COUNTING STORIES, MOVING ETHNICITIES: STUDIES FROM AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Edited by
Rosalind McClean, Brad Patterson and David Swain
Hamilton: University of Waikato, 2012. xi + 254 pp.
ISBN 9780473197094

Reviewed by
Avril Bell, University of Auckland

Counting Stories, Moving Ethnicities is about quantitative data in ethnicity research, but this collection is more complex and layered than that statement suggests. The editors and contributors are interested in counting *stories*; the focus is at least as much on the development and mobility of ethnicity categories, and fleshing out their meaning, as it is on the data generated. As the editors say in the Preface: 'shifting concepts and categories, perceptions and stories, are as significant for quantitative studies of human societies as calculations of percentages and averages and measures of variance and correlation' (p.v). This is a refreshing approach from my point of view as a qualitative researcher – here social categories are not treated as reflecting an empirical reality, but as 'proxy measures' that often reveal 'far more about the ideas and world views of the observers/classifiers than those of the observed' (McClean 1996:3). The collection is also concerned with 'moving ethnicities' in a number of senses – with the effects of migration on ethnic identities, with the mobility and shifts in the categories themselves across time, and with the movement of people *between* categories. A final layer is added by the aim of the editors and contributors to encourage social science researchers to consider a diverse range of possible sources for quantitative research data. Contributors to the collection draw on the census, births, deaths & marriages data, church records, asylum record and family genealogies. As well as themselves being sources of quantitative data, these forms of social record enrich and give life to the numbers, with stories of individuals and families at times acting as vivid reminders that the categories and counts of quantitative social research represent actual people and their lives.

The object of study at the heart of this collection is the ethnicities of the dominant cultural group(s) of Aotearoa – the ancestors of present day Pakeha/European New Zealanders. In turning an 'ethnic gaze' (p.v) on the white majority, the collection follows a growing trend towards the study of 'majority ethnicities'. Thus the editors and contributors are interested in opening up the category of Pakeha/European to greater complexity and marking the migrant origins of this population (McClean 1996:14). This is a welcome and timely addition to local scholarship on cultural identities. Brad Patterson (p.208) implies that such investigations counter the assumption that the majority is just normal and unproblematic, but I am not sure this kind of study makes the majority a problem per se. Rather, it enriches and adds depth to the 'empty alterity' (MacLean 1996) of 'Pakeha' and 'European New Zealander', contributing to Pakeha stories of becoming.

The origin of the collection was a 2007 workshop on 'ethnic counting' organized by Brad Patterson and hosted by Victoria University of Wellington. The workshop was concerned with the demographics of Scottish migration to Aotearoa New Zealand and more broadly with methodologies used to measure 'ethnic and cultural transfers in the British World' (p.v). Five of the papers in the collection developed from this workshop, with the opening two, by Tahu Kukutai and Mike Goldsmith, being specially commissioned additions exploring the history of counting Maori and counting Europeans in the New Zealand census.

Kukutai provides an overview of three distinct eras in the counting of the Maori population in national censuses, the shifts involved clearly demonstrating the political nature of ethnic categories in such national datasets. She makes the important point that the census produces data *about* Maori, rather than *for* Maori (p.48), and suggests that the indigenous status of Maori could be recognised in our national statistics in a number of ways, including greater use of tribal and descent statistics (p.49). Goldsmith's account of the history of census counts of the white settler population centres on the persistence of the category of 'European' while highlighting its shifting significations from the 1850s to 1950. He says that over time it becomes split between two usages – one where it is synonymous with white or British; and the other, since 1945, where it refers to someone from continental Europe or even elsewhere, not British (p.69–70). In general – apart from the point at which it included the Chinese – 'European' has worked to mark at least some, if not all, of the white population of the country.

Both Rebecca Lenihan's chapter and that of Jo Barnes and David Swain of-

fer insights into the value of using genealogical records in academic research. Lenihan reports on the methodological decisions underpinning the counting Scottish migrants in the Scottish migration study (who to count and how to count them) and the impact of those decisions. She also demonstrates the value of the genealogical data, which allows for the tracing of individuals and fleshing out the quantitative data with qualitative stories. Barnes and Swain most directly argue for the value of genealogical research to academic researchers. This chapter would be an essential source for anyone contemplating the use of genealogies for the first time. The authors survey examples of academic research based on genealogies, citing Daniel Bertaux's argument for social genealogies based on three or more generations of a family and the data they can provide in comparison to survey data with its individual focus (p.136). They then offer a very useful overview of sources used in genealogical research and repositories of genealogies in New Zealand.

Ian Pool seeks to explain why pre-1880 Pakeha New Zealanders had much larger families than their British counterparts, and again, this chapter highlights the complexity of answering such a question adequately, which, Pool argues, requires a combination of demographic data and analysis and social and genealogical history. Gerard Horn investigates the Irish Protestant community in Wellington, 1870–1930, asking why, unlike the Irish Catholics and the Scots, it 'failed to develop a distinctive, inter-generational, communal identity' (p.152). Horn uses death and marriage certificates to investigate a number of population factors contributing to the disappearance of a Protestant Irish community, at the same time demonstrating what rich sources of data such records are.

Angela McCarthy analyses the appearance and use of ethnicity data in mental asylum record prior to 1910. Analysis of admissions records and casebooks provide insights into how ethnicity was defined and utilized at the time and, again, provide qualitative data to flesh out the statistics on admissions. It is interesting to find evidence of the food requirements of different groups being catered to (p.200) and to note the lack of racial/ethnic separation of patients, although a desire to separate off the 'leprous Mongolian' appears in case notes (p.195).

Overall what this collection demonstrates is firstly, the social and situational nature of ethnic identities that change according to circumstance and politics, and secondly, the abstract nature of ethnicity as an analytic construct. The puzzle of how to decide what exactly to count as a marker of ethnicity is clearly exposed by these scholars rather than glossed over, making the overlap of categories of ethnicity, nation, 'race', region and tribe all clearly evident. There will

be something here for a wide range of researchers into the dominant group in New Zealand – and Maori in relation to Kukutai's chapter – and many useful examples to get across to students the work that is required to pinpoint the moving target of ethnicity.

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MacLean, M. (1996). The silent centre: where are Pakeha in biculturalism? *Continuum: journal of media & cultural studies,* 10(1): 108–120.

IMAGINING LANDSCAPES: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Edited by
Monica Janowski and Tim Ingold
Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012. 169 pp.
ISBN 978-0-81470732-6

Reviewed by
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This excellent volume, in Ashgate's 'Anthropological Studies of Creativity and Perception' series (two others of which Ingold has also edited or co-edited), comprises eight chapters by social anthropologists and archaeologists and grew out of a panel convened by the editors at the 2009 ASA conference at the University of Bristol on the theme 'Archaeological and Anthropological Imaginings: Past, Present and Future'. On page 2 of his Introduction to the book, Ingold gets down to the business of interrogating the idea around which the ensuing case studies cohere: that all seeing is imagining. 'To imagine, we suggest, is not so much to conjure up images of a reality 'out there', whether virtual or actual, true or false, as to participate from within, through perception and action, in the very becoming of things' (p.3). For Ingold an imagined landscape is not a composition of objects and surfaces; it is a landscape 'not of being but of becoming' (p.10). Drawing on visual psychologists (Richard Gregory, James Gibson), philosophers (Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Gilles Deleuze with psychoanalyst Félix Guattari), artists (René Magritte, Paul Klee) architect Alvaro Siza, historian Simon Schama, art historian Ernst Gombrich, geographer Doreen Massey, and various others from disciplines beyond anthropology, Ingold fascinatingly advances the thesis that the perceiving or imagining human participates in 'the perpetual self-making of the world' where 'the landscape imagines and re-imagines itself through the awareness of its perceivers' and

where 'things do not so much *exist* as *occur*, each along its own trajectory of becoming' (p.14).

It's an erudite, appealing and eloquently put thesis, one I find very helpful in thinking about animism, but I wonder about Ingold's repeated emphasis on *becoming* over *being*: 'becoming' suggests at least an imagined or anticipated – if not ultimately achievable – endpoint to a process, when becoming will eventually give way to being. 'Becoming' suggests progress towards something, somewhere or some state (as in, for example, this girl is becoming a woman; the sky is becoming darker). 'Becoming' intimates coming, eventual arrival. Indeed the Oxford Dictionary defines 'become' as 'come to be, begin to be'. Thus, rather than being very different ways of thinking about things, landscapes and life itself, *becoming* and *being* can be seen as rather intimately and processually connected. What Ingold is describing seems to be less about *becoming* than about an ever changing, dynamic and infinitely complex interplay of *being/s* (noun and verb), where any lines we might try to draw between imagination and landscape, interiority and exteriority, reality and perception, the world and its representation, self and other, are less important than the co-creative processes which continuously engage all of these – life consists of the stories-in-progress of all beings and being in perpetual 'correspondence' (p.14).

In the work of the volume's contributors Ingold distinguishes at least three ways of imagining the past in the landscape: the materialising mode, which turns the past into an object of memory for consumption as heritage; the gestural mode, where memories are forged in the process of reconfiguring ancestral activity, and the quotidian mode, in which what remains of the past provides a basis for the on-going life of folk in the present. These modes all entail particular inter-relationships amongst past, present and future. Each chapter provides a specifically-located concrete engagement with the introduction's abstract ideas; hence coherence in diversity is achieved.

In chapter two anthropologist Jo Vergunst explores the landscape of Bennachie hill in Aberdeenshire in north-east Scotland, where a community-based archaeological project – mostly involving surveying and archaeological drawing (Ingold's gestural mode) – does not just inform a reconstruction of the past, but is a site of active social relations between generations of inhabitants and landowners, 'then' and 'now'. In an argument about the interactions of cognition, body and landscape, Vergunst suggests that the very act of moving around an old house-site '*as if one were dwelling there*' (ital. in original) – entering the site via a doorway rather than climbing over the pile of stones next to it, for example – turns the site into a house again. The people who once lived

there are remembered and imagined through the bodily gestures of people in the present, and, in a sense, are made present again.

Archaeologist Tessa Poller's chapter begins with a social and archaeological history of blackhouses in the landscape of Ness on the Hebridean island of Lewis, then goes on to describe the Ness Archaeological Landscape Survey of blackhouses in which she participated and which involved engagements with people living in the townships today. Constantly transforming and adapting, blackhouses (which consist of thatched roofs on low thick walls of earth with an outer facing of unhewn stone, associated with the 19th century agricultural system of crofting) are the embodiment of change and continuity. Poller came to see that the archaeological perspective, with its focus on the material, both complemented and differed from the perspectives of local communities. For local people today, there was no line between the material past and present; blackhouses were incorporated in the contemporary landscape in a variety of ways: as grass-covered mound or ruin in the landscape, as converted barn or storage area, or 'renovated' for use in some other way. While the physical remains of the past were thus deemed part of the present landscape, the lives of past people belonged to a separate bygone era; they lived on in stories and memories.

Laura Watts' chapter exquisitely describes her ethnographic work in the Orkney islands, famous for their concentration of stone circles, standing stones, passage graves and stone settlements from the Neolithic to the Vikings and Picts, including the 5,000 year old Ring of Brodgar stone circle – the archipelago was apparently once a prehistoric centre for social and technological innovation. Watts recounts her experience of hosting the tour of a venture capitalist scout from California's Silicon Valley who was looking to invest in the nascent marine renewable energy industry in the islands, potentially bringing forward to the present the 'story' of the islands' reputation for technological innovation. Watts' own ethnographic interest is the future of the islands, and specifically a variety of contemporary innovative projects which weave together the people, landscape, and seas surrounding Orkney into a co-creative collective. Ultimately, and disappointingly for Watts and the Orkney islanders, the venture capitalist was not interested; he was searching for an investment with potential exportability on a global scale, and the various Orkney projects, though demonstrably successful, were all tethered to the local landscape and seas, projects of local, co-operative re-imagination.

Kaori O'Connor's study of the coastal environment of the Gower Peninsular in South Wales draws on archaeology, history and ethnography to explore

the complexities and contradictions of coastal conservation. The area is designated an 'Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty', a place of exceptional archaeological and historic interest, and is a place whose aquatic resources have been important to its inhabitants since the Neolithic. However the interests of local shellfish farmers and seaweed gatherers conflict with the leisure and recreational use of the area in the designation of parts of the coast as a Marine Conservation Zone. O'Connor argues that the most important relationship between people and landscape 'is not being in it, but having it be in you' (p.121); she is being literal in referring to the responsible consumption of the coast's resources.

Moving away from Britain, Stefano Biagetti and Jasper Morgan Chalcraft consider the case of the Kel Tadrart Tuareg, a small pastoral lineage dwelling in the Acacus Mountains in south-western Libya. Theirs is part of a much larger long-term project looking at the role of animal husbandry in the area since animal domestication in the prehistoric past. Sophie Haines' chapter looks at present conflicts in relation to land use, development, rights and representations in culturally diverse southern Belize in Central America. Echoing a theme present in many chapters, she concludes that:

> we should continue to acknowledge and critically develop not only a political approach to ecology, but also a phenomenological and holistic ecological approach to explaining political processes, emphasising experience, relationality, interdependence, adaptation/maladaptation, and the *longue durée*, without overlooking the real outcomes and significance of specific events and power relations within historical structures (p.116).

The final chapter by Monica Janowski, the volume's co-editor, draws on long term ethnographic fieldwork in the Kelabit Highlands of Sarawak to pick up and run with Ingold's ideas about the processual and interactive nature of all life. Kelebit ideas, Janowski shows in lucid and exquisite detail, can be used to 'encourage us to think further about the nature of individuation within a continuous flow of power and life through the cosmos' (p.143). The chapter provides a fitting, living example of the ideas which propel this fascinating and stimulating volume.

DECOLONIZING SOCIAL WORK

Edited by
Mel Gray, John Coates, Michael Yellow Bird, and Tiani Hetherington
Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 381 pp.
ISBN 978-1-4094-2631-8

Reviewed by
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The editors of *Decolonising Social Work* are known for extensive work on social work practices and publishing the views of Indigenous practitioners. The book deconstructs social work using a collection of writings divided in four parts with sixteen chapters written by various authors. It is a stimulating piece of academic writing, provides insights into the experiences Indigenous academics encounter working in the university environment, and challenges western interpretations of social work. It addresses issues regarding language, and the power behind terms, applied in the field of social work, by a Western engineered education system and the impact of these on Indigenous people and their communities. When the authors base their discussions and investigations on their experiences as Indigenous educators, the quality of text was raised because it altered the chapters from a review of Indigenous literature to theory applied in practice. This written application that merges theory and practice is consistent with various literature and research published by Indigenous authors.

Part I, 'Theory: thinking about Indigenous social work' offers viewpoints from an Indigenous perspective of western interpretations of social work. The best stories were those from Indigenous authors who claimed their indigeneity from the start of the chapter then proceeded to share their experiences. This approach kept the separation between a) talking as an Indigenous person but writing from a Western perspective; and b) talking as an Indigenous person and writing from an Indigenous perspective. The latter is the preferred approach in decolonizing social work.

Part II, 'Practice: from the bottom up' addresses community development experiences. Relating stories about community based social work reinforces the notion of decolonizing social work because Western practices are now moving from delivering a holistic approach to social work to a clinical contract based model. This chapter emphasizes the importance that different ethnicities require local approaches to deliver social services.

Part III, 'Education: facilitating local relevance' attempts to raise the profile of Indigenous subjects and Indigenous curriculas. It highlights problematic issues for those who do not understand the local cultural context and the impact on their practice. It reasserts the need for educational institutions to retain and maintain relationships with communities of Indigenous cultures.

Part IV, 'Research: Decolonizing methodologies' gives an expanded view to the work of indigenous authors, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's, book that has the same title. 'Decolonizing Social Work' validates Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous research to a global audience. The book authenticates the Indigenous voices as authors critique social work practices and principles to manifest rational thought and inquiry. The editors' ability to bring together authors representing international communities across the world strengthens the quality of the book. A weakness emerged when the author(s) did not identify their genealogical connections to the Indigenous people they represented or reverted to retelling published examples rather than personal stories. This failure has been criticised by Indigenous writers for decades in their quest to speak for themselves, identify their culture, and interpret their knowledge, rather than have others publish their experiences or revert to Western examples to discuss indigeneity. As an Indigenous academic, I believe books like this are important for the growth of Indigenous knowledge and having worked in the academy for over a decade, some issues raised were like a replay of daily life experiences. The book gives a breakdown of ways individuals can deconstruct the curriculum and programmes associated with social work education that differ, in purpose, from the rigid western science practices associated with literature on cultures, ethnicities, colonisations, and communities. The chapter contributors, akin in style and intentions, highlight the struggles Indigenous academics encounter in social work education and practice and expose a truth, seldom discussed, from a philosophical base in a written language that was understandable, documented, and formed from the collaborations of many people. This book provides thought provoking perspectives about Indigenous people and a base to continue further discussions on ways to decolonize social work.

SERENDIPITY IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH: THE NOMADIC TURN

Edited by
Haim Hazan and Esther Hertzog
Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 332pp.
ISBN 978-1-4094-3058-2

Reviewed by
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Anthro-nomadology and the life of the wandering mind

Haim Hazan and Esther Hertzog's *Serendipity in Anthropological Research: the Nomadic Turn* is a curious book about the curious subjects, practices and pathways that constitute sociocultural anthropology. The reader, if she or he is like this one, is likely to be seduced by the intriguing title. Yet as we should know by now, appearances can be–and often are–deceiving. This review will aim at clarifying just what this recent addition is about and what it appears to be trying to achieve for the discipline.

First, 'the nomadic turn' subtitle does not refer to en vogue Deleuze-Guattari-speak, as might be assumed. There is no mention of rhizomatic thinking or lines of flight here, though such ideas are implicit and apply to many chapters and perhaps the book as a whole. The reader soon learns that 'the nomadic turn' has a somewhat confusing double meaning. On one hand, it refers literally to research on nomadic tribes, as carried about by contributing authors working mainly in Israeli and middle eastern contexts. Yet it also refers metaphorically to the meanings and implications of anthropological research (in this case primarily on nomadic peoples, immigrants and other mobile populations) as an inherently nomadic enterprise. In other words, this is a book concerned with research on nomads as well as a methodological call for recognizing the nomadic qualities of anthropology as a discipline, profession and lifestyle.

The book is inspired by and dedicated to the work of Emmanuel Marx, an eminent Israeli anthropologist and Professor Emeritus at Tel Aviv University. If you have not heard of Emmanuel Marx, then like this reviewer you probably have not been reading enough anthropology from this region. In this case, the book is a welcome opportunity to become familiar with the themes, trends and contours of Israeli anthropology and the anthropology of nomads. Marx is a major figure in this respect, who since the late sixties has been researching pastoral nomadism, particularly the Bedouin in Israel, South Sinai and Egypt,

as well as immigrants, hashish smugglers, asylum seekers and Palestine refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza. The first anthropologist to receive the Israel Prize, he is described by the editors as 'a mentor of nomadism with an anthropological home'. The introduction and many of the subsequent nineteen chapters engage with and appraise Marx's work.

Chapter two – 'Nomads and Cities' – is a fascinating read by the veteran anthropologist himself. Here Marx traces his long-standing research on the Bedouin of South Sinai, explaining the various stages his conception of nomadism went through. The reason for this excursus, we are told, is that 'conceptualization stands at the core of anthropological work' in that conceptions determine 'which aspects of reality we see and which we ignore' (p. 31). He also stresses the importance of anthropologists being prepared to make 'a radical fresh start' in new fields and not being overly reliant on previous research experience. Instead, he advocates a context specific approach which allows for serendipity, chance and revision of previous conceptions.

Elsewhere Marx has observed that the chief characteristic of nomads is their 'continual adaptation to a changing world' ([2006: 92] p. 1), which the editors proclaim is 'precisely the ethnographer's experience':

> …the nomadic force drives anthropologists from one idea to another, transcends boundaries, shifts involvements and transforms commitments until it is finally arrested and shaped in published text. We believe that the flirtatious interplay between the anthropologists wandering mind and the transient field could strike a seductive chord for accounting for that process of turning lives into works...

Many chapters serve as anthropological memoirs, in which their authors recount the twists and turns their careers and the directions their lives took as a result of their work as anthropologists. This is likely a theme that many anthropologists will be able to relate to. Authors make connections between their personal biographies and the various research topics and contexts they carried out and how each shaped and impinged upon the other. For instance, in chapter four, Eyal Ben-Ari reflects on his experience as an Israeli soldier during the first Palestinian Uprising (1987-92) and as a fieldworker in a Japanese day-care, tracing how facets of his identity as Jewish, male, scholar, soldier and committed citizen figure into his research and writing. The notion of serendipity is what links these diverse and sometimes rambling stories, though curiously the concept is rarely discussed explicitly or even mentioned throughout the book.

In the introduction, the editors tell us:

> We choose to invoke the mythological concept of serendipity to mark the intuitive logic that transcends both subjectivity and objectivity, by which fluid anthropological sense is articulated and constantly reformulated (p. 2).

Aside from this, it is largely up to readers to make their own connections about the role of serendipity in anthropological research. While implicit in nearly every chapter, a conclusion that drew together the book's overall thesis on the place of serendipity in anthropological research would have been welcome. And for those who wish to explore this fascinating concept – which is not only mythological, but scientific – Merton's *Serendipity* is a wonderful treatise.

The book sits at just over three hundred pages, with nineteen chapters following a short introduction. The editors organised the chapters into five parts, given the nomadesque titles: Navigation, Mirage, The Journey, Wandering and Oases. They provide justification for these titles in the introduction, though this reader did not always make the connections.

At best, the accounts of how anthropological works and lives play out fuel the call for greater reflexivity and demonstrate why attention to the role of chance, indeterminacy and uncertainty is important and too often overlooked.

At worst, the memoir-like stories are overly personal, difficult to follow and not very relevant. Recommended for those interested in the anthropology of nomadism (literally) and for those interested in reflections on how anthropology as a way of life leads to unexpected places, detours and unintended consequences.

LIFEWORLDS: ESSAYS IN EXISTENTIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

by Michael Jackson

London: University of Chicago Press, 2013. 337 pp.
ISBN-13 978-0-226-92365-9

Reviewed by
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Lifeworlds: the existential-anthropological vision of Michael Jackson

The 2013 publication of *Lifeworlds: essays in existential anthropology* marked an exciting occasion for readers who follow the work of veteran anthropologist Michael Jackson. The excitement has to do with the fact that for the past three or four decades, Jackson has been a clear and singular voice in a field where few voices remain audible. Rewarding readers with equal amounts of intellectual rigour and literary pleasure, Jackson's books somehow manage to bring together theoretical refinement and methodological advancement with poignant storytelling, poetry, personal confession and philosophical wonder. A seasoned ethnographer, he writes with the style and grace of a mature novelist, weaving lived stories with penetrating insights from existential philosophers, poets and other voices one does not expect to find in books of anthropology. A sensitive observer and narrator of the human condition, Jackson skillfully guides readers on paths through many of life's most vexing questions. Along the way, we see that the trials and tribulations human beings face, the suffering they endure, the ways they learn to cope and find meaning in the face of pain, uncertainty and injustice are just so many variations of what is at the core of being human.

Lifeworlds is no exception. The book is, as the back cover tells us, 'a masterful collection of essays, the culmination of a career of exploring the relationship between anthropology and philosophy'. In twelve chapters, including a generous introduction and epilogue, the book covers a wide range of topics, including divination, anarchy, migration, the perils of war and ordinary human suffering, autonomy, the body and technology. Despite such diverse themes, *Lifeworlds* is sufficiently held together by Jackson's sustained engagement with basic questions of meaning and existence. 'The focus of existential anthropology,' as stated in the introduction 'is the paradox of plurality and the ambiguity of intersubjective life' (p. 9). Within this overarching focus, Jackson defines five themes that define the scope of existential anthropology. The first and most prominent is the 'relational character of human existence', which is discussed using the phenomenological concept of 'intersubjectivity'. Jackson is careful to qualify this term with four provisos, though some readers may take issue with his heavy reliance on it. After all, the second, third and fifth themes are more or less variations on intersubjectivity, while the fourth theme points to the gap between conceptual representations and things as they actually are or might be. Although Jackson's approach can be described as philosophical anthropology (informed almost exclusively by existential-phenomenology and American pragmatism), he remains true to an ethnographic ethos and a firm commitment to fieldwork (see especially chapter 12). *Lifeworlds* is described as an attempt to realize a vision of an anthropology that deploys a 'double perspective that encompasses particular situations – local, familial, and personal – *and*

general conditions – global, national, cosmopolitan, historical, and human' (p. xvi). In other words, this is an anthropology that seeks to uncover the universal in the singular, and the singular in the universal.

The book is organised chronologically, spanning some of the author's earliest writings from the mid-1970s to the present, thus serving 'to chronicle one person's ethnographic journeys and the reflections these inspired' (xvii). This retrospective is assisted by short introductions to each chapter, where Jackson tells us what he had in mind when writing a particular piece and how it corresponded to where discourse of sociocultural anthropology was at particular points in time. For instance, when he wrote chapter three, 'Knowledge of the Body' (as a lecturer at New Zealand's own Massey University), he tells us how aside from Mauss' early work on techniques of the body, Bourdieu's writings on habitus and just a few others, the body was largely taken for granted in favour of structural and symbolic analysis. Such backtracking may frustrate the reader who knows just how far the body has come since 1983, yet many of these older chapters remain surprisingly readable and relevant. Be this as it may, readers familiar with Jackson's work may be disappointed to discover that they have already read many of the chapters in *Lifeworlds*; over half have been published as articles or chapters in his other books – in some cases both, making this the third publication of a single piece. Another point of critique is that depending on the reader, Jackson's use of philosophy could at times be charged with being superficial. For instance, chapter nine on the 'human-technology interface' will read as a very basic introduction for those already familiar with science and technology studies (STS). That said, there are many more places where Jackson's use of philosophical ideas illuminate lived realities in ways that few anthropologists, and much less philosophers, have been able to.

The chapter introductions also include biographical details, such as the fact that part of Jackson's interest in the body came from practicing Hatha Yoga, or how 'crucial meetings' with key figures defined the directions Jackson's research would take. For example, we learn how an encounter with George Devereux led to a long-standing interest in how people (including anthropologists) cope with critical events, anxiety and uncertainty in everyday life. Such details lend the book of essays a narrative structure and help the reader see how Jackson's 'existential anthropology' evolved over many years of fieldwork, chance encounters, literary scholarship, travels and life lived.

It will depend partly on how the reader is disposed towards anthropologists who write in literary and personal styles, but I think what makes Jackson's writing so refreshing and captivating is the quality of intimacy he is able to

create. He allows the reader to get close to him and his participants. There is an emotional sensibility and tone in the writing that brings the reader into the narratives, inviting them to reflect not only on the lifeworlds Jackson illustrates, but on their own research, their own lives and the lives of countless others. We can relate to the stories because Jackson is able to show that they are not just the stories of 'Others', but universal stories that only differ in that they take shape under different sociocultural, political and practical conditions. This, once again, is Jackson's vision: to show that at the core, the human condition is a shared one, that everyone struggles, everyone suffers, and everyone tries to find ways of coping and improving their lives. Such is life and such is *Lifeworlds: essays in existential anthropology*. Recommended for undergraduate and graduate students and especially for those interested in teaching or learning about the craft and possibilities of ethnographic writing and philosophical anthropology.