

BOOK REVIEWS

Brotherton, P. Sean. 2012. *Revolutionary Medicine: Health and the Body in Post-Soviet Cuba*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. xxvii + 256 pp. Pb.: \$24.95. ISBN: 9780822352051.

P. Sean Brotherton's monograph chronicles the transformation of the Cuban medical system and succeeds in bringing forth the nuances and contradictions of contemporary (post-1991) Cuban life while focusing on the health care system. For those like me, who have lived and worked in the post-Soviet context, the book has a certain sense of familiarity about it, from the dual economy that extends into health care to the subtleties of using strategic connections and bribes in order to obtain access to medical services. Brotherton shows that revolutionary medicine is a product many years in making, touted as 'free for all' but, in the end, a great example of the Cuba's complicated reality. The book is based on more than 10 years of intermittent fieldwork and hundreds of interviews with medical professionals and patients. This wealth of ethnographic material is channeled into a fluent analysis that makes it an exceptional read.

One need not be a Cuba expert to find this ethnography of value, as it provides a rich account of a medical system undergoing a post-Soviet transition. However, it is the specifically Cuban twists that help contextualise Cuba as one of the few nations with developing world economic indicators but first world medical statistics. Cuban citizens consider medical care to be one of their fundamental human rights. The previous ease of access to medical services has prepared Cubans to be highly adept in the Westernised biomedical realm, as they are familiar with its core beliefs and jargon, which enables them to possess what the author terms 'highly medicalised' bodies. It is exactly these bodies that Brotherton is interested in, and he puts the individual into the picture through what he describes as the genealogy of individual bodily practices.

Part I of the book addresses biopolitics in the *periodo especial* or the special period when, in the early 1990s due to the global geopolitical changes, Cuba was forced to form new political alliances and entered a severe period of hardship that extended into the medical sphere. Brotherton argues that it is specifically the realm of health care that will bear the lasting marks of the special period, as it is upon the bodies of Cuban citizens that these marks have been imprinted deepest. Brotherton illustrates the daily experiences of Cubans during this period with a wealth of ethnographic examples and effectively paints a picture of the distorted dual economy and, more subtly, of the social and political realms.

Brotherton is particularly successful in highlighting the changes to the Family Physicians Program, the institution of family physicians that was originally established in all neighborhoods to ensure public access to medical care, but which has since been diminished to offering advice on usage of prescription drugs that patients have obtained via other channels or have been shipped off to Venezuela in exchange for oil contracts. Cubans, therefore, view family physicians more and more as superfluous, and it is understandable why there is a shift towards self-medicalisation and an increased interest in alternative (non bio-medical) healing, both Cuban (such as Creyente, a spiritual practice that has historically been practiced in Cuba as well as herb gardens that even Cuban

physicians now sometimes cultivate in order to provide their patients with medicine) and foreign (such as acupuncture).

Part II of the monograph focuses on the social governmentality, public health and risk. It provides a historic overview of body-related public policies from 1902 until 1958, when the revolution took place. The period after the revolution is of particular interest to Brotherton, and he argues that the body was turned into a revolutionary battleground during this time by utilising a heavy artillery of ideology linking body health to the health of the revolution. Notably, Brotherton reveals how the state's actions turned into medicalised subjectivities on the individual level. The author provides a multi-faceted analysis of the above-mentioned Family Physician Program that was institutionalised in the 1980s and is widely credited with the success of the Cuban health care system, as reflected by improved health statistics in the areas of infant mortality and life expectancy, for example, despite the extremely harsh social and economic conditions of the early 1990s. Part II of the book also examines the public campaigns (preventative strategies), such as the campaign to fumigate all apartments against mosquitoes carrying dengue fever, which are still carried out in Cuba. This section also offers a glimpse into the controversial HIV education and prevention programs that have been described, alternatively, as prisons or spa vacations.

The well-known maxim *We have to think like capitalists, but continue to be socialists* is the title for Part III of the book, in which Brotherton poses the profound question of how many capitalist strategies can Cuba embrace while still remaining socialist. Here, Brotherton provides an account of two developments: the so-called New Health tourism in Cuba (which is consistent with the dual economy model in which those with access to convertible currency receive preferential health treatment) and the export of doctors abroad (most notably to Venezuela) in exchange for a preferential trade relationship. The author argues that the former has 'challenged the moral legitimacy of the socialist project, yet is necessary, on the ground, for the maintenance of the country's crumbling health and welfare system' (p. 165). I would argue that the latter has the same effect.

Botherton succeeds in showing that 'Cuba's health care system is an apt example through which to interrogate the broader social, political, and economic changes that characterise contemporary Cuban life' (p. 156). The monograph possesses a literary quality (i.e. it is highly descriptive and showcases wonderfully compelling stories), provides plenty of complementary visual material, and it reads well despite the theoretical depth. Overall, I would recommend *Revolutionary Medicine: Health and the Body in Post-Soviet Cuba* to anybody interested in the cultural aspects of the health care field and, in particular, the evolution of a health care system from one which is a state-managed to whatever would be the next stage, referred to in the book as post-Soviet in the case of Cuba. The book allows the reader a powerful glimpse into post-Soviet Cuban life through the medical lens as, after all, health care lies at the core of the human struggles.

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Gupta, Akhil. 2012. *Red Tape. Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India.* Durham and London: Duke University Press. xiii + 368 pp. Pb.: \$26.95. ISBN: 9780822351108.

The Indian state has seen remarkably high rates of economic growth in recent years, yet it continues to have the world's highest number of acutely poor people, defined by those who live on less than one dollar per day. In *Red Tape*, Akhil Gupta argues that such an outcome should be understood as the product of structural violence: a 'direct and culpable form of killing made possible by state policies and practices' (p. 5). Violence towards the poor is structural in the sense that it cannot be attributed to individual culpability of misdemeanour. It is normalised and rendered invisible through the workings of bureaucratic practice. Drawing on fieldwork in Uttar Pradesh in the early 1990s, Gupta seeks to disrupt the explanatory logic according to which the premature death of millions from preventable poverty 'does not constitute a scandal' (p. 18). Questioning accounts that would see enduring poverty as the inevitable outcome of Indian modernisation or a condition that will eventually be alleviated by the trickling-down of wealth, he shows that it should rather be seen as the outcome of a kind of institutionalised arbitrariness that is 'systematically produced by the very mechanisms that are supposed to ameliorate social suffering' (p. 24).

The core of the book is concerned with this production of arbitrary outcomes, and the theoretical implications of this dynamic for considerations of poverty, biopolitics, and development interventions. Empirically, the central chapters focus on corruption, bureaucratic writing, and the management of the population as critical sites for these politics of included exclusion (or, as the titles of Parts Two, Three and Four put it: Corruption, Inscription, Governmentality). Scholars familiar with Gupta's work on the everyday narratives of corruption and the discursive reproduction of the state in India will recognise parts of his published corpus in these middle chapters, as well as arguments developed in his earlier articles about the need to disaggregate the state, analytically and empirically. The innovation of the book comes in trying to link up this discussion of the state bureaucracy as it is encountered at the localised level with a theoretical discussion about the normalisation of the 'exception' in contemporary India. Drawing on Foucault's conception of biopolitics, and Agamben's reading of 'bare life', Gupta traces the mechanisms through which violence against the poor comes to be seen as something *un-exceptional*: the necessary underside of rapid economic growth, for instance; or the outcome of petty corruption by low-level officials.

To do so, he follows the working of bureaucracy at its lowest administrative level where most poor Indians encounter 'the state': the block office, responsible in this case for administering around 30 development programmes. Gupta argues that corruption, inscription and governmentality serve to reproduce structural violence, not because of the individual lack of care (or rapaciousness, or laziness) of individual state agents, but through particular organisational modalities, such as the way entitlements are distributed; the highly prescriptive requirements for complaints to translate into files and hence to be taken seriously; or the way that welfare programmes intended to empower poor women

through employment reproduce inequalities by not paying their workers a living wage. Individual ethnographic vignettes provide a poignant demonstration of the way that poor people are rebuffed, denied recourse to justice, reprimanded, or outright cheated in their encounters with the state in the village. They also show how injustice is reproduced by the arbitrariness of reporting requirements and inspection regimes, which mean, for instance, that villages located near to a main road are more likely to receive promised nutritional supplements than those that are far away; or that statistics gathered on attendance at government-run *aganwadi* centres constitute a bureaucratic reality, rather than reflected real levels of use.

These examples highlight the value of posing as an empirical question the conditions under which the state comes to be experienced as a singularity that is ‘over and above’ society, rather than taking such singularity as a given. However, while the book is rich in evocative vignettes, the lack of sustained ethnography or political and temporal contextualisation means that the empirical material does not actually sustain the theoretical work that is demanded of it. Periodisations of India’s recent past are vague, and the times and political contexts of research are largely written out of the ethnography. In the epilogue, which feels somewhat disjointed from the broader narrative of the book, the reader jumps from the focused concern with Mandi district in Uttar Pradesh in the early 1990s to the Naxelite movement in 2009, without a clear connection between the two. One effect of this is that decontextualisation is that the reader is given little sense of how—or when, under which circumstances—structural violence might motivate the politics of protest. Nor does it provide tools for understanding the enormous diversity in development outcomes across India’s different states. There may be violence in the arbitrary outcomes of bureaucratic interventions, to be sure; but ‘arbitrariness’ as analytic does not help to make sense of the quite regular, systematic, and in some cases quite intentional discriminations that occur on the basis of class, gender, or caste. As a magnum opus of Gupta’s recent scholarship, there is much in *Red Tape* that will be of value to scholars and students alike. There are particularly rich discussions of paperwork, forgery, and the workings of the bureaucratic file (the origins of the term ‘red tape’). However, to me the book succeeds more for its powerful insights into the way that the state is India is encountered, imagined, mocked and reproduced through the everyday actions of its rural and small-town functionaries than it does in explaining the reproduction of extreme injustice in conditions of economic liberalisation.

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Malefyt, Timothy De Waal and Robert J. Morais. 2012. *Advertising and Anthropology: Ethnographic Practice and Cultural Perspectives*. London, New York: Berg / Bloomsbury Publishing. 186pp. Pb.: £17.99. ISBN: 9780857852021.

Malefyt and Morais' work is one of a handful of books in recent years to show the non-academic, non-philanthropic applications of anthropological methods and knowledge. At the beginning of the book, they state their purpose and, despite covering a wide range of issues, they do not waver from it: 'This book is written by anthropologists for anthropologists and others who are interested in advertising and related industries such as marketing, marketing research, and design' (p. 3).

Both authors consider themselves what they term 'observer participants' rather than the classic anthropological 'participant observer'. At first, this distinction hardly seems necessary, but the explanation given by the authors is a revelation. They contend that what they do is more akin to pure participation and that they gain a more detailed, more in-depth knowledge because of subject immersion. They do an excellent job of referencing how traditional academic anthropologists are doing the same type of work in an outstanding example of methodological harmony in aspects of the field.

The book is divided into four parts: *Introduction; Toward an Understanding of Advertising Agencies; Applying Anthropology in Advertising Agencies; and Conclusion*. Each section is constructed of chapters that give solid, well-reasoned examples and insights based on the authors' unique experiences as both anthropologists and advertising professionals. This duality of backgrounds and experience is a central theme in the book. The authors at times specifically address the straddling of two worlds, one academic and the other corporate. Both highlight how they contribute to academic conferences and journals, but also maintain a portfolio of clients in their respective companies. This duality is of paramount importance for a few reasons. First, the methods that all anthropology students learned in college are critical to the activities described in the book, but there must be flexibility in methods given the restrictions of the corporate world. Companies do not have 12–24 months to dedicate to ethnographic fieldwork to support the development of an advertising campaign. The authors make a strong case for developing a skill set that includes ethnographic work, but also includes focus-group type methods, something unused for the most part in academic anthropology.

In considering other methods and highlighting the need for anthropologists to embrace new methods and refine older ones, there is a weakness in this book as it does not reference or discuss the work of some anthropologists who have already advocated and developed faster methods for academic fieldwork. This is an intriguing difference from earlier in the book, where the need for total immersion was referenced back to changes in academic field practice. In areas in which the authors address time and budget constraints in corporate work and the need to truncate ethnography and/or embrace alternate methods like the focus group, they fail to highlight the work of anthropologists like W. Penn Handwerker, whose *Quick Ethnography: A Guide to Rapid Multi-method Research* came out in 2001 and is a remarkable work with great relevance to the issues tackled in both advertising and business anthropology.

While this book is a substantial contribution to the field of applied anthropology, and each chapter gives valuable insights, perhaps the most important and engaging chapter seven, titled *Advertising, Automobiles, and the Branding of Luxury*. This chapter gives two excellent examples, both obviously involving automobiles, of a success and a failure in establishing a brand identity for a vehicle and how anthropology can be used to establish a successful campaign or repair a disastrous effort. This chapter is an excellent case study that could easily be the basis for a week's worth of class discussion and analysis.

Malefyt and Morais have made a significant contribution to applied anthropology with this work. It joins the works of others, like Jordan's *Business Anthropology*, in building the methods and reputation for anthropology in the non-academic arena. The authors highlight this early in the book, by exploring how in recent years jobs for anthropologists in private sector corporations have grown, while there is a distinct atrophy of positions in traditional academic environments. Malefyt and Morais are right to criticise that academic anthropologists are not informing students of the possibilities for non-academic employment. This reviewer believes that books like this one, coupled with courses built around the increasing volume of published applied anthropology books and articles, is the impetus needed to expose students to the non-academic applications of the field and to do what comes naturally to all anthropologists—study people no matter where they are.

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Danforth, Loring M. and Riki Van Boeschoten. 2012. *Children of the Greek Civil War. Refugees and the Politics of Memory*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. xv + 329 pp. Pb.: \$25.00. ISBN: 9780226135991.

Over the last fifteen years, we have witnessed an unprecedented growth of studies on the Greek Civil War, bridging many gaps in the understanding of its social and political dimensions. The book *Children of the Greek Civil War* by Loring Danforth and Riki Van Boeschoten, can be credited for filling a serious gap of knowledge of a politically charged contentious point, of the Cold War period and beyond. In 1948, thirty-eight thousand children were evacuated from their villages in Northern Greece. The evacuation programs were organised by the Greek Communist Party, with relocation of children to orphanages in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and by the Greek Government, which relocated them to children's home (better known as *paidopolis* (children's cities)) elsewhere in Greece. The book, the outcome of a long-term collaborative research, provides the first comparative historical reconstruction of evacuation programs through the combination of 'unexplored archival sources' (p. 9) and first-hand oral narratives, and a perceptive analysis of the political dimension of the so-called *paidomazoma* (literally: abducting children) in the present, accomplished through a challenging multi-sited ethnography that brings into light the voices and representations of children refugees, the ways they organised their lives and their understanding of the past. Furthermore, the authors have succeeded in pointing out with unusual clarity some crucial theoretical and methodological issues of contemporary debate in anthropology: as interdisciplinary, 'cosmopolitan' ethnography, children's agency, to mention but a few.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One, *Histories*, provides an accurate historical reconstruction in comparative perspective of both evacuation programs of the Greek Communist Party and of the Greek government. The in-depth analysis reveals the evacuations to be much more problematic than pretended by official discourses (of both sides) constructed around reciprocal allegations of 'kidnapping' the children (the instrumental use of the term *paidomazoma* had a precise anti-national meaning as it referred to the *devşirme*, the Ottoman practice of recruiting young Christians for the elite guard of the Sultan). The issue of 'coercion', as an example, is brought back to the complexities of factors and contexts in which the evacuations took place. Instead of relying on the strict alternatives between forced or voluntary evacuation, the authors point to a 'spectrum of coercion' (p. 8), that was also given by the precarious conditions of uncertainty defined by the conflict, in which people had to make their own choices. The contextualisation of the evacuation programs at the beginning of an 'international refugee regime' raises also relevant issues on the same birth of 'the refugee' as a recognisable figure, and the representation of 'displacement' as a fundamentally pathological status in the 'national order of things' (p. 187). The meaningfulness of this point is revealed by the repatriation issue and the different representation of 'home' outlined by the experiences of refugee children, with reference both to their individual trajectories and to the change of the geopolitical contexts in which they live, as the surfacing of ethnic tensions between Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia around the official name of the latter.

Departing from the ‘traditional scholarly voice of social historians’ of the previous section, Part Two, *Stories*, ‘restore both agency and voice to the refugee children of the Greek Civil War’ (p. 16). It contains seven life-history narratives, selected among many individual accounts in order to present a broad spectrum of life conditions and trajectories: individual accounts of refugee children in Greek children’s home; refugee children relocated in Eastern Europe, some of whom were brought back as early as the 1950s, while others decide to return themselves after the fall of the military junta in 1970s; and refugee children who did not return or were not allowed to return. It is the case of Slavic-speaking children (‘Macedonians’ or ‘Slavo-Macedonians’), who had come to develop a distinct identity from Greek-speaking children, later consolidated as a consequence of Greece’s refusal of their repatriation and the post-Cold War situation in the region, that made their return ‘impossible’ (p. 197), practically and symbolically, and in fact turned their condition from ‘refugee’ to ‘exiles’ (pp. 8, 213). The changed context in which their returning ‘home’ (a never univocal concept) has become impossible fostered a retrospective ethnicisation of the Greek Civil War, a conflict which was essentially political, although frictions related to ethnicity were not absent.

In Part Three, *Ethnographies*, the authors explore the ‘politics of memory’ and their contexts in the present, combining thick descriptions of official gatherings and commemorations with theoretically grounded reflections on the specificity of the ‘communities of memory’ that are created from the sharing of common experiences (‘experiential communities of memory’) or from the sharing of ideological and political frameworks (‘political communities of memory’) (p. 225). In their ‘multilocal’ ethnography of transnational networks and transnational diaspora communities, the post-Cold War context comes to light as the main political and ideological framework for the production of memory of the Greek Civil War and of the refugee children’s experiences. Mindful of the different layers of memory (individual, public, official etc.), of the dialectics between remembering and forgetting, the authors focus on the ‘memory wars’ that surround the contentious past of refugee children and the transnational settings in which nowadays they recur: from the transnational association of refugee children who identify themselves as Macedonians and are supported by the Republic of Macedonia, to the Greek-oriented Pan-Macedonian Association and the problematic memorialisation of the village Lia, in north-west Greece, birthplace of Nicholas Gage, author of well-known novel *Eleni* (1983).

Assuming Michael Herzfeld’s distinction between ‘history in general’ as an instrument of state ideology and ‘histories’ or ‘stories’ as fragments of social experience and intimate social knowledge, a main concern of the authors throughout the book is ‘the way individual narratives deconstruct both collective narratives of nations and the ideological frameworks in which they exist’ (p. 4). The way the authors deal with tensions between ‘individual’ and ‘collective’ narratives is strikingly balanced, thanks to a skilful combination of ethnographic styles and methodologies and, most of everything, to the empathy and intellectual honesty they disclose. Anything but rhetorical, in the concluding *Epilogue*, is the refugee children’s plea for ‘the value, the virtue, of remembering without rancor’ (p. 225).

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Weisbard, Eric (ed.). 2012. *Pop When the World Falls Apart: Music in the Shadow of Doubt*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 329 pp. Pb.: \$25.95. ISBN: 9780822351085.

The source of the collection *Pop When the World Falls Apart* is drawn on from the presentations at the annual *Pop Conference at Experience Music Project*. Since 2002, this has been bringing together different kinds of music writing: academics, musicians, critics, fans, music-enthusiasts etc. This particular book is shaped by the conference proceedings from 2006 to 2008 and its' crosscutting theme is the 'music in times of trouble: the role of pop at times when it seems that the world has fallen apart' (p. 3). Trouble is defined here widely: not only as an external phenomenon (i.e. wars, crises), but also as a part of our normal lives.

As multi-coloured as the pop music scene is, so too is this book. The articles and essays encompass inquiries from case studies of one musician/band to extensive studies about cultural/musical life. Most of them refer to pop music and the pop music scene in the US. A great advantage of this book, yet simultaneously a disadvantage, is the variety of the writing styles and genres of the essays, which shows the versatility of music criticism (as well as the versatility of people who writes about music). On one hand, it makes much more pleasure of reading to have academic writing pieces mixed up with journalism and literary impressions; on the other, some of the pieces remain in the unfavourable comparison.

Superficially, it looks like all eighteen essays, and articles are loosely linked or even ordered randomly, but according to the editor Eric Weisbard, the book is divided into five thematic sections.

The articles in the first section navigate to the turbulences of self. In the first essay of the book, Jonathan Lethem shows remarkably elegantly the physical acknowledging of pop music through dance. Greg Tate traces the history of Black Rock, Alexandra T. Vazquez exemplifies the idea of knowing nothing in the activity of music criticism and David Ritz demonstrates enthrallingly in his article why he became a ghost-writer, who has given voice to someone else (e.g. Ray Charles) while remaining in the background.

The common denominator to the second section is the setting place: Orange Country, California. In his article, Tom Smucker deals with the music in the 1970s: the Carpenters, Lawrence Welk and the Beach Boys. In the next article, by Eric Lott, Karen Carpenter is the theme, this time through the theoretical prism of Theodor Adorno. Karen Tongson explores the sociological and musical structure in the breakdance club Studio K at Knott's Berry Farm in Buena Park in the eighties, concerning race, identity, control, etc.

In my view (and maybe from the global or at least non-US viewpoint as well), the most valuable articles are in the third section, which shows how does pop music respond to massive troubles like war in Iraq (started in 2003) and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, US in 2005. This section is opened with an analysis by J. Martin Daughtry of the sonic dimension of the war in Iraq. Daughtry shows that people who live in conflict zones have evolved advanced listening skills to analyse the information from bellifonic sound in order to survive. However, these very sounds can both physically and

psychologically traumatised those who experience them. Through the analysis, as well as personal experiences by the service members of the Iraq conflict, the author shows that, through the sonic dimension of war, we can learn something general about listening. Larry Blumenfeld's article is about the jazz culture fighting for its life in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. Political and social statements are subjects for the next paper: Nate Chinen explores the coded context of the song *Somewhere over the Rainbow* by Israel Kamakawiwo'ole, which most listeners may not recognise.

In the penultimate section of the book, we can find four case studies dedicated to different music genres, including hip-hop, blues, retro-soul. In her article, Diane Pecknold shows how country-pop hit *By the Time I Get to Phoenix* interpreted by Isaac Hayes, later known as 'Black Moses', became a symbol of black cultural nationalism. The rise of retro-soul movement is given next in the book: Oliver Wang considers the movement both from musical and social aspects. Carlo Rotella's essay opens up Chicago blues scene and its last orthodox member, Magic Slim, who has not been influenced by other blues-related genres and is 'currently the strongest argument for Chicago blues as a living genre' (p. 230). The section closes elegantly with three monologues in the mode of documentary theatre based on interviews with Iowan hip-hop fans by Brian Goedde, Austin Bunn, and Elena Passarello.

The final section of the collection takes us to the world of punk and metal. Michelle Habell-Pallán provides an insight into the punk rocker Alice Bag's strongly Mexican influenced performance style in the Hollywood punk scene, particularly how Alice Bag flavoured the sound of punk with elements of *canción ranchera*'s vocal aesthetic, *estilo bravío*. In his article, Scott Seward examines the connections between folk music and extreme metal. At the very end, Kembrew McLeod writes about a media prank, which was born on the pages of *Spin* magazine in the 1990s in Virginia.

As a coda, the volume ends with an article about 'guilty displeasure' of hating Celine Dion by Carl Wilson, which also reflects a little the content of the book as well as the idea of Pop Conference in general.

Finally, the collection of papers *Pop When the World Falls Apart* serves an abundant source for those interested in pop music and culture, especially for understanding the versatility of pop culture as well as understanding the versatility of pop music criticism. Furthermore, there is undoubtedly much more to write about it than I have been able to express in short of this book review.

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Shepherd, Robert J. 2013. *Faith in Heritage. Displacement, Development, and Religious Tourism in Contemporary China*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press. 179 pp. Pb.: \$34.95. ISBN: 9781611320749.

In his study Robert J. Shepherd analyses the process of heritage construction and its numerous actors and segments, giving examples of diverging and sometimes quite opposite voices, showing positive as well as negative meanings people ascribe to it. Instead of a self-understood term 'heritage' or perceiving it as a straightforward, agreed upon and positive construction, as we observe happens in public discourse, the author shows all its complexity, its multiple layers and ambivalence. The different positions of power or the lack of it that heterogeneous groups and individuals possess direct their actions and reactions in regard to the naming of the heritage: they either enable them to make decisions and ride the wave of beneficial circumstances or they demand that they use sly tricks and transform themselves into at least temporary winners or they turn them into victims of the decisions coming from local and state centres of power or distant centres of world organisations.

The author focuses his analysis on Wutai Shan (Mount Wutai), one of China's four sacred Buddhist mountains. In this area, which has been a Buddhist site since the fifth century, with the Communist Party rising to power in 1949, projects of heritage protection are starting to be developed (with the initial denial of the religious significance and in the last two decades gradually with greater religious freedoms, redefining Wutai Shan as an economic source of a relatively marginalised region and including it on different national and provincial lists), that culminated in the proclamation of Wutai Shan a national park in 2005 and receiving the status of a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2009. Wutai Shan currently has 47 functioning monasteries and temples, with nine temples being inscribed on the UNESCO list. Most of the approximately two million annual visitors are Chinese citizens, primarily of the Han nationality, while there are hardly any foreign visitors. The author builds the ground for his analysis by giving a highly informative and concise insight into UNESCO's most important documents and strategies. He also points to the contradictions they contain (e.g. insisting on variety and non-homogenisation, but at the same time relying on a particular set of values elevated to a universal level) and a shifting relationship to tourism. Special place is given to the questioning of the term 'world heritage', as a cornerstone of UNESCO's program, in relation to specific social, political, economic, religious and other realities of each separate locality on the UNESCO list. The author incorporates his specific research into the context of Chinese history and contemporaneity, from which he, with great expertise, extracts the most salient points, making thus possible the understanding of the political circumstances and the government's changes of attitude towards the concept of heritage (after the introduction of the neologism in 1982 as much as before that).

At the centre of his research stand the multiple meanings that various actors ascribe to the transformation of Wutai Shan into a UNESCO World Heritage site. Shepherd sheds light on the support and investment of the Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party for and into heritage programs, through which ideas of development

and modernisation are inscribed into Wutai Shan, making this locality part of an ‘ongoing moral and spiritual campaign to shape Chinese citizens into proper modern subjects’ (p. 68). Alongside these official state narratives, the author presents many other voices: those of the representatives of local government, official guides, licensed and unlicensed salesmen, local residents, monks and nuns, visitors, etc. In this way, he creates with extraordinary care an image of this place within a dynamic relationship between heritage, tourism and religious practices. The complex management of Wutai Shan on the state, provincial and municipal level, a whole array of laws and regulations and the various uses and meanings ascribed to it by the various users make this locality an unfinished story about UNESCO’s program and its implementation in the Chinese context. ‘Demarcation of space’ (p. 37) and the plan to create a central zone free from commercial and residential functions (from 2005) make the sharpest cut into the living fabric of this space that the process of the construction of the world heritage site brought about (what is planned is the removal of 417 households with 1,309 residents from Taihuai and its surroundings and the demolition of 36 guesthouses and 108 shops). The displacement of residents from the Taihuai area, where most of the protected buildings are situated, into a planned housing complex 23 km away (designed for 1,857 households and 6,500 people), initiated at the end of 2007, physically inscribes new features into the landscape and speaks loudly about the contested points and problems, demonstrating what happens when strategic documents begin to take their shape in space and in people’s lives: demolishing homes in Taihuai and unfinished planned green surfaces on site of previous houses, shops and farmland, uncertainty, questioning and resignation, non-transparency and corruption in distributing compensation money, building on top of existing buildings as an effort to enlarge those sums, the astounding emptiness of the newly built housing complex, various renovations and building of some religious objects and the neglect of others, etc.

Wutai Shan as ‘the sacred space of the secular world heritage movement’ (p. 118) and ‘the sacred space of Buddhist aura and power’ (p. 150), appears thus as a space of ‘contested histories’ and a space of ‘exercise of power’ (p. 119), an arena of diverse creations and recreations of landscape, different interests and tactics. At the end of his study, the author sees this variety as a promise of a possible dialogue, which could contribute to the recognition and acceptance of ‘social landscape’ and ‘social vibrancy’ of Wutai Shan (p. 152). Instead of demarcation and creation of ‘clean’ zones in which all former complexity and vibrancy are erased, the author suggests a need for a greater sensibility to concrete social reality, which would prevent the informing of the world heritage sites following the same principles and the suppressing of the variety that lies in the very foundation of UNESCO’s agenda.

Shepherd’s study is a remarkably analytical, detailed and inspiring representation of one concrete case of heritage construction. His knowledge of Chinese circumstances and multiple field research that allowed him gaining insight and meeting the actors of this process have created a text that is informative and which tries to represent equally a variety of voices. I find especially valuable the extracts of conversations with the local population and visitors and the vivid descriptions of field situations he found himself in. The author in this book gives strong examples of the fact that he also emphasises

that ‘heritage programs, policies, and campaigns are inherently political’ (p. 47). By discovering various layers and cracks in the narratives about heritage, Shepherd writes out the multiple aspects of ‘faith in heritage’, which (in my opinion) can be extremely motivating for those for whom heritage and its connection to tourism, religious practices, development policies, human rights, etc. are interesting in the sense of research, but also for those who live with and in heritage.

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Samson, Jim. 2013. *Music in the Balkans*. Leiden, Boston: Brill. xvi + 729 pp. Hb.: €157.00 / \$218.00. ISBN: 9789004250376

A comparative music history of the Balkans, especially as seen in relation to political and cultural history, is a much-needed project. If such a history would ever be written, I thought, this would be a colossal editorial project based on the competence of specialists, grounded in a tight and equal collaboration between Western European and American scholars and their colleagues in South East Europe. Jim Samson, Emeritus Professor of Music, Royal Holloway at the University of London has undertaken this monumental effort alone, presenting a volume which embeds music history into the wider circles of cultural history.

The volume is a highly imaginative, often personally coloured account of music-making in the Balkans and its often contradictory meanings and appropriations – departing from Ivo Andrić's evocation of epic *gusle* playing in *The Bridge on the Drina* to the contemporary DJ culture in Kosovo. The volume, which in its essence has an inclusive and encyclopaedic character, shows how difficult it is to cover all aspects of musical life in the Balkans with the same expertise: popular music, classical music and ethnomusicology have distinctively different weights in the volume. This nevertheless should not impede a scholar from embarking on such a project. A careful reading of *Music in the Balkans* reveals that at the core of the publication project stood the idea to rehabilitate (in particular) the role of classical music in the Balkans from the early folklorists and modernists in early 20th century to the present day. Around this well-informed and exciting music history, which offers as well new insights into the institutionalisation and nationalisation of musical practice since the 19th century, the chapters on popular music and ethnomusicological issues are built. These chapters are discussed from the perspective of a scholar who is primarily trained in historical musicology: resulting in a synergetic approach, based on extensive literature work enriched by first-hand experiences of colleagues. Nevertheless, the momentum of fieldwork and performance is underrepresented in this book. This is particularly regrettable as the performance, and the subsequent processes of negotiation and construction of musical meaning are essential for many of the arguments the author discusses in his book. In this sense, the volume discusses the impacts and effects of codified 'musical products' and not the processes which charge music-making with particular meanings. Nevertheless, Samson (who has travelled in the Balkans since the 1960s) takes us on a journey beyond disciplinary boundaries, transcending different historical periods and different musical traditions. The chapters on popular music follow the path paved by Buchanan (2007) reusing several tropes established in the field of Balkan music studies: the link between music and politics, the Ottoman period as a shared cultural heritage, and the hybridisation of musical practice in the previous two decades. He nevertheless modifies and enriches these arguments in highly innovative ways. Referring to the musical heritage of Ottoman times, he makes a point in depicting the musical adaption process as a reciprocal endeavour: there was not only the transplantation of 'Anatolian traditions to the Balkan soil' but vernacular traditions in the Balkans played as well a key role in the formation of Ottoman musical traditions. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that

this book is focusing primarily on the musical past of the Balkans, e.g. the processes of folklorisation and ideologisation during communism or the current changes in musical practices through heritage politics, although mentioned, are not discussed at length. The already existing volumes of Rice (1994), Buchanan (2006), and Hofman (2010) may have been a reason for this conscious exclusion.

The way musical history is constructed in this volume also shows that the author has felt the need to position oneself in relation to the recent debates in musicology concerning terms such as ‘authenticity’, ‘collective identity’ or the ‘identity-generating meaning of place’. Generally, he takes up here a defensive stance: the relevance of place for the construction of musical meaning is indicative here. He argues for a continuing relevance of space-bound musical practice even if ‘place’ in postmodern times can become an attribute of music. A similar defensive position he takes in relation to the term ‘collective identities’, which he considers a valid research tool.

Throughout the book, several passages show the author’s interest in enriching the musicological perspective through excursions into the realm of philosophy and literature: Confucius, Orhan Pamuk and Alain Badiou all make their appearance in the book. At times, this gives strong interdisciplinary impulses: introducing Badiou’s ‘human agency’ into the context of Balkan music history pointing to the importance of cultural action within an occurring practice is such a positive example. At times, these cross-references are less convincing, however, and leave the reader puzzled, at times disturbed as they lead away from the main argument of the book. The final chapter dedicated to a more general reflection of ‘progress and degeneration’ is a striking example in this sense. Furthermore, political statements such as the author’s concerns about the accession of Turkey to the European Union are barely in the right place in a book dedicated to cultural practice.

However, the highly innovative potential of this volume, searching for commonalities and not for differences in Balkan music history, cannot be valued enough. The extensive and complete list of references (mainly in Western European languages) on 31 pages is worth alone buying this book. The book will surely have a lasting and positive impact for all following studies on Balkan music for two reasons: firstly, the attempt to look beyond the East-West dichotomy as translated into music, and secondly, the visionary call for a denationalisation of music history.

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Kapferer, Judith (ed.). 2012. *Images of Power and the Power of Images. Control, Ownership and Public Space (Space and Place Series)*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. vi + 155 pp. Pb.: \$27.00 / 16.85. ISBN: 9780857455147.

As Judith Kapferer emphasises in the introduction to this volume, symbols of power surround us. These could be symbols of religious power (such as churches), or political power (governmental buildings), or economic power (shopping malls) – they are all concrete expressions of abstract conceptions. These images of power, according to Kapferer, control and own public space, but also dominate our beliefs in order of things. From different perspectives and with different case studies from all around the world, the authors of the chapters examine issues that are taken for granted. Even though, as Kapferer stresses, these symbolic manifestations of legitimated power that are achieved through artworks, architecture, town planning, landscaping, and performance, are easy to find, the problem, and the purpose of this volume in the same time is to unravel the shifting relations between image and reality.

The volume is opened with an editor's chapter in which she suggest that Enlightenment traditions of criticism, rationality, scepticism, and argumentations eroded throughout the twentieth century and have been replaced by material profit and Western acceptance of unequal economic power. She studied the Frieze Art Fair in London from 2006 to 2009, and explored the idea of a ruling class that supports the production, consumption and competition for art-work as a pursuit of financial profit and social status, and the abandonment of art workers' culture-debating role in favour of stock market quotations and journalists' opinion. Kapferer concludes that once critique bourgeois public sphere is overwhelmed with culture-consuming society of corporate directors, oligarch and celebrities (p. 23).

The first chapter is followed by section of chapters that, in a way, all discuss 'concrete'. Penelope Harvey examines the aesthetic of state power and concrete as the key material used for the demarcation and ordering of public space (p. 28). In her highly engaging research, she analyses the appeal of concrete, the values attached to it, and the forms that are built from it (p. 29). Harvey is primarily concerned with the role of concrete in the transformation of public space in provincial Peru and argues that concrete is a form of matter that has the potential for both social and material transformation (p. 42).

Miles Glendinning continues with this idea and gives a brief overview of mass housing projects (that also used concrete as a material). He starts with examples from around the world, and then focuses on a case study from Great Britain and the tensions between municipal and national state agencies, and also between professionals oriented toward production or design (p. 48).

As a highlight of this section and discussion of the practical and symbolic meaning of the concrete, Don Handelman analyses cityscape of divided Jerusalem and architectural forms that do not have physical relations to each other, but together, according to Handelman, they create 'vector of force' in which vector refers to a line in space that has both the magnitude and direction of a quantity (p. 61). These architectural forms are different in origin and function: from a bridge, new historical museum of Holocaust,

buildings, to ‘separation barrier’ between Palestinian East Jerusalem and its hinterland (p. 62). Handelman argues that all these constructions shape Jerusalem’s cityscape and influence how the city is being shaped and practiced.

The next two chapters deal with the body as a material but also as an agent that interact and influence the world. Uli Linke opens this topic by analysing an exhibition on human anatomy designed by a German anatomist Gunther von Hagens. The corpses that are part of this exhibition are aestheticised to suppress any evocations of violence, victimhood or history. The bodies, argues Linke, are depersonalised and in that way dead people are transformed into ‘living’ corpses, artistic sculptures (p. 92). Mortality is denied, temporality negated, and in this way the dead are viewed as enduring monumental body architecture (p. 92). Laura Verdi continues this discussion when writing about the symbolic body and rhetoric of power. She starts with the image of *Corpus Mysticum Christi* (belief that considers all of Christendom to be a holy body of Christ), and then she moves to the body as represented in present-day celebrities.

In the next chapter, Allen S. Weiss picturesquely illustrates how the centuries old impulse of Kyoto residence to have a small garden cannot be neglected in contemporary image of Japan. In one of the shopping malls in Kyoto, in front of one shop, author finds a small stone placed alongside a clear bowl of water with plants floating in it surrounded by six potted plants on the floor (p. 116). He uses this example to criticise landscape theory, which according to Weiss, ‘suffers from a narrowly construed sense of representation, where rhetorical tropes figure gardens as pictures to be seen rather than fields to be entered, and analytic forms promote a static ontological model based on perspectival projections rather than a dynamic one found on kinaesthetic transformation’ (p. 121).

In the last chapter, Dinesan Vadakkiniyil analyses ritual connected *teyyam* or deity of Muttappan, from North Malabar, India. *Teyyam* is vital in symbolic representation of community. It is an image of power that unsettles all other images of state power and caste hierarchy. In the post-colonial period, *teyyam* is reduced to art, which makes it a part of the structure of the state. The sacred space of *teyyam* was usually a courtyard of joint families, but due to social, cultural and economic changes the sacred locale of the new *teyyam*, Muttappan might be a taxi stand, shopping complex or a household of small family.

The main concepts arising from these chapters are art, architecture (closely connected to material of concrete), body and ritual. However one could conclude that, in the end, it all comes down to the body. Body is defined as an agent in making art, building architecture or performing rituals, or body as a material being used. In this sense ‘body’ is becoming both agent and receiver of processes connected to power, i.e. the main topic of this volume. However, these ideas and conclusions, which this reviewer draws, are not discussed by editor. In her introduction, Judith Kapferer suggests various forms of representation and technical construction on her mind: ‘since these both embody and refract dimensions of the socio-political orders in which they achieve expression’ (p. 1). These different readings of the same texts are what makes this volume interesting. The volume is comprised with diverse case studies, from decidedly different geographical areas, and based in different historical and cultural contexts that everyone can draw

something unique and connect that with her or his recent research. This diversity and complexity of volume is simultaneously its main weakness. All in all, this is a proper collection of fascinating ethnographies, quality analysis and inspiring questions that could be of use to researchers and students interested in power relations and the symbolic meaning of material phenomenon.

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