

Amit, Vered (ed.). 2002. *Realizing community. Concepts, social relationships and sentiments*. London and New York: Routledge. xvi + 256 pp. Hb.: £57.50. ISBN: 0 415 22907 3. Pb.: £18.99. ISBN: 0 415 22908 1.

The focus on specific shared forms of interaction and how these forms are inhabited often in a frame of 'community loss' allows this volume to demonstrate the continued viability of 'community' amidst debates about its analytical efficacy, erosion of boundaries and deterritorialisation. The contributors engage with this notion of loss to show how the concept emerges and is sustained in a variety of ways. This allows for a probing of differences within sameness and recognition of people's right to be different; in respect of the right to opt out of particular communities, Nigel Rapport urges the applicability of irony as an open-ended, detached means of entering into other people's worlds and practising multiple identities. In the Afterword, Anthony Cohen critically revisits his 1985 *Symbolic construction of community* to qualify his position in terms of how community is constructed, contextualising how this work developed, and his own distance. He notes:

I later went on to argue emphatically and excessively against (a) the relativism of the boundary-focused thesis (a position which, in turn, I have had recently to qualify . . .); and (b) against the neglect of the community's self-identity which, like the individual's, is likely, in part, to be non-relativistic and non-contingent, the same argument which John Gray makes in this volume and which was the subject of my 1994 book, *Self Consciousness* (pp. 166–7).

Both the qualifications and the ways Cohen identifies the slipperiness of the category in noting the challenge of undertaking the volume demonstrate how the term has been scrutinised as a much contested category.

The strength of this volume is that against all this critical scrutiny and slippage it offers detailed

accounts of the applicability of the concept by grounding it in varied examples which necessarily privilege particular anthropological approaches. Amit discusses the partiality of community experiences to show how it forms part of other worlds. Cohen adds to this when he notes the limited associations through which people interact (p. 168). Thus, the ways community is realised through shared sets of experiences inevitably eclipses encounters located in other communities not discussed. This suggests possibilities for exploring how some partialities may be located within in-between spaces of belonging, and for extending particular frames or the analytical boundary.

Community also attracts conceptual revision by revising theories which probe deterritorialisation and its consequences for understandings of home and culture. Amit, discussing how Arjun Appadurai distinguishes between locality and neighbourhood, notes that some of the collectivities which emerge cannot be categorised within either of his terms. She traces the historical emergence of community as an analytical concept, offering a good overview of its various shifts and contending that it has moved from 'an actualised social form' to 'an idea or quality of sociality' (p. 3).

Karen Fog Olwig explores community as a 'cultural construction' in two distinct anthropological strands, the first centering on face-to-face relationships studied in villages, the second on the relationships formed within 'imagined communities'. Olwig argues for community emerging through specific experiences. Her accounts of individuals in family networks of Caribbean origins consider both local and global aspects. Marian Kempny argues against theorists who locate community and culture within shifting contexts of globalisation, and in favour of how community is produced through localism among the Cieszyn Silesian Lutherans in Poland. John Gray points to the 'existential predicament' of analysing people on the move (p. 38). He points to how Scottish Borders hill sheep farmers are able to evoke place in their shared sheep rearing activities

against perceptions of community decline. Noel Dyck, discussing parents' involvement in childrens' sports activities in Canada, points to community in select encounters rather than in enduring relationships, using them as examples of how experiences are reinserted into the local as ongoing narratives. Signe Howell's account of adoptive parents in Norway considers relationships within communities as a focus on inclusions and how boundaries foster belonging. Andrew Dawson considers the anxieties of the elderly in North-East England which are mediated by how they produce themselves in communal spaces: in turn, this locates community in a new 'place' vis-à-vis concerns of locating the self elsewhere outside of the body.

The accounts here provide strong examples of how the term gains meaning in settings underpinned by movement of people and how this renders community visible in different ways. In this regard, the volume goes beyond an often preferred focus on its contested nature.

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Anderson, Kit. 2003. *Nature, culture and big old trees. Live oaks and ceibas in the landscapes of Louisiana and Guatemala*. Austin: University of Texas Press. xvi + 183 pp. Pb.: \$19.95. ISBN: 0 292 70213 2.

The Louisiana Live Oak Association, begun in 1932, has as its official members trees with a girth of over 5.2 m (17 ft.). Each member is sponsored by a human 'attorney'. When the old president, the Locke Breaux Oak, died (along with all the other trees on the property owned by a chemical company) the new 'president' was inducted in a ceremony in 1966. In 2002, the membership was over 4,000 champion trees and the Association had made it into the Guinness Book of World Records.

In her slim book on big old trees, Kit Anderson sets out to investigate two questions: how did live oaks and ceibas come to be so important in their respective landscapes? How have people affected these trees and how have trees affected people?

Trees, Anderson claims, tell stories. They record changing environments, cultural values, social relationships and notions of the sacred. In a lucid and accessible style, Anderson compares the cultural and natural landscapes of live oaks and ceibas, arranging her chapters to deal with each in turn before briefly drawing comparisons. Aside

from the slightly odd juxtaposition of Guatemala and Louisiana, which to my mind is not sufficiently justified, this technique works tolerably well.

The introduction sets out the research sites, briefly reviews the literature and argues that the length of human involvement makes it difficult to distinguish between natural and cultural parts of the landscape. For anthropologists, given Anderson's claim to use ethnographic methods, chapter 2 will be the least satisfactory, sounding at times more like travelogue than research. However, she usefully outlines the roles of ceibas as places with shade for markets, markers of memories and histories. With the Louisiana material Anderson is more sure-footed, discussing the role of live oaks in oak allées and parks as markers of boundaries and sacred sites, with neat discussions of the Evangaline Oak and Gossip Tree, individual trees with significant cultural elaboration. Chapter 3, subtitled 'The secret lives of live oaks and ceibas', deals with their ecology. Highlights are the maps comparing natural distribution with cultural distribution, which show graphically the impact of human interactions with the trees. Chapter 4, subtitled 'How trees develop character', traces the effects of human relationships with the trees. The material from Louisiana is again stronger. Here she traces the role of live oaks in the lives of indigenous Indians, the exploitation of oak as timber for shipping and as stately markers of ante bellum homes, and its role as an important carrier of identity for Cajun communities. Anderson is at her best describing how story-telling can call a place into being in the case of the Evangaline Oak. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow published 'Evangaline' in 1847, a poem inspired by the Arcadian exile in the 1700s tracing a tragic love story which was an instant success in Victorian England. Around the turn of the century, a village decided to attract tourists by claiming the Evangaline Oak. This was pure invention, but several trees later the Oak has become a highly symbolic place and important to the local community's identity and economy.

In a short coda to the book Anderson reflects on the role of 'charismatic megafloa', and suggests that trees should not be considered passive settings for human activity but rather active participants. She argues that individuals, artists, poets, writers and planters can often set in motion transformations in the landscape, transformations that may become cultural preferences. These transformations may also become cultural preferences in unexpected ways. The people planting live oaks in allées would not have seen the culturally influential full grown trees. What would

have happened, she asks, if the oak allées were planted with tulip poplars? Her comments on the nature/culture dichotomy underpinning her book are confined to a few paragraphs at the end. In these she briefly offers 'mutualism' as a way to describe human/tree relationships. This implies two active participants and implies an interdependence between two species. This, Anderson claims, could drastically alter our understanding of ourselves as a species on earth.

This book falls frustratingly short in a couple of ways. Anthropologists will find the lack of ethnographic grounding, particularly in the Guatemalan material, worrying, while those with a more theoretical bent will find it annoyingly thin on engagement with its own theoretical foundations. That said, the book represents a fair, if mostly implicit, understanding of current theoretical developments. It also offers some interesting case-study material, clearly written, that would warrant a mention as additional reading on courses dealing with landscape and cultural ecology.

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**Ardener, Shirley (ed.) 2002. *Swedish ventures in the Cameroon, 1883–1923. Trade and travel, people and politics*. Oxford. Berghan. xvi + 288 pp.
Hb.: £50.00/\$79.95. ISBN: 1 57181 725 5.
Pb.: £20.00/\$29.95. ISBN: 1 57181 311 X.**

The centrepiece of this volume is the previously unpublished memoir of Knut Knutson, one of a number of Swedes who settled in the Cameroon mountains in the late nineteenth century having been inspired to visit Africa, as he tells us, by the narratives of exploration written by Stanley, Burton and others. His account is fascinating for a number of reasons, not least of which is the fact that he writes in an unpolished English which is very different from the studiously literary tenor of the more famous European travelogues.

For the most part, the memoir focuses on the time Knutson and his compatriot George Waldau spent among the Bakweri, in and around the town of Mapanja. Here, by his own account, he came to be trusted by the local people and learned to speak the language fluently. Knutson does seem to be a fairly sympathetic observer of Bakweri society, at least relative to Burton, who had visited the area some twenty years earlier, and whose account is included by the editor, along with a wide range of

comparative and supporting material. After their initial venture as game hunters comes to nothing, Waldau and Knutson are rescued from fever and near starvation by the people of Mapanja, an experience which leaves him at pains to defend the moral integrity of local culture, and the unselfish generosity of the villagers. 'Our black hunting companion[s]', he says, 'revealed a heart which you here in West Europe have to search for with candle and lantern' (p. 39).

At the same time, however, Knutson's memoir is an object lesson in the fact that, in the context of imperial relations, statements of friendship and understanding were overdetermined and distorted by struggles over political and economic control. Shortly after their recovery, he and Waldau discover the presence of rubber vines in the highlands, which they encourage the villagers to tap on their behalf. Immediately, he writes with some satisfaction, 'we began to gain more power and influence over the natives' (p. 42). More particularly, however, Knutson's claims to have properly understood Bakweri society, and his presentation of the Swedes as benevolent presences, have to be read against the background of competition among the major European colonial powers to annexe the entire area, a competition in which he and Waldau were intimately but ambiguously involved.

In 1884 Hugo Zöller, a journalist working on behalf of Gustav Nachtigal, arrived in Mapanja to announce that a German military force was claiming control over the Cameroon river, and to solicit help from the Swedes in persuading local leaders to sign treaties placing their lands under German protection. Although at the time Knutson admits that 'it had always been looming for me that my fatherland should take the mountains' (p. 47), they accede to the request primarily because they hope thereby to safeguard their own local land purchases. These purchases include the entirety of Mapanja village which the Swedes had 'bought' earlier in the year for six pieces of cloth, three tablecloths and three umbrellas. Ardener includes transcripts of these original documents of sale, as well as extracts of Zöller's account of the race to claim the mountain for his fatherland, all of which provides a real historical insight into the tactical manoeuvrings which took place on the ground among rival European groups. Reading between the lines, some sense of the skilful use of truculence and feigned misunderstanding by local elites keen to protect their trade routes and political position is also apparent. In the event, as soon as the German authorities have established themselves they refuse

to recognise the validity of Knutson and Waldau's land claims. It is in this respect that it becomes impossible to disentangle Knutson's retrospective attack on the brutality of the German administration in Cameroon from his sense of anger that he and his companion were not formally recognised as being what he describes, without apparent irony, as 'the first owners of the large territories of the Cameroon Mountains' (p. 50).

So in a sense, what is most interesting about the memoir is the ambiguous position which the Swedes occupy as Europeans resident in Africa who are themselves required to negotiate with (and indeed capitulate to) a more belligerent European imperialist power. In writing his account years later, at a period when he was still pursuing his land claims through the courts of London and Lagos, Knutson emphasises this position of relative objectivity, and is scathing of the methods used during the German annexation. Yet at the same time, and indistinguishably, Knutson's positioning of himself as an objectively critical observer is itself part of his own claim to power over the Bakweri. All of which makes the volume, aside from its ethnographic and historical value, a striking reminder of the fact that, in the colonial context, statements of disinterestedness often served other interests.

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Balzani, Marzia. 2003. *Modern Indian kingship. Tradition, legitimacy and power in Rajasthan*. Oxford: James Currey and Santa Fe: SAR Press. xx + 204 pp. Hb.: £41.95. ISBN: 0 852559313. Pb.: £16.95. ISBN: 1 930618 18 2.

A fascination with the social phenomenon of transforming and especially declining elites has inspired outstanding novels like *The Leopard* by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa and Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*. The topic, however, has rarely been approached by social scientists. In this respect Marzia Balzani's study of Indian kingship, in particular the house of the former Maharaja of Jodhpur in Rajasthan, is an exception. Her study strives to understand and explain the nature of indigenous rule in India in its transformation, first under British rule and later within the context of recent heritage and tourism projects.

One of the book's strengths is the thorough archival work undertaken mainly in the Bikaner

State Archives, the India Office Library and the Umaid Bhavan Palace. Ceremonials, celebrations and invitations are always presented within their historical dimension. This allows the author to indicate changes in ritual practices over time. Beyond archival material, Balzani uses ethnographic data from her fieldwork in Rajasthan. Drawing from both history and ethnography, she demonstrates how the institutional power of the former Maharaja of Jodhpur survived through public and private ritual practices, despite the restrictions imposed by the Princes Act (1971).

The study is divided into five chapters excluding the introduction and conclusion. Each chapter considers a different aspect of the highly formalised and bureaucratised social practices within the court. Balzani examines private death and condolence rituals as examples of religiously motivated performances and pilgrimages as examples of religiously motivated public events. She also examines seed-sowing and ploughing rituals and, most interestingly, the exclusive courtly audience or 'darbar' as an example of a political ritual. The increase in ceremonial events in recent years leads to highly confident and experienced ritual performances. This increase is surprising considering that state hierarchy is no longer negotiated and displayed during the darbar. Up to this day the former Maharaja of Jodhpur holds court at his former residence that has, however, been transformed into a five star palace hotel. In this new context selected high-end tourists are invited, and others at least allowed to take photographs of royal ceremonies. Considering that the Umaid Bhavan Palace today generates its income largely as a hotel and museum, an elaboration of the commercial value and importance of rituals for the palace as a business would have added to a book on modern kings. Not unexpectedly for an elite study, the protagonists in this book remain distant and the overall formality observed and described in the court rituals is mirrored in the excerpts from interviews with royalty.

In view of the publication's title, one might have expected to find a stronger emphasis on recent political and economic changes faced by former royalty and reflected in forms of self-representation. It could have added to the argument which claims similarities between the royal darbar and the darbar held by contemporary politicians if Balzani had provided ethnographic examples to underline how the institution of holding court has shaped today's political arena in Jodhpur.

While the strength of this publication clearly lies in the thoroughly researched and excellent archival material, the exclusion of issues that are not rooted in the available archival material is its weakness. As a result the picture drawn of modern Indian kingship appears to be exclusively male, as women's voices have not been recorded in the archives. Balzani is clearly aware of the male bias in this publication, having published elsewhere specifically on gender issues such as pregnancy rituals among Rajput elites. It is a weakness of a systematic approach that starts with archival documentation that voices outside the archives tend to be neglected, and innovations appear to be rather a continuum of traditions. The publication is directed at both anthropologists and historians. It is well written and well researched, allowing readers a grounded understanding of transformations in a north Indian palace.

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Cohen, Abner. 2004. *Custom and politics in urban Africa. A study of Hausa migrants in Yoruba towns.* London and New York: Routledge. xxviii + 252 pp. Pb.: £20.00. ISBN: 0 415 31723 1.

Thirty-six years ago, when *Custom and politics in urban Africa* first came out, many African states were beginning to undergo major transformations. We could think of Abner Cohen as being simply lucky and at the right place at the right time, since Nigeria in 1962 was a place where an anthropologist was given a unique chance to see the transformation from colonial rule to local government. But it took a perceptive scholar like Cohen to recognise how the rapid socio-cultural and political change in the region could prove an amazing field of research for the new forms of anthropology that he and his Manchester school colleagues were beginning to practise. Thus Cohen's work followed in the vein of studies in the Copperbelt region and drew on what he defined as 'detrribalisation' of the towns of Central and South Africa, where political relations lacked the ethnic element, to then explain how the way of things in West Africa and particularly in Nigeria was an example of something quite different, of 'retribalisation', referring to the fact that people drew on their ethnic identity to achieve political goals.

Interestingly, it was his own colleagues who were the strongest critics of Cohen's idea that political

ethnicity is goal-oriented and that the main function of ethnicity is profitability. His strongest opponent on the matter was probably Epstein, who defended the idea that ethnicity had, among other things, psychological roots, and therefore rejected Cohen's political and instrumental theory. While Epstein's criticism had some ground and one could argue that Cohen's theory could not be universally applied, it still did not manage to diminish the influence of this theory.

Before looking at the legacy of *Custom and politics in urban Africa* and its influence on anthropological work at the beginning of the twenty-first century, let me briefly explore some other areas of Cohen's study that could be criticised from the perspective of all the progress that anthropology has made, both as a theory and a practice.

While no one could doubt the importance of Cohen's study and its relevance, there are some minor issues that could be addressed. For a current student of anthropology the book's first problem lies in its rather dated vocabulary; one needs to ignore the use of terms like 'tribes' and 'tribalism' in order truly to appreciate the amazing collection of data and analysis that is contained within this study. The second thing that is strikingly obvious to a reader today is the great gap between the anthropologist and the informants whose voices and perception of the life they are leading is overshadowed by the scholar's interpretation of it. This is also the case in the chapter on women, which from today's perspective seems almost sexist, as it is written from what seems a solely male perspective.

Returning to the importance of Cohen's study for anthropology today, let me stress its groundbreaking ethnographic contribution to the study of an urban environment, where the actors are linked into trans-regional and trans-national webs of trade, and into social and political relations that can be compared to today's practices of trans-national trade that Africans are involved in all over their continent, as well as in Europe, America and elsewhere. This very aspect is one of the many that are referred to in the preface by Elizabeth Colson, as the reason why *Custom and politics in urban Africa* merits the title of an anthropological classic. Colson's preface to this edition makes the volume an even more worthy purchase. Within a few pages she manages to situate Cohen's work both historically and within the current anthropological work on Africa, and her preface alone provides an inspiration and an excellent outline for anyone who is planning to teach a

course on multiculturalism, trans-national trade, and ethnic mobilisation based on solid multi-sited ethnography in and out of Africa.

L I Z A D E B E V E C

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Duranti, Alessandro (ed.). 2003. *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell. xx + 625 pp. Hb.: £85.00/\$124.95. ISBN: 0 631 22352 5.

This companion to linguistic anthropology is a substantial volume containing twenty-two chapters, yet for all its size does not suffer from wordiness. It succeeds in doing exactly what it sets out to in a clear, concise and well-ordered fashion: that is, to provide 'a series of in-depth explorations of key concepts and approaches by some of the scholars whose work constitutes the theoretical and methodological foundations of the contemporary study of language as culture'. With no prior knowledge in the field of linguistic anthropology assumed by the authors on the part of the readers, this as you can imagine is a vast undertaking. Yet it works. Introducing key themes and concepts to the reader carefully as each chapter unfolds and builds on what has gone before is the key. Yet at the same time flow is not diminished, and the internal referencing of other chapters (future and previous) helps maintain overall cohesion. What we have is not a series of unconnected essays tackling each topic in isolation. Rather the result is a well thought out and comprehensive anthology that gives the reader a well-rounded introduction to linguistic anthropology.

The volume is arranged in four parts: Speech communities: contact and variation; The performing of language; Achieving subjectivities and intersubjectivities through language; and The power in language. Each section contains a range of essays that introduce key concepts and generalisations. In the first part scholars introduce speech community, registers, bilingualism, code-switching, diversity and variation, to name but a few. These are not introduced as dry scholarly topics but, like the rest of the volume, are presented in their socio-cultural contexts, including the Pacific Islands, North American Indian, and sign languages. These cultural representations help the reader to understand the dynamics of power at play between language, nation, region and identity.

The second part continues with essays based around performance, as the volume continues to familiarise the reader with yet more theoretical and methodological groundwork, conversation, participation, language socialisation, linguistic signs and gestures, narrative, poetry and music in a variety of contexts and cultures. The third part offers more insights into language socialisation, identity formation and relations, intersubjectivity and communicative practices, deviance and madness, speech environments and religious language. Each of the essays contributes to our knowledge of the essential role performed by language in comprehending as well as constituting subjective and intersubjective worlds.

Finally, part four brings the volume to a close with a perceptive exploration of that hitherto slippery concept, agency in language. This part of the book also confronts the issue of social inequalities mediated through the relative valuing of language, and offers a comprehensive engagement with the nature of language ideologies.

Each of the parts forges connections between the methodological, the theoretical and the concrete, offering awareness and insight into contemporary cultural dimensions of power, social inequality, gender, identity and linguistic diversity. Although I have introduced each part separately, this is not to say that they stand alone or are restricted in their subject matter. On the contrary there is a rich cross-fertilisation of ideas and concepts between each part that unfolds effortlessly before the reader.

Lacking the space here to give a brief synopsis of every chapter I chose not to single out any one of them for particular acclaim, lest it raise the possibility of some being less worthy than others. Rather I commend the careful and insightful editorial management of Duranti, who has indeed sculpted this volume into a must-have for any anthropologist's bookshelf.

Evaluating the volume I could identify only one drawback, and that is in reference to my own particular interest, the internet. Sadly there was only one chapter that in any way approached the study of linguistics on the internet and this was Keating and Ebert's piece about signing in computer-mediated space. I feel this is an opportunity missed to get in at the ground-floor level to investigate computer-mediated discourse. However, for all scholars, both familiar and less familiar with the tenets of linguistic anthropology, this volume offers an intuitive and comprehensive grounding. This is achieved not only through the thoroughly interesting presentation of ideas and concepts in its essays, but

also by means of an extensive bibliography of literature. This bibliography is designed to act as a comprehensive reference tool for serious scholars of linguistic anthropology, but also for those who just want to dip into it to add insight to their own social and cultural studies.

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**Ebron, Paula A. 2002. *Performing Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. xx + 244 pp.
Pb.: £13.95. ISBN: 0 691 07489 5. Hb.: £37.95.
ISBN: 0 691 07488 7.**

Performing Africa propose une réflexion sur la représentation de l'Afrique dans l'horizon culturel nord-américain, en particulier noir-américain, à partir des productions oratoires et musicales des *jali* (griots) mandinka de Gambie, acteurs dans différents domaines, tels que la médiation politique, la connaissance de la généalogie, la transmission de l'histoire locale. D'après Ebron, ces interactions sociales comportent des processus de *commodification* des faits culturels qui passent, dans le cas des *jali*, par la ductilité des rôles identitaires joués par ceux-ci pour le maintien de leur statut social à travers la gestion de la 'performance'.

L'ouvrage est articulé en trois parties. La première ('Representations/Performances') est consacrée à l'analyse de la représentation occidentale des musiques d'Afrique. Le premier chapitre ('Music: Europe and Africa') constitue une critique de travaux ethnographiques qui auraient perpétué un regard figé sur une image esthétisée du rythme, ainsi offusquant des réalités variées et soumises aux changements des rapports de pouvoir locaux. Ce même thème est véhiculé, dans le deuxième chapitre ('Performances'), à travers la description de la réception du public des concerts des *jali* aux Etats-Unis, fortement en contraste avec la négociation mondialisée de la *jaliya* et les rapports de force à caractère politique et économique du patronage local et de la politique culturelle nationale représentée par l'Oral History and Antiquity Division (OHAD).

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage ('Professional dreams') analyse l'exploitation de la *jaliya* dans la construction du *pedigree* historique de l'état-nation gambien à travers l'activité du OHAD et sa confrontation avec le monde académique occidental dans la réception et l'utilisation de l'histoire locale.

Le chapitre 4, 'Personalistic economy', analyse la construction du statut social du *jali* dans la sphère politique, intégrée, dans le chapitre 5, par le concept de 'biomythography' et la confrontation de genre de la *jaliya*. La troisième partie ('Culture as commodity') présente deux aspects ultérieurs de la mondialisation de la *jaliya* et du décalage culturel qui en découle, à travers l'analyse des représentations de genre entre les touristes femmes européennes et nord-américaines et leur guides hommes sur place (chap. 6 'Travel stories') et les voyages-pèlerinage des touristes noirs-américains sur les routes de l'escalavage (chap. 7 'Tourist as pilgrims').

L'idée de développer une réflexion transversale sur les modalités mondialisées de la représentation sur l'Afrique est à louer. Cependant, *Performing Africa* n'est pas un ouvrage convaincant. La synergie entre l'idée (la transversalité de la représentation), le choix du sujet (la *jaliya* de Gambie), les outils d'analyse, bien rodés, voire usés ('agency', 'commodification of culture' et 'performance of identities') et la bibliographie (presque entièrement anglophone, en particulier, nord-américaine) n'aboutit pas à une approche originale, ni de la *jaliya*, ni du thème de la représentation. Les données de terrain passent en deuxième plan par rapport à l'anecdote et au détail autobiographique, qui, souvent, ne contribue pas à peaufiner l'analyse. Tel est le cas des deux derniers chapitres.

Au niveau méthodologique, Ebron aurait pu faire trésor de la démarche comparative proposée par Thomas Hale dans son étude sur les griots d'Afrique de l'Ouest (*Griots and griottes. Masters of words and music*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), ou de l'approche transversale de Carlo Ginzburg, magistralement présentée dans *Ecstasies. Deciphering the witches' sabbath* (1991), et présenter les dynamiques de la 'création' de la *jaliya* en Gambie et les stratégies d'adaptation des *jali* aux changements sociaux, à la compétition et à la multiplicité des patronages au niveau local. Cela aurait permis de mieux éclairer les stratégies d'adaptation des *jali* aux contextes européen et nord-américain et le décalage entre l'horizon imaginaire véhiculé par la *commodification* de la *jaliya* et les dynamiques socio-économiques locales qui sous-entendent le déplacement à l'étranger des *jali*.

A ce titre, la description des coulisses de la construction du passé à travers les rapports professionnels entre les *jali* et l'OHAD est bien pertinente (chap. 3). Cependant, la comparaison avec le cas des *jeli* maliens et guinéens et leur rôle

dans le neo-traditionalisme de la politique culturelle de l'état-nation aurait révélé que certains points denses d'analyse, tels que l'emploi politique de l'horizon mythique du passé dans le présent, la gestion du statut social et de l'identité, ne sont pas des éléments propres au cas gambien. Le dépouillement de la bibliographie européenne (à propos de bibliographie, Jan Vansina s'écrit avec 's'), même francophone, aurait permis de proposer des argumentations bien plus approfondies et moins rhétoriques.

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Ferreira, César, and Eduardo Dargent-Chamot. 2003. *Culture and customs of Peru*. Westpoint: Greenwood Press. xx + 163 pp. Hb.: £30.00. ISBN: 0 313 30318 5.

Culture and customs of Peru is part of a wider series called 'Culture and Customs of Latin America and the Caribbean', which, at the time of publication, was edited by Peter Standish from East Carolina University. Other countries included in this series are: Argentina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Chile, Guatemala, Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, El Salvador and Venezuela. In the series forward, Standish briefly discusses the problematic nature of the term 'culture'. It can be used to refer to what has been called 'high culture': the arts, music, literature and theatre. However, in a broader, more anthropological sense, culture can refer to traditions, beliefs and customs. The books in this series aim to incorporate both of these notions of culture. Each book outlines the history, politics, geography, linguistic and ethnic context, and also the religious and social customs of a particular country. The focus is on what Standish calls 'artistic activities' such as the media, film, television, literature, and the visual and performing arts. While this sort of wide compass is laudable, it is also inevitable that each of these topics can only be mentioned in passing.

This indeed is my problem with *Culture and customs of Peru*. The first chapter, on the overall context of Peru, covers geography, ethnicity, language and history. The entire history of Peru, from pre-Incan cultures to President Fujimori is covered in 23 pages. That being said, the authors do a very good job of compressing this information,

which is not surprising given that Eduardo Dargent-Chamot is Associate Professor of History at the University of Lima Peru. The second chapter, on 'Religion and religious celebrations' is much less successfully done. In ten pages, the authors discuss Andean religion, the history of the Catholic Church in Peru, the rise of Protestantism and several important festivals such as the Señor de Milagros in Lima, the Señor de Qoyllur Riti and the Virgin of the Candelaria in Puno. Such brief descriptions give no indication of the importance of religion in the lives of Peruvians, nor of the rich imagery and symbolism of these festivals. The third chapter, on 'Social customs', is equally weak. It starts off well with a discussion of *mestizaje*, which is the process of blending indigenous, Spanish and mestizo cultures. It then deteriorates in the section called 'towards a definition of Peruvian idiosyncrasy'. This section provides gross generalisations about 'cultural traits' associated with people in different areas of Peru and ends with a discussion of regional cuisine. As someone who has lived and worked in the Andes, I found this discussion of 'social customs' severely wanting. It became clear to me at this point that the authors could not be anthropologists. So, just to be sure, I looked the authors up. As mentioned above, one is a historian; the other, César Ferreira was Associate Professor of Spanish at the University of Oklahoma.

The book then examines aspects of 'high culture', starting off, in chapter 4, with a description of broadcasting and print media. This, again, is disappointing. In the section on journalism, the authors give a list of newspapers, and a brief history of each; television and radio stations are given a similar treatment. This chapter seems to be more concerned with discussing the history of the media in Peru, and less with the cultural content of these media. A good discussion of popular dramas would have been welcome. Thankfully, in chapter 5 on 'Literature', the book begins to improve. Sticking with the historical bent of the book, the discussion of literature starts with the Inka and move on to colonial classics such as Guamán Poma and Garcilaso de la Vega. It also includes José Carlos Mariátegui's influence on the Indigenous movement, and more recent authors such as José María Arguedas and Vargas Llosa. Chapters 6 on 'Performing arts and cinema' and 7 on 'Art, architecture and photography' are both very wide in scope, but are much better done than the earlier chapters.

The authors are to be commended for bringing together such a diverse amount of material.

However, I do feel that such breadth was at the expense of the sort of ethnographic detail needed to give the reader a real feel for 'Peruvian culture'. This book might be of use to someone who wants to travel to Peru and wants to have a bit of background information (though the *Rough guide to Peru* does a much better job at this). As a teaching tool, I think the book is very limited. Given the rather crude way it deals with the issue of 'culture' and the lack of ethnographic depth, I personally would not use it in any of my anthropology classes.

NICOLE BOURQUE
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Hayward, Keith. 2004. *City limits. Crime, consumer culture and the urban experience*. London: Glasshouse Press. xii + 248 pp. Pb.: £28.00. ISBN: 1 90438 503 6.

Keith Hayward's book has a two-fold aim: to introduce cultural criminology as a phenomenological approach to the study of crime, and to explore the many and complex relationships between consumer culture and crime within the post-modern urban society.

As the term implies, cultural criminology views both crime and its controlling agencies as cultural products. Hayward argues that contemporary 'mainstream' criminology lacks a fundamental engagement with urban, social and spatial dynamics: although it deals with phenomena that take place in urban settings, critical understandings of these settings play a minor role in its analyses of urban crime. Utilising a mix of intellectual influences – particularly post-modern theorists like Jameson, Harvey and Bauman – the author encourages criminologists to turn their focus on the urban experience itself. Hayward proposes that urban crime can best be understood within the conceptual framework of the 'crime-city nexus' and that certain forms of criminal behaviour in contemporary urban society can only be understood as manifestations of late modern consumer culture. Motivation for street crime, for example, is not poverty, but a desire for style, luxury and excitement fuelled by profit-driven late capitalism. Street criminals are consumers whose primary aim is to own the latest mobile phone or designer accessory. To understand contemporary urban crime, it is, thus, essential to first understand the contemporary culture of consumption.

The five chapters of this book offer such an account of this culture. The first chapter is about the experience of the modern city. Starting from Baron Haussmann's newly-constructed Paris and its famous inhabitant, Baudelaire's *flâneur*, it moves on to London with Engels' urban poor, finally arriving at Georg Simmel's metropolis and its dweller, concluding with representations of urban experience in art, from French impressionism to German expressionism. The post-modern urban condition is ushered in – somewhat abruptly – in the second chapter; the author prefers to call it 'late modernity' or 'late capitalism', following Jameson's terminology. Here criminological theorists are invited to embrace post-modern discourse. Utilising Harvey's and Jameson's work on post-modernity, Hayward links consumer culture with urban experience, and both with urban crime.

In chapter 3, the author attempts to reclaim the lost dimension of the 'urban' for criminological theory. He argues that contemporary criminology's preoccupation with 'scientific' methodologies and manipulative statistics limits its scope. Referring to different theories and schools, from the 'early ecologists' (Quetelet and Guerry) to the Chicago School, environmental and administrative criminology and new left realism, he argues that criminology can be refreshed by focusing instead on the relationship between urban space and urban crime.

The last two chapters concentrate on the criminological relevance of understandings of the urban condition. Chapter four is a critique of Mike Davis' ecology of fear in Los Angeles. Aiming beyond Davis' pessimistic views of a nightmarish urban dystopia and the bitter criticism these have generated, the author tries to demonstrate how the key themes of Davis' writings support his thesis: as exclusion from urban public space, urban crime is also a manifestation of consumer culture. Hayward's key arguments linking crime, consumer culture and urban experience are brought together in the final chapter, which is also a criticism of contemporary criminology. Turning to Jack Katz's theory of post-modern reconstruction of aetiology, he shows how criminological theory, favouring causal explanations of criminality in late modern society has ignored – or, at best, only recognised as pathology – the emotional and interpretative qualities of crime. For the author, the causes of urban street crime lie beyond structural and rational choice factors: transgressive behaviour is a pursuit of pleasure and excitement for 'sensation-gathering' young people, its appeal accentuated by its

packaging and marketing as a fashionable cultural symbol. Street crime is reproduced as a consumer product.

Hayward's phenomenological approach is a welcome addition to a field often restricted to statistical evidence. The book's scope is introductory and there is a broad coverage of themes that will be very useful to students in need of a basic guidebook in the (presumably) unfamiliar world of contemporary cultural theory. Although this broad coverage helps in setting the ground for the new discipline, depth of analysis is sometimes sacrificed.

The author's interpretation of contemporary urban crime as 'consumption' merits much further debate. I was not persuaded that structural factors are irrelevant: surely one's outlets of excitement and sensation depend on one's place (in both the geographical and the sociological senses) in a formally or informally zoned city, product of a stratified society that affords unequal opportunities for pleasure and self-realisation. Rich kids don't mug... Or do they?

PENNY S. TRAVLOU

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Lanclos, Donna M. 2003. *At play in Belfast, Children's folklore and identities in Northern Ireland*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. xiv + 209 pp. Hb: £40.50. ISBN: 0 8135 3321 X. Pb: £14.95. ISBN: 0 8135 3322 8.

In a by now classic article ('Putting hierarchy in its place', *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (1988): 36–49), Arjun Appadurai develops the idea of 'gate-keeping concepts', meaning concepts that confine theorising about an anthropological region to certain topics, such as caste in the anthropology of India and the traditional focus on 'honour and shame' in Mediterranean studies. When it comes to Northern Ireland, violence is such an expected theoretical topic, at least from the outside. It was in order to record folklore materials about the Protestant/Catholic divide among children that American anthropologist and folklorist Donna Lanclos went to Belfast in 1996. She was to discover, however, that when the children were on their own in the playground, the sectarian division and its violent consequences was not an issue. What mattered more to these four- to eleven-year-old boys and girls, when they were among themselves, was age and gender.

Lanclos spent nine months in five Belfast primary schools, on the whole working class: two Catholic, two Protestant/state and one Integrated school. The Catholic schools were girls only, the other three were co-educational. The heart of this absorbing book is the action in the form of skipping rhymes, clapping games, and 'dirty jokes' in the playgrounds, where Lanclos was mostly an observer of spontaneous play. Her main interaction with the children took place in the dinner halls over lunch, and on occasional outings. Accepted in her capacity of neither a 'Miss' with supervising power, nor another child, but a friend from overseas who had a special interest in games and stories, the children opened their world to her. And they are rewarded by Lanclos who, in line with recent anthropological research on children and youth, makes a convincing case for children's agency, arguing for the importance of looking at children and their concerns in their own right and in the present. Lanclos critiques lay and research traditions that have portrayed children as innocent, incomplete adults, representing a nostalgic past, or even the future. The tendency to see children as hopes for change for the better in the future is especially prevalent in Northern Ireland, where one way of working for peace is the Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) programme. Schools from both sides of the community team up and take part in EMU-organised trips to heritage sites, museums and sports events. On these occasions, away from their ordinary playground context, Lanclos did notice how sectarian categories emerged among the children.

The focal concerns of the Belfast children were thus age, gender and sectarian categories that Lanclos details and discusses in three different chapters. They are preceded by the first chapter titled 'A day in the life', which is a beautiful 'composite narrative' (p. 12) of an 'everyplayground' (p. 16). Instead of presenting the varying real-time rhythm of the playgrounds, Lanclos gives us a choreography of games by connecting one game to another in a flow of movements – until the bell rings. By then we have been entertained by games such as 'Chasies' and 'Cops and robbers', and a skipping game to a song about Cinderella who kisses her fellow with alternative endings. (It may fall outside the folklore form of this chapter to provide information about how often the games took place, how they related to each other structurally, and what else that was happening in the playground, but an ethnographer would wonder.)

The second chapter is devoted to the meaning of age, and how the children negotiate their relationships to adults through rude folklore. Not only were these children taught that obscenities were improper, but so was the mentioning of sectarian violence. This provoked the children to indulge in brazen songs such as one about Santa farting and blowing up the IRA (cf. p. 68), which Lanclos got when she requested 'rude Christmas carols' (p. 67). In the third chapter, which deals with gender and the domestic, the cheeky tone turns chill, with stories about strange men coming into the house and killing children. This general childhood fear draws on real dangers in the Northern Ireland context; it could be analysed as an instance of the public sphere extending into the private realm. No wonder there is a focus on family in Northern Ireland.

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**Modell, Judith S. 2002. *A sealed and secret kinship. The culture of politics and practices in American adoption.* Oxford: Berghahn. viii + 220 pp.
Hb.: \$49.95/£35.00. ISBN: 1 57181 077 3.
Pb.: \$19.95/£13.50. ISBN: 1 57181 324 1.**

This book appears in a series entitled Public Issues in Anthropological Perspectives, which has tended to focus on people such as the homeless, wife-abusers or the aged who do not conform to some important norms that regulate the private lives of ordinary citizens. In the case of adoptive families this abnormality is emphasised by special legal rules and the application of disciplinary care by professional social workers. It may be a matter of debate to what extent culture as understood by anthropologists is constructed, but in the case of adoption this seems to be obvious, even to the key participants in the process: the old and the new parents, as well as the children who are transferred from one set of parents to the other. One could even argue that its very artificiality serves to mask the equally constructed nature of 'normal' families. However that may be, this awareness leads people to strive for conscious change when they find the existing situation unsatisfactory. This is at least what has happened in the United States during recent decades, and that is what this book is about.

Adoption in the United States is a legal procedure which makes an adult into the as-if

parent of a child who is not hers or his by birth; hence the identity and kinship status of the child is changed. In order to ensure that the adoptive family remains indistinguishable from any other family, 'adoption records are permanently sealed and the history of the adoption remains a secret forever (p. 5)'. Adoption customs have to ensure that a child will look like its new parents; that adoption will take place when the child is still very young to allow nurture to form natural bonds; and that no relationship will be established between old and new parents. They should not know each other.

Now these practices are increasingly being questioned, and are beginning to be changed. Adopted children claim the right to know who their biological parents are; birth parents no longer want to remain anonymous; and, especially when the demand for children exceeds the supply, adoptive parents are refusing to accept the criteria that make the difference between adoptive and biological children as inconspicuous as possible.

After the introduction, a whole chapter is devoted to attempts to break the ban on the secrecy of adoption. In the United States, where family law is not a federal matter, there are already five states, among them Hawaii, which allow people right of access to the documentary records of adoption if they can show good cause. The author herself did research on adoption among Polynesians in Hawaii, and often uses the results to highlight the peculiarity of the dominant view in the United States. It is regrettable but understandable that for reasons of space no attention is paid to differences between the USA and other countries, for instance in Europe. In the next chapter the author shows that although the legal structure supporting adoption is fragmented, the federal government nevertheless influences legislation through official guidelines and policy documents as well as financial measures such as subsidies and the taxation regulations affecting parenthood. The last major chapter is about adoptive parents now confronted by the demands for openness voiced by both adopted persons and birth parents, while at the same time having to comply with the demands made by social workers or other intermediaries. At the time of writing (2002) government also wanted to use adoption increasingly as a means to deal with at-risk children instead of (often temporary) foster arrangements or institutional care.

The author achieves a very balanced view, but I am not sure that her undoubtedly anthropologically inspired objectivity would really motivate the main actors involved to become more aware of the

complexity of the issues and act accordingly. She shows that time and again changes are brought about by people who feel very strongly about their own plight, and who can arouse similar emotions in public debates. However, the book can also be read as a model of how anthropology can be useful for developing a better understanding of the ideologies and practices that affect anthropologists as members of their own society, and help shape their experiences. It is, of course, no accident that the author herself is an adoptive parent, or for that matter that the present reviewer is one also.

JAN DE WOLF

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Neveu, Catherine. 2003. *Citoyenneté et espace public. Habitants, jeunes et citoyens dans une ville du Nord. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires de Septentrion. 246 pp. Pb.: 18€. ISBN: 2 85939 819 8.*

The political system in France emphasises participative democracy in local communities such as city neighbourhoods or rural areas. This conception is based upon the assumption that there is an implicit process involving a sequence of notions such as consensus, discussion, proximity, tangibility and locale. Catherine Neveu questions the logic of idealising the local and rural as the only suitable location for participative citizenship in her book and in doing so explores central current debates about the relationship between politics and citizenship. She analyses the processes as institutions develop in Roubaix, a former textile town near Lille. She focuses on the modalities of the exercise of participative democracy and the limits of an individualistic model of citizenship stripped of all allegiances other than that to the state. She does this by comparing the local development of two sets of institutions: the 'comités de quartier' and the 'associations des jeunes' (p. 30). The term 'les jeunes' is used for the second generation of mainly northern African immigrants. Together with 'les habitants' they form the key categories in this ethnography. 'Les jeunes' experience collective public discrimination and therefore challenge the French model of citizenship. However, political will is needed to conceive a participation project for all citizens of a post-colonial French society (p. 32).

An introduction describes the three neighbourhoods, and this is followed by the main body of the book, which is divided into two parts.

The four chapters of the first part deal with the 'comités de quartier' and the transformation of the meaning of participation for inhabitants and militants within this framework. Committees facilitate the local dissemination of information and provide a platform for debate. In the 1970s, new ideas on local democracy resulted in committees being set up in Roubaix, just as elsewhere in France. Initially, the term 'inhabitants' was understood to refer to political beings fighting for their own notions of urbanism (p. 76), but the municipality and the committees successfully managed to eliminate the issue of participation from the political field (p. 121). Through a process of ritualisation the committees became recognised administrative operators of public policies, but inhabitants working in the committees were no longer considered to be representative and the other inhabitants were perceived as passive and therefore unlikely to be able to defend the public interest.

The fact that it was impossible for 'les jeunes' to voice their concerns in the committees led to a second order of institutions, the 'associations des jeunes'. These are analysed in the second part of the book, which is made up of three chapters. National politics influenced the formation of these organisations, in particular the 1981 law that allowed foreigners to set up associations, but also the marches for equality immigrants mounted in 1983–4, which called for a struggle against discrimination and for public recognition as citizens (p. 156).

In Roubaix, about a dozen sports associations were set up but these were soon reduced to service providers. An attempt to balance the power of the municipal policies and to create a platform for debate by creating a federation also failed (p. 182). Among other problems, the militants of the 'association des jeunes' were confronted with the fact that their professional and political acts were viewed through 'ethnic' spectacles. However, the universalistic vision of citizenship still prevents a debate about their claim for a double recognition as both an individual and an affiliated citizen (p. 211).

Neutralising or discounting the collective actions of the committees, 'euphemisation' or self-limitation of the 'associations des jeunes' hinders people from participating in public debate (p. 216). According to Neveu, if citizenship is seen as an overarching function of mediation between different identities, this can lead us to explore the intertwining of individual citizenship and affiliations. Moreover, in a pluralist society,

citizenship as the mediator could enhance our capacity to deal with conflicts and inspire new debates.

Citoyenneté et espace public is not easily accessible because of the complexity of the subject matter, sometimes reflected in the density of the text. But the book incites co-nationals to take a critical look at their own preconceptions. By focusing closely on a local situation, the book is able to explain institutional transformations and public policies in France. This encourages the reader to look at similar processes in other settings, and there lies the anthropological value of this carefully detailed ethnography.

BARBARA WALDIS
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Olwig, Karen Fog and Eva Gulløv (eds.). 2003.
Children's places. Cross-cultural perspectives.
London and New York: Routledge. viii + 255 pp.
Pb.: £18.99. ISBN: 0 415 29641 2.

The contributors to this collection all examine the question of 'place' in children's lives, either in terms of physical location or social status. The book is divided into three sections, with the first examining 'place as a site of opportunity and control'. Eva Gulløv opens with a chapter on Danish kindergartens that highlights the intensive and early institutionalisation of children, and their removal from their families for up to eleven hours a day from the age of one. Focusing on the unspoken ideologies inherent in the politics of placing children, Gulløv astutely delineates the deep uncertainties amongst carers and parents that this incarnation of the welfare state generates.

In a powerful second chapter, Laura Gilliam examines Catholic and Protestant children's understandings of the conflict in Belfast, revealing that the children she worked with were emotionally involved in the conflict even though they did not understand the political rationale for it promulgated by adults. As she puts it, 'the Northern Irish know the hatred before they know the political reasons for hating'. Gilliam's detailed interview data reveal that children ascribe the violence they witness to the opposing sectarian group regardless of who commits it, while peaceful members of the opposing group are assumed to belong to one's own faction, thus ensuring that children's stereotypes of violent others are never challenged. In chapter 3, Francine Lorimer describes patterns of school attendance of

Kuku-Yalanji children from Southeast Cape York, Australia, and in chapter 5 Laura Hammond focuses on a settlement of repatriated Ethiopian refugees with an emphasis on the ways in which unfamiliar space is gradually turned into place by new generations of children.

Part Two of the collection opens with Olga Niewenhuys's strongly theorised chapter comparing Poomkara – the village in South India about which she wrote her 1994 monograph, *Children's lifeworlds* – with the 'non-places' of NGO children's project sites in Addis Ababa. In each case, Niewenhuys reveals that while places explicitly designated for children did not exist in Poomkara, they have been created by government schools that serve primarily to prevent children's inclusion in local social and economic networks. She then shows how modern western concerns to isolate children from adults have been implemented by western NGOs in Addis Ababa, effecting a inverse relationship whereby children's successful adaptation to the norms of the NGOs entails increasing confrontation with their family members. In chapter 6, Hilde Lidén reflects upon her work with children in interethnic neighbourhoods in Oslo, using case studies of four children to examine the ways in which their gender and ethnic identities and media consumption at home inform their relations at school and in their neighbourhood, effectively creating four different places out of one space. In chapter 7, Sally Anderson looks at the Danish Youth Council's promotion of sports for inner-city children, actively targeting immigrant children designated as 'loose children' and considered to be 'associationless', 'sport weak' or 'sport-foreign', underlining the Council's equation of lack of membership in civil associations with mental and physical handicaps. In chapter 8 Erick Nyambedha and Jens Aagaard-Hansen examine the effects that the HIV/Aids epidemic is having on household structures and family relations in western Kenya, moving children into adult roles at an increasingly rapid rate.

Part Three of the book opens with Lotte Meinert's study of the efforts of the Ugandan government to discourage migration to the cities – where, young informants tell her, 'life is sweeter' – and to promote the 'ruralisation' of primary education to encourage children to remain in their natal villages as agricultural labourers. In chapter 10, Anne Kjørholt looks at a project run for children by the Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs. The emphasis here was on promoting 'children's culture' by encouraging children to

apply to the project to fund their activities. Kjørholt emphasises the irony by which children's own attempts to include adults in their activities were actively thwarted by the funding body, whose reified notion of 'children's culture' excluded the possibility that children might see themselves as part of an intergenerational social body. Karen Fog Olwig concludes the book with a comparative analysis of the life histories of children of diasporic communities of Caribbean ancestry in Europe and North America, focusing on their experiences of ethnic and national identity. Despite the curse of the émigré, her young informants focus on the blessings: 'You don't just come from Portsmouth' (where life is not presumed to be sweet).

One could take the view that a book exclusively about children simply reproduces the Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs' fallacy, inventing a reified realm of 'children's culture' despite the obvious and crucial interconnections between children and adults in communities the world over. But the basis of this book in the concept of 'place' as not only a geographical but also a social and cultural set of parameters serves to highlight the role children play within a wider, intergenerational set of relations. The chapters in this collection take as their topic not 'childhood' per se, but the intergenerational relationships through which children and adults are constituted in relation to each other. Childhood thus emerges not as the result of a taken-for-granted demographic fact or an unreconstructed cultural category, but as a context-sensitive analysis of the discourses and practices of adults (whether as parents, carers, teachers or other institutional figures) on the one hand in relation to individual children's negotiations of these on the other.

NICOLAS ARGENTI
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Pinney, Christopher, and Nicholas Thomas (eds.). 2001. *Beyond aesthetics. Art and the technologies of enchantment*. Oxford: Berg. viii + 288 pp. Hb.: £50.00. ISBN: 1 85973 459 6. Pb.: £16.99. ISBN: 1 85973 464 2.

This collection of essays is intended as a commemoration of the work of Alfred Gell, whose untimely death in 1997 interrupted his promotion of an intrinsically anthropological approach towards art, as it was developed in his last, posthumously published book (*Art and agency. An*

anthropological theory of art, 1998). According to Gell, anthropologists should stress the performative dimension of artefacts rather than engage in aesthetic issues, or the search for meaning. He defines art works by their distinctive effects on social relationships, characterised by, first, the 'abduction' of agency from the producer and, second, the 'enchantment of technology'.

Beyond aesthetics starts with a rather short introduction by Nicholas Thomas, who successfully makes the reader familiar with Gell's complex and demanding arguments. Unfortunately, the following twelve essays get announced in only a cursory fashion. Although they all relate to the same intellectual stimulus, Thomas does not juxtapose and evaluate them with respect to the conceptual questions raised by Gell's work. Since the table of contents does not subsume chapters under specific categories either, the book remains rather inaccessible to those readers not primarily interested in the ethnographic dimension but rather in Gell's theoretical approach. Thomas also misses the opportunity to discuss *Art and agency* critically in the light of contesting or related academic approaches within and beyond anthropology.

After highlighting this shortcoming of the book, let me turn to the essays that make up the strength of this volume. At first glance, the collection does not reflect a significant change in the anthropological subject matter, as it had been suggested by Gell's theory of art. Most authors deal with art forms previously labelled 'indigenous', 'folk' or 'popular'. Yet, there are fascinating exceptions, like a study of Trinidad websites (Miller), of the concept of 'classical' music (Keen) or a comparison of Foli lyrics with Schubert's *Winterreise* (Weiner). Other examples from 'western' or 'oriental' art forms as well as the majority of performative genres are missing. Going through the book with patience, the reader will find inspiration from a great number of essays that reveal excellent scholarship. Since I cannot give appropriate recognition to every paper, let me introduce these contributions in their relation to *Art and agency*.

Several authors fruitfully adapt Gell's concepts to their analysis of art practices: Lissant Bolton takes the idea of 'captivation' seriously, and shows how the power of textiles from the western Pacific becomes visible through their design rather than by intellectually comprehended meanings attached to them. Daniel Miller demonstrates how websites from Trinidad create 'aesthetic traps' that express the social efficacy of their creators and attempt to

draw others into social or commercial exchange. Charlotte Townsend-Gault explores a baton's agency in its dimension as a company's trademark, as reference to the Commonwealth games and as an index of aboriginality. Ian Keen discusses the quest for an authentic performance of 'classical' music and what it says about western concepts of time, history and our relations to the past.

Several authors track inconsistencies and blind spots in Gell's approach. Anne D'Alleva investigates skeins of finely braided human hair that used to be precious art objects in Tahiti, criticising the fragmentary role Gell attributed to metaphorical and metonymical relations between 'index' and 'prototype'. Others challenge the emphasis given to an art object's own agency rather than its political context (Clare Harris on contested styles of representation in Tibet), specifically in its colonial and post-colonial setting (Francesca Merlan on Australian aboriginal art). Marilyn Strathern discusses the question of intellectual property rights, starting with Gell's technological metaphor. Gell's at times provocative rejection of aesthetics ('the theology of arts') also invites scholarly criticism. Shirley Campbell doubts whether future anthropologists of art will indeed end up with substantially different results, or just start from another point of departure. Hence she argues for reconsidering questions of meaning and symbolism of forms. Christopher Pinney takes another turn and proposes Buck-Morss's term 'corporetics' in order to include the embodied dimension of art effects, evaluating mass-produced prints of Hindu deities.

Finally, some authors raise epistemological issues. James F. Weiner reflects on the romanticism, carefully avoided by Gell, that most anthropology of art engenders, while Susanne K uchler compares spatial conceptualisations in art and mathematics. Introducing knot theory to evaluate Malangan artefacts, she discusses how projection and visualisation relate to modernist discourse.

Although some authors avoid Gell's shift of emphasis rather than provide constructive criticism, *Beyond aesthetics* reflects a first attempt at dealing with the theoretical impetus Gell has left for his colleagues. In any case, the book impels the reader towards a thorough (re-) reading of Alfred Gell's stimulating publications, and helps us to reconsider their strengths as well as some of their pitfalls.

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Robbins, Joel. 2004. *Becoming sinners. Christianity and moral torment in a Papua New Guinea society*. Berkeley: University of California Press. xxvii + 383 pp. Hb.: \$65.00. ISBN: 0 520 23799 4. Pb.: \$29.95. ISBN: 0 520 23800 1.

This book is a plea for the continued existence of the monograph as genre in social anthropology. Those acquainted with the arguments Joel Robbins has previously developed in various articles will appreciate the new insights generated by the presentation of his material as a book, resulting in a comprehensive and finely tuned analysis of value changes that could serve as a model for the ethnography of cultural change. Moreover, many arguments and models developed in this book can be applied to other cases of rapid cultural change, conversion or confrontation between systems of values.

Drawing on Sahlins' theory of cultural change and on Dumont's theory of values as aspects of the cultural structure, Joel Robbins sets out to explain the rapid and definitive conversion of the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea to Christianity, and their paradoxical and endemic self-perception as sinners. The author suggests the existence of three models of cultural change: the assimilation model (new circumstances fit into old categories), the transformation model (the relations between cultural categories change) and the adoption model (people take on an entirely different culture). This last model, which Sahlins uses only for describing processes of modernisation, is proposed by Robbins as a model for the Christianising of the Urapmin, as this was unfolding in the early 1990s when the author conducted his fieldwork. The author emphasises the struggle between the cultural values of traditional Urapmin society and the cultural values of Christianity, an unresolved conflict that leads to a durable cultural duality.

The conflict between values raises the question of morality. Morality provides a window through which the Urapmin see the contradictions with which they live. The traditional Urapmin moral system had at its heart a conflict between the egoistic 'will' and the desire for the maintenance of sociability, which requires altruistic behaviour. For facilitating moral choices, an additional taboo system provided the Urapmin with clear guidelines for behaviour. With all traditional beliefs (including the taboo system) discarded in the face of Christianity, the Urapmin are left today only with the conflict between 'will' (whose existence is indispensable for the working of their traditional

social structure, organised around 'willing' big men) and Christian ideas of altruism and renunciation. Failing to reconcile the two, Urapmin perceive themselves as sinners. Consequently they have put in place elaborate rituals of confession, sin removal, *spirit disko* trance celebrations, meant to purify them from their sins. None of these rituals seem to leave them sinless. The ultimate hope is thus Jesus's return on earth – Millennialism. Robbins shows how the existence of Millennialism is a proof that one of the paramount values of the Urapmin society, relationalism, is still in place and has not been replaced by Christianity's individualism.

In order to explain Urapmin's rapid and definitive conversion to Christianity, Robbins proposes a two-stage model. The first stage of the conversion is the gradual spread of Christianity among the Urapmin, which leaves enough space for coexistence with traditional Urapmin culture. Robbins argues for a utilitarian approach to explain this first stage and links the loss of regional importance of the Urapmin with the possibilities Christianity offered to regain some regional centrality through embracing and spreading Christianity. In order to explain the second stage of the conversion, a 'revival' dated by the Urapmin themselves to 1977, Robbins draws upon an intellectualist approach. He locates the reasons for conversion in Urapmin epistemology (the importance given to secrecy, to sight, their respect for the law radicalised during the colonial period) and in the social structural tendency to value innovation on the part of the leaders, which ensured mass conversion actually took place. This resulted in a forceful manifestation of Christianity: 'The Urapmin life in the present is almost completely taken up with the effort to live morally in Christian terms' (p. 181).

This book is a wonderful journey into the moral struggles of newly converted Christians in Papua New Guinea and a model for work on rapid value changes, Christianity and morality.

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Starr, June, and Mark Goodale (eds). 2002.
***Practising ethnography in law. New dialogues,
enduring methods.* New York and Basingstoke:
Palgrave Macmillan. xiii + 209 pp. Hb: £50.00.**
ISBN: 1 4039 6069 0.

As a celebration of June Starr's mark in legal anthropology, this ambitious volume brings together a seemingly disparate collection of papers. Yet the lack of any claim to an overarching approach, apart from the concern with ethnographic methods, allows the presentation of a range of approaches that might otherwise have been difficult to reconcile. Indeed this is the main strength of the book, for as a resource for legal anthropology it offers concrete examples of ethnographic practice in a way that helps to demystify the subject and to open its insights to other areas of anthropological research.

The book is divided into two parts, the titles of which suggest a separation between 'performance' and 'reflection'. It is a separation, however, that is undermined, chapter by chapter, as 'reflections' are brought to bear on experience and vice versa. In fact, apart from reminding the reader that this volume is the outcome of a workshop (where the two final papers appear equivalent to discussants' comments) it is difficult to see the two parts either as separate from each other or as organically related. The value of the collection lies in fact in the autonomy of every one of the chapters, and the common theme that at once guides them and separates them from their authors' other work.

A surprisingly large number of the eleven main chapters stand out. Hirsch's account of using her own work to conduct, at the request of an NGO she was analysing, a workshop seeking to empower Tanzanian women by raising awareness of gender-relevant law, is an especially strong demonstration of what is at stake in the practice of legal ethnography. An equally strong illustration is provided in chapter 3 by Goodale, who traces the introduction of universal human rights discourse to a small Bolivian town through the history of a 'legal services centre' that doubled as a refuge for women escaping domestic violence. The common concern in these two chapters with empowerment (an issue which runs throughout the volume) is treated respectively as a point that raises the question of reflexivity on the one hand and agency – in the example of the lawyer activist who set up the centre – on the other. Collier's chapter could in this respect be seen to bring the two together, as it traces the development of her own theorisation of (Mexican) Zinacanteco cosmology through the analysis of local practices for ending disputes. As she revisits her last forty years of work in this field she manages to weave together the influences on her own understanding and ethnographic practice of anthropological theory, inter-disciplinary

methodology and informants' responses to the varying approaches she adopted in the field. This is also the strategy used, equally effectively, by Nader in the final chapter of the volume, where the insights gained through decades of experience are used to suggest possibilities for the future.

Coutin offers an illuminating chapter on the particular ways in which she dealt with practical and methodological problems among Central American immigrants in California. In fact, her chapter appears to be introducing what could well be a separate section of the volume dealing with exemplary ways of doing legal fieldwork. Thus, Merry provides an account of her own methods of making sense of legal archives in Hawai'i, while in his methodological example, Kritzer presents long (and minimally edited) sections of field notes from work in legal offices in Wisconsin, and Griffiths uses examples of women's oral histories illuminating relations of power that she collected during her research on Tswana dispute processes. These chapters offer excellent teaching material as they not only raise theoretical points for discussion, but ground them in clear expositions of what doing legal fieldwork might entail.

This volume is a commendable tribute to Starr for many reasons: the diversity of expertise that it brings together, in disciplinary, theoretical and ethnographic terms; its accessibility to students of legal anthropology, who will find it a useful tool in their endeavours to develop new methods; and the presentation of theoretical discussion grounded in practical examples of fieldwork problems and solutions that will be useful for any ethnographer, of law or otherwise. These compensate by far for arguably weaker chapters that appear to revisit old debates, but which from another perspective serve to remind anthropologists of what the discipline has to offer socio-legal studies in general.

OLGA DEMETRIOU
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Stewart, Pamela J., and Andrew Strathern. 2004.
***Witchcraft, sorcery, rumors and gossip.* Cambridge:**
Cambridge University Press. xvi + 228 pp.
Hb.: £40.00/\$55.00. ISBN: 0 521 80868 5.
Pb.: £14.99/\$22.00. ISBN: 0 521 00473 X.

Cet ouvrage se présente comme une anthologie des travaux réalisés selon deux grands axes (la sorcellerie et le mauvais œil, la rumeur et le bavardage) et selon différentes aires géographiques

(l'Afrique, l'Inde, la Nouvelle-Guinée, la sorcellerie en Europe et aux Etats-Unis). Les contextes sociaux étudiés sont contemporains pour l'Afrique et la Nouvelle-Guinée et concernent une histoire plus ancienne pour l'Inde du dix-neuvième siècle et les procès de sorcières en Europe et aux Etats-Unis aux seizième et dix-septième siècles. Ce choix a visiblement été effectué dans un souci d'équilibre entre les méthodes anthropologiques et historiques, d'aborder des contextes précoloniaux, coloniaux et post-coloniaux et d'évoquer – audacieusement – les 'sorcières' modernes, comme le 'terroriste' ou le prêtre accusé de pédophilie. Les auteurs soulignent l'importance de l'histoire, notamment parce que la rumeur reflète les changements historiques: les procès de sorcières ont lieu à la confluence d'événements locaux et interlocaux créés par la rumeur. En d'autres termes, la rumeur est le point clé de la survenance des conflits en différents lieux et périodes historiques et a un rôle tenace dans la production d'accusation sorcières.

Dans la littérature, on articule peu les notions de sorcellerie et de rumeur. Or, elles sont intimement liées à la résolution des conflits et à leur apparition parce qu'elles naissent dans un contexte de tensions sociales: ce sont des circonstances de malaise social ou d'anomie qui créent la trame universelle de ces processus. Le but de l'ouvrage est de lier les travaux sur la sorcellerie à ceux sur la rumeur et de montrer comment le symbolisme et la pratique de la violence sont liés aux deux thèmes. Toutefois, vu le nombre d'ouvrages déjà publiés sur les deux thèmes, le rappel détaillé des théories sur la sorcellerie et la rumeur, un peu surfait, trouverait davantage sa place dans un résumé de cours d'université; il eût été plus judicieux de commenter les tableaux récapitulatifs, quant à eux clairs et concis, et d'exposer brièvement les différences d'argumentation entre les auteurs.

A travers de nombreux exemples ethnographiques et historiques, dont certains sont parfois confus, Stewart et Strathern montrent que la rumeur et le commérage sont des éléments constitutifs du processus social, et devraient donc être centraux dans la recherche en sciences sociales. Leur pouvoir siège dans des réseaux de communication informelle sollicités dans des contextes sociaux dont l'ambiguïté est servie par la rumeur. C'est lorsque ces réseaux informels alimentent des réseaux plus formels qu'entrent en jeu les accusations de sorcellerie et de mauvais œil. Par l'action de la rumeur et du commérage, le conflit entre particuliers finit par se transformer en une lutte pour l'ordre social dans le cadre de laquelle les actions violentes sont justifiables pour

défendre 'le bien', menacé par 'le mal' qu'incarnent les sorciers. Ainsi, les exécutions sont une manière de débarrasser la société du 'diable' et d'instaurer un nouvel équilibre dans le cosmos. En situation de crise ou de conflit, la rumeur trouve plusieurs fonctions: un outil crucial dans la collecte d'information sur les autres, une manière de développer des consensus sur la responsabilité des infortunes et sur les événements et les pouvoirs perçus comme surnaturels et enfin une tentative de trouver ou de créer une 'vérité' qui permet aux gens de construire des discours sur les valeurs sociales et des jugements sur la moralité d'autrui.

Sur le plan des liens entre la rumeur, la sorcellerie et la violence, les auteurs constatent que les intentions hostiles du commérage ont été complètement sous-estimées dans la littérature, tout comme la violence qui peut en découler: un rapport étroit existe souvent entre la rumeur et la violence. Par exemple, la rumeur peut être une forme de protestation contre ce qui est perçu comme l'imposition de la violence par les autorités et engendrer elle-même de violents mouvements de résistance. En plus d'être un outil politique de premier plan dépassant parfois les intentions de ses créateurs, la rumeur est décrite comme une force puissante, centrale dans des mouvements sociaux de type 'cargo' ou dans les conflits de classes. Dans les contextes proposés, c'est l'interprétation des situations qui influence les résultats, et la rumeur et le commérage en sont les principaux véhicules. En plus de transmettre l'information, ils modèlent le discours et stimulent l'action. Finalement, cette insistance sur le lien entre la rumeur et la violence, auquel seul un chapitre est consacré, est le seul élément véritablement innovant du livre.

Enfin, la référence au titre de l'ouvrage est la bipolarité de la rumeur. Sans exclure une fusion idéologique des deux pôles, le pôle d'*intégration* concerne la résolution des conflits et le traitement de la maladie. Le second pôle, celui de l'*hostilité*, comprend la rumeur dans son utilisation pour nuire à autrui et pour servir ses fins personnelles. Comme dans d'autres modes de communication sociale, cette bipolarité permet au conflit et à la cohésion de coexister dans un cadre de 'lutte pour la survie' qui rend l'ouvrage intéressant. Cependant, en procédant à un inventaire systématique des théories sur la rumeur et la sorcellerie, les auteurs disposaient de tous les outils pour concevoir de nouveaux concepts; on peut déplorer qu'ils s'en soient abstenus.

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Turner, Lucien M. 2001 [1894]. *Ethnology of the Ungava district, Hudson Bay Territory*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. xxii + 350 pp. Pb.: no price. ISBN: 1 56098 965 5.

This is a republished version of Turner's 1894 classic ethnography of Innu and Inuit people of what is today the north coast of Quebec and Labrador. The original edition was published as part of the *Annual Reports* of the Smithsonian's Bureau of Ethnology. This edition is a good-quality, reasonably priced paperback making the work accessible to students. In addition, there is a substantial introduction by Stephen Loring and a set of photographs originally taken by Turner but not published in his original work. There are also two short forewords from the Makivik Corporation and the Avataq Institute representing contemporary Inuit and Innu interests.

The present edition was re-issued under interesting circumstances. According to Loring's introduction, the initiative to republish the work came from Innu and Inuit organisations themselves. As these northern communities revitalised their culture, they identified this work as providing an important documentary source for teaching their own history. They also saw this warm and sympathetic work as a good representation of their culture for outsiders. With this endorsement, the work has obtained a new lease of life.

Turner was primarily a biologist but belonged to that prolific generation of early scientists who had a talent for making important contributions in a number of disciplines. As Loring notes in the introduction, it is ironic that Turner has become most famous for his work in ethnology. The book follows a format, pioneered by Boas, which describes people to a great degree through their material culture. The book is illustrated with dozens of line-drawing illustrations of clothing, footwear and tools. As in the classics of nineteenth-century ethnology, there is a full description of the geography and folklore of these people. Unlike many other works of the period, one can sense the author's strong respect for his subjects, and especially their knowledge of the natural world. Loring speculates that it was this shared interest that bound Turner to these people, both as an employer engaging children to collect samples but also as a chronicler of their culture.

Loring's 32-page introduction is particularly useful for situating this work. Although I have consulted and taught from this work often, I was not aware that Turner's duties as a meteorologist kept him tied to the strained atmosphere within his

Hudson's Bay Company settlement. Loring's observations on the context of the work are important, both for situating the work and for creating a context wherein the author's observational skills can be admired. The introduction also provides a good bibliography.

This re-edition is based on a high-quality reproduction of the original work. It preserves the pagination of the original (pp. 159–350) with its original exacting table of contents. It is disappointing that the editors did not add an index. The provision of eight pages of black-and-white photographs from Turner's collection is a nice addition. It would have also been nice if there had been photographic reproductions of some of the hundreds of objects and pieces of clothing that we are told Turner collected.

DAVID G. ANDERSON
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Wilson, Ara. 2004. *The intimate economies of Bangkok. Tomboys, tycoons and Avon ladies in the global city*. Berkeley: University of California Press. xvi + 272 pp. Hb.: \$50.00/£32.95. ISBN: 0 520 23783 8. Pb.: \$19.95/£12.95. ISBN: 0 520 23968 7.

Thailand has been in the spotlight of feminist social sciences for a long time and Bangkok was firmly associated with brothels, prostitutes and infamous red-light districts. This fine monograph by Ara Wilson engages with the life of sex-workers as well, but in a very ambitious way. The author aims to show that the intimate worlds of Thai women produce no less than the edge of Bangkok's drive in the Asian global economy. The strength of this perspective lies in the deep ethnography of the agency of these Thai women and their deep entanglement with Thai male-dominated capitalist worlds. The chapters provide insight into the strands that weave together the kinship and intimate worlds of the globalised city. Wilson engages Thai women in durations of ethnographic fieldwork in department stores, malls, companies, condominiums and direct-sale merchandise.

The book is also very good in demystifying some of the key assumptions of Thailand's economic 'miracle'. Business and popular accounts on Chinese immigrants' achievements follow the rags-to-riches formula and rarely mention women in the family. And yet, women's labour was crucial to business as Sino-Thai family firms relied on the work and management skills of wives and

daughters, also working in other, more subtle ways, including emotional or relationship labour (p. 39). In chapter 2, on the economy of go-go-bars, Wilson surprises by taking off a go-go dancer, reflecting on her perceptions as female and customer.

In chapter 3, on the Mah boonkrong shopping complex, Wilson uses the prevalence of *tom* in shopping malls as a window onto the interaction between evolving market economies and changing Thai sex/gender systems. She considers how *tom* and *dee* identities flourish in a consumer culture that generally enshrines heterosexual norms. Other authors have researched sexual identities in Thailand, but Wilson's study points out the overall presence of *tom* in the burgeoning department stores in Bangkok's most lucrative business centres. Symbolic shopping has become a lifestyle, and sexual identities are tied to shopping and consumer experience.

For chapter 4, Ara Wilson employed herself in Thaksin's media company, IBC cable television. Media mogul and statesman, Thaksin exemplifies Thailand's modernising economy. In this, as in other chapters, Wilson is interested in the inner organisation of the company, and more particularly in the many female professionals who are indispensable to the overall functioning of Thaksin's media empire.

In chapter 5, Wilson continues her beautiful job of deconstructing the structures of the Thai economy. The success of the Amway plan of personal sale does not focus on anonymous market forces, but on friendship and kinship ties which are exploited for business. Women again are the motor of this self-merchandising. Chapters 4 and 5 are the best-researched in the book. Wilson shows that anthropology has more to offer than community studies; fieldwork today includes in-depth explorations of companies, banks, and international organisations. This book convinces by tying all spaces of global capitalism together and by illustrating their gendered nature. Wilson's study is recommended as a feminist approach to the micro-cosmos of the Thai economy and of globalisation.

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Yamashita, Shinji. 2003. *Ball and beyond. Explorations in the anthropology of tourism*. Translated, with an introduction by J. S. Eades. Oxford: Berghahn. xix + 175 pp.

Hb.: £27.00/\$40.00. ISBN: 1 57181 257 1.
PB.: £13.50/\$19.95. ISBN: 1 57181 327 6.

Originally published in Japanese in 1999, this book appears in Berghahn's 'Asian Anthropologies' series, which according to the blurb aims 'to allow the various Asian voices within anthropology to be heard more loudly, and to show the distinctiveness of Asian research in terms of its assumptions and its methodologies'.

Unfortunately, I found these aims somewhat ambitious and rather difficult to relate to the book at hand. Wishfully, perhaps, I expected a counterpoint to anthropological theory and practice saturated mostly by writings in English; an appreciation of a different language 'imaginary' and of the knowledge generated within it. What I got was a work deeply indebted to well-established metropolitan pre-occupations and familiar 'post-modern' themes. However, as it is unfair to criticise a book for not being what I thought it should have been, let me turn to what it is.

From Bali's 'touristic culture' (chapters 3–8) and the ethnic 'tradition' of the Sa'dan Toraja (chapter 9) in Indonesia, to 'cannibal tours' in New Guinea (chapter 10) and 'folklore tourism' in Japan (chapter 11), this book is about the link between tourism and cultural production. As the author puts it, 'In all these cases, tradition has been staged, manipulated and invented and it is this dynamic invention of culture that I wish to consider' (pp. 11–12). This process of invention is described as a 'narrative of emergence', a concept that is put forward as 'the key' to the analysis of culture in today's world (chapter 1); a world wherein tourism cannot be avoided (chapter 2). The book concludes with a brief summary of the argument and its implications (chapter 12). Although the discussion of Sepik river tourism stems from his reaction to the documentary film *Cannibal Tours*, made by the Australian Dennis O'Rourke, the other three ethnographic cases are built on the author's own fieldwork material.

Yamashita suggests that 'thinking of globalisation and localisation, or modernity and tradition, as being opposed to each other is actually incorrect' (p. 148). In the modern world, cultures are in constant flux; they are constantly transformed and re-invented. Tourism is one of the main sites in which such transformation takes place. For instance, the traditional culture that the tourists pay to see in Bali is a 'touristic culture' staged for the purposes of tourism. However, this staging does

not exhaust itself in the artifice of a copy. Instead, it constitutes one way in which the Balinese 'can express themselves, with the tourists as their audience' (p. 86). In other words, rather than being false or inauthentic, touristic culture 'clearly reflects the dynamism of the oscillation between globalisation and localisation, image and reality, substance and copy, subjectivity and objectivity . . . ' (pp. 150–1). Thus, the romantic notion of a pristine Balinese tradition being trampled by hoards of encroaching tourists is nothing more than a myth. Caught between the global and the local, tradition is something they invent and experience today. This kind of invention is examined further in the context of 'traditional' Toraja ritual, 'ethnic tourism' in the Sepik River and 'folklore tourism' in northeastern Japan.

Although I appreciate the elegant clarity of the argument, I feel rather uneasy about some of its ramifications, and its take on culture. Even though Yamashita is aware of the danger, emphasising that he does 'not intend to reduce culture to a question of discourse' (p. 11), I fear this is exactly what he has done. Lying between the local and the global, the culture he describes is more about image than reality, copy rather than substance. In fact, it is a strangely dis-embodied realm which fails to provide an adequate connection between 'invented traditions' and people, their bodily capacities and skills, their moods and attitudes, their sentiments, their memories. In a parallel fashion, if tourism is one of the sites where culture is produced, how does it compare to other sites? For instance, the colonial Christianisation of the Toraja highlands could be seen as the beginning of the process which led to the creation of an 'ethnic culture'. Does this mean that both conversion to Christianity and ethnic culture are ways in which the Toraja 'can express themselves'? Are they parts of a single trajectory? In the Toraja imagination and its articulation with history, is the otherness of a Dutch Protestant missionary or a Buginese Moslem equivalent or similar to the otherness of a Japanese tourist?

Despite such gripes, there is much to enjoy in this book; the writing is uncomplicated, lively and engaging; the conclusions are both daring and thought-provoking. Above all, there is the author's readiness to engage with cross-cultural comparison in a theoretically driven and explicit way.

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