Sarah Wagner’s To Know Where He Lies traces themes of absence (p. xi), recognition and the measurement of loss in a gripping analysis of the postwar production of knowledge concerning Bosnia’s war missing and of the political, genetic, and symbolic technologies of repair and identification that support this knowledge. Wagner’s case study is primarily Srebrenica – the site of one of the strategically conceived and systematically carried-out atrocities of wartime violence perpetrated against Bosniak Muslims. The book is also based on Wagner’s fieldwork in Tuzla, a nearby Bosnian city, which serves as a regional bureaucratic hub and HQ for various associations involved in finding, identifying and documenting Srebenica’s war missing. Exploring how practices of producing knowledge of the dead work through and rest on ideas of absence, Wagner adduces an ethnographic account of Bosnia’s missing persons networks, describing her engagement with the family members and scientists dedicated to reassembling scattered, executed bodies through DNA identification methods. Centring on the Bosniak women’s association, the Women of Srebrenica, and on local and international organisations dedicated to postwar reconstruction ten years on, the book describes how DNA-based technologies of extracting and analysing genetic profiles from the remains are understood in context both as the most secure means of identifying the dead and as a scientific conduit for the memories, fantasies and hopes about that continue to swirl about them.

Wagner opens her book with a detailed account of the fall of Srebrenica, at a time when the enclave had been designated a United Nations ‘safe area’. She moves to an exploration of the (in)action of the UN military bureaucracy, detailing the feelings of contempt, humiliation, resignation and distress felt both by Srebrenica residents at the time and the Bosniak army deployed in the enclave’s defence. Readers may find most vivid and nuanced observations of the transformation of the city—from a prosperous conurbation before the war to a postwar site of genocide; from an urban to a rural place; from a resort town to a place marked by the strains of politically and economically vulnerable returnee communities. Wagner analyses with great attention who belongs to and speaks for Srebrenica (p. 67), looking into both interpersonal and inter-organisational dynamics in the search to find the missing and displaced.

While never wavering from support of their main demands, Wagner wittily explains how the Women of Srebrenica—strong-willed, outspoken widows, mothers, sisters and daughters of the missing—strategically deploy gender in making claims (p. 67), thereby securing what is understood locally as morally respectable grounds. These women’s experience of the war and subsequent peace is being shaped by the emergence of DNA technology and the expectations that people place onto it. The Women of Srebrenica, supported by the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), therefore acts as a translator, educator and liaison for the ICMP (p. 80), as such offering a specific politico-scientific take on postwar Bosnia.

Wagner theorises the production of scientific knowledge through instruments of DNA extraction and analysis, examining alongside each other statistically sound process of eliciting DNA evidence and subjective experiences of remembering and reckoning. International and local organisations tout ‘science’ and technology as meta-narratives
promising interventions able to transcend regional and international politics. In response, Wagner invokes Arendt’s observation that the language of science often attempts to anneal violence, but cautions that science represents only one of the possibly restorative means of addressing postwar Srebrenica. Following science, the memory and narratives, it embodies into an analysis of postwar ceremonial reburials, commemoration and collective recognition, Wagner shows that reconciliation coexists in these contexts with an unyielding nationalistic politics and residual ethno-nationalist feeling. The book is also clear-headed in discussing the political implications of the use of biotechnological science in the context of international intervention, both at a regional and international level.

Such are the bones of Wagner’s account. The most evocative scenes from Almir Bašović’s play Privedenje iz srebrenog vijeka (Visions from the Silver Age), and references to Henri Bergson and Paul Ricoeur’s work on memory, structure the book and illuminate a number of points. Wagner’s ethnography richly evokes cities’ and people’s decayed, broken, and sometimes reanimated spirits. Her treatment of the sensitive themes of the ICMP’s bureaucratic catalogues, Tuzla’s abandoned salt mines storing body bags (p. 101), the pillow-cases women make for their dead, their recourse to fortune-tellers, and the esoteric language of deoxyribonucleic acid and its certainties is consistently wonderful. Most importantly, Wagner also indicates the value not only of disclosing but also of withholding knowledge in postwar contexts (p. 136).

The study is therefore an important and well-researched contribution to postwar studies in anthropology. However, although Wagner herself states (p. 58) how challenging it is to study a place that has become synonymous with genocide, she does little to further explore and analyse that assumption. The book rather takes the form of a very specific case study analysing two postwar sites, Srebrenica and Tuzla. However, the metonymical status that Srebrenica as a twentieth-century genocidal site has come to assume in the public imagination, works as an extension of the idea that the book’s central concern is with the technological mechanisms of postgenocidal repair. This rather rhetorical or untheorised assumption of representative status is furthermore problematised by the striking absence of some other tales that Srebrenica’s people may have to offer. The account is entirely based on her work with the Bosniak victims and does not feature Serbian voices at all.

This lacuna, unsettlingly, fits in with the representational assumptions of Wagner’s book, in which Bosnia’s three peoples, Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, are studied as if they were separate, not historically interlinked groups. Wagner does not place the Association of the Women of Srebrenica in the context of other (women’s, survivors ‘or veterans’) activist groups from the former Yugoslavia, nor does she deal with the processing of the war missing from Kosovo, Serbia, Croatia, or Macedonia. The result is to a degree to play into the hands of stark mass media images of Srebrenica’s events, or else to fail to secure sufficient analytical detachment from victims’ or scientists’ stories, frustrating further thought. Work on postconflict sites is emotionally highly demanding and researchers are often put into thankless positions in which all sorts of expectations and demands are placed on them. However, precisely because of these reasons, postwork analyses ought to be based on a perspective informed by a number of different, indeed differing, voices.

MAJA PETROVIĆ-ŠTEGER
University of Cambridge (UK)

This book’s central argument is to demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between knowledge production and methodology in sociological research. It is articulated through Prof. Burawoy’s reflections on his 40-year career as a social researcher and as a lecturer at University of California, Berkeley. Each chapter deals with a particular methodology that he has deployed during his career. The ‘extended case method’ is exemplified by his examination of changing race relations in Zambia after independence. The ‘ethnographic revisit’ is examined through various cases, but it is exemplified more clearly by the author’s comparative findings of worker/management relations in a factory in the USA. The ‘research program vs. induction’ is assessed by comparing the explanatory theories of the Soviet revolution of Trotsky and Skocpol. Finally, the ‘multicase ethnography’ is examined by looking at the collapse of communism in the USSR and in Hungary.

Burawoy’s intention is to promote the ‘extended case method’ as a methodology for understanding the connections between micro/ethnographic events and macro/historical processes. The basic tenements of the extended case method rest on the methodological principles of writing a reflexive ethnography, based on participant observation, in order to establish relational connections between quotidian events and global processes. In its ideal form, the researcher brings to the field a theoretical tradition that is self-consciously deployed and, through an inter-subjective contact with informants, the theory is elaborated and taken in new directions.

Early in the book, Burawoy references Max Weber’s call for bringing methodology to the level of ‘explicit consciousness’, where the sociologist is self-consciously aware of the lenses that are being used to bring the world into focus. Burawoy also references Polanyi’s suggestion that the capacity to assess the social world consistently and ethically is preconditioned by the need to be aware of one’s ‘tacit skills’ and ‘personal knowledge’, which ultimately stems from ‘dwelling in’ a research tradition. This kind of language suggests the inevitable conflation between methodology, the researcher’s subjectivity, and knowledge production. In this sense, methodology is not understood as a technical process, but more as a conceptual tool, i.e. a way of collecting and thinking through data.

Some recurrent themes in Burawoy’s methodological reflections revolve around questions of participation vs. observation (degree of engagement in the context), local vs. global, the location and role of theory in the research process (i.e. deduction vs. induction), the uses and abuses of multi-sited ethnography, and the functional role of social science in society. Burawoy’s writing further suggests two opposing methodological paradigms – qualitative/reflexive/subjective vs. quantitative/positive/objective; social scientists must confront and recognise the gap they represent. In each chapter, Burawoy offers clear typologies – relying on tables to illustrate his point – of how he negotiated these paradoxes in his own research.

The author’s proposal may seem familiar to readers who are knowledgeable of the general issues and concepts that have characterised methodology debates in anthropology.
for the past 20 years. Nevertheless, Burawoy acknowledges the anthropological pedigree of
the term that he bases his book on by referencing the Manchester School of Anthropology,
where the term ‘extended case method’ was first coined and disseminated. Yet, at times
this reviewer felt that the tidy tables and binaries used to illustrate the complexities of fie-
dwork, swept away the messier, disorienting, and the more anthropologically interesting
side of the inter-subjective encounter.

If the methodological discussions may seem too tidy (they could also be characterised as elegant depending on the persuasion of the reader), this reviewer found the ethnographic examples and theoretical debates fascinating. Burawoy has a capacity to
address complex social transformations and paradigm shifts with clarity and elegance, free
of cant and technicalities. His arguments seem to be the product of caring about people
and paying attention to what it is that they actually do, rather than have people’s agency
narrativised by broad sociological theories.

However, it can be argued that Burawoy’s depth of analysis comes out of his
sophistication as a scientist in tune with the major debates in history and sociology rather
than of the virtues of the methodology he is advocating. His argument for theoretical self-
awareness made this reviewer wonder to what degree sociologists can be genuinely aware
of the subjectivities that carry their research. To be aware of one’s theoretical baggage
seems superficial when there are deeper subjectivities involved in participant observation.
For example, Burawoy chose to be hired as a machinist in the factories where he did fiel-
dwork. However, he does not delve into what kind of specific insights he expected to gain
by working on the factory floors, other than gaining access to his informants. It seems that
working in the factory is not the only way to participate or to gain access to informants.
It would seem that the type of knowledge one would derive from learning how to work a
factory machine would be more corporeal rather than political and historical. In general,
this reviewer failed to see the connection between operating a machine and understanding
the transformations of Hungarian socialism. If knowledge and method were genuinely
folded into each other, then one would expect the ethnographic account to speak directly
to the methodology.

This brings this reviewer to the central question regarding the argument of the
book. This reviewer did not get a sense of the inextricable link between methodology
and theory that he interpreted to be sign-posted in the first chapters. After finishing the
book, he still had a sense that methodology stands as a conceptual tool for the generation
of knowledge rather than being part of the knowledge itself. It seems that in Burawoy’s
narratives, there is more of a dialectical relationship between theory and method, which
does not always neatly fit with claims regarding their seamless union.

This reviewer was also struck by possible inconsistencies concerning the use of
specific binary typologies. Granted that Prof. Burawoy uses solid typologies for the sake
of clarity and consistency, there are some lingering issues left unresolved. For example,
this reviewer was particularly interested in the effects of the drawing of strict binaries such
as subjective/objective, participate/observe, reflexive/positive, and induction/deduction as
if they were mutually exclusive. In practice and in Burawoy’s narrative, the relationship
between these typologies seemed more complex and interactive. This reviewer’s concern
may strike some as a post-modern, perhaps naïve, stance that embraces the open-ended complexities of fieldwork as positive. Nevertheless, in the spirit of academic argument, this reviewer suggests that during the actual research process, particularly when participant observation and ethnographic writing are involved, binaries such as these are moot. These are paradoxes that anthropologists anguish over as part of the enterprise of understanding the social world and are not necessarily sought to be resolved. The task, it seems, is to be aware of such paradoxes and confront them in the spirit of articulating an ethical, convincing, and believable narrative.

The final chapter suggests a further global transformation that is well under way – the third sector. The success of grassroots political movements coupled with the growth of the not-for-profit sector suggests novel ways of democratisation and production of value. Burawoy argues that sociology should not conform itself to merely understanding the complexities and reconfigurations of power relations that movements such as experimental cooperativism suggest. Burawoy emphasises that sociologists should take an active role in participating in these processes.

The book will be of interest for students and researchers looking for conceptual examples of fieldwork methods and desiring more than the average handbook of social science research methods. The examples are rich and provocative. This reviewer found the sociological explanations of global transformations particularly interesting, especially in these days when the economic crisis has provoked a reassessing of old divisions and expectations for capitalism, especially in Eastern Europe. Likewise, the complexities of post-independence Africa still resonate at the turn of the century, with forums such as the G8 and the UN addressing the West’s responsibility towards Africa.

CARLO A. CUBERO
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In Cultures of Fear, Linke and Smith have collected a series of essays that address the concept of fear and how governments and other organizations use fear to control persons in zones of real, perceived, or even probable violence; the use of fear as a weapon also plays a central role in several of the essays. The collection includes the work of experts such as Noam Chomsky, Slavoj Žižek, Henry Giroux, Cynthia Enloe, David L. Altheide, Cynthia Cockburn, and Carolyn Nordstrom.

This book is quite timely given the global war on terror and the numerous other conflicts (political, ethnic, or otherwise) that seem present on an almost daily basis. Fear is an interesting feeling: it is at times divisive and at other times unifying. The book’s main sections of ‘Cultures of Fear’, ‘States of Terror’, ‘Zones of Violence’, ‘Intimacies of Suffering’, and ‘Normalizing Terror’, take the reader on a well-mapped journey of the human experience of
fear in many diverse settings, including the current war on terror, the use of rape as a weapon of war, child soldiers, the experiences of asylum seekers, and the Cold War. These sections expose the reader, harshly at times, to various interpretations and applications of fear and how it forms human perception of safety, security, and world events, and in turn how this shapes behavior.

*Cultures of Fear* was undertaken as an exposé of what governments and similar organizations do to people affected by war and terror, but does not adequately address the counter-argument, that governments and similar organizations can alleviate fear as well. The book is surely a discussion starter and will challenge readers to examine not only the world around them, but how they perceived events that have personally affected them. As with all good collections of essays, readers may agree with some works and disagree with others, which was this reviewer’s experience. The process of digesting the material and forming opinions on these expertly written essays was a very insightful experience.

This reviewer found two of the essays particularly interesting. Joseph Masco’s exploration of the United States’ Civil Defense efforts during the Cold War was fascinating. Masco illustrates how the U.S. government had to create images of the possible ruin and disaster of nuclear war in order to instigate enough fear of annihilation in the minds of citizens to convince them to dutifully follow government procedures and programs. The whole concept of Civil Defense is put in an outstanding context. As a child of the ‘duck and cover’ generation, this reviewer found the social control exerted through Civil Defense to be very interesting. Consider that the U.S. government simultaneously painted a picture of the epic damage and destruction that would result from a nuclear detonation, all the while telling school children and others that seeking shelter under a piece of furniture would likely save them. When faced with any amount of uncertainty, either about everyday life or some possible future disaster, people seek ritualized activity for comfort; in the United States of the 1950s and 1960s, Civil Defense was that ritualized behavior.

Another great essay, written by Miriam Ticktin, examines how undocumented immigrants in France sought to either injure themselves or contract diseases such as HIV in order to get legal status. Ticktin does a great job in delineating the difference between human rights (a concept of law) and humanitarianism (the moral and ethical need to help or give relief). It seems outrageous that people would turn to diseases like HIV in order to obtain access to what many call basic rights, but as Ticktin’s work shows that this does happen, often on an alarming scale.

The book is not without a few technical shortcomings. First, several of the essays are edited, and it is only through reading that one sees areas that were omitted. Prior warning of this would have been quite useful to the reader. Further, this would be a great textbook for courses in any number of fields. Seemingly, the book was developed with this in mind, but contains no discussion questions or other tools to help students initiate examinations of the material.

*Cultures of Fear* is a must read for anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and political scientists. Any student of human behavior and world events would be at a loss if they do not read this work. As a course textbook, it would be challenging and immensely useful, especially for upper-level students and those pursuing advanced degrees.

DON ARP, JR

*University of Nebraska-Lincoln (USA)*
Thomas J. Csordas brings together an innovative collection of essays that examines the transnational movements and transformations of religion in the contemporary world. The volume revolves around the concept of ‘transnational transcendence’ that stresses ‘the existence of modalities of religious intersubjectivity that are both experientially compelling and transcend cultural borders and boundaries’ (p. 1). Through a range of ethnographic and comparative studies, the volume engages in a discussion of the interrelation between religion and globalisation, challenging the often-assumed idea that religious manifestations are secondary to the primarily economic phenomena of globalisation. Csordas argues that it is more productive to approach globalisation as a multidimensional process in which economics, politics, religion and popular culture are necessarily related (p. 3).

All twelve essays problematise four main modalities of religious intersubjectivities that serve as channels for religious practices in the contemporary global context. The first modality is conceptualised around the practice in which the local religious imagination becomes influenced by global technology. The second modality of religious intersubjectivity is related to a pan-indigenous movement in which different indigenous groups claim kindred spirituality. The third modality is that of a ‘reverse’ religious influence, going from the margin to the centre. Several of the essays challenge the idea that religious globalisation is a process that goes from the centre to the periphery (Matory, Cohen, Groisman).

Matory and Cohen show how the context of globalisation helps religious influence expand in ‘opposite’ directions through ethnographic studies of the global reach of Yoruba religious practices. Cohen demonstrates that these practices were not only brought about only by forced migration through the slave trade but also by mobile individuals who travel back and forth from a West African homeland. Matory stresses the significance of the historical depth of transnational religious practices, challenging the understanding of the nature of imagined communities.

Alberto Groisman’s chapter contributes a fascinating example of the ‘reverse’ religious influence through the individual mobility between Brazil and the Netherlands that led to the formation of the Santo Daime church in Europe. Groisman’s central argument is that daimistas utilise this spiritual alternative to create an idea of ‘planetary citizenship’.

The fourth modality of religious intersubjectivity introduced by Csordas is that of the globalisation of world religions, which he prefers to conceptualise as a ‘globalisation as religion’ (p. 9).

The volume is further conceptualised under two aspects that overreach practices of religion and transnationalism. The first one is of the ways in which religious practices travel and the second is of the means by which they navigate across cultural and geographical realms. Csordas divides religious travelling practices into portable practices and the transposable message (p. 4). Portable practices are those that can be easily acquired, do not require esoteric knowledge, are not necessarily linked to a specific cultural context and do not have to rely on institutionalised or ideological establishment. This is taken up
by Peter van der Veer in his chapter on globalizing Asian spiritual practices, specifically those of the Chinese Qigong and Indian Yoga. The portable practice is evident in Kathinka Froystad’s example of the Kriya Yoga tradition and her account of a group of U.S. swami from the Ananda Sangha community who relocate from California to India. For Csordas, the transposable message indicates how religious principles find resonance in diverse cultural and linguistic settings. In this view, the transposability of a religious message is largely dependent on plasticity and generalisability (p. 5).

Joel Robins’ contribution on Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity among the Urapmin of New Guinea (who converted to Pentecostal Christianity on their own) is an outstanding example of productive travel of a specific religious form.

Csordas identifies four main means by which religious practices cross cultural and geographical spaces. The first means is missionisation, exemplified in Velho’s chapter dealing with missionisation in the postcolonial world with examples from Brazil, which become a rich source of globalizing spiritual practices.

The second means is that of migration, from the forced transatlantic movement of sub-Saharan Africans (Cohen, Matory) to the contemporary migration of Muslims to Europe (Ozyurek, Pandolfo). Ozyurek examines identity politics among the Alevi, a Turkish religious group. This group, which had been sporadically persecuted, succeeded in redefining itself by members who migrated to Germany under the guest workers scheme of the 1960s. The revival of the Alevi identity in the 1990s was to a large extent facilitated by their conditions in Germany which allowed for the development of new Alavi organisations. The revival was predominantly mediated through the internet, bringing followers from both Turkey and Germany into a productive dialogue over institutionalisation and standardisation of the movement. The main argument of Ozyurek’s analysis is that European Muslim identities are indigenous to Europe.

The third means by which religious practices traverse cultural and geographical space is brought about by individual mobility (Groisman, Froystad, Kendall). Laurel Kendall’s chapter on Korean shamans examines pilgrimage tourism to the sacred mountains of Mount Paektu. These pilgrimages initiate movements across Mongolia, China, Manchuria, Vietnam, the United States and North and South Korea, often bringing intricate interactions between Han Chinese, Korean Chinese and South Korean tourist-pilgrims.

The final, fourth means by which religious practices are exercised transnationally according to Csordas is that of mediatisation, which includes radio and television, print media, cassette tapes and video production and the Internet. Many ethnographic examples from the volume vividly illustrate the importance of mediatisation in contemporary religious practices.

This theoretically rich volume brings an important contribution to the understanding of the wide range of religious practices in the contemporary world, giving new insights into the understanding of why and how some religious practices succeed as they cross national, cultural and linguistic boundaries.

ANA DRAGOJLOVIC

The Australian National University (Australia)
This book brings together 12 revised and extended papers written mainly by anthropologists, sociologists, educationalist and historians, which were initially discussed at the XV International Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Florence in 2003. There have been several books by anthropologists on multiculturalism recently, but multiculturalism in anthropology has not been widely explored until recently. This book brings together comparative analysis of multiculturalism from different European, North and South American and Asian countries, ranging from traditionally multiethnic societies to the regions and cities where cultural pluralism is a relatively new phenomenon.

By far the best contribution is the introduction by Prato herself. She wrote an excellent chapter in which she underlines the need for revisiting and unpacking the meaning of multiculturalism. She convincingly demonstrates that multiculturalism is an increasingly complex and comparably ambiguous concept, underlining the distinction between ‘difference multiculturalism’ and ‘critical multiculturalism’. This will be of great use to scholars and students from many disciplines as provide more deep insight into the discussions on cultural and ethnic diversity. She also contributes an outstanding chapter on minorities in Italy, where she draws on historical research conducted there and in Albania with Albanians. She persuasively shows the ideological nature of the project of multiculturalism and its limitations, with the implicit meaning of existence of culturally homogenous minority and majority groups: she demonstrates that the group of Albanians is heterogeneous and she proposed that the contemporary integration should be stimulated with a new approach, which goes beyond multiculturalism. She analytically confirmed that recent Albanian immigrants are excluded since the ideology of multiculturalism sometimes might foster a new rhetoric of exclusion. There is another paper focusing on Italy, in which Pardo studies the complex relationship between formal and informal economy, the role of legal and illegal immigrants and the dynamic of exclusion and integration and negotiation of citizenship, within this connection.

Some other papers are also historically conceptualised. Frog focuses on immigration and its impacts on Canadian cities in different historical periods and from different parts of the world. His findings addressed the need for effective immigrant settlement policies in Canada’s major cities: the recent immigrants are largely visible minorities and as a result, those cities are becoming racially and ethnically diversified, and integration process for those immigrants with a low social capital is extremely difficult.

Krase's contributes a chapter on visual approach to multiculturalism, where he offers very good analysis of visual expression of the ethnic diversity and its appearance in ethnic vernacular landscape. After his views on visual anthropology and terminology of assimilationism, cultural pluralism and multiculturalism, he convincingly shows how ethnic diversity is visually expressed in ethnic vernacular landscapes in his cases, explored in the USA, Europe and China.

It may be noted that some authors, such as Rubel and Rosman, discuss the cultural change that migrants face with notions such as transnationalism, hybridisation and diaspora. In their comparison of ‘transnational family’ and ‘urban diaspora populations’ within historical and comparative contexts, one interesting question that has not yet been answered was whether
multiculturalism facilitates the maintenance of transnational families or not. Vázquez and Rodríguez also take a historical-critical perspective and they reflect also some terminological issues. Within a framework of ‘dynamistic anthropology’, they study the socio-ethnic interaction and a process of ethnic identity building of Qom-Toba in Rosario. They realistically show the problems of multicultural approach, which underlines difference and may lead to exclusion. After questioning the tolerance of difference, they propose pluri-cultural model of society, which recognises diversity, and takes it as a forceful power for greater defence of ethnic rights for minority groups and as an enrichment of society: this may facilitate new cultural hybridisation.

The analysis of Burnier is focused on the Brazilian ethnography, in which she performed research with technicians from different social and cultural background: rather than focusing on indigenous rights, she shed light upon migrants from working-class rural background. Her illuminating chapter shows to what extend technicians retain their belonging to their strongly hierarchical culture traditions of rural background, and how they enter the egalitarian and individualistic modernity. It is explained that technicians manage to operate in the globalised international world of capitalist production as cultural mediators, whose space is defined institutionally and where they reflectively construct their class identity in the collective context of the extended family.

Mayer discusses adolescent migrants in a multicultural city, and explores their position between the age culture of youths and the age culture of adults. She analyzes peer groups cultures and different social processes amongst several groups in the public spaces: processes of marginalisation, fusion and fission, conflicts and confrontation with other youngsters who find themselves in between their migrant background and Viennese urban life, where they try to gain their place in the society.

Jijiao’s paper gives statistically supported insight in the movements and process triggered by the migration from the traditionally multiethnic rural areas to cities, which have become multi-ethnic in contemporary China. He gives convincing demonstration of relevance of ethnicity in Chinese population flow and he emphasises that fact the urban conflicts are stimulated by cultural inequality not by cultural diversity.

Chaudhuri has published a study on the migrant population in the Indian urban context, in which she emphasises that inter-ethnic relations are fluid because of the process of modernisation and because modernisation also nurtures growth of ethnic identification and ethnic cohesion. These processes often have destabilizing effects.

The last chapter is on the importance of experience in consumption: Surrenti explores how ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic’ is consumed at the ethnic market as a particular experience. She studies two different places of consumption and she emphasises that ethnic consumption is an expression of cosmopolitan identity.

In recent debates, it has been emphasised that anthropologists, who were initially hesitant to contribute to the discussion on multiculturalism, have not taken an active part. The edited volume on multiculturalism substantially contributes to recent debates in social sciences and tries to make a step further. Importantly, this book stands a great chance of reaching people in other academic fields as well as to the wider public.

ALENKA JANKO SPREIZER
University of Primorska (Slovenia)

Published in France in 2007, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood*, has recently been released in English, published by Princeton University Press (translation by Rachel Gomme). The book includes the *Preface to the English Edition* and an index of subjects. In total, the work has four parts divided into ten chapters, and includes an introduction and conclusion. The book also contains footnotes and has an extensive bibliography, index of names and subjects.

The authors, Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman, are anthropologists as well as medical doctors, a physician and psychiatrist respectively. Each has held an interest in trauma but in different areas; one researching the invention of trauma and the other holding an interest in the politics of suffering. Together, they have focused on what they refer to as the politics of trauma. The book is the result of research conducted together from 2000 to 2005 and proposes to shed light on how people use the category ‘trauma’ and more specifically post-traumatic stress syndrome.

Drawing on the work of Foucault and the production of truth, Fassin and Rechtman outline their work in terms of their desire to understand how trauma and post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) have shifted from what they describe as a place where pain and suffering was not legitimate or questioned to one in which those who have experienced trauma are offered sympathy and/or compensation. These shifts, essential to the authors’ conception of how PTSD has taken center stage within society, are traced genealogically. Three case studies are included as a means of demonstrating their research. The authors strategically chose the case studies to be locally based (Part Two), internationally based (Part Three) and to be, what they describe as being in the middle (Part Four), i.e. one that discusses those men and women seeking asylum because of torture or other significant trauma resulting in emigration. In all, the reader is given a solid background of the development of trauma and PTSD as well as the roles of doctors and other health workers (mainly in France) have had.

Part One, *The Reversing of the Truth*, explores the history of the shifts in trauma, the ways in which it has been socially constructed and how psychiatry and psychology have come to define the terms theoretically. The authors discuss in what ways the world wars and other large-scale incidents, like the Holocaust, have influenced society’s understanding of trauma. The chapters within this section also tease out the development of symptoms and diagnoses of PTSD through a critique of the American Psychiatric Association’s book of disorders (DSM-III, IV). This was an informative section of the book. However, brought into question are the handlings of particular events that, though eventually leading to the acceptance of PTSD, highlight the frequent failings of health-care workers to apply the theories of trauma to their practice, usually to the detriment of victims. The slow progress of joining theory and practice is addressed in more detail in Parts Two to Four.

Part Two, *The Politics of Reparation*, critiques the operationalising of psychiatry through the advent of ‘victimology,’ a more focused study on victims of trauma. They
apply the ideas of victimology to their first case study, an explosion at a chemical factory in Toulouse in 2001. Through this event as well as through other traumatic events like the attacks on the World Trade Centers, the authors explore reparation – the act of ‘paying back’ or ‘compensating’ the victims. Made salient is the fact that this reparation is not simply monetary but recognition that victims of trauma, such as terrorism, deserve and should get help. The process of bringing the effects of trauma into the public eye has also created a sense of humanitarianism within psychiatry: a need to know and a need to seek the truth.

Parts Three (The Politics of Testimony) and Four (The Politics of Proof) follow case studies focused on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the second Intifada (2000) and non-governmental organization (NGO) work with exiled victims and especially those victims of torture. More specifically, the rise in what the authors label ‘humanitarian’ psychiatry and the ‘psychotraumatology of exile’ is discussed thoroughly as the call to help victims is answered within the health care industry. These are complicated terms developed in an attempt to explain the range of trauma symptoms as well as the call to put theory to action, but ones that are well defined and used as examples through the case studies.

Fassin and Rechtman do not limit their discussion on the positive nature of either ‘humanitarian’ psychiatry or the work with exiled immigrants. Instead, they question practices, such as what drives individuals to testify about what they see and hear and in what ways this drives others to offer assistance. The need to seek the truth – to seek proof of trauma is crucial to the process of helping and healing as well as defining what is traumatic. In the case of workers attempting to help asylum seekers, the need for accurate reporting is crucial for those in question. Not only do workers have to let go of their convictions but must also be able to prove psychic scars. Fassin and Rechtman also address the development of a psychiatric language to be used in accurately diagnosing and reporting to courts on asylum cases. These are just a few of the examples the authors touch on in these final two sections of the book. Beyond these examples is a wealth of information on the construction, maintenance and application of trauma in contemporary society.

This reviewer highly recommends this book to those who work in the field as well as though with an interest in violence and/or trauma. This work is remarkable in its coverage of the history of trauma, psychiatry and the treatment of victims of war and other atrocities the world has encountered in the 20th and 21st centuries.

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Assisting Reproduction, Testing Genes is the 18th volume published in the Fertility, Reproduction and Sexuality series. This volume comprises 10 chapters of social anthropological studies, organised into three main parts: the first part ‘Families and beyond’ is made up of three chapters from Germany, Bulgaria and the Middle East, while stories from Ecuador, Iran, Vietnam and Israel are presented in the second part, ‘Couples and others’. The final part of the book is about ‘Testing genes and using cells’ in Argentina, India and Brazil.

In the first chapter on ‘Families and beyond’, minority Turkish German women and men talked about how kinship practices influenced their decisions to use Artificial Reproduction Technologies (ARTs) and that acculturation into the German society did not make this easier; they remained a marginal group within Germany. For Bulgarian women, as described in the second chapter, ARTs redefined family and parental roles whereby women were given decision-making responsibility by the doctors and their partners. Unlike women in other studies, Bulgarian women rarely invoked personal, religious or moral dilemmas when considering the use of ARTs: their discussions were framed predominantly within a secular understanding of reproduction and medical intervention. Middle Eastern Muslim men in Egypt and Lebanon provided their accounts of the causes of male infertility and what this meant to them and their families, and issues of disclosure in the third chapter. Male infertility was perceived to be caused by environmental toxins, stress and fear caused by the war, uncontrolled dumping of toxic waste and chemical toxins due to war, past infections that impaired male reproduction function and premature sexual activity outside their own country. This chapter ends with a discussion of the use of the newest ARTs, i.e. Intracytoplasmic sperm injection (ICSI) in these Islamic countries to address problem of religious and social acceptance about third-party donation.

The second part of this volume, ‘Couples and others’, begins with the stories of Ecuadorian women’s preferences for interfamilial egg donation, which was based on exchanges of property, debts and obligations to their extended families. The stories in Shia Iran describe the inadequacy of religious rulings in addressing the use of gamete and embryo donation and surrogacy, which unintentionally undermined kinship and socio-cultural practices. A similar problem was found in Vietnam where the government controls the choice of IVF treatment (e.g. the banning of surrogacy with IVF) to protect traditional values, morality, and social structures valued by the communist state. In Israel, a court case between estranged partners raised public debates about the right of the ex-wife to have the cryo-preserved embryos implanted in a surrogate woman’s womb, and the implications of this case on gender order and women’s societal position were presented.

The final part of this book, ‘Testing new genes and using cells’, deals with the new technologies in ARTs. In Argentina, the author argues that Preimplantation Genetic Diagnosis (PGD) signifies not just another technological advances of ARTs accessible by Argentineans, but its practices clearly exposed the problem at the core of ARTs in general,
i.e. the legal and moral status of the human in vitro embryo, and ethical issues regarding the value of human life. The cultural complexities inherent in the production of embryonic stem cells and the problems involved in the supply of human embryo for manipulation in public and private research facilities in India were also examined. The final chapter in this volume examines the implications of DNA paternity testing on the familial relationships and gender-related attitudes and practices in Brazil.

This volume explores the practices, cultural significances and political impacts of ARTs in non-Western settings. It challenges the assumption of neutrality of ARTs across all societies, and shows that local culture (beliefs, practices, religion and kinship) and contexts (legislature and authorities) affect the provision and adoption of ARTs. Perceptions, experiences, expectations of ARTs by individuals who used the technologies (women, men, couples, surrogates, gamete donors) as well as those of family members (parents, parents-in-law, siblings, relatives) and friends are provided. The volume also reveals the lengths to which women and couples will go to have a child and how this need is shaped and controlled by local providers, legislature and authorities. Redefinitions of gender and parental roles were also reported; women were ascribed the responsibility of decision making about ARTs adoption by the provider and their partners, and in some cases, inadvertently bearing the financial cost of ARTs adoption. Men or husbands were shown to be supportive but preferred to play a marginal role.

This volume successfully describes the human face of ARTs in non-Western societies and that ARTs are not disconnected from social and cultural influences. It provides detailed and interesting insights into how Middle Eastern, South American, South Asian, South East Asian and minority German men and women, families, providers, and authorities dealt with issue of infertility and ARTs. However, the impacts of ARTs on the Western societies are insufficiently addressed (Introduction chapter) although the title (‘Global encounters’) gives the impression otherwise. As it is, the volume is deprived of details of ARTs on Western societies and a comparison to assess differences in perceptions, experiences and kinship influences between the Western and non-Western societies.

Overall, this book provides good and interesting reading for all who want details of the cultural significances, religious and political impacts of ARTs as experienced by people of different ethnicity and religious background. Most importantly, this volume conveys the complexities of introducing and implementing ARTs in different cultures and political settings. It also brings to forth the meaning of reproduction in societies, the price and value of human life.

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This is a book about knowledge, and it rejects many of the commonly held assumptions about knowledge and its relation to society. At the same time, it is a book about ecology, marine fishing and an ethnography that follows the classical anthropological methods of data collection, through participative fieldwork, life history, narrative constructions and historical data. While discussing marine fishing in the Black Sea, the author includes three categories of people – fishers, bureaucrats and scientists – in modern Turkey who, belonging to the same society are not mutually exclusive of each other. While he accepts Ingold’s claim that all knowledge is skill, the author also asserts that skills are not exclusive of cultural models. For example, in the use of sonar technology he shows that the technology is interpreted and effective not by itself but by the experience and knowledge of the users who interpret it according to their own system of knowledge. The introduction of sonar (a very expensive technology) has not radically changed the skill of the fishers but has rather led to social differentiation and a change in moral perceptions. While earlier people believed that success in fishing was because of one’s moral superiority, chance and God’s will, they now see it as economic and political power often obtained through nefarious means.

The author, however, finds problematic the widely accepted difference in anthropology between ‘science’ and indigenous systems of knowledge. He argues that there is no absolute difference between science and other forms of knowledge, but it is only a question of degree and any study of knowledge must account for both content and context. Set in modern post-colonial Turkey, this book examines the manner in which differential values and life style choices shape food preferences and in turn impact the management of the fishing industry. Sea food consumption and the manner of its consumption (often with alcohol by elite and secular Turks) is criticised as non-Islamic by the poor who use a symbolic expression of life style in a religious idiom rather than attacking class differences directly. Yet at another level, the author finds that at the moral level there is no essential difference between ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ class. Eating fish and fishing also has an ethnic association, namely with the Greek and consequently with Europe, and also serves to distinguish the life styles of different sections of society.

Modernizing fisheries became an enterprise for the state in its overall objective of ‘modernizing’ post colonial Turkey, a process recognisable in many other post colonial states such as India where the state has been engaging in aggressive ‘modernisation’ projects that categorise and stigmatise all those reluctant to follow it as ‘backward’. Yet, as the author with his long term involvement with Turkish fisheries shows, there was little actual contribution of ‘marine science’ to fishing, and whatever gains were made were those because of economic, political and lifestyle changes. The state propagated the ‘bio-economic’ model because that was the only way in which it could control this sector, the purview of ‘traditional’ knowledge being well beyond its control, since it is transmitted by experience and not by any state-sponsored institutions, such as those imparting formal technological knowledge.
However, the author is not ready to concede that science is an abstract form of knowledge and indigenous knowledge alone is ‘embodied’. He believes that all knowledge (if it is to be applied) is ‘embodied’ for it must be put in practice to be effective. Secondly, if identification and taxonomic classification is a primary activity of science, it is also of traditional fishers as it is of most people in most kind of activities. However, for the fishers such classifications are embedded in situated activities and the range of knowledge varies from general to more localised (such as related to local sea topography and fauna).

Where the local fishers differ most from formal organisations is in their sense of ethnical ‘know how’ as compared to what the author calls ethical ‘know that’. The moral rules followed by them are not ‘inscribed’ but simply a continued sense being fair that is implicitly understood yet neither explicitly verbalised nor recognised as formal, yet followed by all practitioners and infringements are recognised as wrong. It is because of this implicit morality that most fishers are ‘locals’ and outsiders find it difficult to get acceptance.

The essential difference between fisher’s knowledge and science is that while the latter is ethically neutral, a fisher’s knowledge is embedded in a local system of ethical morality. This does not mean that such knowledge is static, since it can be both dynamic and innovative. Based on his own ethnography, Knudsen also contests the fact that Indigenous Knowledge (IK) or Indigenous Ecological Knowledge (IEK) is always ethnically or geographically distinct. He does not find the fishers to be a distinct group in his field area, and they are the same social group from which scientists and bureaucrats are drawn. In this way, all organisations are incorporated within the social web and there are no social networks apart from political or economic networks.

The scientists differ from the fishers in their cultural capita, but not in their ethnicity or other social characters. Thus, science not only produces knowledge, it produces different social categories based on differences in culture. The fishers are not taken seriously not because they are not knowledgeable, but because they are seen as culturally inferior. Thus, knowledge becomes invariably ‘embodied’ attached to the carrier of knowledge. Consequently, there is no essential difference between knowledge of one kind and the other, but only between the ‘people’ who are representatives of this knowledge; these differences are socially located because they are meaningful only where they belong.

In other words, the social and cultural values of Turkey need not necessarily be replicated elsewhere, but the essential principles on which such an analysis is based may be. One may reemphasise the main contention of this book that there can be no context-independent study of knowledge.

SUBHADRA MITRA CHANNA
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Mojca Vah Jevšnik has first-hand experience from ethnographic research work in Kosovo. Her book compels the reader to reflect on the various implications of working to help countries torn apart by war or devastated in other ways. As the title indicates, her main theme concerns aspects of the complex situation in which expatriate development workers find themselves in Kosovo. She outlines the historic background to the situation: Kosovo’s involvement in wartime Yugoslavia, disputes during and after the war between the minority Serbian and the majority Albanian populations, and the outcome: the establishment of a United Nations (UN) protectorate. Kosovo needed help; against this background, the author throws theoretical light on questions of interest concerning the conduct of – and possible developments in – humanitarian work devoted to peacekeeping and nation-state building. She starts with definitions of the concepts used, and also shows connections between these processes, being positive or negative for the society in question.

Intervention in a community, such as that of the UN in Kosovo, is fraught with dilemmas. The population of Kosovo needed help, which inevitably placed them in a subordinate position. Vah Jevšnik’s declared leitmotif is the impact of the motives of the ‘expatriate peace-building workers’ (‘expatriates’ for short). She analyses the possible impact of their elite status and of their various motives, which need not be altruistic or idealistic. For example, expatriate workers might be seeking personal satisfaction through prestige, economic advantage or adventure. To improve their self-respect they may hope to acquire reputations for being good and idealistic helpers: to ‘doing well while doing good’ (p. 101) as she concisely phrases it in a heading. They live their private and social lives apart from Kosovo’s inhabitants: their housing is better, they can afford more expensive food, and after work they join other expatriates and also journalists from different countries.

Vah Jevšnik discusses concepts used for the groups of ‘transnational space expatriate development workers’, also adding the concept of ‘deterritorialised’ (p. 87). So she analyses the dynamics of the expatriates’ private life in transnational social space in Kosovo (p. 90ff.). These observations are a starting point for the author’s discussion about whether doing ‘good’ for oneself can be combined with doing ‘good’ for others. In my opinion, it would have been interesting if she had also analysed the impact of journalists, but this is not included in her perspective. Most likely it would need another big project.

There are more questions to consider. Expatriate development workers come from different organisations and countries whose motives may vary from open to covert, and whose perspectives may be more or less long-sighted. In this connection, the author considers the possibility of disparities between the intentions of organisations that send expatriate workers and those of the expatriates themselves. One problem she mentions is that disparate agendas regarding the immediate situation and long-term development may occur at all levels in organisations and countries offering assistance.

The author points out that external support might lead to permanent dependence or even colonisation of a war-torn community. Both positive and negative outcomes,
i.e. increased prosperity or long-term dependency, might be in the interests of another organisation or country. Vah Jevšnik’s observation acquires topical relevance in the light of current suspicions about US motives in sending thousands of troops to create order in Haiti and thereby support its aid program. She discusses the problematic consequences of intervention, and concludes that in the Kosovo/UN situation ‘a protectorate has neither domestic sovereignty nor international independence’ (p. 54).

An article in the Norwegian newspaper, Morgenbladet, (22.01.10) illustrates yet another way in which her discussion is relevant to the dilemmas Kosovo will face for a long time to come. The UN hesitated in the face of Serbia’s refusal to agree to Kosovo’s claim for independence, fearing that the creation of such a new, small nation-state might prompt other minority groups, whether ethnic or not, to also seek independence.

Mojca Vah Jevšnik presents and discusses the many interesting and challenging dilemmas of developmental work in an unbiased way. She thinks that the UN was right to intervene in Kosovo at that time, considering that the possible alternative was imminent mutual havoc. Notwithstanding her penetrating discussion of the dilemmas associated with aid-work at all levels, she concludes that humanitarian intervention and peace-building activities benefit states in distress. Despite the fact that powerful states may seek to ‘feather their own nests’ by pursuing their imperial interests, she concludes that the expatriates’ humanitarian assistance nevertheless benefits the local population. Her research indicates that, even though these expatriates’ motivation and social commitment may vary, the people they meet recognise the value of their practical contributions, provided that these are adapted to recipients’ needs.

The author’s otherwise persuasive text is somewhat marred – and the reader’s attention strained – by the absence of an alphabetical glossary containing all the many acronyms she uses for projects of various sizes and for different kinds of organisation.

Mojca Vah Jevšnik intersperses case presentations with theoretical discussion, bringing her subject matter to life while maintaining her own role as exponent. In this way, she seems to invite her readers to join her in a silent dialogue or to reflect on the dilemmas she talks about on the basis of their own experience. Her reflections are more nuanced and thorough than can be conveyed in a short review. The questions she raises are both thought provoking, and remain topical in the context of Kosovo itself. Yet her book is also relevant when it comes to evaluating the challenges posed by many kinds of aid work, whether humanitarian, peace-building, developmental or nation-state building, regardless of how those efforts may be distinguished by the particular situation in the recipient country. This book is well worth studying.

MARTHA LEA

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Studies of time usage by writers drawing on a diverse range of consumer situations enliven the debate on how time is viewed culturally. These papers are trans-disciplinary between anthropology, history and sociology, but explicitly omit biological time as a direct mode of analysis. The reader is led to consider time as a social construct, particularly in the English-speaking and European worlds, thus bringing closer together the mundane and abstract questions of time (p. 10).

The rhythms of everyday life are common themes, whether addressing commuting, or seed catalogues, Turkish tea-drinking, or ritual consumption at the Japanese New Year. Lefebvre’s Rhythmanalysis (2004) is juxtaposed with assessments of disjunctures of temporal rhythms, such as war (Ehn and Lofgren, Chapter 6), blackouts (Trentmann, Chapter 4), or illness. In the introduction, Shove et al. assert that drawing on ‘comparative ethnography and historical analysis […]’ contributors reveal the co-existence of multiple periodicities’ (p.3). They further assert that ‘the studies in this book build a raft of common ground through their continuing focus on empirical studies of daily life…that emphasise the creative production, reproduction and consumption of multiple temporalities’ (p. 3). Slater’s contribution on the Ethics of Routine (Chapter 14) summarises moral ways in which time use has been perceived and actioned.

Time has become a very conscious consumable of everyday western life. The contrast between the rhythms of working life and those of leisure, or after-work times, draws on Marxist analyses of social relations of production. As Slater argues in his discussion of hobbies, such as Tai Chi, the tag ‘hobby’ emerged within critical thought as ‘a judgement on the inconsequentially routinised nature of everyday life’, as ‘escape attempts from structures of unemployment and domesticity’ (p. 222). He provides no justifications from social research for such assertions, so it would be interesting to know how hobbies are regarded within modern un/employment situations. Some hobbies are increasingly becoming the starting point to generate small businesses, such as wood turning, or coaching sports teams. Is the vast involvement of volunteer workers considered productive?

The temporalities discussed here include material consumables, such as changing fashions (Gronow, Chapter 8), or buying ‘distressed’ jeans, or antiques (Miller, Chapter 10), or wooden-boat building (Jalas, Chapter 13), purchasing seeds (Moskowitz, Chapter 7), or eating breakfast (Wilk, Chapter 9). Wilk suggests a sequence whereby everyday life practices are cultivated, naturalised and become submerged or repressed into the background by habituation. The changing nature of routines is highlighted in Southerton’s assessment of ‘harriedness’ (p. 61) in daily practices, as recorded in English diaries from 1937 and the year 2000 interviews. For her informants in 2000, there were fewer fixed institutional events, and temporal boundaries were less defined than the 1937 diaries recorded.

The reordering of temporal rhythms is an important area for further research, which emerges from these contributions. Firstly, the emergence of time into general consciousness may be a feature of the Western world, rather than of the other 80 per cent of the
world’s populations. It becomes a constraint on life ways for those seeking employment, especially in urbanised lifestyles. Rural lifestyles have their own rhythms that have yet to be covered, both in terms of consumables and the materialisation of time. Clocks may be important to those working an eight-hour day, but for agricultural workers the amount of daylight prevails. The introduction of ‘smokos’, tea breaks and other introduced rhythms over and above the clock-in machine is a cultural innovation that becomes accepted, and submerged as Wilk’s sequence suggests.

While these studies deal exclusively with everyday life in the northern hemisphere, they could well be contrasted with life in the southern hemisphere where key rhythms have to be adjusted. British immigrants to New Zealand and Australia bring with them temporal rhythms that necessitate major adjustments in consumption and household activities. Christmas and New Year are celebrated with picnics and barbeques, while also falling in the summer holidays, and the major start to the new school year (in late January). Each adjustment requires major consumer expenses, which become stark realities with large bills appearing in January and February. Major sales promoted by all the stores at this time do not help the budget. For those who try to retain some of the old (northern hemisphere) Christmas, or holiday rhythms from ‘back home’ find themselves out of line with local social expectations. ‘Fitting in’ poses strong constraints on interpretations of temporalities.

The metaphors used or implied by these contributors, refer to time as a river, as having sequences that have become accepted into Western cultural life. But they may not be so appropriate in other cultures, such as Asian, where time and space are viewed from a different perspective. We need studies of the ways in which time has been fetishised, i.e. whether and how time is ‘pressurised’ or alternative explanations for controls of time, and imposed rhythms in newly emerging nations of Asia, Africa and South America. How others see time, and the appropriateness of the concept of rhythm, and metaphors employed, can expand our cultural understandings of ‘temporalities’. Such studies would increase the range of theoretical approaches that social scientists use, moving beyond Marxist, phenomenological or structural analyses that Slater (Chapter 14) provides as summary of the moral dimensions that social scientists currently employ.

These papers offer incentives to extend ‘new lines of enquiry strung between the study of time and practice’ (p. 19) beyond European constructs to reveal alternative ways of thinking and consuming time. Rhythms of work, for example, derive from social constructs other than ‘time pressures’. And exploring the temporalities of non-work activities, whether cooking, or star-gazing, would expand our understanding of time as a consumable.

The book is well presented, a strongly bound paperback, with acceptable price. I found very few errors (p. 79 except for accept, p. 142 rivalry, p. 158 ‘be’ is missing, p. 208, p. 212 possess, p. 215 missing ‘is’). The content has strong value as teaching material as well as building further research.

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