Kalb, Don and Massimiliano Mollona (eds.). 2018. *Worldwide Mobilizations. Class Struggles and Urban Commoning*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. 256 pp. Hb.: $120.00/£85.00. ISBN: 9781785339066.

This is a book that had to be written exactly now, in the present moment, engaging as it does, with the "on-the-street movements" that are being seen all across the globe, from places as far apart as New York and New Delhi and spanning geographies from Brazil to Nepal. The 21st century has seen people from almost all walks of life come out of their homes into the streets. Unlike the labour movements of earlier times, this era is seeing a new phenomenon, that of "communing" or claiming of the city's urban space by those who are increasingly feeling the alienation of public space by state/policymakers, from common users to private corporate players. The claims are not just for wages and for jobs but also for rights to live a life of dignity and quality. The process of dispossession as highlighted by Saskia Sassen, in her works on urban spaces, is one that is clamouring for a redefinition or reinvention of the classical Marxian concept of class. Labour is being replaced by life conditions, the struggles of survival are cutting across class, as the so-called middle class is also being dispossessed through mounting debts in a neo-liberal market society that forces consumption levels on people not equipped to fulfil all the aspirations stimulated by burgeoning markets. Thus, the process of primitive accumulation in the present times is directly linked to dispossession, not only of land but of space (both physical and social) that should or was dedicated to the common person, public parks, children's playgrounds, rights to livelihood, to health and to clean air and potable water.

Capitalist accumulation and an aggressive market have negatively impacted the lives of people from all walks of life, except the very elite. The rich alone have been receiving all the benefits of a neo-liberal economy, passing on the burden to the 99%, made famous by the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement that originated in the largest and richest urban centre in the world, New York but spread its ideology everywhere. As this book suggests, the 99% can be viewed as a new class. Class in the 21st century is no longer linked to conditions of labour but the wider aspects of redistribution and consumption. It now relates more to conditions of life and struggles for survival as well as to human happiness and welfare. It is directly related to the environmental degradation brought about by industrialisation and corporate greed for unlimited extraction of the earth's resources and aggressive push for accumulation at the cost of all human life indexes.

The struggle today has extended beyond the right to wages, to right to health, right to breathe fresh air, right to aesthetics and generally for humane conditions of existence. It is for this reason that class needs to be redefined. However, the contributors and editors of this book do not wish to discard Marxism but redefine it in terms of disjunctions of "life-spaces" of the marginalised from the abstract workings of the global markets so that soaring GDPs can co-exist with homelessness and despair, where the rural and urban poor come together with a downward spiralling middle class. Terms such as "populism" and "selective hegemony" serve to describe the present scenario where Laclau's empty signifiers such as "state" and "corruption" often form a pivot around which diverse political groups can coalesce and mobilise.

The book draws on both contemporary philosophical theories such as those of Žižek and Laclau and the classical theories of Marx and Lacan but, most importantly and where the value of this volume lies, on ethnographic situations from across the globe. Each of the chapters is a careful and nuanced analysis of a contemporary populist movement for reclaiming urban space and for a transformation of the moral order. Thus, the new trend, as this book amply illustrates, is not just confined to the economy but also for more abstract values such as corruption and the environment; morality and aesthetics have entered into what is termed as "post-political".

This volume will come in handy for those who are interested in making sense of the conjunction of the political and the public and the manner in which they are reconfiguring in the present-day world.

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Scott, James C. 2017. *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States.* New Haven: Yale University Press. xvii + 312 pp. Pb.: $18.00. ISBN: 9780300240214.

Although author James Scott modestly describes this work as a 'trespasser's reconnaissance report' (p. ix), it is, in fact, a penetrating and sage analysis of early agricultural and state societies. Like Scott's previous works, the book is extremely well-written and continually surprises the reader with a brilliant insight or a felicitous turn of phrase. Scott's modest "trespassing" reflects his position as a non-specialist in many of the topics discussed here. Nevertheless, Scott uses this "outsider" status to force us to see a new forest above old trees. In the *Introduction* to the book, the author's "ignorance" serves as a useful narrative device to emphasise just how much traditional interpretations of the rise of civilisation have changed in recent years.

Scott's previous research focused on non-state peoples in Southeast Asia. In *Against the Grain*, the spotlight moves to Mesopotamia, but there is also considerable discussion of China and other regions. Moreover, the reader is continually struck by the implications of Scott's arguments for other regions—including Japan, which is this reviewer's area of expertise. Following the *Introduction*, the volume has seven chapters.

Chapter 1 summarises recent research on the domestication of fire, plants, and animals, and concludes with some observations on human domestication. Recent research by Dorian Fuller and others arguing that domestication was a long process that took several thousand years is used by Scott to argue that Neolithic societies were reluctant 'to rely on a narrow bandwidth of subsistence resources' (p. 60).

Chapter 2 borrows Ian Hodder's concept of the *domus* to examine the growth of later Neolithic societies. Timothy Morton's idea of *agrilogistics* is not cited by Scott but might have been used to deepen the argument here. In *Chapter 3*, the focus shifts to one of the major drawbacks of agriculture: zoonotic diseases. The artificial crowding of ever greater numbers of humans with domesticated and commensal animals in what Scott calls 'multispecies resettlement camps' led to a 'perfect epidemiological storm' (p. 93). This problem has, of course, been known since the pioneering bioarchaeological work of Mark Cohen and others in the 1980s, yet Scott does not fail to mention more recent research that has shown that early farmers nevertheless possessed a significant demographic advantage over hunter-gatherers. This last point has been further developed in archaeological research by Stephen Shennan and others in recent of years.

From *Chapter 4*, *Against the Grain* shifts to a wide-ranging analysis of state power and especially of how (early) states attempted to recruit and retain peasants to produce agricultural surpluses. A central topic of Scott's earlier book *The Art of Not Being Governed* (2009) was how to understand state power when almost all historical records and written by or for the state. This means that all countries with states have deep, unwritten histories that remain difficult to think about let alone research. *Chapters 4* to *7* of *Against the Grain* represent an enormously important attempt to explore this hidden history. Exemplary in this respect is *Chapter 7* titled *The Golden Age of the Barbarians* in which Scott argues that the peripheral areas around states were not simply un-governed but, in fact, constituted their own worlds with significant histories. Here his argument resonates with recent work in ar-

chaeology, for example by Kristian Kristiansen, which has concluded that a new economy of comparative advantage developed in the Bronze Age.

Scott's critical history of the state and "civilisation" is a deeply political exercise, something that I realised in a very personal way while working in Japan. A couple of years ago, I gave a short talk about Mount Fuji and the history of Japanese mountains to a hall full of politicians and bureaucrats in Shizuoka. In preparation, I had been avidly reading Scott's *The Art of Not Being Governed* as a theoretical framework to explore the Japanese sources on mountain societies. In my talk, I suggested that upland areas in Japan were probably also a zone of refuge and escape from state control. This was apparently not a happy message for that particular audience, and several people walked out *in flagrante delicto*. Some time afterwards, I was told that the name of the new institution at which I was then employed would no longer be called the *Mt. Fuji World Heritage Centre for Mountain Research*. Mountains, it seemed, were suddenly perceived by the Shizuoka government as dangerous places of resistance. (The institution in question opened its doors in December 2017 under the lacklustre name *Mt. Fuji World Heritage Centre, Shizuoka*). My re-evaluation of Japanese mountain histories was not only stimulated by James Scott. The well-known folklorist Kunio Yanagita (1875-1962) had anticipated many of these issues before the Second World War, describing Japan's mountain villages as egalitarian "socialist" societies. Scott has been one of the greatest theorists of non-state peoples and *Against the Grain* extends this approach from the highlands of Southeast Asia to an essentially global perspective on history. I thoroughly recommend this book which will, without doubt, become a key reference in history, archaeology and related fields. Experts will perhaps disagree on aspects of Mesopotamian archaeology and other details found here, but the overall significance of *Against the Grain* lies in its exciting new framework for human history since the Neolithic. As my own experiences in Shizuoka suggest, this will not necessarily be an easy journey. Nevertheless, Scott's new book is a wonderful reconnaissance into an exciting re-evaluation of the history of human civilisation.

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Eade, John and Mario Katić (eds.). 2018. *Military Pilgrimage and Battlefield Tourism. Commemorating the Dead*. London, New York: Routledge. 164 pp. Hb.: £84.00. ISBN: 9781472483621.

This edited volume, published as part of the *Routledge Studies in Pilgrimage, Religious Travel and Tourism* series, focuses on the analysis of professional military pilgrimage in the context of commemorative practices on battlefields scattered throughout the world. It comprises nine chapters that 'explore the varied ways in which memory, material culture and rituals are performed at particular places' (p. i). Given its spatial scope, the volume also raises the question of whether Western definitions of pilgrimage and tourism, as well as sacred and secular, can be applicable transculturally.

The book consists of two major parts, preceded by a foreword (*Chapter 1*) in which the editors provide a brief overview of relevant past research and key concepts regarding pilgrimage, commemoration, memory, and the ambivalence of the sacred. The first part concentrates on military pilgrimage commemoration and reconciliation, and it is opened by John Eade's contribution (*Chapter 2*) in which he deals with social and personal post-conflict healing in the context of the world-renowned pilgrimage site, Lourdes, where social unity is constructed through discourses emanating from formal institutions (civil, military, and religious). In *Chapter 3*, Kyoko Murakami observes reconciliation as a psychological process on the example of the Anglo-Japanese case regarding the so-called "Iruka boys" – British prisoners of war who were forced labourers in Japanese copper mines during the Second World War. Thanks to the efforts of local villagers, a wartime cemetery was relocated, and a memorial was built; from the 1990s, a group of activists invited surviving "Iruka Boys" to visit the site, thus creating a place of pilgrimage on which wartime experiences from both parties were interchanged. Eventually, the cemetery site transcended its original context and became a place where local history is unearthed, a place that promotes intercultural dialogue and peace. Biljana Skimić's contribution titled *KFOR soldiers as pilgrims in Kosovo* (*Chapter 4*) depicts the development of a Marian shrine that reflects political change brought about by the establishment of military pilgrimage by a NATO-led international peacekeeping force. Subsequently, this complex process transformed multiconfessional (though primary Catholic) site barely relevant outside the Yugoslav context into an international Catholic pilgrimage location. *Chapter 5* deals with the experiences of Canadian Armed Forces members who participated in the 2014 Nijmegen March – a 160-kilometre-long walk between battlefields and memorial sites from both the First and Second World Wars, which takes place annually in the Netherlands. Although it is considered as an athletic event that hosts thousands of civilians, the author – Canadian army chaplain Michael Peterson – based on the dialogue with many participants raises the question whether it could be perceived as a pilgrimage.

The second part of the volume revolves around military pilgrimages, battlefield tourism and contestation. Mario Katić's contribution (*Chapter 6*) explores the so-called "prayer hike" to Bobovac, the site of a medieval Bosnian royal fortified city, which Bosnian Croats members of the Armed Forces of Bosna and Herzegovina have been undertaking annually since 2002. The author argues that this institutionalised and politically

motivated Catholic military pilgrimage has a number of meanings for different national-religious groups in the search for their identity, which are drawn from narratives emanating from different interpretation of the past. Rohan Bastin and Premakumara de Silva's contribution in *Chapter 7* focuses on the one-sided perspective of the 25-year-long Sri Lankan conflict and its aftermath through the promotion of "military tourism" by the victorious Sinhala state. By observing the removal of monuments and the re-adaptation of battlefield sites in places for mass visits, the authors stress the state's primacy over the public narratives and practices concerning memory. Although the current engagement of tourists can be seen in the light of state-effected rituals, they are not denying its religious dimension but emphasising the lack of healing process in such practices. In *Chapter 8*, Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska analyses very interesting re-enactments of the military endeavours of Polish soldiers that fought in the Second World War, more precisely in the Battle of Monte Casino (Italy) and Battle of Arnhem (the Netherlands). Exploring the thin line between pilgrimage and a specific type of military tourism, the author notes that groups involved are surpassing the mere impersonation since they are cultivating some of the values associated with those who fought seven decades ago. Although they are not soldiers, their conduct is conditioned by a military codex, they feel a personal connection with veteran units, and they strive to honour them in accordance with military protocol. The author argues that the significance lies in the site itself, and one of her conclusions is that the reconstructed event falls out of the realm of sacred, unlike journeys to the battle sites, i.e., 'the re-enactment of particular events inspires fewer feelings than a pilgrimage to the site of a given battle' (p. 143).

In his afterword (*Chapter 9*), Robert Hayden emphasises the fact that this volume raises more general issues than those stated by the editors in the introduction – the question of how one should observe military pilgrimages and battlefield commemoration: as sacred, secular or somewhere in between; the question about the relationship between commemoration and social memory formation/reproduction processes, and under what circumstances the former affect reconciliation for both protagonists of the conflict and their descendants. Additionally, Hayden is introducing examples depicting US perspective regarding the subject of the volume, such as Gettysburg or commemorations of the 9/11 attacks, the latter in the context of sacred-secular spaces.

Military Pilgrimage and Battlefield Tourism serves as an excellent starting point, as well as reference material for future research, understanding and interpretation of contemporary pilgrimages and commemorative practices worldwide.

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Kreager, Philip and Astrid Bochow (eds.). 2017. *Fertility, Conjuncture, Difference Anthropological Approaches to the Heterogeneity of Modern Fertility Declines*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. 358 pp. Hb.: $130.00/£92.00. ISBN: 9781785336041.

This edited volume aims to contribute to the discussion about the mechanisms of fertility declines in the modern world, emphasising the inability of the established models of demographic transition theory to account for the differences in fertility regimes between the world regions, as well as between the subgroups within the same country. The ten case studies in this volume combine the ethnographic approach of recording the life histories of women of various backgrounds with "traditional" demographic data (census data, etc.) to elucidate how and why different social and cultural forces shape the opportunities and environments in which individuals make fertility decisions. The results of this process are different pathways to fertility and different subgroup fertility realisations, which are often obscured in the official, aggregate statistics. This heterogeneity in fertility regimes (especially in fertility declines) has been noted before and has been in the centre of compositional demography, i.e., a comparative study of society's subpopulations (p.2).

The central theoretical concept for explaining the heterogeneity of fertility proposed in this volume is that of "vital conjunctures" by Jennifer Johnson-Hanks. Building on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, she defines vital conjectures as '[t]he duration[s] during which multiple potential futures are in play (p. 330). These moments in life mark the time of uncertainty and possibility that conjoins otherwise unrelated aspects of life' (p. 328). Based on the life circumstances, gender, and socio-economic status of the individual, as well as his/her status in power structures, different events occur, and different horizons of opportunity appear. This concept is crucial in conceiving differential fertility outcomes, as well as other events in an individual's life-history. Also, as the individuals share the abovementioned social and cultural characteristics, their responses to vital conjectures will be similar, thus contributing to the similar subpopulation demographic realisations, such as the birth of a child, marriage, education status, etc. Nevertheless, it is necessary to emphasise that the response to vital conjuncture is not determined by individual's social and cultural characteristics; in fact, it is the process of navigation within the opportunities and constraints, making the place for individual agency. By invoking this theoretical concept, and by analysing the ethnographic account of different individuals within the social and cultural landscape, it is possible to explain the nuanced and often contradictory results of the official records data.

The development and the theoretical importance of the concept of vital conjunctures have been delineated in the introductory chapter by the volume's editors, and some of the concept's newest aspects and applications have been explained by Johnson-Hanks herself in the closing chapter. The *First Chapter* by Julia Pauli, examines the different fertility pathways of three groups of women in the rural community of Fransfontein, Namibia. The author shows that the emergence of three distinct groups of women is the result of the changing socio-political and economic environments. Some of the women became "elite" housewives, married to influential local politicians; some became independent, unmarried hostel workers, and some became unmarried and economically de-

prived. The individual women in each of these groups faced different vital conjunctures and tried to make the best for themselves in a given situation. The author shows that the reduced fertility in the region is attributable to the reduced fertility of unmarried women who space their births during the reproductive years to accommodate for other personal and economic gains. Thus, the fertility decline is not evenly distributed among women; it is concentrated within a group of women and is a reaction to a specific vital conjuncture.

The *Second Chapter* by Sarah Walters, explains how the missionary work of Catholic priests (White Fathers) during the 20th century not only affected the religious composition of East and Central Africa but also instituted the practice of registering vital events. The process and practice of registration were not identical to European sources, however. As the spread of Christianity in Africa was a process of negotiation and conversion between the mission and people.' (p. 92), so the interpretation of vital conjectures and demographic events were also constructed within the framework of "moral demography". Without the knowledge of how the demographic decision-making stemmed from vital conjectures defined by syncretism of legacy moral codes and Christianity, the parish church records would remain an unreliable source for demographic analysis.

The study of Tajik fertility patterns (*Chapter 3*, by Sophie Roche and Sophie Hohmann) addresses the difference between the high Tajik and low Russian fertility during the Soviet period. The modernisation theory posits that the industrialisation and urbanisation, along with the changing role of women, should bring the fertility rates down. This was the case for the Russian-speaking population, but not for the Tajiks. The authors argue that distinct self-identification of Tajiks, as well as the economic incentives to preserve the wealth within the kinship group, shape the marriage and fertility patterns so that the fertility remains high, despite the modernisation and enforced collectivisation. This chapter provides perhaps the most compelling case of the need to study the vital conjectures in explaining the heterogeneity of fertility decline.

The fourth chapter, by Patrick Heady, questions the usability of both economic and evolutionary models of explaining very low fertility in Southern Europe. By focusing on the community of Carnia in northern Italy, the author posits that these models predict a moderate decline in fertility, rather than the observed, severe declines. By relying on Dalla Zuana's explanations, Heady emphasises the impact of social pressure on fertility. The changing economic and social environment of contemporary Italian society puts the burden on psychological security to reproduce, especially in endogamous communities. Also, the waning of cooperation and social capital through mutual economic help erodes the ties needed to sustain the psychological support during family formation. The author closes with the statement that since fertility preference are not given exogenously, '[…] the system as a whole has certain properties that may not be deducible from the attitudes of the individuals within it' (p. 158).

The *Fifth Chapter* by Sarah Randall, Nathalie Mondain and Alioune Diagne, shifts the focus to the men and their attitudes on fertility control in Senegal. The authors identify three types of men based on their attitudes towards contraception: the ones strongly opposed, the ones in favour of contraception in the cases of birth spacing and health, and the ones in favour of contraception. The opposition to contraception stems

from the Islamic pronatalistic creed. Nevertheless, these values are in contrast with objective economic circumstances. According to the authors, Senegalese men stand in the middle of a vital conjuncture that could shift their attitudes toward more permissible ones.

Erica van der Sijpt in her study of reproduction in Cameroon (*Chapter 6*) focuses on exemplary cases of two women. Coming from different social backgrounds, these women experience a series of vital events (marriage, births, death of a child, etc.) that shape both the responses of their family members, but also their decisions during these vital conjunctures. The author stresses the importance of one's position among siblings and within a wider kin group, as well as the position in the wider network, on the marriage market, and in the marriage itself. Even though some of these positions are fixed, the author shows that the woman's "navigation" through the events during vital conjunctions determines possible future outcomes.

The following two chapters (*Chapter 7* and *8*, by Astrid Bochow and Lena L. Kroeker, respectively) examine the low fertility in two countries of Southern Africa, Botswana and Lesotho, respectively. For the case of Botswana, Astrid Bochow argues that as Botswana economically expanded, the women took up the role of educated professionals, trying to reconcile reproduction with their professional lives. Birth spacing with the use of contraceptives became ubiquitous. Later, other facets of modernity and consumption, along with the higher prevalence of HIV infections, established the patterns of low fertility. As for Lesotho, the modernisation created the need for female workers, making them their family's breadwinners, but also the supporters of larger family networks. These women adopted the use of contraceptive methods to space births and to choose when to become pregnant, thus initiating marriage negotiations by their own individual agency' (p. 271).

Eleanor Huskin (*Chapter 9*) provides an interesting study of contraception use in Cambodia. Her research shows that educated, urban, wealthy women prefer traditional contraceptive techniques such as withdrawal, periodic abstinence, and the calendar method, over more "modern" ones (condom, pill, IUD, etc.), which are used more by less educated and less wealthy women. These counterintuitive findings are explained by the beliefs of wealthy and educated women that the health is achieved using "natural" methods, without resorting unnecessarily to the "artificial" biomedical ones. Furthermore, some traditional methods such as day-counting assume the knowledge about the Gregorian calendar, which poor and uneducated women lack. As the author puts it '"Tradition" is a value-laden concept, signifying characteristics that do not fit with the meanings ascribed to such methods in Cambodia' (p. 305).

The last chapter (*Chapter 10*, by Yves Charbit and Véronique Petit), other than the afore-mentioned closing chapter by Johnson-Hanks, dives right into the heart of the relationship between anthropology and demography. It gives credit to the quantifying nature of demography to reveal the often-hidden societal patterns such as family structure, marriage patterns and household size. However, as seen in some of the other chapters, the very concepts that demography uses to operationalise the measurement process are value-laden and culturally constructed. The authors make four general points in addressing the 'epistemological weakness' (p. 319) of demography. Firstly, the "rational" action should

be assessed from the point of the actor and the context in which he/she acts, not from the researcher's viewpoint. Secondly, the researcher should be able to differentiate between the many merely ideational adjustments in the way in which life course events are seen [… and] more fundamental cultural change.' (p. 329) Thirdly, given that many individual characteristics are context- and culture-specific (e.g., religion, ethnicity, etc.), they should not be treated as monolithic "explanatory variables". Fourthly, '*homo oeconomicus*-type rationality' (p. 322) should be abandoned as the only epistemological position.

In conclusion, this volume offers much needed empirical support to the concept of vital conjunctures, but it also provides a more theoretical discussion explaining the reproductive decision-making beyond the mere economic rationality of the actors. The fact that demographic explanations should pay closer attention to the compositional effects, achieved through the individual agency within the "multiple potential futures" stands as the biggest strength of the book, despite the misprinted title on the front cover ("conjecture" instead of "conjuncture").

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Munro, Jenny. 2018. *Dreams Made Small. The Education of Papuan Highlanders in Indonesia.* Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. 216 pp. Hb.: $120.00/£85.00. ISBN: 9781785336843.

Education in Indonesia is greatly valued; it is considered to be the basis of a better life. For people who live in Papua, graduating school and stepping forward to go to university is a milestone. Without a good education, their chances of finding a job in the city are close to zero, and Indonesians from other islands think less of them, which again influences their quality of life. In her book, Jenny Munro describes in detail the struggle that Dani of the Central Highlands in West Papua undergo to achieve their education goals. *Dreams Made Small* might change the way we perceive Indonesians as a whole nation because the book illustrates the gap between the people of Papua and Indonesians from other parts of Indonesia; candidly, it shows the attitudes of both camps, and it does not only concern education. In her seven chapters, Munro takes us on a journey from West Papua to North Sulawesi and back again painting a full picture for us.

The book starts with a chapter that is dedicated to the lifestyle in Wamena via the stories of a few families, a glimpse of their everyday life, living conditions, employment, and where education and attitudes towards it on the part of people of different ages fit. The chapter has a short introduction on the history of education in Wamena, Papua, which helps to explain the life of students in North Sulawesi later in the book. Also in this chapter, the story of the role of religion starts to be revealed with the beginning of education in Wamena, and it continues throughout the book since the values of religion are something that Dani make the basis for their behaviour and even their motivation. The author describes several situations and adds Dani thoughts and explanations of the situations and relationships with Indonesians; she continues this approach in other chapters, bringing the stories to life and involving the reader even more. Since the research concentrates on Dani and their education, it lacks Indonesian opinions; for that, some additional research would be necessary.

In the central part of the book, the Dani dream of higher education is described in detail, starting with the second chapter, in which the author explains the education possibilities for Dani students and the conditions in which they live, not only physical but also social, such as in dorms and the inner rules that come with living together, money issues, the meaning of church, and how all of this is seen by Indonesians.

As mentioned, Jenny Munro has collected many stories from Dani students, and they are published in the book; some of the most colourful are in the third chapter, drawing the reader's attention not only to education but also politics, the conflicts in Papua and how they influence Dani students abroad without the students being involved in them. This chapter shares the worst of Dani feelings, fear, shame, being misunderstood and considered less not only through these political situations but also everyday routines, such as going to classes and socialising with Indonesians on campus.

The struggles of studies are further examined in the chapter titled Discipline is Important, in which Munro writes about the everyday activities at the university. This is where the students' idea of "good human resources" is explained, and examples are

given; this is something that every Dani student wants to fulfil; to do so, higher education is required. Different problems Dani are facing at the campus are portrayed with the help of several students describing their experiences. To continue the topics from the previous chapter, there are more examples of racialisation on campus, how Dani students are treated by their lecturers and other university staff, stories about their skin colour and hair that are compared to the visual ideal of Indonesians. The problem that everyone is aware of in Indonesia is corruption, and several examples are given of how money helps or disrupts studies and what Dani students have to go through to meet the expectations of payments.

Just like any other Asian culture, for Papuans, it is essential to be part of a group, since Indonesians do not accept them in their groups, Papuans form their own, and the book examines the social world and belonging to a group. The author writes about what types of organisations are formed and what are the roles for these organisations for individuals and for the students from Papua. She explains the differences between different student organisations and illustrates them with stories of students who recount the skills they have achieved while participating or the importance of organisations for the young students who have come to North Sulawesi.

The story of socialisation is continued with more private stories. Munro details how Indonesians see Papua students and the relations between males and females, including the types of relationships among Dani students, what is considered acceptable and what is not, and how these relationships, including romantic ones, influence education.

The last part of the book takes us back to Papua to show the lives of graduates back home. The author writes about the influence graduates have, whether it meet the students' expectations, the jobs they acquire, and how they are seen by other Dani.

This book is the honest story of Dani students, whichaccurately illustrates their steps towards education and fulfilling dreams of improving life quality back at home. It is a great resource for the reader to understand the position of the Papua people in Indonesia.

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Thelen, Tatjana, Larissa Vetters, and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann (eds.). 2017. *Stategraphy. Toward a Relational Anthropology of the State*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. 170 pp. Pb.: $27.95/£19.00. ISBN: 9781785337000.

Stategraphy, an anthology edited by Tatjana Thelen, Larissa Vetters and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann was released as the fourth volume of the *Studies in Social Science* series by Berghahn in 2018. Bringing together eight insightful contributions by different authors in the context of a profound introduction by the editors, in which the theoretical framework is defined, the authors set out to bridge the analytical gap between state image and state practice. They thus introduce *Stategraphy*, a term which at first doesn't roll of the tongue easily but proves to be a useful working concept of the state throughout the next 160 pages. The concepts basics are threefold: (a) based on relational modalities, exploring the (b) boundary work, and considering the (c) embeddedness of actors. The following chapters (stategraphies) apply these principles in analysing different ethnographic fields, all situated in the domain of welfare and in Europe, but each one with a different focus in the application of the analytical frame.

Thelen, Vetters, and Benda-Beckmann start by pointing out a theoretical void in the analysis of the state, even though other works have shown that a state and its concrete practice are to be distinguished from each other, resulting in an interconnected mismatch of "state image" versus "state practice", an examination for which no analytical tools exist today. Understanding the state as a complex, polymorphic net of relationships between individuals regulated by an elaborate set of rules, the approach stresses the analysis of the interactions between actors, especially state representatives. These interactions may be observed and set into context through the three above-mentioned principles of *Stategraphy*, on which the authors further elaborate; as actors have certain expectations and views of "the state", and state practice usually diverges with state image, a state is to be understood as 'created by, and experienced through, different relational modalities' (p. 8). The second analytical focus is boundary work, exploring how common dichotomies such as state/kinship are created, and what and how certain actions and interactions confirm or dissolve these seemingly opposite terms in constant negotiation. Thirdly, the embeddedness of actors is acknowledged and taken into account. As actors may be from multiple backgrounds, identify with different groups, and follow complex interests and patterns, this is crucial in evaluating states.

After having set the analytical fundament in the first part of the introduction, the following ethnographic settings are contextualised. The authors observe that the workings of the state have often been examined in non-European sites and/or in "states of crisis", thus exoticising states of the south, and running the risk of concluding in comparison with an "ideal state", which would be a fiction. Therefore, the eight contributions all discuss cases set in Europe, which offer a multitude of aspects to consider, such as the transformations after the demise of lived socialism. The common ground of the articles is the before mentioned analytical approach, and the topic all field sites share: Welfare. This issue already has a wide history of research and analysis to show for (not least through the prior works of the authors) and proposes comprehensive chances for understanding

the processes between "state image" and "state practice": a field in which citizens and representatives are in the most direct interaction with one another. Interesting dynamics have become visible through already conducted research: state representatives have been known to apply personal moral evaluations upon their clients, while citizens have been successful in making their voices heard and developing agency in the face of the state.

Through these modalities, each authors' chapter exhibits unique features of the location of the field, the domain of welfare, ethnographic methods, and varying stress in the implementation of the analytical framework. Chapters one to four rest upon ideas of relational modalities especially. Larissa Vetters opens with the portrayal of two cases of people tackling issues of displacement within Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, after the Bosnian War. Between the two different approaches of citizens appear the difficulties of people trying to connect and get in touch with the state, an ever-shifting terrain, through varying identifications. Where Vetters focuses on citizens, Vincent Dubois sheds light on French "street-level" bureaucrats in interaction with members of society, evaluating claims to social benefits through home visits. Here each state representative's individual room to manoeuvre becomes visible, through which, in this case, a neo-liberal active welfare state is substantiated, with the idea that citizens are responsible for their own social decay, and wider crises.

Also studying local social service providers, in this case in rural Russia, Rebecca Kay acknowledges the multiple levels on which state actors build and profit from relationships, within the social services and the village. She emphasises that these relationships are not at all anomalies, but bind image and practice of the state together, and how personal contacts and interactions are used to using the full, though scarce, the potential of the welfare system to benefit citizens.

Alice Forbes' and Deborah James' contribution on non-profit legal advisers in Great Britain further shows, that relational logic is not only helpful for actors with agency "between" state and civil society but utterly necessary in the fragmented structure of the state, to guide and support citizens. These actors narrow the constructed dichotomy of state and civil society. Rosie Read completely opposes this split in her article on hospital volunteers in two different Czech cities. She points out how little competition there is between state and civil society, and the multiplicity of additional actors shaping the alleged line of what or who belongs to the state, thus creating new forms of care.

Likewise, with a bigger focus on boundary work is chapter six, in which Tatjana Thelen, Andre Thiemann, and Duška Roth insightfully show how Serbian citizens include state-paid carers of the elderly into kin structures, and through this uphold the widespread image of the uncaring state. The last two contributions apply the third principle of analysis, embeddedness, in their stategraphies. Ștefan Dorondel and Mihai Popa present how EU food aid is distributed on a local level by Romanian state representatives. By evaluating the processes of identifying eligible clients, the communications between the officials on different levels and with citizens, and through the circulation of goods, the two authors succeed in making power dynamics visible through the embeddedness of the local actors. The last chapter, by Gyöngyi Schwarcz and Alexandra Szöke, demonstrates how two mayors in rural Hungary address the spending of public funds differently and the

reactions this entails. It becomes clear that the state image is negotiated on diverse levels, and that the mayors did not act as mediators of the Hungarian state, but rather formed individual ideas of the state, creating coherence by the power invested in them through the citizens.

Throughout the contributions, the threefold stategraphy approach proves well-applicable and useful. Where at first sight the selection of sites seems rather widespread and heterogenic, the analytical framework creates a leitmotif and coherence, through which reflected comparison is made possible. The relational approach offers a valuable and fruitful perspective on the workings of the state while using the field of welfare as a site has the power to represent and mirror tendencies and dynamics beyond the social sector of states. It is easily imaginable to apply the stategraphy-approach in other contexts, such as education, law enforcement, health care or city planning.

All authors come from backgrounds of extended research and publishing in this specific field of anthropology, and it is enriching to find their various insights accumulated and clearly structured by the analytical framework within one volume. As is the goal of the *Studies in Social Analysis* series, the anthology proposes an analytical approach fit to be adapted beyond the anthropological context and may also serve as an appropriate first glance into or a profitable way to revisit the fractured, ever-shifting fields that are states.

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