BOOK REVIEWS

Beck, Sam and Carl A. Maida (eds.). 2013. *Toward Engaged Anthropology*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn. 178 pp. Pb.: $25.00 / £16.00. ISBN: 9780857459107.

The collection of essays contained within Sam Beck and Carl Maida's edited volume *Towards Engaged Anthropology* offers the reader a challenge to the forms of interaction between academia and the wider society. Through this selection, the editors focus on anthropology and anthropologists, asking what would happen if theory and method were used in the struggle for a better society. "Engagement", the editors argue, in the university context often means producing students for current business and government needs, but anthropology can act as a counter weight to that.

Two essays in particular offer insight into this internal struggle. Judith Goode narrates the evolution of knowledge production in anthropology through the experiences in her own history in academia. Goode is able to trace some of the major evolutions in the discipline. In the 1950s, anthropology suffered from Western-centric domination and a tendency to be used for "observing" the global "others". Any critical discourse in anthropology was limited to a few academics. By the time critical perspectives found their way into anthropology, the conditions in research and on the university had become increasingly hostile towards such knowledge. This "neoliberal" emphasis placed importance on developing technical skills, thus stifling the critical voices.

Michigan State University has become a site of struggle between community members and Dow Chemical. Brian McKenna draws on his experience as a professor and journalist in a critical take on Dow's power to influence various universities in the state. Through the use of corporate donations, Dow compromises the administration's ability to serve the best interests of the wider community. In addition, these donations steer funding towards strategic areas that are often uncritical, such as business administration and chemical research. At the same time, funding for journalism programs is cut.

In both essays, we find a suggestion that the role of the anthropologist is to find the impact of these powers on communities, and to produce and reproduce knowledge in such a way as to build counter-power. It goes beyond simply "informing" the public about certain crimes, for example, and into building critical perspectives and networks. Here a clear and uncomplicated language is also vital. This is also echoed in Udi Mandel Butler's contribution to dialogical anthropology. Butler gives examples from his fieldwork in Brazil, where he worked alongside hip-hop artists and community members to produce knowledge and material that uses relevant language for the opening of pertinent questions in Rio's *favela* community, thus making it publicly more accessible.

The importance of incorporating community members in the process of knowledge production is another central theme in this collection. In Carl Maida's individual contribution, the focus is on organically developed community structures in the post-industrial and impoverished part of the San Fernando Valley, in Pacoima. After a series of environmental crises, a product of both industrialism and deindustrialisation, the community begins to organise at the cross section of environmental clean up, community development, and empowerment. After a short while, the community is able to partner with non-profit organisations and institutional structures, such as a university. The

emphasis of this essay is on how the community organised from the grass-roots up, but is also able to incorporate expert knowledge and support without losing its essential identity as a community serving and empowering itself.

Raul Acosta focuses on the importance of process in the production of knowledge. As network structures become increasingly standardised, anthropologists can assist in both the interpretation and organisation of information and the mediation between parties. In his field research in Brazil, the network structure was particularly relevant in addressing environmental concerns. The network brought together, among others, NGO members, the local indigenous population and farmers. In such a context, presentation and content were key in conveying the importance and long-term strategies of the project.

Through the essays, a sense of some of the problems of community interaction when not occurring under critical perspectives is conveyed. Ethnicity and ethnic relationships in Norway is the subject of Thomas Hylland Eriksen's contribution. He provides a critical overview of Norwegian anthropology by taking stock of the work done "at home", in particular around the Sami ethnic minority and the immigrant communities. A strong emphasis is put on tracing developments in and influences on anthropology in Norway. This includes early orientalist perspectives to more contemporary, but also problematic, American-influenced perspectives on "identity" and "ethnicity". In general, there remains a lack of class perspective due to the emphasis of ethnic distinct-ness. This issue is likely influenced by the presence of many academics promoting this emphasis in cultural associations and institutions of Sami. A second issue tends to be the analytic juxtaposition between the "ethnic" and "Norwegian" culture, where the academic is often the one to reproduce the problematic categories of identity politics.

Billie Jean Isbell examines the case of Cornell University's intervention in the community life of Vicos, Peru. She details some of the problematic ways that Cornell set up their research centre, in 1949, and the distant and condescending relations various research projects had with the local community. However, in her own field research in Vicos, more than 50 years later, she discovered that these early, problematic relations also helped mobilise the community to kick out organisations that seemed to be harmful or exploitative, including Cornell in 1966. This mobilisation then also enabled the community to successfully challenge a mining company and obtain financial compensation.

The book does not shy away from variations in the experience of engaged anthropology. This avoids any attempts at a homogenous definition for engagement, and instead emphasises the discipline's flexibility and the importance of context in informing the form research and engagement should take. The texts are relevant to seasoned researchers and accessible to students and activists preparing their first field research. As such, this is a valuable contribution to the debate on the role of the researcher in society.

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Majumdar, Saikat. 2013. *Prose of the World: Modernism and the Banality of Empire*. New York: Columbia University Press. 232pp. Hb.: $40.00. ISBN: 9780231156943.

Following the Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th centuries, an impulse in the literature of that period gave heightened centrality to the ordinary reality of the everyday life – to the quotidian and the humdrum. This book provides a brilliant engagement with the topic from a previously largely ignored angle as it gives centre stage to the motifs of banality and its emotional corollary boredom by appraising a number of thoughtfully chosen texts from the periphery of the global British Empire from late colonial modernism to the present day. Majumdar borrows the title "the prose of the world" from Hegel, but if for Hegel the "prosaic" meant that which offered no escape from the repressive limitations of the quotidian and was therefore psychologically and aesthetically impotent, the banal for the Anglophone colonial and postcolonial writers is shown to be far more potent and impressive. Indeed for James Joyce, Katherine Mansfield, Zoë Wicomb, and Amit Chaudhuri, whose fiction is taken up for close analysis and engaging the various corners of erstwhile British Empire, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa and India respectively, the banal provides a significant possibility of transcendence, albeit often frustrated.

Majumdar convincingly argues that, in the context of colonial and postcolonial modernity across the globe, fiction transforms the banality of ordinary and provincial life into a forceful narrative drive and contrarian aesthetic. By definition a negative value, banality is valorised here by giving the narrative an impulse that goes against literature's intuitive tendency to celebrate – even sensationalise – events rather revel in the lack thereof. Of course, this is part of literary modernism's radical aesthetics to instil the ordinary with a sense of power, even if this is often done through parody or irony. We only have to think of James Joyce's *Dubliners* or *Ulysses* to understand 'the modernist elevation of the banal' (p. 10). But where this book goes further than any other studies thus far is in its concerted effort to recognise this impulse as a notable offshoot of the colonial problematic, more precisely, the exclusions and disempowerment that are inherent to colonialism. Subsequently, Majumdar also shows how this has extended the innovative aesthetics of literary modernism on a global scale. Indeed, in this particular body of fiction, the anti-cathartic valorisation of the banal and its affective counterpart, boredom, cannot be made sense of from within the dominant model of attaching it to the singular luxury of material privilege and indolent emotion. Instead, it is better understood as a marker of – and resistance to – an inescapably oppressive living condition of the vast majority of peoples on the periphery of the empire. For this argument, Majumdar needs to, in no small measure, recast the centre-periphery framework, going against the recent trends in postcolonial and cultural studies criticism. He emphasises that literary modernism is 'a movement deeply embedded in the cultural, historical and political tensions and anxieties between the metropolis and the periphery' (p. 2). These should by no means be abstracted away. Perforce, mapping the global narrativisation of banality involves giving due attention to the socio-cultural and political relations between the colonial centre and periphery, not least because the way the logic embedded in this hierarchical structure is translated in fiction is precisely as perennial tension between

the sterile banality of everyday lives and the promise of eventfulness and fulfilment out there – in the metropolitan centre. Banal in this case, contends Majumdar, 'is immanence forever haunted by the lure of transcendence but never fulfilled by it' (p. 12). Precisely this never-fulfilled promise of transcendence that haunts the ordinariness of life is what libidinises the banal in this context, enacting, what the author refers to as 'a radical turn in cultural history' in which the banal/everyday becomes an affirmative force (p. 12). At the heart of this book's attention is therefore to engage the paradox of politically and aesthetically negative motifs generating an affirmative instinct in fiction, testing the limits of the banal and the everyday. When does the banal cease being banal? Engaging a rich body of existing cultural-anthropological work chronicling boredom and everyday lives in regions at a distance from metropolitan centres, Majumdar offers many sharp insights and plenty of rich argumentation in four substantial chapters dealing with four major writers. Although in itself elegant prose, the writing does not make for easy reading.

If Joyce and Mansfield are representatives of the late colonial context of modernism, Wicomb and Chaudhuri give the book a prominent contemporary angle and relevance. The fresh contemporary angle testifies to a notable revival of the fictional interest in the marginal and ordinary life within the cultural politics of the Anglophone postcolonial novel, an interest that has in itself, as Majumdar rightly points out, been sidelined by the grander and sensationalist narratives of colonialism and decolonisation that have dominated fiction writing from the Global South in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Another of this book's contrarian thrusts is to reclaim the relevance of Fredric Jameson's much-critiqued proposition that the Third World novel has overwhelmingly come in the form of national allegories. For Majumdar, the greater problem with Jameson's essay is not that he is wrong but that he is right (p. 137); the problem with Jameson's argument is that it is empirically, and worryingly, all too true (at least in relation to the Indian English novel), and not wrong, as his critics have maintained.

If the banality, for example, the stultified lives in Joyce's *Dubliners* and the infinite boredom of Mansfield's settler colonial women in the New Zealand countryside, is seen as a lack, operating as frustrated or unfulfilled desire, then Wicomb's, but especially Chaudhuri's fiction, is primarily concerned with an affirmative aesthetics of the *ordinary*. Amit Chaudhuri's narrative mode, which is quite self-consciously distant from representing the more glaring realms of strife and suffering, does indeed give credence to the anti-Hegelian orientation of this book, where the prosaic in fiction is shown not to be antithetical to aesthetic pleasure or truth, but rather, and energisingly so, a condition for it. *Prose of the World* calls for attentive reading as it gives new accents to well-worn subjects while bringing to the table contemporary and fascinating authors, thus charting fresh avenues of research. *Poetry of the World*, for example, would make for a great sequel.

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Filitz, Thomas and A. Jamie Saris (eds.). 2013. *Debating Authenticity. Concepts of Modernity in Anthropological Perspective.* **New York, Oxford: Berghahn. 276 pp. Hb.: $85.00 / £53.00. ISBN: 978857454966.**

Filitz and Saris have assembled a range of twelve case studies and theoretical elaborations centred around works, actions and cultural specifics thought of as (in)authentic. The book is divided into four parts: Authenticity and Authenticating, Moral Discourses of Authenticity, Popular and Academic Discourses, and Entangled Spaces of Authenticity. However, nearly each article touches all of these thematic fields.

In their introductory chapter, the editors emphasise that there is always a certain expertise needed to qualify something or somebody as possessing the attribute of authenticity. Authentic, in short, is what is qualified as "true" in delineation of "fake" things, actions and ideas – sometimes by discursive agreement, but also by individuals seeking to contest concrete discursive views of (in)originality. Filitz and Saris regard the authentic and the inauthentic as always coming at stake at the same time. Both labels draw their respective justifications from sometimes contradicting sources, e.g. individual agency versus collectively shared memories or concepts.

Many contributions hint at aspects that could be integrated into a preliminary anthropological definition of authenticity: For example, Saris draws on Edward Sapir to grasp a useful application of the term. He sees authenticity as located in a personal feeling of having or gaining access to culture-specific value production. Authenticity, then, had to be analysed as a particular feeling towards a self-shaping of life-events, objects, or emplacement of an individual within a given context. Gingrich's article on Saudi Arabia touches quite similar points referring to the persistent yet multi-faceted employment of certain architectural elements.

Van der Grijp explores the Western notions of authenticity ascribed to artwork made by non-Western people. From an exoticising point of view, authentic seemed to be what has been made as an expression of a certain culture without "Westernised" production methods and influences. The author deconstructs this inconsiderate use, but nevertheless decides to keep the concept of authenticity by providing four criteria applicable to a reflected identification of authentic art.

Similar to Van der Grijp, many chapters address the close relations of supposed cultural specificities and their manifestation in objects. For example, Okely's contribution about "Gypsy" products and Gypsy services like fortune-telling deals with the different layers of meaning that authenticity can take. The Gypsies ascribe authenticity to non-Gypsy-made art in order to sell it to strangers. This fulfilment of exoticist expectations in order to make a living does not cohere with what Gypsies among themselves regard as authentic expressions of their culture. The essay provides an insight to how etic ascriptions can serve to sharpen an emic profile of cultural authenticity that is quite distanced from the outsiders' anticipations.

Warnier describes a related phenomenon, writing about the economic dimensions of authenticity and, along with that, the practice of inventing authenticity in a globalised world. Examining the circumstances of the decision to sell outstanding local products (in

this case: blood sausage) in France, he describes how people deliberately put together certain traditions from the past and freely construct an "authentic" local story out of them. The author aims at providing an example of how inalienability, as a feature of authenticity, and a seemingly contrasting proactive creating of newly invented "authenticity" in order to promote certain goods go hand in hand. Therefore, authenticity, it seems, can sometimes even be a carefully constructed means to an economic end – rather the opposite of being a supposed essential quality, which it is often associated with. Warnier also lists some binary opposed attributes that seem to be necessary for evaluations of authenticity.

However, self-conscious managing of what is considered as authentic, as Okely and Warnier describe it, is sometimes beyond the people's power. For example, Rebollo gives an example of authenticity as an etic practice related to "typical" traits of Spanish culture: tourists buying bull-fighting souvenirs to get in touch with genuine Spanish specifics, but these "typical traditions" are not what Spanish people identify with. In this case, authenticity as an attribute of certain traditions of the past, as bull fights, is in conflict with what inhabitants of Spain see as their "real" identity.

For nearly each author, it is an urgent question if authenticity should be seen as a mainly Western construct for power execution (particularly by Western anthropology), and so in ethnographic contexts should be handled with care. Of all contributors, Muršič leads the sharpest argument against authenticity: he is in favour of neglecting the concept altogether, because it always implicates an evaluation of something or somebody in an exclusive, suspending way. Employing the concept of authenticity would, he warns, lead to a reestablishment of othering mechanisms and essentialising characterisations of people and the world. Authenticity, then, would rather be a concept that manipulates than a concept that can be used for analytic descriptions.

Muršič marks substantial dangers that "authenticity" employed as a meta-concept might bear for anthropologists. However, although the emic vocabulary used to ascribe supposed authentic qualities might differ, authenticity discourses remain a feature of each groups' demarcation processes, as the various contributions of this volume show. The historical implications attached to the term authenticity might not be felicitous, but if we abandoned the multi-faceted concept of authenticity altogether because the term and its use have been formulated in Western contexts, we might blind ourselves to the many important feelings and debates our informants deal with. A solution could be what Sjørslev proposes as a conclusion of her contribution on *Candomblé*: if authenticity is studied as a quality of concrete experience, and not used to describe supposedly essential features of entities or people, it is a topic anthropology can and should consider.

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Stutje, Jan Willem (ed.). 2012. *Charismatic Leadership and Social Movements. The Revolutionary Power of Ordinary Men and Women (International Studies in Social History Volume 19)*. **New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. viii + 212 pp. Hb.: $70.00/£43.00. ISBN: 9780857453297.**

Since the introduction of Max Weber's theory of charismatic leadership to social science, scholarly interest in the theory has waxed and waned. In the field of social movement studies, the question of charisma almost disappeared entirely after the paradigmatic shift from psychological to strategic explanations of collective action, only to gradually re-emerge in the 1990s. However, despite some progress in our understanding of charismatic leadership, the concept remains largely under-theorised and unchanged since Weber.

Jan Willem Stutje's collected volume aims to re-activate the scholarly engagement with charismatic leadership in social movements from a historical perspective. The contributors seek to enrich Max Weber's concept of charisma through six historical case studies and three theoretical essays. The case studies cover charismatic leadership in anticolonial national movements (India's Gandhi and South Africa's Daniel F. Malan), socialist-anarchist leaders before World War I (The Netherland's Domela Nieuwenhuis and Italy's Errico Malatesta) and two communist leaders (Spain's La Pasionaria and China's Mao Zedong). The remaining three chapters deal with the relationship between charisma and political religion in the context of emerging social movements and political parties, as well as with broader conceptual and theoretical questions.

In the introduction, Stutje argues against 'a conceptualization of charisma as a time- and spaceless thing' (p. 4) that hinders empirical research and obscures the analytical value of the concept. While he does not provide a precise definition of charisma, he sets out to criticise many scholars' reductionist understanding of Weber's concept as 'personal traits on the one hand or emotional needs and group dynamics on the other – or in a frame with an emphasis on social structures, which converts charisma into seemingly automatic appendage of hierarchical systems and instrumental manipulations' (p. 4).

Instead, Stutje favours a multidimensional reading of Weber's charisma as a relation between leader and followers forged through a charismatic bond. However, he acknowledges the value of identifying what type of leaders employ which kind of strategies, in what historical context to create a symbiotic relationship with their ascendants. He summarises four personal traits that characterise a charismatic leader: 1) being driven by some form of mission or calling; 2) presenting themselves as one with their followers; 3) having a strong personal presence based on physical traits and/or highly developed oratory skills; and 4) the construction of a salvation narrative. Additionally, Stutje identifies three contextual conditions contributing to the rise of a charismatic leader: a social crisis, a political vacuum and a religionisation of politics.

Accordingly, the historical case studies of six leaders in emerging social movements focus not only on the relationship between leader and followers, but also on the role of religion and emotions and the particular historical context in which movements arise. In this manner, a nuanced and multi-layered analysis of each leader is presented. Further attention is given to the question of sustainability of charismatic leadership

and its relation to movement organisations. Juan Avilés' article (Chapter 7) offers an excellent account of the heroine of the Spanish Civil War Dolores Ibárruri, better known as "La Pasionaria". Tracing her emergence as a revolutionary leader, Avilés investigates whether she qualifies as a charismatic leader in the Weberian sense and if her leadership depended on people's recognition of her charisma. He refines Weber's concept by adding the distinction of personal and institutional charisma. Avilés concludes that despite Pasionaria's extraordinary personal qualities, she never became a visionist leader, but only embodied the collective values of the party.

Many of the contributors to this volume expose the shortcomings of Weber's theory. In the biographical study of the Afrikanaer nationalist movement's leader and architect of apartheid Daniel F. Malan (Chapter 2), Lindie Koorts shows how Weber's concept of a charismatic leader proves a valuable analytical tool to understand Malan's leadership role. However, at the same time, she points out that its focus on leaders' personal traits and their public perception fails to address contexts of changing social and political conditions. Arif Dirlik's excellent study on Mao Zedong (Chapter 6) suggests a broadening of the concept beyond the religious sense and sees advantage in the translation of Weber's charisma into secular terms as 'restricted to those individuals who display unusual acuity in leadership' (p. 121). Even without a precise definition, Dirlik points out the value of the concept as a useful analytical tool that accounts for a more covert dimension of politics. Thomas Welskopp's theoretical essay (Chapter 9) addresses the elusive nature of the concept and its origin in emotional dispositions. Taking an anthropological perspective, he argues that charisma functions first of all in the micro-level of interaction. He suggests applying Clifford Geerzt's concept of "thick description" to account for the multi-layered nature of charismatic relations. He argues that focusing on the context in which charismatic relations unfold could help address the common difficulty historians face when observing and measuring charisma.

This volume's strength lies in its broad range of historical case studies combined with a robust collection of essays addressing conceptual and theoretical aspects of charismatic leadership. While all contributions are excellent historical studies in their own right, it is somewhat regrettable that few of them engage with existing social movement theory beyond the concept of charisma. The interrelated dynamics between the emergence of social movements, leadership and participants and the socio-political realities remain theoretically unaddressed. The lack of acknowledgment of existing theoretical attempts to integrate leadership with human agency and structural contexts is disappointing. Despite this, the volume succeeds in providing a stimulating collection of historical case studies and theoretical essays that breathe new life into the debate about charismatic leadership.

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**Tyrell, Naomi, Allen White, Caitríona Ní Laoire and Fina Carpena-Méndez (eds.).
2013.** *Transnational Migration and Childhood.* **London and New York: Routledge.
143 pp. Hb.: £85.00. ISBN: 9780415539357**

Migration research and policy making tend to be adult oriented, neglecting children
and young people's experiences of migration. Researching family migration without
considering children's and youth's agency and subjectivity is constructing them as passive
dependants and overlooking an important part of the migration family dynamics. The
authors of the book *Transnational Migration and Childhood* decided to challenge those
tendencies and therefore contribute to better understanding of transnational childhoods.
Its papers are originally an outcome of a conference organised within the framework of
the Marie Curie Migrant Children Project carried out by the University College Cork.
Eight out of nine chapters of the respective book were previously published as the special
issue of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* in September 2011 (volume 37,
issue 8).

Articles collected in *Transnational Migration and Childhood* are written by
twelve authors who tackle very important issues and topics inside the migration research
field and especially inside the theme of children migration. Their main goal is to deconstruct
prevailing suppositions about child migration with the focus mainly on the global North
(only in two articles is a Southern perspective discussed) and dismantling 'the implications
of child migration for policy and governance' (p. 6). Moreover, by placing children at the
centre of the analysis, they 'highlight inadequacies and inconsistencies' in the ways in
which children migration is conceptualised and managed by policy makers (p. 6).

The first chapter, written by editors of the book, could be considered an
introduction to the topic. Its authors inform the reader about the state of the art of
research on children migration and call for child-inclusive migration research. Beside
the background information on the book and the topic, the introduction defines five key
areas of concern that are interwoven throughout the entire book and that connect articles
into a coherent thematic collection. Some articles intersect different topics while others
deal with only one. Since there is no space to examine each thematically interesting and
methodologically noteworthy chapter separately, this review will summarise the content
and evaluate the book with the help of these five key areas.

Migrant children's voices are the first of five key areas that authors of the
respective book are dealing with. As migrants' voices are not always heard in the research
process, it is of key importance to stress this issue in regard to children migration to be
able to reveal children's agency and subjectivity, and challenge the prevailing approaches.
Children thus become active research participants and not merely subjects of the research.
In dealing with transnational relations, intergenerational dynamics, return migration or
the prostitution of migrant minors/young adults, the authors highlight the insights that can
be drawn together only through narratives and with ethnographic approach.

Migrant children as victims, helpless, passive sufferers in the process of migration
are the focus of the second key area. All authors are in one way or the other exploring the
paradigm that victimises migrant children and are trying to deal with this social construct,

through discourse analysis, by disclosing the evolution of this sort of narrative, by pointing out how politics of asylum is imposing the role of victims on migrant children, or simply by challenging the dominant conceptualisation of children as non-active dependents.

The third key area is defined as the governance of child migration. Articles covering that area are focused on the narrow understanding of childhood and migration processes and their implications for the governance of child migration. The authors argue that the inability of state officials to recognise child migration as a diverse and multi-layered phenomenon, together with the inability to form more adequate policies to better address these issues, has consequences for specific groups of migrant children. A variety of cases of child forced migration (from the global South to global North) and children in asylum systems (with focus on UK and Sweden) are presented and discussed from different perspectives.

The fourth area highlights the topic of child migration in relation to family migration; the topic that is explored in several chapters of the book. The dynamics of relationships in migrant families, children's involvement in migration decision-making, migrant children as subjects of transnational connections, or how children reproduce, challenge or re-work the idealised narratives of return migration, are just some of the many issues that authors are dealing with.

Finally, the fifth area addresses mobilities. The main notion in the papers directly dealing with movement and mobility is the dismissal of the concept of international migration as stable, fixed practice of movement of people from one location to another. Instead, by stressing multi-stranded linkages and connections, depicting people located within biographies of mobility and movement, the authors address migration as a process of movement between various points of origin and destination, and in which children, young people and also parents have to re-negotiate 'ambiguous and contested understandings of "home" and "belonging"' (p. 9).

The concluding chapter summarises the content of the foregoing chapters placing them within the context of other selected studies in the field. Additionally, it highlights some suggestions for the future directions of research on transnational migration and childhood.

Despite the selective set of examples that it brings forward, which are located mainly in the global North, the collection of articles with the title *Transnational Migration and Childhood* fills important gaps in the knowledge on children migration. With interdisciplinary approaches and from different critical scholarly perspectives, several key issues are being dealt with and prevailing conceptions deconstructed, not only on children's migration, but also in the broader research on migration and childhood.

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Woods, Ruth. 2013. *Children's Moral Lives: An Ethnographic and Psychological Approach*. **Malden, Oxford: Willey-Blackwell. 250 pp. Pb.: £29.99 / $35.40. ISBN: 9781119974215.**

The author Ruth Wood begins her book with a statement of intent: to address a significant change in adult intervention in schoolchildren's everyday experiences with their peers in the previous three decades. If the Piagetian tradition encouraged a "hands off" approach, whereby teachers avoided intervention in children's disputes, allowing the children to settle their conflicts by themselves, recent times witnessed a turn towards an interventionist approach. In fact, in the UK the hands-off policy has been replaced by the obligation for teaching staff to intervene in children's lives in order to protect them from harm or the risk of harm.

Taking this significant change in pastoral care policy as a starting point, Woods sets out to explore the moral issues children confront in their peer relations at school, and how these are affected by adults' pastoral care obligations. To that end, she combined previous research, theories and methods belonging to the field of developmental psychology with participant observation and ethnography, the primary tools of the anthropologists.

The book is based on research carried out in the early 2000s, when the author attended a multicultural primary school in West London for 18 months, joining the pupils (5- to 11-year-olds) not only in class but also during playtime, school refectory lunches, football matches and various school events. By doing so, the children became familiar with her and trusted her, so she could access privileged information due to her neutral position: not a teacher, nor a supervisor, she nonetheless regularly attended to the concerns of students, which tended to involve her in their endeavours and conflicts.

Most pupils of the school, fictionally called Woodwell Green, came from ethnic minorities, with a majority of children of Indian (38%) and English (25%) ethnicity, followed by minor proportions of Somali, Pakistani, Arab and others. According to the author, the school location, in an economically- and socially-deprived area, with high crime rates, could partially explain some of the children's attitudes towards morality in peer relations.

The school's most important value concerning peer relations, reiterated to pupils on a daily basis, was harm avoidance "on the inside and the outside", referring to both physical and psychological harm. In addition to being a value that the institution instilled in the children, it was an injunction: disobeying this fundamental rule implied sanctions. The core of Woods' book revolves around how children reacted to this rule, and how they transgressed, or bent, the rule in an effort to earn their peers' respect, attention, or merely to honour cultural stereotypes about toughness or masculinity.

Despite the rule, there was amongst the pupils a widespread presence of playful aggression as a mode of verbal or physical interaction, considered by the children a legitimate, and enjoyable aspect of communication and friendship. Being able to banter, tease and play fight was, in fact, a skill that children had to learn if they wanted to acquire social standing amongst peers. Reactions to playful aggression varied across individual cases, and according to gender; in general, developing toughness and resilience (the

ability to withstand adversity) earned children popularity in the peer group, and facilitated everyday relations. Woods observes that wider community values – such as those portrayed in Bollywood films, very popular amongst the school's pupils – are likely to have informed the value attached both to teasing and toughness.

Interestingly, children's reactions to the strict rule of non-aggression, and the portrayal of aggression as morally wrong, show that the principle of reciprocal justice was for them more significant: children were in favour of retaliatory hitting, as reacting to provocation was considered "fair". Fairness, reciprocity and justice are values that these children often articulated.

Woods alternates her prose with excerpts from her field-notes, substantiating her argument with detailed recordings of episodes of the children's school life, that illustrate in detail their conversations with her and to each other, their complaints, attitudes, opinion, and colourful language. The field-notes bring forth the children's voices and allow the material to come "alive", allowing the reader to witness the children's struggles for acceptance, inclusion, loyalty, dominance and the maintenance of hierarchies amongst themselves. Such struggle often involved tensions and frictions, as well as challenges to the teachers' authority and the school's obligations.

The book makes interesting observations about conflictive peer relations due to ethnicity and cultural issues. In both school and the local community, the largest ethnic group was Indian. Children tended to view Indian and English cultures as mutually exclusive opposites, and Indian cultural expertise (including knowledge of Bollywood films, Indian language and "swear words") was a valuable commodity amongst peers, complicating integration of non-Indian children that in some cases felt marginalised. This attitude was mirrored by the concerns of some local English parents who disapproved of their children engaging in explicitly Indian-themed activities, practices they perceived as threatening.

While the school took racism and respect for religious diversity extremely seriously, homophobic prejudice met with silence on the part of adults. In the absence of a clear school policy, adults had to face the dilemma of not addressing homophobia, lest they questioned religious beliefs and practices. The school's promotion of multicultural harmony implied a prioritisation of prejudices, where racism was seen as extremely dangerous and homophobia barely recognised as a problem.

At the end of each chapter, the author provides a subchapter called *Implications for Schools*, in which she recaps her data and its consequences as seen and tested by her during her research; she also discreetly states some suggestions on minor, alternative policies that could help school staff solving the intricacies of the problem under discussion.

Far from being destined to specialists only, this rich and pleasant book is a tactful analysis of crucial social issues faced by pupils in school that mirror issues at play in the wider society around them. It will provide great interest for psychologists, anthropologists, educators, social workers as well as to anyone interested in schooling, children, youth and in the power dynamics operating in urban multicultural communities.

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Pontificia Universidad Católica and ICIIS (Chile)

Marion, Jonathan M. and Jerome W. Crowder. 2013. *Visual Research. A Concise Introduction to Thinking Visually*. London, New Delhi, New York: Bloomsbury. xvii + 192 pp. Pb.: £19.99. ISBN: 9780857852069.

Visual Research is a short and practical introduction to the use of images in social sciences. Although the book is not exclusively designed for anthropologists, it refers to anthropological case studies and literature, and will be of interest to all anthropologists. The aim of the authors, both involved in the Society for Visual Anthropology (a section of the American Anthropological Association), is to give an overview of key concepts and issues related to visual research and to provide guidelines for the making and use of images in the social sciences. The book comes out at a time when handheld devices and online technologies are becoming extremely popular – so much so that most of us are using them in our research. At the same time, the vast amount of images we can produce and their rapid and uncontrolled dissemination on the Internet can become problematic when conducting research. The argument of the authors is that before actually engaging in visual research (making images and using them), we should learn to "think visually" – that is to ask the right questions to the images and to be aware of what is at stake when taking a picture or a video and when publishing it.

The book is divided into three sections. The first, *Image basics*, introduces 'fundamental ideas involved in thinking visually' (p. xv). It begins with a strong emphasis on the ethics of images (Chapter 1). As the authors suggest, general ethical principles in social sciences involve specific considerations when working with visual material and data, which they call "visual ethics". The next chapter, *Starting to think visually*, introduces the notion of "visual literacy" and calls for a better understanding by researchers of the link between the making and use of images and ethnographic knowledge. It also introduces basic vocabulary of image reading and interpretation. Chapter 3 goes further by outlining the necessity to consider images not only as illustrations but also as 'data in their own right' (p. 28). As such, images, along with but different from text, allow to ask and answer research questions. The second section, *Making images* starts with a historical overview of the use of camera in social sciences (Chapter 4) and then turns to three different techniques of making images: photography (Chapter 5), video (Chapter 6) and multimedia (Chapter 7). For each of these techniques, the authors give basic practical knowledge and guidelines, and describe the way they contribute, each in a different manner, to the production of ethnographic understanding. The third and final section of the book, *Using images*, is dedicated to the organisation and storage of images (Chapter 8), to their exploration through indexation and use of metadata (Chapter 9) and finally to their inclusion in research products (Chapter 10). All chapters are illustrated by case studies written by specialists of various disciplines (anthropology, sociology, archaeology, etc.). A glossary, a list of online resources, an index and an abundant bibliography complete the book.

The book is written in a didactic style and sometimes seems to continuously repeat the same basic or common sense recommendations (backup your files, think well before taking a picture, do not insert too much text in a PowerPoint presentation) but it is

comprehensive and full of practical suggestions directly related to the authors' experience and own mistakes. In that sense, it should not be recommended only to those who intend to engage in visual research. As the authors correctly emphasise, we all use images, either as material, or as a tool for elicitation, as illustration in our articles and presentations, and as a way to keep contact with the people with whom we work. Knowing how to make the right picture for a specific aim, how to store and organise the pictures, how to explore and interpret them, how to use and disseminate them, has become a common and everyday concern for most anthropologists.

With its emphasis on most recent digital and online technologies – which makes it easier for all of us to produce, store and use images – the book represents an up-to-date introduction to visual research. Given the rapid development of those technologies, some parts of the book will probably quickly become out-dated (especially regarding storage and archiving), but it comes at the right time, and its emphasis on the importance of thinking visually before engaging in visual research will probably remain invaluable.

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Brodwin, Paul. 2013. *Everyday Ethics. Voices from the Front Line of Community Psychiatry*. Berkeley: University of California Press. xiii + 233 pp. Pb.: $29.95, £19.95. ISBN: 9780520274792.

Paul Brodwin's analysis of the "everyday ethics" of U.S. community psychiatry aims at facilitating a dialogue between bioethics and ethnography. He intends 'to amplify the voice of frontline workers, who have the most intimate knowledge of clients but the least influence in broader conversations about public mental health services' (p. 13). For this purpose, he draws on two years of fieldwork in an institution dubbed "Eastside Services", an agency providing Assertive Community Treatment (ACT) to 75 individuals diagnosed with severe chronic mental illness.

Brodwin stresses the situated nature of ethical reasoning in community psychiatry. Instead of elaborating formal principles, as scholars of formal bioethics would, frontline clinicians base their decisions about ethics on concrete problems arising during the course of daily practice. The author succeeds in showing which situations enable clinicians to indulge in moments of self-doubt, ethical questioning and even radical critique of their work, and which situations entail uncritical compliance with established norms of practice.

The book consists of an introduction and three main parts. In the introduction, Brodwin lays out the concept of "everyday ethics" in relation to formal bioethics. Part One provides the historical background to the following chapters by sketching out the development of U.S. community psychiatry in general and the concept of Assertive Community Treatment (ACT) in particular. Brodwin analyses ACT as an outcome of both deinstitutionalisation in the public health sector and civil rights critiques of involuntary hospitalisation. ACT arose in the 1970s as a method to care for people who have been in and out of psychiatric hospitals for years. The programme aims at supporting and stabilising them, providing for basic needs such as housing and food, ensuring and imposing pharmaceutical treatment, and delaying the next hospitalisation as long as possible. It is deeply linked to a biopsychiatric view of mental illness that deems pharmaceutical treatment to be essential. While ACT clinicians are convinced of acting in the interest of the people they care for, they have to come to terms with the fact that most of their "clients" do not want their services. In interaction with a clinician's professional background and her opinion about the nature of mental illness, clients' resistance can lead to a feeling of futility. Clinicians either find ways to justify their work and motivate themselves in the face of scarce resources and pressure from clients or they quit their jobs.

Part Two examines the three central tools at the disposal of clinicians. The first tool is the treatment plan, written for each client and updated twice a year. Treatment plans fulfil a double function: they guide a person's treatment, but they are also used to justify the agency's work during controls by state officials. As a standard "paperwork technology", treatment plans demand narratives of progress, even when a client's life seems to be falling apart.

"Representative payeeships" are clinicians' second tool. Most ACT clients are considered incapable of handling their own money. The agency thus serves as a

representative payee, receiving all their welfare monies and giving them out to clients in small portions. Legally, the representative payeeship is supposed to make sure that clients' basic needs are met. However, during the course of practical ACT work, it is transformed into an instrument to change clients' behaviour. Clinicians make use of their clients' economic dependency to force them to reduce drug use or to encourage compliance with pharmaceutical treatment.

Thirdly, there are commitment orders. Legal bodies can impose involuntary treatment on people categorised as mentally ill. This can take the form of forced hospitalisation, admission to an ACT programme as a condition for release or pharmaceutical treatment. Since the 1960s, civil rights activists have sharply criticised these forms of psychiatric coercion. Even though commitment orders severely limit clients' civil rights, Eastside clinicians often feel powerless in their interactions with resistant clients. During the course of the book's second part, Brodwin details the contradictions in which clinicians get caught up while handling these essential "tools of the trade" (title of Part Two).

In Part Three, Brodwin develops an imaginary dialogue between formal bioethics and frontline clinicians. He begins by laying out some concepts derived from bioethics. Then, he speculates about Eastside clinicians' likely responses to these ethical propositions. While interesting to read and carefully argued, this part remains – as Brodwin admits – speculative. Given the author's stated aim of making ordinary clinicians speak to bioethics, I wonder why he did not give them the opportunity to do so in person. Instead of imagining their responses, he could have confronted clinicians with bioethical concepts during the course of fieldwork.

The book's strength undoubtedly lies in its careful analysis of everyday clinical practice. The author presents contemporary medical standards as outcomes of previous battles and compromises. He pays attention to the public health system as a whole as well as to hierarchies within the ACT team. He emphatically evokes the dilemmas faced by frontline providers as they simultaneously struggle with clients' resistance to imposed treatment, structural lack of resources, and personal feelings of futility. Less attention is paid to theory as Brodwin brushes over concepts by Mary Midgley, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu without really exploring their analytic potential. Nevertheless, *Everyday Ethics* is a valuable read for anyone interested in bioethics, the ethnographic study of (mental) illness, social work, or the transformation of the U.S. medical and welfare system.

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Niehaus, Isak. 2013. *Witchcraft and a Life in New South Africa (International American Library)*. **Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xxi + 239 pp. Hb.: 60.00. ISBN: 9781107016286**

The author's primary aim of this monograph is to inform our understanding of witchcraft in contemporary South Africa through the biography of a local man, Jimmy Mohale. This aim is framed in the concept that it is possible to conduct an insightful research study of the subject by carefully and pragmatically studying Jimmy Mohale's biography, as it represents the interplay between social, historical and personal elements.

Niehaus presents a systematic and clearly organised layout of his research by giving a summary of the research perspective, presenting fundamental concepts concerning the perception of witchcraft and its place in the respective region, outlining the basis and organisation of Jimmy Mohale's biographical narrative, as well as giving a profound insight into the man's life to the point at which he discovered his illness and began to suspect and accuse his father of witchcraft, which he claimed to have been a cause of all his misfortunes and his terminal illness, which is speculated to have actually been AIDS-related.

Jimmy Mohale was the author's research assistant before he quit, and suggested telling the author his tale before he dies. Born and lived in rural South Africa, he was an educated, middle-aged, working-class man. He died in 2005 from an undiagnosed illness that was probably related to AIDS. The biographical narrative concerns Jimmy Mohale's life during a politically and socially complicated period in South Africa that was marked by significant changes in the country, and a time when beliefs and superstitions about witchcraft prevailed and shaped the private lives of people. In most cases, witchcraft was perceived to be a primary cause for all possible misfortunes and set-backs in one's life. Eventually, Jimmy Mohale also began to suspect and accuse his father of witchcraft, after he had analysed a series of misfortunes throughout his career, marriage and life in general. However, the catalyst to these accusations was his terminal illness.

Niehaus has compiled and analysed interviews and conversations he had with Jimmy Mohale and describes the man's journey of life until his death, thus reflecting dominating perceptions and views in the society. The author delves deeper in researching Jimmy Mohale's kinship and family's history, which is both violent and unnerving, uncovering numerous mysterious misfortunes that befell family members and many suspicious deaths in the family. At this point, Jimmy Mohale and later other family members became convinced of their father's ill will and his possible knowledge and skills in witchcraft. Instead of seeking biomedical help, Jimmy Mohale turned to local diviners and healers up to the point of plotting revenge on his father together with his siblings, who later joined in accusing their father of witchcraft and causing intentional harm to them and others.

This biographical narrative gives personal insight, as the author puts it, into the insecurity and uncertainty people felt during the period of apartheid and post-apartheid in the South Africa, when many became subjects to "structural" and "interpersonal" violence. Niehaus suggests that this biography highlights the impact of illnesses and deaths among

kin structuring perceptions of witchcraft. The biography and deeper statistical analysis also reflects a tendency that in most cases a father was accused of being a witch to which psychoanalytic models could offer a certain explanation, as well as the fact that certain contexts of history, de-industrialisation, generation, and gender could play a significant part in viewing the trend. However, it does not change the fact that the status of a father in South Africa is ambivalent. The author studied and observed the Mohale family and specifically the sons who accused their father, their violent upbringing, fear and also respect of their father, many illnesses and deaths in the family, as well as their own misfortunes and illnesses, which solidified their accusations and at some point lent a credibility to their suspicions that their father had secured his authority by witchcraft. The author suggests that in general the situation could be viewed as unsuccessful men blaming their fathers for obstructing their chances to a better life. However, the fact is that not did only Jimmy Mohale and his siblings believe in the reality of witchcraft, they accepted it a crucial part of their misfortunes. In this biographical narrative, Niehaus has given most detailed and profound reflection of one man's perspective on witchcraft and life in New South Africa. He also challenges anthropological approaches to treating witchcraft and divination according to Western values, which fails to adopt an uncritical and purely interpretive evaluation of its underlying patterns. Niehaus insists on the effectiveness of critical empathy dealing with the subject of witchcraft.

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