘the religious sites and their ritual body forth images of imagined communities – past, present and future,’ while some also reveal a ‘practical nostalgia’ about sharing, which ‘is often neither conscious nor ideological’ (p. 6).

Inevitably, the debate with “antagonistic tolerance” and the very useful suggestions made in this introductory chapter are not uniformly pursued through the volume. However, the subsequent chapters provide fascinating examples of local sharing as well as indications about their relevance to the wider debate. Dionigi Albera, who is also a well-established scholar on shared shrines in the Mediterranean area, shows how the history of Muslim pilgrimage to Marian shrines in the Mediterranean and the Near East

reveals an inter-communal interaction that calls for a ‘more balanced approach to mixed worship and shared sanctuary’ (p. 11) than the ‘somewhat unidirectional characterizations’ presented by Hayden and, earlier, by Hasluck (1929).

This neatly leads on to Anna Bigelow’s chapter on three Muslim shrines in the Indian state of Punjab, which was created after bloody communal strife in 1947. Despite the development of Hindu nationalism and essentialised notions of religious institutions since Indian independence, the pilgrims to these shrines often refuse to identify with such fixed categories as Hinduism or Islam. Moreover, they derive ‘spiritual and political benefit from the interreligious experience’ (p. 40) based on symbolic zones of daily exchange. In her conclusion, she draws on Bowman’s discussion of the “semantic multi-vocality” of sites shared by Muslims and Christians in Palestine to explain the pilgrims’ freedom from the national and transnational political forces, which are encouraging religious nationalism in India.

In the next seven chapters, the debate about antagonistic tolerance fades somewhat. It informs the excellent discussions of inter-communal relations by Will Tuladhar-Douglas and Rohan Bastin in the context of Nepal and Sri Lanka, respectively. However, the other chapters by Maria Coroucli, Dora Chau, Carpenter-Latiri, Aomar Boum and Heonik Kwon do provide strong ethnographic accounts of how people from different religious traditions continue to share rather than contest the same shrines in different parts of the world – Turkey, China, Tunisia, Morocco and Vietnam, respectively. A number of key themes emerge from these chapters: the continuing importance of local histories and attachments in conditions of multicultural narratives in Turkey; inter- and intra-ethnic relations, transnational migration and localities in Nepal; the rootedness of Jews on the Tunisian island of Djerba and the interplay between Jewish tourists, the Tunisian state and the Muslim majority in recently changing political conditions (the “Arab Spring”); the similarities between ritual events in China and multicultural Britain where New Age practices have emerged; miracle, boundary transgression and syncretism in Sri Lanka; Jewish-Muslim coexistence in the Moroccan town of Essaouira and its implications for the continuing conflict between Israel and Palestine; the revival of ancestral and death-commemoration rituals in Vietnam as local responses to national and global power-geometries.

Overall, this is an excellent contribution to the growing literature on shared sacred places. It shows what a carefully constructed edited volume can achieve in an academic world where researchers are under increasing pressure to only seek publication in journals with high global exposure. It also engages with a crucial issue in a world where religion has not retreated to the private sphere – the ability of pilgrims and others to co-exist at the same highly charged place despite the evidence of contestation which has been discussed well before Hayden’s intervention, most brilliantly by Michael Sallnow in *Pilgrims of the Andes* (1987). This longer history of debate about sharing of and contestation around sacred places needs further exploration but this volume is a constructive contribution towards our understanding of that history, not only in certain localities but globally.

JOHN EADE

University of Roehampton and UCL (United Kingdom)

Lucht, Hans. 2011. *Darkness before Daybreak. African Migrants Living on the Margins in Southern Italy Today*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. 306 pp. Pb.: \$24.95 / £16.95. ISBN: 9780520270732.

Darkness Before Daybreak is a powerful multi-sited ethnography of migration, suffering and meaning-making among Guan fishermen from the Ghanaian coastal town of Senya Beraku, who work as casual labourers in Naples. The book is structured in seven chapters, which move between multiple ethnographic sites (Italy, Libya, Niger and Ghana) and analytic registers. In the opening section, Lucht takes the reader to the high-rise outskirts of Naples, where Guan migrants struggle to survive and create a meaningful, hopeful and connected life in an environment marked by exploitation, overt racism and legal precariousness. Some migrant workers are fortunate to have a regular employer, or *capo*. A very few “tycoons” have papers and documented employment. The vast majority of Guan migrants are dependent upon soliciting irregular construction work early in the morning from an informal roadside market place. This is a cut-throat environment of competition and collusion, with workers subject to the mercy of employers in a context in which ‘there’s no law’ (p. 35). As in other settings of deportable (and hence readily exploitable) labour, Guan migrants have to reconcile the realities of survival wages, long hours and constrained mobility, with their prior imagination of their setting as one of wealth and opportunity—and the need to support family members left behind.

Lucht vividly conveys the daily suffering that characterises West African migrant life in Naples, whether on the unregulated construction sites or the city’s overcrowded early morning buses. Central to his analysis is the concept of existential reciprocity: the belief that, through one’s time, effort, attention and hard work, one is able to act upon the world and to receive from it. Life in Naples can be seen, in this context, as marked by a kind of truncated reciprocity, in which hopes of reward are serially undermined. But it is also (at least as a potentiality) an environment in which it is possible to reconstitute connections and reinvent the self in the face of a home environment perceived as stagnating: to become a *burger* in the idiom of Guan migrants. Suffering in such a setting is seen as an accumulation of “good things waiting to happen”: the “darkness before daybreak” of the book’s title gestures to this hope of reclaiming a rightful reciprocal relation between human effort and external reward.

The second section takes us from destination to journey, by land and sea, from the migrants’ home village of Senya Beraku to Naples. If perilous (and frequently fatal) journeys by sea are the stuff of Western news bulletins, much less is known about the process by which migrants cross the Sahara desert from the West African coast to reach Tripoli. An important contribution of the ethnography is this focus on crossing and the political economy of moving and smuggling. After crossing by lorry or on foot across the Sahara, many of the Senya Beraku men make their own journey from Tripoli to Naples as captains of open wooden fishing boats (the latter often smuggled from Tunisia), their skill as fishermen seen as an advantage when navigating the seas. This is a tragically perilous journey, in which detention in Italy is the least bad outcome in an environment where many captains and their crews never make it to their destination. Drawing on the

philosophical contributions of Giorgio Agamben, Lucht explores this illegalised space of crossing, in which deaths are unrieved and unprosecuted, as a state of exception, where juridical procedures and the deployment of power ‘merge to deprive human beings of their rights and prerogatives’ (p. 156). It is a state that contrasts starkly with the professed humanitarianism of much European discourse. Indeed, with recent shifts in Italian policy towards detention of illegal migrants “at source” in Libya, one could ask, ‘whether the EU is pushing a state of exception deep inside the African continent and, therefore, in the face of legal and political protections for migrants, actually facilitating the criminal activities, dangers, and deaths that it purports to combat’ (p. 175).

The final section of the book takes us to the migrants’ hometown of Senya Be-raku. Here, too, we observe how emergent forms of political and economic rationality serve at once to normalise and illegalise migrant labour from the global south to the north. Lucht unpacks the destructive consequences of structural adjustment and the contradictions of internal and external EU policy, with Guan men and women increasingly having to resort to farming or work abroad because the sea no longer provides for them. Ironically, the primary reason that one-time fishermen are abandoning this source of livelihood is the over-fishing of West African waters, itself exacerbated by unequal agreements that allow use of the waters by foreign (including EU vessels). Following Ferguson’s attention to the differentiated production of global connections through emergent forms of prohibition and regulation, Lucht takes the example of EU fisheries agreements as an instance of policy-making that pays little attention to its detrimental effects on livelihoods (or ultimate consequences for ‘illegal immigration’ into European nation-states): as in earlier eras, ‘the EU [...] seeks continuous access to African resources while incurring little or no obligation to Africans’ (p. 104).

The final chapter couples this political economic critique with a poignant portrait of attempts to grieve the lives of those lost at sea. News of lost husbands and sons is often conveyed by cassette tape, with mourning for the dead delayed or aborted by the uncertainty of whether a loved one might just, one day, return. In an account otherwise focused primarily on male experience, this chapter draws upon detailed ethnographic interviews with the wives and mothers of captains lost at sea to explore the embodied, visceral dimensions of grief as it colonises thoughts and dreams. This, too, is a story of truncated reciprocity, in which the desire for ontological security rubs up against a political economy that devalues “illegal” migrant lives to the point of invisibility.

Lucht’s book is a valuable contribution to literatures on migration, illegality and emergent spaces of exception. Drawing on detailed participant observation and ethnographic interviews, it is at once a rich and nuanced portrait of survival at the margins of Europe, as the subtitle suggests. But it is also much more than this: the force of the ethnography works through the movement between individual lifeworlds, political-economic analysis, and sophisticated theoretical critique, interrogating the dynamics through which “the global” is differentially constituted through the unequal movement of people and capital. It provides a sharp critique of emergent dynamics of exclusion at the limits of Europe, and of the role of exceptional spaces of a-legality in shoring up territorial and symbolic boundaries. In so doing it provides an important counter to celebratory narra-

tives of cosmopolitan sensibilities and transnational attachments in contexts of radically precarious labour. Guan migrants, Lucht argues, ‘often appear less as agents of change and travel, working both sides of the border, than as stuck in a negative zone, recognised neither legally nor socially’ (p. 17). The burdens of living along a highway, the promised mobility of which is, in fact, constrained through the arbitrariness of inadequate public transport and the whim of racist bus drivers is a powerful metaphor for this condition.

Its timeliness, readability and theoretical scope mean that the book deserves to find a place in advanced undergraduate and graduate-level courses on globalisation, north-south migration and the political economy of migrant illegalisation. Its value as a teaching tool would have been extended by the inclusion of an index, and the bibliography is sometimes frustrating for readers keen to follow-up references, with the occasional missing references and some alphabetisation awry. Nonetheless, these do little to detract from the book’s scholarly contribution to literature on migration, nor its relevance for policy debates in Europe about the unbidden consequences of border securitisation.

MADELEINE REEVES

University of Manchester (United Kingdom)

Edwards, Jeanette and Maja Petrović-Šteger (eds.). 2011. *Recasting Anthropological Knowledge. Inspiration and Social Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xi + 206 pp. Hb.: £55.00. ISBN: 9781107009684.

Dedicated to the noted British anthropologist Marilyn Strathern; this compilation of papers by her former Ph.D students indicates both the immense applicability of the key concepts and theoretical insights of Strathern, as well as the remarkable range of topics to which this anthropological knowledge may be applied. As most people familiar with her work know, Strathern was a specialist in the societies of Melanesia but also of contemporary British society and issues of related to urban and complex societies including the universities of which most scholars are a part.

Uniquely, her students extend themselves much beyond these concerns but bring themselves back to using her in innovative yet relevant ways. For example, Annelise Riles (this volume) extends Strathern's notions of personhood to analyse the way in which even corporations are viewed as and dealt with as persons. In the same way, her insights seem equally useful in unravelling the complexities of customary law and more importantly to understand the cognitive dimensions of understanding what "law" may mean to the people; or to understand how mosquitoes may form a part of the social environment of people in Africa.

The various scholars contributing to this volume have referred not to the seemingly overt specificities of Strathern's works but to the underlying thoughts that stimulated these works in the first place. How is personhood constructed? What is the role of "analogic reasoning"? What are the methods of classification of the universe that people may use? Most importantly, Strathern had sought to see underlying unities in spite of overt differences, thus showing that transcending specific contexts the importance of "relational thinking" is universal. People always learn to make connections not only between things but also think of things as relations. Thus, her ideas of the role of kinship in other words relational thought that lie at the heart of a sense of belonging to a place, can be used in England as it can be used in Africa to define competing claims of resettlers and original inhabitants. Thus, what is pertinent here is not kinship but again the whole notions of relatedness that can be used variously and always.

Therefore, women's ability to introduce gender into urban design depends not as much on the actual existence or availability of this knowledge but upon the manner in which this knowledge can be introduced into the prevailing relational structure of knowledge practices that may restrain women's participation. Thus, urban design and universities in general may have in common the problem of governance, to cope with global situations and not just values but pre-existing norms as to what is "normal. Consequently, African mosquito research laboratories, resettlers in Africa, women's urban design, kinship in England and atypical families in Latvia may all fall back into one mode of analogic thought and while touching each other at one point, diverge in their own ways encompassing many different lived situations and retaining conceptual boundaries.

The question is what exactly is the common meeting ground of these scholars through their common mentor, Marilyn Strathern? How has she inspired and taught

them to be what they are? That her influence is important is evidenced by the self-confessed acknowledgements but what exactly is that about? The last two papers are more personalised, and while the one by Maja Petrović-Šteger dwells upon Strathern's representation and portraits inspired by her works and her intellectual stimulation; the one by Adam Reed talks not only about her but in a more generalised and philosophical vein about the concept of "inspiration". The disjunction between inspiration and the creative culmination of this inspiration in a fresh piece of work has been beautifully analysed to contextualize not only Strathern but all the other contributors. Each of them has done their own fieldwork, thought their own problems and solutions and although "inspired" are independent scholars in their own right. The work that they have produced goes beyond this inspiration and may also be seen independently away from the binding figure of Strathern as multiple works in highly diverse anthropological topics by scholars each working their own way.

In another dimension, this volume may also be looked upon as one that endorses the diversity of anthropological fieldwork and one that indicates how ethnographic and subjective analysis can throw insights into malarial research and attitude of states towards giant corporations as well as focus on family and kinship, even of "out" of "normal" variety. Gender, kinship and family retain the central position in these analyses thus making relevant anthropological theory in a changing world. Thus, change of focus does not necessarily imply change of method. It is the central paradigms that define a discipline, and anthropology is able to maintain these across a wide spectrum. What Strathern taught her students was a basic philosophy of approach that enabled them to navigate widely different worlds yet retaining a foundational attachment to the core of the discipline. In this sense, this volume justifies its claim to being dedicated to anthropology and its methods and goes beyond a usual volume dedicated to one particular scholar. It is not the particularity but the generality that is the contribution of this set of papers.

It may not then be necessary to be familiar with Strathern's works to understand what is being said in this volume. One may read it as a general book about the relevance of anthropology and as the title suggests "recasting" this knowledge into a variety of field situations much beyond the classical concerns of anthropologists and yet being rooted in all that anthropology has stood for including doing fieldwork in Melanesia.

SUBHADRA MITRA CHANNA
University of Delhi (India)

Hazan, Haim and Esther Hertzog (eds.). 2012. *Serendipity in Anthropological Research*. Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate. xiii + 332 pp. Hb.: £65.00. ISBN: 9781409430582.

Very often things do not go the way they were expected to, something unpredictable changes the course of the pre-planned fieldwork, unexpected circumstances bring new dilemmas to face and choices to make. These unpredictabilities are inextricable from the experience of the anthropologist during and also after the fieldwork. Each of these unexpected situations is left to us to interpret whether the situation was a failure or an opportunity. We are rationalising it in the same way as we are interpreting our experiences in the field before arresting them on paper. The story that we tell then is either the story of mishaps and irreversible obstacles, or the one of lucky sudden encounters and serendipitous insights. The latter is exactly the path that the authors and editors of the current book undertake. In their nomadic wanderings, moved by serendipity, they provide a wide range of described experiences, reflexive contemplations, styles and genres. The book gives a good overview of the textualisation of the polyphony of voices and perspectives on the Israeli 'desert of the real' in Žižek's terms (p. 2).

The articles in this edited volume are stirred by the influential works of Emmanuel Marx, who introduced social anthropology to Israel, and was committed to his profound study of Bedouins of Sinai. His major interest pivoted upon the people on the move – nomads, immigrants, refugees. Likewise, the current collection of articles places nomadism as a reference point. It traces the innate nomadic faculty of the anthropologist that guides him through his fieldwork and back, transcending boundaries of understanding, up to the moment of publishing the text and even afterwards.

Most of the articles of this book refer to materials gathered in Israel. However, they transcend the territorial bounds and set the nomadic routes guiding the reader from Bedouin "unrecognized villages" to the cities, from Japanese school to the Israeli army, from the memories of Holocaust to the spiritual travels and emotional involvement, and from the women's prison to the Israeli-Palestinian space. The keynote of all articles is the 'serendipitous dialogue between the hetero-logoi of the field and the accommodating logic of the anthropologist' (p. 4).

The articles in the first section navigate and set the course for the reader addressing the process of transmuting the ethnographic encounter into the printed text. Evoking the notion of serendipity, Ugo Fabietti retells the story of the three princes of Serendip, showing that the serendipitous or abductive method so peculiar to anthropology is often reduced by the transition between "field" and "theory". The article by Emmanuel Marx exemplifies how too much of a relying on the previous research experience may lead to error, such as implementing Western ethnocentric constructs, or not noticing that the Bedouins are at the same time immersed in and dependent on the urban civilization. Haim Hazan demonstrates in his article the conceptualizations of reality and shows how "community" is an image.

The second section, *Mirage*, starts with the discussion of self-critique in the dynamics of participant-observation by Eyal Ben-Ari. Shifra Kisch projects her manoeu-

vres between different versions of reality as a serendipitous faculty of her anthropological journey. Her article is followed by a written confession and contemplation of Reuven Shapira about his own society kibbutz, showing how his career mistakes and obstacles were a part of discovering the unexplored parts of the field both in the kibbutz and in the academic society. The topics of romanisation of the under-empowered as well as different heritage politics are addressed by Harvey E. Goldberg. The section closes with an elegant essay of Cédric Parizot who sets his emotional involvement in the field as a methodological target facilitating a deeper understanding of the complexities.

The third section, *The Journey*, opens with a description by Susan Rasmussen of an arranged spirit possession ritual from the point of the construction of knowledge. Raquel Romberg describes her spatio-temporal journeys with a healer from Puerto Rico. In her article, Dana Siegel advocates the use of ethnographic methods in cultural criminology; Longina Jakubowska, after conducting her research on the Bedouins, introduces her study of elite reproduction in post-Soviet Poland.

The book also aims at extra-disciplinarian social claims, which are concentrated mostly in the fourth section, *Wandering*. Nigel Rapport's article adds the analytic perspective on the liberal universalism with its ideal openness and multiplicity, and views city as an embodiment of 'global guesthood' (p. 199). Dale F. Eickelman provides an insight into the situations when the researcher does not comply with the expectations of sponsors or politicians. Esther Herzog together with her mother explores the memory landscapes of Holocaust experience and the ways her mother constructs her past and uses it in the present.

The final section, *Oases*, starts with the Aref Abu-Rabi's analysis of the significance of colours in Bedouin society, followed by Frank H. Stewart's structuralist analysis of Bedouin society in Negev. The article by Alex Weingrod provides a good overview of the political significance of reburials in Israeli society. Lastly, Ofra Greenberg's essay gives the book a fine final touch, presenting a kaleidoscope of complex and vivid encounters with the destinies of her informants from the women's prison long after the termination of her research project, and her discovery of their more complex figures.

This book will be a good help for anthropologists and social scientists interested in the Middle East, particularly in the complexities and layers of Israeli realities. This collection of articles succeeds to address theoretical and methodological questions, the paradoxes of representation and accumulation of knowledge. The variety of writing styles and genres adds a particular touch of multiplicity of contexts, perspectives and narratives arising from these serendipitous encounters.

POLINA TŠERKASSOVA
University of Tallinn (Estonia)

Hayoz, Nicolas, Leszek Jesień and Daniela Koleva (eds.). *20 Years after the Collapse of Communism. Expectations, Achievements and Disillusions of 1989 (Interdisciplinary Studies on Central and Eastern Europe, vol. 9)*. Bern: Peter Lang. 681 pp. Pb.: €50.90. ISBN: 9783034305389.

The period of twenty years since the fall of communism in Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe has seen the growth of a new sub-discipline of research, namely the post-communist studies. Historians, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists and economists, to list only some, have produced a plethora of studies on the so-called post-communist, or post-socialist transformation processes of the geographical space from Russia to Albania since 1989. Against a background of a large body of books, articles, reports, reportages and journalistic accounts on post-communist realities, this book seems highly noteworthy. First, the papers collected here cover almost the entire European post-communist area, thus providing a general overview that has been missing or has not been fully exposed in some of the other publications on this topic. Second, the authors come from various disciplines and provide thus a multitude of voices and abundance of perspectives of analysis. And finally, third, what gives this book a remarkable flavour is the predominance of an insider's view. The majority of the authors originate from the countries they are writing about and thus they are describing and analysing the realities, which they intimately know, for better or for worse. By all means, the combination of a native's perspective with an in-depth analysis applied by scholars who look at post-communist realities from the outsider's point of view makes this book a remarkable achievement.

The book contains an introduction, twenty nine papers grouped in three parts, and a list of short biographies of the authors. The introduction, written by the editors, starts by describing the story behind the preparation of this book and maps a general theoretical background on which the book stands. They distinguish three paths of socio-political post-communist transformation. The first one is called "accelerated transformation", and was the case of several former communist countries, which overcame the economic, social and political difficulties of the post-communist period and successfully joined NATO and EU. The editors find the exemplification of the second path in the case of former Yugoslavia, but they do not provide this path with a specific name. Finally, the editors stress the existence of a third path, which they call "abandoned transformation" and exemplify in the case of Russia and Belarus, although, in my opinion, such a list could include also few other post-communist countries. In the introduction, the editors deliberately choose not to discuss the ambiguities around concepts such as Central, Eastern, or South-eastern Europe and only slightly elaborate on the terminological differences between "communist" and "socialist". The book is structured not by countries or chronologically, but around problems faced by post-communist countries during the transformation period. Thus the first part, entitled *Ambiguities of unfinished transformations*, contains papers that deal mainly with political transformation in various former communist/socialist countries. The second part, under the title *Confronting the past*, deals with the legacy of the communist period and its influence on the post-communist transformation. Finally, the third part, entitled *Texts in changing contexts: values and meanings*, includes

papers that discuss topics related to axiological and other changes that post-communist transformation caused or left behind.

In the field of post-communist studies, the dominant paradigm is that of focusing mainly on political and economic aspects of post-communist transformation. This is understandable, considering the fact that formerly communist/socialist countries faced radical political and social changes. The papers grouped in the first part of this volume follow this approach by focusing mainly on introduction or (mal)functioning of democratisation processes. However, the second chapter directs the attention towards issues related not strictly with the sphere of politics, but rather with phenomena that have serious impacts on how politics is done or undone in former communist countries. Under the lens of analysis come *lieux de memoire* as well as collective and social memory, nostalgia for and condemnation of communist years, mistrust for yesterday's nomenclature, which became today's democratic elite, politics of memory or finally politicising traumatic memories of both nations and individuals.

The third part of the book expands the spectrum of analysis to also include the ways in which old values are transformed or replaced by new ones; the shift from the control over cultural life to free cultural activity and its influence on literature, arts and everyday life; a flood of travelogues and essays as literary genres that channel and express the often traumatic post-communist social changes; and finally moral and ethical discussions around ways of dealing with the communist past in the post-communist present. Therefore, the contributions included in this volume offer an unusual and highly valuable insight into the experience of communism and post-communism in Eastern, Central and South-eastern Europe. The comparative approach alongside its interdisciplinary character make this book a must for everyone interested in post-communist studies and the modern history of half of European continent at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries.

RIGELS HALILI

*Nicolaus Copernicus University of Toruń and
University of Warsaw (Poland)*

Hoffman, Danny. 2011. *The War Machines. Young Men and Violence in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. xxii + 295 pp. Pb: \$24.95. ISBN: 9780822350774.

Danny Hoffman worked as a photojournalist; he documented the military conflicts in Africa in the 1990s and conducted his ethnographic fieldwork in Sierra Leone and Liberia after the war was officially declared over in both countries. The monograph provides a rich and complex account of the warfare on both sides of the Mano River, the border between Sierra Leone and Liberia, which spans the period from 1989 to 2003 and treats the war on both sides of the border as a single continuous war.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading, for its chief subject is not child soldiers (the topic most popularly associated with this war), and not even young men, but rather it is an account of how war is produced (rather than reproduced) between the state and the individual inflicting the violence on the ground and what subsequently happens once the state officially draws an end to a conflict.

The cover of the book depicts a faceless person in a traditional shirt with a machine gun in (assumably) his hand. This, however, illustrates more what the author later describes as the popular interpretation of the term “war machine”, the physical male body inflicting mindless violence. In his analysis, Hoffman transcends the popular understanding by applying the term “war machines” as coined by French philosophers Deleuze and Guattari, which serves as an ‘interdisciplinary toolbox through which to break apart theorising a turbulent, troubling, but potentially liberating time’ (p. 7). As such “war machines” are not simply instruments for producing war, but rather they reflect the relationship between the state and the social actors perpetuating the violence on the ground. The direct conflict between the state and the war machine is what results in actual taking up of arms, and is thus fought according to the logic of the state. Moreover, the interplay between the state and the war machine results in active and inventive dealings that result in economic surplus. This emphasis on war as a creative and experimental market process is what makes Hoffman’s inspection of violence unique, placing it more within the realm of political economy rather than the comfortable anthropological category of “culture.” By looking beyond the cultural explanations for violence, the author attempts (and succeeds) to globalise our view of African warfare.

The monograph consists of seven chapters. The first provides the history of what the author entitles the Mano River War (the continuous war in Sierra Leone and Liberia from 1989 to 2003), which provides an excellent resource for those interested in understanding violence in West Africa. Chapters Two and Three detail the development of the *kamajors*, the ethnic Mende grassroots community defence (originally hunters’) group, into a national militia that forms part of the CDF (Civil Defence Forces), the Sierra Leonean pro-government paramilitary movement. Here, the author is interested how various (often mythical) representations of the past were used to strategically create new futures for the kamajors as well as how the institutionalisation of the organisation prepared it for both war and economic activity such as diamond mining. Hoffman argues that as kamajor troupes became diamond-digging crews and security forces at the same time, they simultaneously participated in both military funding and fighting.

Chapter Four describes the patronage relationships that characterise the social interactions in the region and extend into military life. The author argues that as violence is a way of life for these men, the whole fabric of the kamajors' social lives has become militarised. It is via patronage networks that men without resources (clients) gain access to the economic means of survival be it a diamond or fighting field. Hoffman goes on to demonstrate that while there is little personal freedom for the clients, they still manage to implement various strategies for survival. Chapter Six expands on the urban space as a locus for 'experimentation and creative bricolage' (p. 163) and its links to militarism via the spatial concept of "barracks," the complete social arrangement by which violence is 'contained and deployed' (p. 169). The author insists that this conflict should not be viewed as a 'bush war,' but rather the war that 'made the city' and is 'made by it' (p. 165). The kamajors, who were originally from the countryside, played an important role as both protector and menace to inhabitants of Sierra Leone's capital city, Freetown.

Chapter Six is by far the most ethnographic of all the chapters as it presents a day-to-day description of life in one of the "barracks" – the Brookfields hotel in Freetown, where many of the kamajors resided illegally until they were evicted in 2003. Chapter Seven addresses the occult dimension of the conflict by examining the practice of "bullet proofing" the body, which was allegedly part of the kamajor initiation process and, in the author's view, presents an inventive defensive practice in the context of war.

All in all, the book provides an impressive array of information for understanding the kamajor role in the Mano River War and creates the sense of what complicated economic and military concurrences are in motion across the region. As a photographer, the author provides outstanding illustrative material of 50 photographs and a brief reflection on what the increasing visualisation of the African conflict means. It is my impression, however, that there is too much information about this little-understood conflict for the author to accommodate into a book of barely 300 pages, which in turn means that the parts of the book are too dense for those not familiar with the conflict to grasp easily. An addition of a table of main acronyms and a timeline of the key historical events would have been helpful for non-Africanists. Further, the author insists that this is a narrative-driven ethnography. However, the absence of a section on methodology obscures exactly how the information was extracted. While the author must have had to be quite creative under the circumstances, a more open discussion of the methodological challenges would have been appreciated. Last but not least, this reviewer observed much unused potential for gender analysis that was foreshadowed but never implicitly analysed in the book. War has historically been a gendered activity. Considering the author's adeptness in offering innovative insights, this issue would have made for fascinating reading. In conclusion, this monograph offers a perceptive examination of the actors who perpetuate violence in West Africa and, as such, it is a must read for anybody invested in understanding the region or the global nature of violence in it.

KARINA VASILEVSKA-DAS
Riga Stradins University (Latvia)

Rice, Timothy. 2011. *Ethnomusicological Encounters with Music and Musicians (Essays in Honor of Robert Garfias)*. Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate. xix + 342 pp. Hb.: £65.00. ISBN: 9781409420378.

Anthropology and ethnomusicology have many common interests and goals, but where is the boundary between them? The contributors of this edited volume explore the common ground between anthropology and ethnomusicology, providing accounts about methods, ways of teaching, musical projects and musicians.

The current book is a collection of nineteen short essays from all over the world, covering the territories of the 'seven of the nine major regions of the world' (xiv): Africa, the United States, South Asia, East Asia, Europe, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East; it is probably simpler to say that the book does not cover Latin America and the Pacific. Such a broad scope of regions is justified by the themes underlying the publication. One is the idea of an ethno-musicological encounter with music and musicians. Thus, when there are so many "musics" and musicians to encounter, it is no surprise that the encounters may be short and sometimes of a rather teasing character. Another underlying idea of this book is that the essays are honouring the founder of the ethnomusicology program at the University of Washington, Robert Garfias. He is an eminent scholar, film-maker and world music educator, whose model of teaching includes the so-called world music performance program, which is discussed in this book as an interactional method for obtaining both auditory and cultural knowledge of music itself.

Garfias was particularly in favour of training ethnomusicologists as anthropologists, an idea which migrates throughout different essays in this book, all referring to Garfias. The volume begins with an introductory chapter by Robert Garfias, which is an auto-biographical account of his own path towards ethnomusicology. The authors in this volume allocate particular importance to the practice of doing ethnographic fieldwork in ethnomusicology, trying to bridge the domains of ethnomusicology and anthropology, but at the same time keeping the disciplinary divide.

The first part of the book is symbolically dedicated to the encounters with musicians, while the second concentrates on the encounters with music. Although it may seem that it is difficult to separate music from musicians, but in the end, the idea of such division is shown to be valid. The chapters in the first part of the book document encounters with individual musicians, most of whom are distinguished masters in their field.

The first chapters may attract researchers interested in teaching techniques. Usopay Cadar describes the flexible way in which his mother, a famous *kolintang* performer taught him to play, and which he later implemented with his American students. Patricia Shehan Campbell provides an insight into various teaching techniques of different artists visiting the University of Washington. Sean Williams draws a musical portrait of the Irish *sean-nós* singer Joe Heaney and the representations of the Famine in Ireland in songs. Karl Signell reflects on the process of understanding of the Turkish *makam* system as a student of Neced Yaşar, the most distinguished *tanbur* player; and Timothy Rice's chapter questions the criteria for understanding the artistry in musical performances of Bulgarian bagpipers. Andrew Killick's study explores how and why a culture at large values a particular individual, in his case, the Korean musician Hwang Byungki.

The remaining chapters in this part of the book have an even stronger biographical touch. Richard Jones-Bamman grants biographical attention to a Sámi *joik* singer Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. The conclusion is drawn in the chapter by Daniel Neuman, a reflection on the importance of his encounters with outstanding musicians, resulting in the insights in his own academic career.

The second part of the book focuses on the encounters with music, which happen when an ethnomusicologist generalises the encounters with the musicians up to the level of interpretative statements about how music functions and acts within the community. Such encounters with music can happen on four levels: through recordings, in rituals and performance events, in cultural ideas and social circumstances, and from the perspective of a particular discipline. In this part, Philip Yampolsky exposes the creation of the *Music of Indonesia* recordings series; and Gavin Douglas analyses the aesthetic sound choices in commercial recordings of Burmese music produced in Burma and abroad. Irene Markoff raises the topic of tradition and radicality of a Turkish musician Ali Ekber Çiçek. Larry Shumway summarises the changes in music and religion in the modernizing Japan; and Yoshitaka Terada reflects on the identities of the performers of Okinawan dance. Philip Schuyler provides an engrossing account of a situation he encountered in Marrakech, when two Arab and Berber musicians broke the spheres they occupied traditionally and performed together.

The next chapters open more explicitly the social contexts and the circumstances in which an encounter with music occurs. Hiromi Lorraine Sakata shows how Afghan music is shaping political representations. Bruno Nettl discusses the theory of song ownership among the Blackfoot Indians; and Fredric Lieberman provides an insight into the delicate engineering principles and acoustic faculties of a Chinese *qin*.

Finally, in the concluding chapter Simon Ottenberg explores the ways in which disciplinary orientations shape historical musicology, ethnomusicology and anthropology. He summarises the relation between anthropology and ethnomusicology in comparison to situational ethnicity, when one acts in an ethnic way only in some situations. He refers to it as ‘situational ethnomusicology’ (p. 301), assuming that ethnomusicologists view themselves sometimes as ethnomusicologists, or music educators, and sometimes as anthropologists. Ottenberg summarises that the relationships of anthropology and ethnomusicology will continue to change, but without hostility or confrontation.

This book will be a good help for anthropologists interested in ethnomusicology and for social scientists whose areas of interest are connected to music. Moreover, each chapter includes a good number of references to the musical recordings of the mentioned artists, as if inviting readers to listen and sonically experience the music that they read about.

POLINA TŠERKASSOVA
University of Tallinn (Estonia)

Hart, Keith, Jean-Louis Laville and Antonio David Cattani (eds.). 2010. *The Human Economy*. London: Polity Press. 320 pp. Pb.: \$19.95. ISBN: 9780745649801.

In 2008, the burst of the speculative mortgage bubble, the Credit Crunch and the subsequent international financial crisis represented a turning point in the international debate about the economy. Since the late 1990s, works including Klein's *No Logo: No Space, No Choice, No Jobs* (2000) or Gray's *False Dawn* (2002) have highlighted critical features of neoliberal doctrine and the financialisation of the economy. However, it is only after the Credit Crunch that public international debate started questioning the present understanding of economics and capitalism.

In the face of this debate, this book, edited by Hart, Laville and Cattani, proposes a new way of understanding the global economy. While neoliberals had explained it as the result of impersonal forces, such as offer, demand, inflection, and institutions disembedded from society, the editors propose a new understanding, which Hart has termed the *Human Economy*, as a replacement to neoliberalism as described in Harvey's *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* in 2007. They explain that 'in order to be human, the economy must be at least four things: 1) It is made and remade by people; economics should be of practical use to us all in our daily lives. 2) It should address a great variety of particular situations in all their institutional complexity. 3) It must be based on a more holistic conception of everyone's needs and interests. 4) It has to address humanity as a whole and the world society we are making' (p. 5).

As expressed by the editors (p. 10), the *Human Economy* represents a further development in the theorisation of an *Other Economy* alternative to neoliberalism that continues a broader discussion started back in the early 2000s with the first World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre in 2001. The experience of the Social Forums led to a vivid debate in South America and in continental Europe in which politicians and scholars took part. From this debates, works, such as Latouche and Harpagès' *Le Temps De La Décroissance* (2010), Petrini's *Slow Food Nation* (2007) or Laville and Cattani's *Dictionnaire De L'autre Économie* (2006), stemmed. Besides the few English translations of some of these works, the results of this strand of research remain scarcely known to the anglophone public. In this respect, this volume was an attempt to bridge this gap by presenting the state of art of the international discussion.

The book is divided into five sections covering different areas of this debate, exploring the discussion about the world economy (Part I *World Society* pp. 20–75), human relationships (Part II *Economics with a Human Face* pp. 75–154), ethics (Part III *Moral Politics* pp.155–210), community engagement (Part IV *Beyond Market and State* pp. 211–300) and the new sectors and features of the economy emerging in the past decade (Part V *New Directions*, pp. 301–360).

The book collects 32 brief essays wrote by international well-known scholars, such as Thomas Hylland Eriksen (*Globalization* pp. 21–31), Chris Hann (*Moral Economy* pp. 187–198), David Graeber (*Communism* pp. 199–210), and Catherine Alexander (*The Third Sector*, pp. 213–224). Each essay offers a survey of the debate highlighting the principal theoretical points developed in the course of the last decade, and proposes an

essential bibliography of further reading to better explore the subject. In this respect, the essays represents, rather than ground-breaking contributions to the on-going debate, clear and useful starting points for a research tackling the key areas of the current economy. They offer insight into different topics, encompassing subjects traditionally explored by anthropology, such a *Gift* (by Alain Caillé) and *Local Development* (by John M. Bryden), and other aspects of the economy that have only recently entered the scope of the discipline, such as *Alternative Energy* (by Arnaud Sales and Leandro Raizer) and *Microcredit* (Jean-Michel Servet).

The book is a useful reference tool for students and researchers in economic and development anthropology, and can be added to other encyclopaedic works such as Beckert and Zafirovski's *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology* (2006), Barnard and Spencer's *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (2010) or Carrier's *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology* (2005).

MICHELE FILIPPO FONTEFRANCESCO
Durham University (United Kingdom)

