

BOOK REVIEWS

Evens, T. M. S., Don Handelman and Christopher Roberts (eds.) 2016. *Reflecting on Reflexivity. The Human Condition as an Ontological Surprise*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. xiv + 309 pp. Hb.: \$120.00/£75.00. ISBN: 9781782387510.

Taking the phrase “ontological surprise” from philosopher Hans Jonas to describe the human, this book attempts to critically evaluate (reflect on) the core entity on which anthropology as a discipline is based, namely the human being and its existence in this world. It interrogates the nature of this existence, the ways of “being in this world” that leads to the more moot questions of what is it that exists? Where and in what relationship? The fundamental queries about existence and non-existence, the philosophical and ontological issues regarding the self, personhood, individual and other are thrown into the discursive mode of phenomenological theorisation, especially invoking the works of Merleau-Ponty, Wittgenstein, Levinas, Derrida, Deluze and Guattari, who seem to be among the most quoted authors in this volume.

Taking off from the point of breaking away of the social sciences from the possibility of being objective, this volume addresses the issue of not just objectivity but of subjectivity as well, showing that subjectivity or subjective consciousness has a dynamic relationship with the environment. The relationship of exteriority and interiority is false; subjective consciousness is not a given but a constructive process in relation to the external world. At the same time the external and internal are undifferentiated, parts of a sameness; where differences are intersecting/overlapping but not absolute.

The *Preface*, *Introduction*, and the *Post Script* outline the main concern of the volume with the ethical responsibility of being human, the essential outcome of the human condition as being self-defined as well as defining. Thus, placing a responsibility on the human being in the world to realise the essential sameness of the other and therefore respect all that is. Although anthropology always professed itself to be a discipline that translated otherness into sameness, in his concluding remarks Terry Evans, decries anthropologists for having failed in their goal; for although they have tried to ‘explain’ otherness, they have not given it an ontological status. In other words, they have accepted different ways of thinking but not different realities as such. As anthropologists, it is a common experience to know in the field that the communities we try so hard to be a part of, live in a world that is difficult to access because of our differently developed sensory abilities. This breaking down of the dichotomy between subjectivity and objectivity is a key theme of this volume.

The volume is divided into four sections: *Reflexivity, Social Science and Ethics*; *Reflexivity, Practice, and Embodiment*; *Reflexivity, Self, and Other*; and *Reflexivity, Democracy, and Government*. Apart from interrogating concepts such as reflexivity, subjectivity, cosmopolitanism, self and other, individual and personhood; some of these papers also discuss alternate methodologies, such as Bruno Latour’s Actor Network Theory (ANT) that applies the unification of mental, biological and social dimensions to the field.

An interesting point raised (p. 96) is about the notion of “we”; who do we as scholars address when we write, how and for whom is the text addressed? Are we as scholars able to comprehend the multiplicity of the notion of we? This is also a point on which this volume fails. Most of the papers use a dense and opaque language that may not connect

with many readers, especially undergraduate students.

The papers based on ethnography are more readable and some, like Terry Evan's concluding chapter is both lucid and does an excellent job of summing up on the major conceptual and methodological aspects raised. More importantly, this chapter discusses the issue of humanity as privileged with a reflexivity that puts an ethical burden on it. As also discussed in the other papers (including Introduction) the evolving of consciousness, the ability for introspection and most importantly the possibility of making choices consciously or otherwise, puts a huge ethical burden on humans. The danger of letting technology take over this humanity is becoming evident in terms of the increasing political and environmental disasters facing the globe. An understanding of the oneness of what Merleau-Ponty has called the 'flesh' of the world, is one way of averting impending social, political and environmental doom. The damage done by the false dichotomisation of mind and matter, living and non-living, nature and society and so forth, has to be overcome by a realisation of sameness though not necessarily of unity.

This volume thus contributes to some significant and critical aspects of both theory and the practical applications and transformations of our own reflexive constructions of who we are and our place within what we refer to as "our world".

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Blanes, Ruy Llera and Galina Oustinova-Stjepanovic (eds.). 2017. *Being Godless. Ethnographies of Atheism and Non-Religion*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. 54 pp. Hb.: 7 \$95.00/£67.00. ISBN: 978178533628.

Being Godless. Ethnographies of Atheism and Non-Religion, edited by Ruy Llera Blanes and Galina Oustinova-Stjepanovic, is a contribution to the growing field of the study of religious disengagement. In the introduction, the editors explain that their interest is the ‘experiential quality of being godless,’ and use the latter as a descriptive ethnographic category (p. 4). This is broadly defined as the ‘reluctance of humans to engage with any divinized beings or notions of transcendental agency’ (p. 6), for example ‘partial indifference, unease, ambivalence, reluctance to be drawn in, and attempts at withdrawal from religious traditions’ (p. 3). The editors claim that the various forms of ‘being godless’ is an important empirical reality that anthropologists to some extent have neglected.

Six chapters explore various practices, meanings, and processes of people who disengage from religion and who in different situations express religious disinterest, disbelief, ambivalence, atheism, etc. The ethnographies are drawn from various religious and geographical contexts, including Macedonia, Angola and Taiwan. Each case shows that the ‘thinning out of religion’ is indeed an intricate matter. As such, the chapters support the editors’ call for a more nuanced approach to the complexities of the issue and go beyond the binary logic of ‘religious’ and ‘non-religious’ that underlies much of the academic and public debate.

Chapter One, *Ambivalent atheist identities: power and non-religious culture in contemporary Britain* by Lois Lee explores diffuse, implicit, and complicated representations of people who figure as non-religiously affiliated in surveys. These identities, which are socially embedded, are often fluid and uncertain, and ‘ambivalent in the sense that they simultaneously empower and disempower those who hold them’ (p. 34).

Jacob Copeman and Johannes Quack’s chapter on *Godless people and dead bodies* analyses ‘materiality and the morality of atheist materialism’ (p. 40) in the Indian sub-continent from a cross-cultural perspective. Body donation is an ‘exemplary instance of the matter of disbelief’ and a ‘key atheist material artifact’ (p. 44). This interesting case study of body donation among Indian atheist activists explores the many practical, ethical, and ideological complexities at stake. Donation is not only a way of repudiating ‘irrational’ Hindu beliefs about the soul and the afterlife, circumventing costly and ‘harmful’ cremation ceremonies, and in doing so, curtailing the power of the Brahminic class in society, an important issue for local atheists. Body donation is also the ‘atheist gift’, a manifestation of positive, materialist atheism that demonstrates atheists’ morality through their willingness to use their own ‘material’ to help other people. The analysis is both clear and convincing.

Chapter Three takes us to postcolonial Angola, where Blanes and Abel Paxe study atheist political cultures after independence in 1975. In this, we learn about the development of atheism as a political ideology, its relation to nationalism, ethnicity, pan-Africanism and other discourses, and its social aspects. To draw attention to atheism in an African country is refreshing since Africa so often is approached as a continent with a remarkable religious vitality. One key to understanding the development is by charting the biographies and ideological development of the political figures who implemented antireligious policies. Interestingly, many of them had a Methodist background. Even

though the Angolan state for a period pursued militant atheism, atheism is now rarely felt in public discourse, although the authors still find traces in the formulation of nationalist and modernist visions.

In Chapter Four, *Forget Dawkins: Notes toward an ethnography of religious belief and doubt*, Paul-François Tremlett and Fang-Long Shih criticise the binary logic of the New Atheist discourse and its basic premise that religious beliefs represent private, mental or cognitive acts. The main bulk of the article is used to discuss such one-sided, reductionistic understandings of religion. The last part of the chapter presents ethnographic studies from Taiwan and the Philippines, of divination, healing sessions and astral journeys, which show that religious belief, and disbelief, is also about ‘embodied, performed, and socialized patterns’ (p. 93). These crucial observations could be used to nuance contemporary scholarly theories of religion instead of polemicising with Richard Dawkins and other amateurs.

In Chapter Five, *Antagonistic insights*, Sonja Luehrmann examines ‘evolving Soviet atheist critiques of religion and why they matter for anthropology’ (p. 97). A recurrent feature among the Soviet researchers was their ideological commitment to correcting the Durkheimian view that religion by definition fosters social cohesion. She also acknowledges their attention to ethnographic details in their studies.

The last case study, *Confessional anthropology* by Oustinova-Stjepanovic, is a very good read about a Sufi order in Macedonia and its sheikh. The sheikh comes across as part-time religious, expresses religious disinterest and doubt, and is as such a good example of the complexities of partial disengagement from religion. Moreover, as an informant and religious leader, the sheikh puts the field researcher in some uncomfortable situations. This is used to highlight some challenges associated with the use of ‘tactical religiosity’ (p. 116) and participant observation more generally, which sometimes lead to situations that may compromise the researcher’s ethical and personal integrity.

In the afterword, Matthew Engelke points out that the study of ‘being godless’ help us ‘refine and sharpen our analytical tools’ (p. 144) for the understanding of religion and non-religion. This book certainly does. Every chapter shows a sophisticated understanding of religious and non-religious complexities, and the emphasis on the social context and the value of ethnography and fieldwork is important. Some of the discussions occasionally seem a bit obsolete, though, at least to a scholar of religion. For example, the idea that religion is only about private, intellectual beliefs, an idea still held by the New Atheists, was debunked almost a century ago, while the Protestant bias in the category “religion” is well known. The same goes for the discussions of empathy, methodological atheism and questions of whether anthropologists need to “believe” in order to study religious people. The secular study of religion, such as comparative religion or history of religion, which is different from “religious studies” and theology, have a long tradition of debating such issues. More space could, therefore, have been dedicated to the theoretical implications and comparisons of the cases. However, the individual chapters and the introduction all contribute to advancing and nuancing existing theories of “non-religion”, religious disaffiliation, atheism, etc., and is, on the whole rather innovative, and well written.

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Katić, Mario. 2017. *Smrt u dalmatinskom zaleđu: Mirila od rituala do teatra*. Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak. 280 pp. Hb.: 139.00 kn. ISBN: 9789533551302.

The book *Death in the Dalmatian Hinterland: Mirila from Ritual to Theatre* offers the results of the author's research spanning several years. These were first shaped in the author's doctoral study, and later in this book. In addition to the introductory and concluding chapters, the book contains five thematic sections. In the introductory chapter, the author defines the basic starting points from which his research departs, while vividly depicting his own journeys (including both physical trips to the field, and his familiarisation with the literature and theoretical frameworks): from his first encounter with *mirila* in the Starigrad region, to the broadening of insights gained and to the space covered as part of the research conducted in the regions of Bukovica and Ravni Kotari. His acquaintance over time with similar practices in other European regions, and the search for and discovery of his own interpretative frameworks are also covered. During all these steps, the author came into contact with numerous collaborators from various professions and institutions, and indirectly, his text demonstrates the importance of collaboration between researchers and institutions. In the introductory section of the book, the author briefly reviews the terminology and explains his decision to name the subject of his research "practices of marking places of rest with the deceased", in so doing, rising above locally marked names given. The author also places his research within the wider framework of the anthropology of death.

In the introductory section, we find the main, guiding thread of the author's research: a dependence on context. On the one hand, "dependence on context", entails – for the author – the influence which various contexts can have on the functions and meanings of practices used to mark places of rest with the deceased. On the other hand, for the author, context entails 'and how researchers and authors of articles, when searching for a particular meaning and function, consciously or unconsciously choose the context in which they will observe a particular phenomenon' (p. 17). In concluding that researchers to date have placed emphasis on the religious-symbolic aspects of *mirila*, Mario Katić wishes to set up his own research differently, permitting that various practices in different localities and in different circumstances lead to the drawing of conclusions about what *mirila* are: a religious-symbolic practice, a part of wider practices of marking places of rest with the deceased, intangible cultural heritage and a tourist attraction, a performing art, and a place of memory. Each of these thematic-analytical entanglements has one of the five sections of the book devoted to it.

In the section, *Mirila as a Religious-Symbolic Practice: Research to Date*, the author gives a precise overview of records and scientific articles on *mirila* up to the present. He reaches for varied published and unpublished materials, which are exhibited chronologically, combining longer and shorter quotes from sources, and his comments. What the materials covered have in common is an orientation towards the religious-symbolic function of *mirila*, which is only one of several relevant contexts according to the author. The sections that follow are dedicated to other contexts.

In the first of them, entitled *Other Forms of This Practice in Europe, and on Terminology: Why Mirila?*, the author problematises the question of terminology and argues why he considers the use of a neutral descriptive name to be more appropriate than the

use of a local name for all forms of this practice. In the chapters that follow, the author widens the geographical reach of his research and deals with certain practices of marking places of rest with the deceased in various European countries, while advocating macro-level research – ideas which are common to diverse practices, and the micro-level – those nested within a historical, political, religious and geographical context, which contributes to the diversity of forms recorded.

The next section, *Mirila from Religious-Symbolic Practice to Intangible Cultural Heritage and Tourist Attraction*, is dedicated to processes of the creation of heritage, i.e. to the consequences of recognising and naming mirila as a cultural good. The author points out certain paradoxes, as he calls them, surrounding the protection of cultural heritage. One especially interesting paradox, which may prove stimulating for further analysis of the concept of intangible cultural heritage, is that ‘*mirila* are protected as intangible cultural heritage in regions where they are dead as such, existing only as tangible, while in places where they exist as intangible heritage as well, they are practically neglected’ (p. 156). The author also problematises the role of tourism, as one factor which altered everyday life, involved in the abandoning of the construction of mirila, yet which is now a factor contributing to their preservation. The author especially casts light on the roles of individuals and institutions in the shaping and promotion of mirila as cultural heritage and as a tourist offering. He illustrates how cultural heritage did not emerge by itself nor from nowhere, but that it is the product of the ideas and activities of specific individuals, politics and institutionalised programmes.

The next section, titled *Mirila from Ritual to Theatre: Mirila as a Performing Art*, offers an analysis of Josip Zanki’s and Bojan Gagić’s artistic project. In order to clarify this aspect of the life of *mirila*, the author discusses a theoretical approach to rituals and the relationship between rituals and theatre, offering a nuanced analysis of the artists’ intentions and of the reactions of the audience – participants in the performance themselves. This includes the author’s reactions.

Finally, the section titled *Mirila as Places of Memory in the Bukovica and Ravni Kotari Regions* is dedicated to a region in which *mirila* continue to be built. In this section, the author problematises materiality and memory, presenting the mutability of practices and their adaption to everyday life, wherein the main causes of changes are identified in traffic infrastructure (building new roads and asphaltting) and the Homeland War.

In the concluding chapter, the author systematically summarises the conclusions drawn, and once again advocates for the study of what takes place during the process of transferring certain practices into a new context.

Mario Katić’s book excels in its strong foundation in field research, archival sources, and available literature. The author’s collected materials are approached in a critical, comparative and contextualised manner. The reader is led in a variety of directions, both geographic and analytic. This enables us to look at practices of marking places of rest with the deceased as religious-symbolic practices, as researchers have to date. Through reading about similar practices in various parts of Europe, this also helps us recognise certain common elements and local specificities. It enables us to see in action what the naming of certain practices as heritage and their inclusion in tourist offerings brings with it.

Furthermore, it permits us to gain insight into how certain practices become an inspiration for the performing arts and lets us think of this particular cultural phenomenon as a place of memory. In moving away from the ingrained and dominant observations to date of the religious-symbolic aspects of *mirila*, the author sketches out new research paths. On the real paths along which he has visited numerous localities, he has met with those who live with *mirila*, with individuals who design tourist and artistic projects, with people who either remember *mirila* or gradually forget them. The other paths concern the author's delving through a multitude of records and thoughts, both his own and others. These range from initial confusion, gradual discovery and orienting himself to, finally, reaching new interpretations. While he carefully draws certain conclusions, the author clearly shows us in this book how research can take us in a number of directions, open numerous questions, and offer us a variety of interpretations if we surrender to it, and if we let culture be what it is, as 'nothing is unchangeable and fixed, that is the only cultural constant' (p. 16).

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Brumann, Christoph and David Berliner (eds.). 2016. *World Heritage on The Ground. Ethnographic Perspectives*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. viii + 327 pp. Hb.: \$99.00/£62.00. ISBN: 9781785330919.

This book examines how the global intersects with the local through the lens of UNESCO World Heritage sites. There are now over 1000 such sites across the world. Inscription as a World Heritage site brings places of natural and/or cultural importance into a global discourse on heritage, a discourse that may not always place the needs of the local community first, but nevertheless throws into sharp relief the problem of interconnections between the local community, the nation-state, and globalisation.

As the editors of this volume note (p. 6), in recent years the process of World Heritage inscription has come to emphasise social phenomena that mirror the anthropological understanding of ‘culture’. In other words, World Heritage has come to include not just the ‘great works’ of civilisation but also *local* understandings of places and practices. This represents a significant shift away from a Eurocentric emphasis on stone monuments to ‘also accommodate authentic use, spirit and feeling’ (p. 11). These developments thus mean that World Heritage sites become a significant focus for the study of how local cultures react to globalisation.

The eleven case studies in this book all emphasise non-European World Heritage sites, based on the rationale that the types of social impacts that most interest the authors are more intense outside Europe. The editors argue that in European countries, ‘World Heritage often adds only rather thin layers to long-established national conservation frameworks and decades- or even centuries-old local adaptations to a heritage regime’ (p. 14). While this point is generally well-taken, my research in both Europe and Japan has concluded that there is a greater diversity at work. In Europe, for example, the above argument probably holds for the Old City of Lyon, which became a World Heritage site in 1998, long after earlier conservation measures such as the 1962 Malraux Law. However, the argument is less appropriate for the Idrija mercury mine in Slovenia, which was inscribed in 2005 together with Almadén in Spain. Although the importance of Idrija as a historical site had long been recognised, it cannot be said that there was a substantial “heritage regime” there prior to the World Heritage process. In Japan, the 2013 inscription of Mount Fuji has added only rather thin layers of heritagisation to pre-existing discourse over that mountain. Despite these differences, however, there are certainly many shared issues relating to conservation *versus* community revitalisation in Lyon, Idrija, and Fujinomiya (a post-industrial city at the base of Mount Fuji), and the case studies in this book provide significant analyses of such issues.

While the Europe/non-Europe dichotomy may thus be over-stretched, the substantive chapters of this book all cover a wide range of problems relating to World Heritage ‘on the ground’. Five of the chapters deal with Southeast Asia and China, five with Africa, and one with Central America. The chapters are divided into three Parts titled *Cities*, *Archaeological Sites*, and *Cultural Landscapes*.

The first thing that strikes the reader is the very diverse nature of the case studies, and this diversity is reflected in quite different approaches to materials and methods. For example, while Chapter 2 by Charlotte Joy provides a very broad discussion of postco-

lonial politics in Mali and how World Heritage sites there have been impacted by violent conflicts, Chapter 3 by Yujie Zhu discusses both national and local bureaucratic policies surrounding Lijiang in southwest China. A wide variety of theoretical approaches are also present here, including Manon Istasse's use of *émotions patrimoniales* (heritage emotions) in Chapter 1 and David Berliner's analysis of nostalgia in Chapter 4. While it is not possible in this review to provide an extended commentary on all of the chapters, one can say that the diversity of themes and approaches is successful in giving the reader much food for thought. Readers working on other areas of the world will find this volume stimulating even though few of the chapters are explicitly comparative.

The concluding chapter by co-editor Christoph Brumann uses his participant fieldwork in World Heritage committee meetings to ask: 'why are so few of the social situations at World Heritage sites discussed during [those] meetings' (p. 295)? Brumann concludes that there are four main structural factors at work: time limitations, budgetary constraints, the limited mandate of the World Heritage institutions that do not 'extend to present-day human communities and their activities' (p. 298), and (most importantly) the fact that the World Heritage convention is ratified by nation states, who thus become the primary actors in local heritage concerns. These problems are discussed in detail based on the agenda and debates at the 2012 World Heritage Committee meeting in St. Petersburg.

In conclusion, this volume makes a significant contribution to what the editors call 'a comprehensive understanding of the social environment of World Heritage properties' (p. 28) or what more simply might be called "World Heritage anthropology". This book will be an essential reference for anyone interested in World Heritage issues.

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Price, David H. 2016. *Cold War Anthropology. The CIA, the Pentagon, and the Growth of Dual Use Anthropology*. Durham, London: Duke University Press. xxxi + 452 pp. Pb.: \$26.95. ISBN: 9780822359630.

David Price is the author of several books on the cooperation of anthropology with the American security state: *Threatening Anthropology* (2004) recounts how progressive-minded parts of the academic landscape with a 'commitment to equality and relativism' (Price 2004, p. xi) were constantly surveilled, silenced, and restrained by McCarthy's FBI and an overall repressive societal atmosphere of the 1950s and 1960s, limiting the discipline's potential as a force for political critique. *Anthropological Intelligence* (2008) describes how American anthropologists contributed to the war effort during WW2. *Weaponizing Anthropology* (2011), a collection of previously published articles, focusses on contemporary uses of social science for the militarised state.

Drawing upon over twenty years of research, Price's latest publication, *Cold War Anthropology*, meticulously analyses a wide range of ties between anthropology, the United States Department of Defense (DoD), and United States intelligence agencies, foremost the CIA. To uncover these relationships, Price went through tens of thousands of intelligence documents he gained access to under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Price pieced his findings together with an impressive assemblage of other sources, ranging from interviews to governmental and private archival collections, together with an extensive volume of secondary literature. Price compares these documents for cross-references, similarities and influences, and unveils ties of researchers with security state institutions.

Chronologically and thematically, the book kicks off where *Anthropological Intelligence* ends, as it looks how US foreign policy shaped American anthropology in the first three decades after WW2. Early in the book, Price explains the structural and ideological faults he perceives that created the CIA's world-view, including how it hoped to create dependencies of newly independent countries on the US through a mixture of development aid and propaganda techniques. The 14 chapters of the book are divided into two sections. The first, shorter section, *Cold War Economic Disciplinary Formations*, describes the institutions, networks and political environment that made up the academic research and funding landscape in the early postwar years, much of which was 'framed by U.S. international concerns' (p. 105). The second part, *Anthropological Articulations with the National Security Act*, lays out in more detail the involvement of individuals and specific institutions, as well as how different forms of critique rose against the influence of the Pentagon and CIA on the discipline, as well as how the AAA's board and members dealt with this issue.

After WW2, the intelligence community still recognised the potential that anthropological expertise on foreign people and cultures possessed, and which during wartimes had been eagerly provided to them by American scientists aligned in the fight against totalitarianism and fascism. The newly established CIA perceived itself 'as an elite body harnessing the intellectual power of its citizens to gather information' (p.5). As such, it heavily advertised for academics to join its ranks and support its mission.

Partly because of loyalties to their former employers at wartime institutions (up-front part-time AAA president in 1947, Clyde Kluckhohn), and partly by probably 'misin-

terpreting' America's post-war policies, so Price, many members of the AAA or the Society for Applied Anthropology willingly helped the intelligence and military community when being approached. One of these instances even involved the AAA providing the CIA with a roster of their members and their area specialisations in the early 1950s. Moreover, where the agencies were unsuccessful in recruiting scientists, they directly or indirectly infiltrated a large number of US educational facilities and funding institutions, including the Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations, to gain access to researchers and their work. In many cases, the CIA influenced research outcome by supporting selected works of interest to them. Price especially describes the 'dual-use' outcome of this funded academic research, which often provided the involved academics with enough seemingly harmless research data to legitimise their civilian endeavour and make them unsuspecting of the additional side of their material which also made it interesting, and often applicable, for intelligence agencies. The hoped-for use of this research for national security could be manifold, as a study funded by the Office of Naval Research shows, ranging from psychological warfare to assisting in counterinsurgency operations (p. 59). The CIA even set up its proprietaries disguised as funding fronts. One of these, the Asia Foundation, which supported the AAA in inviting Asian anthropologists to the United States, in return for contact details of these foreign academics. Price further describes how the former assistant director of the CIA, Max Millikan, influenced the MIT Center for International Studies (CENIS) and greatly designed open and covert research, such as Project Troy, which focussed on US propaganda aimed at the Soviet Union (again with the help of Russia expert Kluckhohn). Other CENIS research initiatives were more subtle, such as Project Modjukuto, a multisite ethnography project aimed at postcolonial developments in Indonesia. Modjukuto funded Clifford Geertz' fieldwork for his dissertation and book *Agricultural Involution* on Indonesia. Though Geertz denied being influenced by the environment that CENIS provided, his analysis, as Price puts it, 'aligned neatly' with CENIS' economists' views, 'downplaying the devastating effects of colonialism and Cold War relations of dependency' (p.97). Next to further, more known uses of anthropological knowledge for counterinsurgency measures, such as covert research for Project Camelot, the Thai Affair, or Gerald Hickey's work for RAND during the Vietnam war, Price describes many examples of individual anthropologists and archeologists with known or very probable ties with the CIA, who clandestinely gathered information under the guise of working for scientific foundations. Their scientific skills, training and networks among locals, administrators and civilian scientist communities provided them with perfect abilities and alibis to gather extensive information about their field countries. One chapter describes the funding front 'Human Ecology Fund', which channelled MK-Ultra research funds to unwitting scientists, among them anthropologists, eventually using their data to inform CIA interrogation methods. The book ends with several chapters dedicated to protesters and resistance against these uses of anthropology, as well as an evaluation of the outcome of these deliberate or unaware collaborations.

Some passages of *Cold War Anthropology* may seem familiar to followers of Price's studies, as the book (e.g. Chapter Eight) includes parts of his previously published articles, albeit in expanded form. Though the material presented is extensive, sometimes one does wish to have a little more background information on the many individuals and

institutions named. Mainly due to its source material, the book sometimes reads as being somewhat technical, and at times slightly hastily arranged. The density of the work excuses these minor, mainly editorial lapses. A basic knowledge of American anthropology's history proves helpful at times, even though this is not just a book about anthropology, as it reaches into the history of many different academic institutions, as well as American foreign policy. All in all, *Cold War Anthropology* is a highly informative and in most parts thoroughly thrilling read, as one follows the author's analyses, stories, and even personal anecdotes to gain a better understanding of the power structures that influenced, and partly still influence, American anthropology's thought and ethics.

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Coutin, Susan Bibler. 2016. *Exiled Home. Salvadoran Transnational Youth in the Aftermath of Violence (Global Insecurities Series)*. Durham, London: Duke University Press. xiii + 270 pp. Pb.: \$24.95. ISBN: 9780822361633.

Susan Coutin's ethnography deals with former Salvadoran child migrants who came to the United States in and around the time of the Salvadoran Civil War from 1980 to 1992, thus labelled by her as 1.5-generation migrants. Coutin conducted multi-sited research, interviewing both migrants in the U.S., particularly Los Angeles, as well as returnees and deportees in El Salvador. One of the leading concepts applied by Coutin to explain and analyse the different stories, histories and lives of the 1.5-generation Salvadoran migrants is that of 're/membering', a strategy to cope with the dismemberment that the migrants experience originally caused by the civil war, followed by emigration and migration politics. In this context dismemberment has more than one definition: Besides the meaning of breaking apart bodies, nations, families and communities, it also refers to the denial of history and memory. On the other hand, her concept of Re/membering is described as follows: 'to negotiate ... *membership* within the United States and El Salvador, while also deepening *memory* of Salvadoran social history, political violence, and immigrant experiences' (p. 3).

Firstly, Coutin starts to describe the various forms of violence that the 1.5-generation had and has to endure, linking them to the corresponding dismemberments. The violence of the civil war in El Salvador, causing death, injuries and displacement, thus dismembering the people, families and the nation of El Salvador, was transformed into the violence of emigration as people became exiled from their home. Coming to and living in the United States, the violence of emigration continued, coming into effect in immigration laws, which prohibited movement and denied legal status. One form of dismemberment is, as noted above, the lack of remembrance of stories and history. Although the war did dismember physically, it also dismembered migrants psychically, resulting in the blurred and varying memories of the wartime and the time in El Salvador. The silence in the families of 1.5-generation migrants and the U.S. immigration policy take their part in keeping the silence, by that dismembering the migrants and denying their experiences.

In the next chapter, Coutin describes the lives of 1.5-generation migrants as "living in the gap" between the United States and El Salvador, as well as between law and illegality. Many interviewees described their identity and lives as living between worlds or in multiple worlds, referring to their connections to both El Salvador and the United States. She analyses this 'living in the gap', the establishment of a reality to live in through their transformation of schools, neighbourhoods and own families as one form of re/membering to deal with the disjuncture between families, communities and nations.

Next, Coutin uses student activists, student groups, and creative collectives to show some examples of activism as a method of re/membering to overcome dismemberment. While most activists use strategic identification with American values to present themselves as US citizens, the poets and writers are more interested in discovering their history and Salvadoran culture and attempt to create own literature instead of merely researching it. Both methods are ways of coping with the dismemberment and insecurity about ones' legal status.

As mentioned above, Coutin conducted multi-sited research, as the biographies of the 1.5-generation Salvadoran migrants exhibit great variety, especially regarding their legal status. Due to the US American involvement in the Salvadoran Civil War, the refugees of this time were not granted asylum, but were treated as economic migrants instead, which continues to affect their status and struggle for acceptance. Coutin not only refers to the Salvadoran migrants in the US but also takes into account the stories of the deported 1.5 generation. Feeling foreign in El Salvador, where they are discriminated and criminalised, the deportees still feel American and construct their concept of identity. They call upon their knowledge, childhood, language skills or memories to present themselves as US citizens. By analysing their biographies, Coutin shows once more, how nation-state boundaries as well as categories like legal and illegal, are constructed. She focuses on this approach and shows how people are ‘made deportable’ by immigration legislation, using violence to remove them from their home, family, friends, and status. Her account vividly shows the desperation of the deportees as well as their urgent wish to return to the United States, which they see as their exiled homes. Deportation is thus a dismemberment breaking apart families and communities, which the deportees try to overcome by re/membering, reconnecting their presents and pasts, aiming to recreate their U.S. lives in El Salvador.

In the concluding chapter, the author revisits the relationship of the migrants with both nations and focuses on the different biographies. Even though the legal status and, accordingly, the biographies vary massively, the relationship with the United States and El Salvador remains ambivalent. Usually, the migrants felt a relationship to both of the nations they were part of, and thus labelled themselves, for example, as a “US citizen from El Salvador” or “Salvadoran from LA”. The author concludes her book by suggesting several policies for the U.S. that could improve the precarious situation of the Salvadoran transnational youth.

Coutin’s very catchy yet reflexive and professional style of writing carries the reader along the routes and lives of the Salvadoran transnational youth, trying to find their place in the U.S., El Salvador, and the gap in between. Furthermore, the stories of her interviewees illustrate how nations, boundaries and identities are only constructions used to dismember and criminalise people.

The author has long been involved in the work with and for Salvadoran migrants, and this book not only offers a brief analysis but also gives an insight into her work and engagement. Each chapter opens and closes with a personal episode of the author, in connection with her research and general involvement in the Salvadoran diaspora. Moreover, she uses these personal episodes to give a platform for Salvadoran activists and artists who deal with their past and Salvadoran history, thus again applying the strategy of re/membering. According to Coutin, many interviewees take their participation in her research as a form of protest and re/membering, which is why her ethnography cannot be understood without the concept itself. To take her ethnography one step further, Coutin extends her concept of re/membering to broader analytical purposes and concludes that her ethnography in particular, but also ethnography, in general, are a way of re/membering. Both combine past and present and attempt to bridge the gap created by violence.

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Brandišauskas, Donatas. 2016. *Leaving Footprints in the Taiga. Luck, Spirits and Ambivalence among the Siberian Orochen Reindeer Herders and Hunters*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. 305 pp. Hb.: \$120.00/£85.00. ISBN: 9781785332388

Leaving Footprints in the Taiga is a substantial piece of writing because of its scientific complexity, describing in detail the life and beliefs of Zabaikal'ia's reindeer herders and its richness in language and descriptions that would excite not only a professional of the field but also the general public. The book is based on research conducted by the author, Donatas Brandišauskas, who lived with Orochen hunters and reindeer herders in the east of Lake Baikal, in the Tungokochen District of Zabaikal Province for seventeen months (2004-2005, 2010 and 2011). As Brandišauskas was accepted by the Orochen people and, over time, not considered alien, he could gain deep knowledge of the Orochen people's way of life: this knowledge he has given to us in the nine chapters of his book. Throughout the chapters, the main element is luck, one of the most important components of the Orochen people's life to be successful in hunting and being a reindeer herder.

The first chapter introduces the reader to the field site, describes the people the author lived with, the way people live in this post-Soviet period, and how people's lives are influenced by government decisions. Although the author introduces the reader to basic elements from the Soviet era, one would benefit from having a broader understanding of the regime to understand what Brandišauskas is writing about. Part of this chapter is devoted to the author's observations of his personal experience, how he needs to adapt and learn new skills to gain the trust of the Orochen and to live their way.

The second chapter concentrates on introducing the book's main ideas, providing insights into concepts such as luck, strength, soul, mastery, movement, sharing, animals, malevolent spirits, master spirits, and living places. In this chapter, we can start to learn in detail about the complex process of gaining luck, which is a crucial element of Orochen lives. It involves extensive knowledge of animals, spirits, and places that Orochen use to behave and do things in a certain way so that their luck is not given away or is gained in case of being lost. The author highlights that the gaining luck is not only about good relationships with the spirits, but it involves a person's behaviour, relations with other people, and attitude towards nature.

The next chapter is on the Orochen people's inner relationships, as well as the tradition of sharing and trusting and how it influences one's chances of gaining luck. The author explains cases of autonomous and cooperative working; they are based on people's previous experiences doing things together or alone and how it has influenced their luck. Brandišauskas recounts details, such as ways of sharing information about hunting, the results of it, the reindeer and even everyday activities, such as buying food, giving examples from the family he lived with and his own experience during the field work.

The fourth chapter describes the movements of reindeer herders and hunters and how they are linked to catching luck. Brandišauskas describes his own experience of learning to walk in the taiga and compares and explains the differences from the Orochen way of walking, presenting it as a critical skill that is not only about the physical ability but also about the knowledge of nature; it shows a person's competence in hunting and herding.

The fifth chapter describes the rules for creating campsites and how hunters and

herders catch their luck in hunting. This chapter is about the way the relationship between the hunter and animal has changed from existing together to becoming competitors, and how vital the skills of tracking and reading the footprints of animals are. Brandišauskas writes on hunters' and herders' ability to adapt every step on their path according to their awareness of both wild and domestic animals and spirits around them.

The sixth chapter is devoted to weather, how the knowledge of it and the skills to predict it helps in gaining luck. Brandišauskas describes different traditional ways of predicting the weather using fire, or by observing nature, as well as how people adjust to these observations. Another part of this chapter is on the calendar, how the Orochen measure time, how fluid it is, depending on events happening in nature or with animals indicating the change of seasons instead of following months.

The seventh chapter describes in detail the hunting and herding process and how it is influenced by a shortage of land in the post-Soviet period. Brandišauskas illustrates the Orochens' interaction with domestic animals – reindeer and dogs; he explains the role of these animals in the Orochens' lives. Since reindeer herding is a basic Orochen activities, the reindeer are described in detail, as are the importance of the different types of reindeer, their roles in the herd, and the attitudes of herders towards them. Furthermore, this chapter gives a glimpse of the differences of wild animals in the eyes of hunters, which of the animals are huntable and which are not and what the reasons are for that.

The eighth chapter is on how wealth and well-being are connected to the use of the landscape. Brandišauskas describes several rock art sites and the beliefs connected with them, the cosmology involved, and the shamans who are interpreting them. He writes on the rituals that are performed at these places, how new ones are founded, and how they become significant sources of luck and well-being for the Orochen of Tungokochen.

The last chapter contains the author's conclusions and a summary of the ideas he has presented in the book; he compares his research ideas to those in other similar field works, dating back to 19th century (Brandišauskas refers to different research studies throughout the book, which makes it more valuable because readers can see how things have changed or not over time).

This is a book worth reading since it gives a glimpse of how people live in remote places and how they are looking for knowledge in the traditions and the ways of the lives of their ancestors to build their own, to recover from the Soviet control.

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