

BOOK REVIEWS

Salazar Parreñas, Juno. 2018. *Decolonizing Extinction: The Work of Care in Orangutan Rehabilitation*. Durham, London: Duke University Press. Pb.: \$25.95. ISBN: 9780822370772.

As Salazar Parreñas remarks, colonialism is not a matter of the past but an ongoing process, requiring continuing decolonising efforts. Along with the struggles over sovereignty, against occupation, and towards knowledge formation, decolonisation also requires us to reimagine the world: the ways we understand it and relate to it (p. 6). Western colonialism subjugated other peoples, “nature”, and the “feminine”, conflating these diverse notions. Postcolonialism often involved disentangling these notions to empower some of the actors involved, often in detriment of the others who were entangled along. Conversely, those entangled others have occasionally become instrumental means to reign in unruly decolonial attempts. In this paradoxical way, after seemingly relinquishing power over other peoples and their environments, the West started growing out of its myopic anthropocentric stance and is beginning to embrace the notion that other-than-humans may have or develop agency, subjectivity, and sentience. Even if radically different from the qualities entertained by humans, such acknowledgement raises the ethical stakes of our interactions with other-than-humans. The unfolding relations between decolonial subjects and other-than-humans are one of the most spinous conjunctures of our times, Salazar Parreñas addresses them through an enlightening feminist perspective of the relations involved in orangutan rehabilitation at Sarawak, Malaysia.

Juno Salazar Parreñas, a Philippine-American multi-gender multispecies ethnographer, demonstrates the persistence of colonial webs ingrained in the dynamics that are leading to the extinction of orangutans and several other species in Borneo, but also embedded in the very efforts of orangutan conservation and rehabilitation. She demonstrates how – in light of the increasing environmental degradation – conservation and rehabilitation efforts realistically can only provide palliative care for dying forms of life. Furthermore, for their execution, these efforts relying on violence, and the commodification of the experience of the orangutans’ proximity. Despite this gloomy panorama, through her careful ethnography, she enquires whether we could assume this present era of mass extinction without violently imposing ourselves, our interests or safety upon others, particularly non-human others. In so doing, she suggests a path forward: to embrace the mutual vulnerability of existing together (p. 3), without seeking to assert what things ought to be (p. 7).

The book is divided into three parts: *Relations*, *Enclosures*, and *Futures*, each composed of two chapters. Salazar starts *Relations* examining the early experiments with orangutan rehabilitation at Sarawak, which were developed by Barbara Harrison, the wife of the former White Shah (who abdicated in favour of the British crown and became a colonial administrator in charge of the national museum). Parreñas elaborates on this historical context and demonstrates how Harrison’s efforts were enabled by transmuting colonial relations. She grounded her authority on her position amalgamated with amateur scientific views, and while she dismissed alternative forms of knowledge regarding orangutan rearing, she relied heavily on the labour and forest skills of indigenous Iban

peoples. Her approach to scientific of objectivity turned scientific tools into means of domination over both orangutans and humans. In her initial approaches, Harrison and her Iban staff sought to act as surrogate mothers for orphaned orang-utan infants. However, Harrison remained wary of anthropomorphising orangutans and noted that the emotional attachment orangutans derived from this surrogacy was also a form of cruelty inducing a dangerous familiarity with humans. She claimed orangutans reared in such a way by humans “failed” to fully develop as orangutans and sought the proximity and their sustenance from humans instead, potentially increasing the risk of interspecies violence. Hence, Harrison opted to approach motherhood through rejection rather than affection, developing the basis for the *tough love* approaches that have become the norm in these rehabilitation centres, and which employ violence – arguably, moderate – in the interaction with orangutans under care to foster in them detachment, caution, and ultimately distrust towards humans, aiming to instil them with independence in the expectation of a future liberation into the wild. Parreñas demonstrates how these experiments were informed by gender struggles, but also how they paralleled and were likely cross-fertilised by the projects and policies of a receding colonial administration that was seeking to instil political independence on its former colonial subjects while fostering new forms of economic dependency.

Parreñas proceeds to trace the scars in *On the Surface of Skin and Earth*, and how history has left painful traces on orangutans, humans, and territories. She demonstrates how coming in contact with another involves a tacit tracing of those scars, through which seemingly superficial interactions collapse protracted histories (p. 62), relations ranging from the biographical to historical, and the geological, drawing expected and unforeseeable reactions in each of these complex beings. She demonstrates how in explaining and anticipating complex behaviours orangutans and humans may resort to such histories seeking ways to relate to one another, ways to develop their agency, and make a world for themselves.

Through these processes, each of these actors is marked and leaves marks on the world. Orangutans, carry traces of their experiences of affection and abuse, and the potentiality to express that history in ways that may be naïve or violent, but which evidence memory and transference processes, are often clearly aimed, and directed. In turn, custodians some of which are indigenous Iban, others who are Malaysian, and European, respond resorting to a history of interactions with orangutans, and their position and circumstances in a hierarchy inherited from colonial times, which may grant them confidence or instil fear in them.

Finally, sponsoring volunteers – mainly Euro-American women who pay heavy fees to sponsor orangutan rehabilitation while performing arduous labour – respond to a history of gender oppression, to the privileges and shame associated with colonialism, and to the awareness of *anthropocene* guilts.

Through *Enclosures*, Salazar Parreñas examines the built-in paradoxes and aporias of conservation-rehabilitation and postcolonialism-development. Parreñas offers a challenging gender perspective questioning some problematic biological assumptions and their consequences for conservation. By examining the gender violence involved

in animal husbandry for the recovery of endangered orangutan populations, she debates a fallacy, widespread in biological sciences, that assumes reproduction as a necessarily natural process, a proxy for fitness, health, wellbeing, and ultimately for the life of organisms. Parreñas observes the impending threat represented by orangutans, especially dominant male orangutans, upon both humans and other orangutans. Moreover, she notes that whereas custodians and managers intervene to halt violence between orangutans in the compound, they hesitate and are reluctant to act whenever such violence involves forced copulation. The goal of promoting the growth of orangutan populations, the symbolic power associated with “alpha” orangutans, and the role of reproduction in biology become complicit in naturalising, tacitly endorsing and even facilitating these behaviours. Parreñas questions literature that characterises these behaviours as rape, arguing that treating them as adaptative reproductive strategies naturalises and arguably justifies rape. I disagree with her grounds for establishing a distinction. That a behaviour can be classified as a strategy, even a “successful” or “adaptive” one, in no way provides an ethical justification for such actions. However, as Parreñas demonstrates, even biologists continue to fall for the equation of the natural with the good, and reproduction with the natural. She critiques this equation, noting how these behaviours have only been observed in constrained and overpopulated spaces, distant from the known densities and territory sizes of orangutans in the wild. Hence, these behaviours are the result of the human-made environment, which does not make them any less troubling and difficult to address. Parreñas does not find a way out, but she makes crucial steps forcing us to consider the role of physical and social structures while judging in intersubjective relations that involve asserting the intentionality of the other.

Finding a living, Chapter 4, explores the parallelisms between the experiences and dilemmas facing orangutans and those of Indigenous Ibans. Tracing the histories of Harrison’s Iban staff, Salazar shows how the staff while pursuing Western ideals aiming to improve their own status within their communities found themselves bound in the dynamics of irregular waged labour, and how their notions of finding a living have translated into these newly precarious forms of existence. In a similar fashion for orangutans showing themselves has become a means of finding a living.

Through an exploration of the potential *Futures*, Salazar demonstrates that the goal of rehabilitation projects is misplaced: predatory capitalism, in the form of palm-oil plantations and hydroelectric dams, has already encroached the increasingly diminished environments formerly inhabited by orangutans. This encroachment and the associated environmental degradation, leading causes for the extinction of orang-utans amongst several other wildlife species, also prohibits the possibility of returning them to the wilderness. Wilderness no longer exists. Orangutans are developing an autonomy that mimics extinct conditions. Environmental degradation also curtails traditional Iban forms of life, leaving few economic alternatives available for those skillsets. And those alternatives often require that Iban and other caretakers risk their life, welfare, and gender identity for the production of commodity value as irregular waged labour. Following a similar pattern Sarawak at large, rather than becoming independent after the abdication of the White Shah, was transferred to the British Crown and later annexed by Malaysia. Ultimately, each of these scenarios re-

sulted in forms of *arrested autonomy*, whereby peoples and wildlife find themselves captive in the promised return to a condition that no longer exists.

In her conclusion, Salazar Parreñas takes a further step, examining the threat to life represented by microbial critters with which humans, orang-utans and other species may come in contact with ground and waters contaminated with it. She elaborates on how the flooding for a dam contributed to the conditions for the spread of Sarawakian bacterium *Burkholderia pseudomallei*, with lethal consequences for some of the staff as well as the orangutans. From this vantage point, she stresses the complex dilemma of co-existence. How to live with a dangerous other? Salazar Parreñas does not present a hopeful picture and yet, through her ethnography, she elucidates approaches to engage in the processes of decolonisation, denounces the problematic fallacies under conservation/rehabilitation programmes, and offers several tools to address ways to take care of dying dangerous and endangered species. The book is beautifully written and a pleasure to read, it is a must in political ecology, ecological anthropology, decolonial, and multispecies reading lists.

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Holbraad, Martin and Morten Axel Pedersen. 2017. *The Ontological Turn. An Anthropological Exposition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xiii + 339 pp. Pb.: £22.99. ISBN: 9781107503946.

This volume is another contribution to the Cambridge University Press's *New Directions in Anthropology* series. It was written by two of the most prominent representatives of the "movement" that has dominated some segments of anthropology in the previous two decades – especially among the scholars specialising in Lowland South America (Amazon) and Melanesia, especially including the ones affiliated with the University of Cambridge, even though some of the key authors referred to are French. This summary is more than welcome, as Martin Holbraad (UCL) and Morten Axel Pedersen (University of Copenhagen) aim to set the record straight, from discussing some of the key theoretical components of the "ontological turn", to presenting the ideas of some authors that they believe are the movement's key figures (Roy Wagner, Marilyn Strathern, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro). Some other senior anthropologists are also mentioned favourably (Marshall Sahlins, Bruce Kapferer), although it should be noted that Kapferer, for example, strongly rejects any connection with the "ontological turn". In the *Preface*, the authors refer to the "turn" as a 'controversial theoretical and methodological approach that resonates strongly with wider developments in contemporary philosophy and social theory' (p. ix).

In the *Introduction*, the authors turn to the history of anthropology in order to explain the importance of the new approach. The ideas discussed by Mauss, Evans-Pritchard and Geertz are briefly explained, as well as why they did not go far enough. In the radical approach to anthropological understanding, the authors especially turn to two key concepts, "reflexivity" and "conceptualization". A special section of this part (pp.12-14) is also dedicated to explaining 'why [the] ontological turn is not relativism'. In the first chapter (*Other Ontological Turns*), Holbraad and Pedersen present recent developments in philosophy, science and technology studies (STS), and anthropology, in order to chart the continuities and differences with their approach. The characteristic of their approach comes down to 'the core point about the fundamentally reflexive character of "our" version of the ontological turn, which [...] consists in a thoroughly methodological proposal for "intensifying" certain trains of thought that lie at the heart of the anthropological project' (pp. 31-32). They proceed to discuss four other approaches: first, by philosophers that they refer to as "speculative realists" (Harman, Meillassoux), then, by scholars from the STS (Latour, Woolgar, Lezaun), then "alternative ontology" as formulated by Evens (but also by Escobar and De la Cadena), and, finally, what they call "deep ontologies" – noting that 'some of the main authors that we think display this tendency [e.g., Sahlins] trace their interest in ontology back to Claude Lévi-Strauss's notion of "deep structure"' (p. 55).

The second chapter (*Analogic Anthropology: Wagner's Inventions and Obviations*) presents the ideas of one of the scholars who inspired the ontological turn. 'Wagner has used his lifelong ethnographic engagement with Melanesia [...] as a point of departure for redefining the very idea of "culture" – the idea which, notwithstanding its Germanic roots, has been itself definitive of the American tradition of "cultural anthropology"'. His project has been to reinvent cultural anthropology by inventing a new concept of culture,

to wit one that proposes culture as a process of invention' (p. 70).

The third chapter (*Relational Ethnography: Strathern's Comparisons and Scales*) introduces another major influence on Holbraad and Pedersen. 'Without Strathern, none of the three trademarks outlined in the Introduction of this book – reflexivity, conceptualization, experimentation – would have had the same critical edge' (p. 111). Strathern starts from the "crisis of representation", and continues to develop her particular responses to the questions on relationality and comparisons.

While describing in great detail aspects of her work after 1987 that are relevant to the "ontological turn", Holbraad and Pedersen also provide an excellent summary of the dialogue of Strathern and Viveiros de Castro on perspectivism (pp. 152-153), which is a good introduction to the fourth chapter of the book, *Natural Relativism: Viveiros de Castro's Perspectivism and Multinaturalism*. Viveiros de Castro is referred to as, among other things, 'father of anthropology's ontological turn' (p. 157). He has defined perspectivism, one of the key 'ontological' concepts as 'an indigenous theory according to which the way humans perceive animals and other subjectivities that inhabit the world – gods, spirits, the dead, inhabitants of other cosmic levels, meteorological phenomena, plants, occasionally even objects and artefacts – differs profoundly from the way in which these beings see humans and see themselves' (Viveiros de Castro 1998: 470).

Beginning with his debate on animism with the French anthropologist Philippe Descola, Viveiros de Castro comes to what he labelled "natural relativism", which leads to the 'destabilization of the naturalist distinction between nature and culture,' and also 'warps the distinction between body and soul' (p. 164).

In the fifth chapter (*Things as Concepts*), the authors begin with the question 'how might the study of things extend the line of thinking that the ontological turn develops, allowing its arguments to encompass more than anthropologists' traditional (and defining) focus on human beings and their social and cultural component?' (p. 199). The key strategy that they propose in this regard is 'thinking through things' (TTT), following up on the recent debate on materiality in anthropology (Latour, Ingold, and others). This is also the chapter in which they introduce some of their own ethnographic work (Holbraad's from Cuba and Pedersen's from Northern Mongolia), which makes this part of the book especially engaging.

In the next part of the book (*After the Relation*), and following up on the work of Michael Scott, the authors wish to 'explore what might come after the relation in its capacity as one of the most abiding and "primordial" concepts of the ontological turn' (p. 243).

In the *Conclusion*, Holbraad and Pedersen address some of the criticisms of the "ontological turn" (some of them have been mentioned throughout the book), arguing for an 'ontologically political' anthropology, one that will make 'its business to generate vantages from which established forms of thinking are put under relentless pressure by alterity itself, and perhaps changed' (pp. 296-297).

This is a very important book, but its assessment will depend on whether one accepts the fundamental premises of the ontological turn, as well as where one conducts her/his fieldwork. For the believers, this is "the text" – an excellent exposition of the "turn's" basic points of departure and broader intellectual goals. For the more sceptical

readers, some questions remain to be answered; the question of incommensurability in the first place: if the worlds are radically different, how can they even be described? Also, there are some minor inaccuracies (Segal is not an anthropologist – p. 113; Tylor, who died in 1917, is definitively *not* associated with the *Writing Culture* movement – p. 141, etc.), but this remains a valuable text that outlines a very influential concept influential in the last couple of decades. Whether it will make a more serious impact in anthropology remains to be seen.

Reference

Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1998. Cosmological deixis and Amerindian perspectivism. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4(3): 469-488.

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Vindrola-Padros, Cecilia, Ginger A. Johnson, and Anne E. Pfister (eds.). 2018. *Healthcare in Motion. Immobilities in Health Service Delivery and Access*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. 240 pp. Hb.: \$120.00/£85.00. ISBN: 9781785339530.

This book is guided by pervasive and complex questions concerning movement associated with obtaining health services. The profound importance and complexity of this topic have been recognised in scientific and grey literature with great fervour, as an increasing number of people have been travelling to obtain medical care in another country against the backdrop of growing health inequalities and socioeconomic disparities. However, the contributing authors in this edited volume unveil the complexity of the phenomenon from an angle that has thus far been overlooked and neglected. They focus on the *particularities* of the experiences of both mobility *and* immobility in the context of healthcare access and delivery, exploring as they go the related inequities, political ideologies and (social and migration) policies that steer the journey of vulnerable and marginalised individuals towards medical services. The result is a fascinating collection of portrayals of the day-to-day practices of people seeking or providing healthcare across the globe, written with a great amount of empathy and care, captivating the readers and prompting the desire to explore the topics further. The chapters are written by authors from various disciplines and take place in different geographical contexts, including the United States, Mexico, Kenya, South Africa, Myanmar, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section explores the ways in which public policies create differential mobility empowerments, meaning how they differentiate between those deserving of free movement and access to public care, and those not considered eligible to access public services. In the first chapter, Heide Castañeda explores the ways in which the restrictive migration regime and securitisation discourse shape the lives of people residing along the US-Mexico border. She shows how the immigration status impacts the access to primary and specialised medical care and illustrates this with an example of mixed-status families in which different family members enjoy different sets of entitlements. In a similar manner, Nolan Kline discusses the barriers to accessing healthcare by undocumented immigrants in Atlanta, Georgia, United States, who live in perpetual fear of deportation and, therefore, tend to avoid seeking healthcare. Immigrant policing also discourages undocumented immigrants from driving, which further complicates inner-city mobility and contributes to creating inequalities in movement. Uršula Lipovec Čebren and Sara Pistotnik wrap up the section with the exploration of the impact of public policies on the access to healthcare by the population of the “erased” citizens of former Yugoslavian republics in Slovenia. The authors discuss how their access to healthcare and other public services was abruptly denied after Slovenia declared independence, if they failed to apply for residency or if their application was rejected by the authorities. This means, the authors argue, that they were overnight given the label of un-deservingness and pushed into the state of liminality.

In the second section, mobility is discussed as a resource in the search for care and caring and looks into ‘external movements that serve as an entryway for studying people’s inner mobility’ (p. 73), including their thoughts, emotions and memories. The

section starts with a chapter by Anne E. Pfister and Cecilia Vindrola-Padros, who discuss care-related travel of families with deaf children in and around Mexico City. They use an anthropological approach to unveil the process of identity formation of parents of deaf children as they are confronted with the diagnosis and as they begin their physical journey to find information, assistance, and care. Medical tourism is discussed next as Amy Speier presents the case of egg donors engaged in the reproductive travel industry in the Czech Republic. She shows how young, childless women and women on maternity leave have been gaining financially and achieving upward social mobility via egg donation in the light of the increasing (global) demand for reproductive material. The chapter is an interesting addition to the literature on medical tourism as it puts the focus on the mobility of donors rather than the recipients. Finally, Plotnikova shifts the focus from the mobility of those seeking care to those providing healthcare. She presents a startling data-based analysis of the global shortages of healthcare workers and the vulnerability of labour markets for the health workforce, raising attention to one of the most pressing current and future problems in healthcare provision. She discusses, in particular, the mobility of health workers and the need for efficient governance of health worker migration.

In the final section, the authors of the four chapters identify ‘concerns that arise from the practical challenges of providing healthcare to hard-to-reach populations’ (p. 139) and provide ethnographic case studies from three continents and four countries on possible health interventions. First, Alina Engelman explores the case-specific particularities and vulnerabilities of a marginalised population of deaf Kenyans who are HIV positive or living with AIDS and are experiencing barriers to information and healthcare access. She looks into the possibilities provided by mHealth (mobile health) and its associated innovations. Next, Sunitha C. Srinivas and Sharli A. Paphitis provide insight into approaches and technologies mobilised to improve public health and health promotion for rural, hard-to-reach populations in South Africa. They emphasise in particular the need to improve health literacy, which can only be done, they argue, by employing measures to overcome linguistic, cultural and educational divides. E. Kale Edmiston then addresses an entirely unexplored topic in the mobility literature, namely the urgency of mobility of transgendered people in the US South in their quest for appropriate healthcare. It presents a unique and successful programme that provides volunteer peer advocates who help transgender people with mobility and access to healthcare. The section is concluded by a chapter discussing new technological channels for virtually reaching out to women in Myanmar in order to provide advice on family planning and reproductive, maternal, and child health via a downloadable app.

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Groes, Christian and Nadine T. Fernandez (eds.) 2018. *Intimate Mobilities. Sexual Economies, Marriage and Migration in a Disparate World* (Foreword by Katharine Charsley). Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. 248 pp. Hb.: \$120.00/£85.00. ISBN: 9781785338601.

“The “Leftovers” Spring Festival: a 36-year-old emigrant businessman from Italy returns to Qingtian to meet eighteen potential spousal candidates’ is a title of an article we can read on the Internet portal for Chinese migrants living in Europe. Used as an advertisement on yellow pages or inside an analytical framework, as done by researcher and anthropologist Martina Bufolin in the book under review (p. 31), the title summarises a very important aspect of mobile individuals’ lives, the intimate perspective of migration. In contemporary literature, the connection between migration and intimacy, that is love, sexuality, marriage and “everything in-between”, was until recently either ignored, considered as less important or dealt with as these are unrelated, separate notions. Therefore, the book *Intimate Mobilities. Sexual Economies, Marriage and Migration in a Disparate World* is a welcome compendium of excellent scholarly works that connect, link, and/or intertwine these so far discretely studied and discussed fields. This informative and innovative book on mobility and intimacy is a third volume of the transdisciplinary book series *Worlds in Motion* and is edited by anthropologists Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez, both experienced scholars in the research field(s) of migration and intimacy, sexuality, marriage, emotion, gender and many other connected topics.

The book consists of a comprehensive introduction written by Groes and Fernandez, and nine case studies by an international group of researchers, who are mainly sociologists and anthropologists. The introduction, entitled *Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies*, not only connects the following nine chapters into a meaningful compilation but also informs the reader on the development of this field of study, pointing out the importance of issues of intimacy in migration, tackling it from different perspectives and in varied contexts. Serving as a theoretical overview and at the same time presenting key literature, the preliminary chapter introduces three ‘entangled and interchangeable fields of intimacy and mobility’ (p. 8), that provide the headings for three thematic parts of the book. In the first part, three authors deal with marriage, intimacy and migration regimes, and they focus on the intimate discontentment these regimes usually cause. Martina Bufolin writes on transnational matchmaking and marriage practices of Chinese migrants in Europe and argues that marriage practices are integrated into the social structure of the places from where Chinese migrants come. She is also revealing how the different actors sustain or negotiate transnational migration, focusing on spousal choices mediated by kin and friends. The second article in the first part of the book, written by Nicole Constable, focuses on not-legally-recognised intimate arrangements, so-called “marriages” and their place within migration processes. The case study of relationships of women and men in Hong Kong demonstrates ‘how migration experiences challenge normative expectations about marriage, intimate lives and social relationships’ (p. 52). Maité Maskens focuses on encounters between the Belgian state and binational couples living in Belgium. She explores what normative expectations of romantic love civil registrars in Brussels utilise

when evaluating a binational marriage (between Belgians and non-EU citizens), thus she introduces the norm of “bureaucratic feminism” (p. 75). What needs to be emphasised is that all three chapters go beyond “methodological conjugalism”- ‘a tendency to see marriage as a norm, the ideal, and the natural end of a migratory path of women from the Global South’ settling in Europe (p. 13), a perspective that is usually echoed in EU nation state’s ideologies and policies.

The second part of the book brings forward studies on sex, race and gendered bodies in migration/mobile settings. Laura Oso explores how women from Latin America who travel to Spain to be engaged in sex work share the same ideas and ambitions and have the same needs (e.g., to support a family) as other migrant workers do. Oso critically evaluates trafficking discourse and argues that Latin American women in Spain, who find themselves in a complex reality of inequalities, abuse and exploitation can still ‘opt for sex work as a social mobility strategy’ (p. 103). The second chapter, by Christian Groes, emphasises the correlation between mobility and the sexual economy. Groes explores how Mozambican women use sexual capital to enter into marriages and migrate with expatriates to Europe. In the next chapter, Marlene Spanger shows that there exists a grey zone between sex work and marriage, as she observes a range of exchanges between Thai migrants, mostly women and transgender persons, and Danish men in Copenhagen. Spanger is challenging the Western notion of conventional (monogamous) conjugal relationships by pointing out the “in-between practices” and by categorising their relationships as fluid.

The third part of the book connects moralities with mobility, money and intimacy. Adriana Piscitelli deals with the reconfiguration of certain ideals and notions of love, marriage and transnational sex in the case of sex workers in Brazil, and Valerio Simoni illustrates uncertain relationships between locals and tourists in Cuba, in which negotiating intimacy and avoiding deception is crucial. The last chapter, written by Nadine Fernandez, is a contribution to the growing studies on moralities of migration with gender as a central figure. Fernandez is shifting the focus from mobile brides to mobile grooms from the Global South and, through Cuban men’s narratives of marriage migration, she explores the moral discourse tied to self-making.

The main purpose of *Intimate Mobilities* is to show that various types of mobility and migration are variations of cross-border mobility facilitated by and deeply entangled with ‘issues of gender, power, kinship and sexuality that constitute the field and potential of intimacy in a disparate world’ (p. 1). Furthermore, it demonstrates how transnational mobilities are (often) related to intimacy and how intimacy facilitates or influences people’s movement. The book contributes to the conceptual and methodological reconsideration of the fields of intimacy and mobility and gives an intimate, human touch to (most often) emotionally alienated discussions on migration and mobility of people. Therefore, it is an interesting book for readers who already know the field and the new audiences alike.

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Stanish, Charles. 2017. *The Evolution of Human Co-operation. Ritual and Social Complexity in Stateless Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 336 pp. Pb.: 99.45 €. ISBN: 9781107180550.

There are many ways of looking at society, of analysing it, and delivering this knowledge to the reader. This book examines these ways, addresses the fundamental questions, and attempts to explain the origin, structure and spread of stateless societies, which exist without money, organised markets, and strict rules implemented by governments. Its theoretical introduction chapters are a great source for someone to start thinking about anthropological questions; it also has carefully conducted research studies and field notes gathered in one volume. It has many illustrative examples from almost all continents, examples from the past and recent studies as well as fieldwork for comparison. The author forms a dialogue by introducing his fellow researchers' points of view and builds on them with his research findings or explains why he disagrees with them. *The Evolution of Human Co-operation* is a great example of anthropological thinking in which one can observe an analytical approach to existing data and a way of making arguments based upon the history of research and one's personal conclusions and observations. In his book, Stanish creates a history of his field by clarifying data, explaining, and giving opinions on existing theories.

Stanish begins by introducing the reader to the terms he uses in the following chapters, like "complex stateless society" and "ritualised economy", then continues by discussing already well-known anthropological theories on *Homo economicus*, explaining how field specialists have come to these ideas, taking the reader on a journey through the history of anthropological thought. Stanish gives his arguments about why these ideas and theories should be questioned and why human actions should be translated in different ways. He argues that cooperation models and the economy in stateless societies are not primitive as it was thought traditionally. Readers of this chapter can become familiar with leading anthropologists, their fieldwork, and the evolution of their thought. In Stanish's opinion, these theories do not explain stateless societies as they should be, and here he explains why.

The third chapter is on evolutionary game theory. Stanish starts by giving the theoretical and empirical basis of evolutionary game theory and collective action theory, explaining the circumstances in which these have been used for anthropological research and what discoveries that explain human behaviour have been significant thus far. He claims that humans, by default, are interested in cooperation. In successful cases, he argues that ritual has a leading role in it. Ritual practices, rules, and taboos are the human actions not only in religious aspects of life but also in the economy, which he calls the "ritualised economy". Stanish compares societies with different leadership styles, explaining how non-coercive leadership benefits the group and promotes a willingness to cooperate for mutual benefit.

In the fifth chapter, the ritualised economy is analysed in depth. It is not a common form of economy known to the field. Stanish separates ritual, magic, and religion and, by examining these terms closer and providing examples from fieldwork throughout

the world, he explains how stateless societies can benefit economically without having coercive leadership. He then continues to examine different types of households and their economic actions.

Before looking at the anthropological evidence, Stanish summarises information on the model of the ritualised economy in a new chapter to apply his theory to anthropological data. He stresses that cooperation is beneficial to society as a whole and shows how population density influences cooperation in kin groups and beyond. He also explains what the important circumstances that provide successful group cooperation are. Great groups show their success by creating special places for gathering, rituals and also exchanging goods.

These special places are examined further in the following chapter, introducing anthropological sites, starting with his own field of interest (South America), he then continues with examples from North America, Central Asia, and Europe, showing that game theory can be used to explain human cooperation through time and different locations. The author presents carefully described locations and evidence found there, which support his theory. All these sites have similarities in construction and evidence of cooperation found. In most cases, he encloses his data with fellow anthropologist thoughts on the subject. This carefully selected information provides the reader with a complex understanding of the question around human cooperation.

In the book's epilogue, Stanish gives a conclusion, again explaining the main reasons for his point of view and reflects on the approaches and terms used, introducing the reader to arguments for them. This book is suitable for readers with interest in transdisciplinary approaches to analysing human cooperation issues throughout history. It is interesting for people studying the traditional economy and economic anthropology ideas, as well as for beginners of the field to take an example of a way to explain and argue about ideas. *The Evolution of Human Co-operation* is exciting to read for critical and openminded readers since it challenges them to look at classical theories with a critical eye and asks to accept terms and ideas that have not been used together traditionally.

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