publisher, a book that comes with more, shorter and simpler contributions (N. Glick Schiller and A. Irving [eds.], Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents. New York 2015).

Christoph Antweiler

Keller, Eva: Beyond the Lens of Conservation. Malagasy and Swiss Imaginations of One Another. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. 244 pp. ISBN 978-1-78238-552-3. (Studies in Environmental Anthropology and Ethnobiology, 20) Price: $ 95.00

Global warming, biodiversity loss, species extinction. Sustainable development, natural resource conservation, carbon trading. Concern for environmental problems has increased in the past decades, matched by a myriad array of proposals for their solutions. Social scientists have played different roles in conservation efforts. At one end of the spectrum is applied work in partnership with conservation practitioners and ecologists, aimed at improving projects' feasibility and advocating for local peoples' needs and perspectives. On the other end of the spectrum is more critical scholarship, illuminating projects' negative (though sometimes unintended) social impacts, or questioning many of their underlying assumptions. While at their core both types of social scientists are driven by the conviction that people matter, the former sees possibility in rectifying disparate worldviews and positionalities, while the latter sees these as inherent and intractable. Madagascar, a country of great concern for environmentalists as a "biodiversity hotspot," has been the site of both types of studies, detailed in numerous articles, conference papers, edited collections, and monographs.

In this ongoing scholarly conversation about people and the protection of nature, Eva Keller's ethnography "Beyond the Lens of Conservation. Malagasy and Swiss Imaginations of One Another" provides a fresh and unique voice. It is a thought-provoking reflection of how ordinary people at two ends of a conservation partnership see – or more often, see past – each other. The partnership involves the Zurich zoo in Switzerland, which has provided ideological and financial support for the Masoala National Park, one of Madagascar's largest protected areas in the northeast of the country. Keller's focus is not the bureaucrats or power-brokers of this partnership but rather the ordinary people implicated in it. At one end are Swiss citizens: visitors to the "Little Masoala" zoo exhibit featuring over a hectare of living rainforest recreated abroad, and school children learning about Madagascar through zoo fieldtrips, children's books, supermarket marketing, and films. At the other end are Malagasy citizens: residents of villages within or bordering the park who find their ability to continue the labor necessary to feed their families and honor their ancestors severely restricted. Keller's main aim in this book is to juxtapose how these two groups of ordinary people make sense of the conservation partnership, and whether or not the project actually creates connections between them as it is intended to.

The book is divided into two parts, beginning first with the Swiss perspective and ending with the outlook from Madagascar. Chapter 1 provides a virtual tour of the "Little Masoala" zoo exhibit, including the recreated rainforest environment, informational displays, and visitors shop. Chapter 2 explores the tension between intent and perception, highlighting the disconnect between the information that the zoo tries to convey and what is actually understood or absorbed by visitors. Keller uses this chapter to provide the theoretical underpinnings of her ethnography, drawing from cognitive anthropology and schema theory; Anna Tsing's notion of global friction is also a recurrent theoretical lens deployed throughout the book. Chapter 3 shows how zoo visitors use the Little Masoala exhibit as an opportunity to reflect about generalized morality of protecting nature rather than the specifics of Madagascar's environmental issues. Chapter 4 similarly argues that schoolchildren and zoo visitors alike imagine Malagasy citizens as a generalized kind of people, which is further expanded upon in chapter 5 as the "coconut schema" characterized by deficiency, poverty, and backwardness. Chapter 6 shifts towards Madagascar, introducing us to the park and the two villages where Keller conducted her research, and detailing the various injustices faced by residents of those villages including land loss, inadequate compensation, punishments, and surveillance. Chapter 7 discusses the Malagasy "ethos of growth" related to kinship and land, which is presented as at odds with the park's ethos of conservation. Chapter 8 focuses on a case study of a small island that had been the site of ancestral tombs before being subsumed in the park territory, highlighting the tension between the park and ancestral custom. Chapter 9 and 10 detail how Malagasy people view outsiders involved with the park's creation, management, and tourism as hostile "others," due to a long history of expropriation and domination from colonial and imperial eras. The final chapter synthesizes these various viewpoints and stories, presenting two contrasting portrayals of Malagasy and Swiss values and engagements with conservation.

Keller's main argument is that the ethos of the ordinary people in her ethnography are so different that true connection and mutual understanding are impossible. They are not even in disagreement, because as Keller writes, they are "engaged in two entirely different stories" (221). Successful land management in the Swiss ethos is a pristine landscape free of people, but in the Malagasy ethos manifests in fertile rice fields or well-tended ancestral burial grounds. The Swiss zoo visitors and school children and the Malagasy farmers are indeed put into contact with one another by the Masoala conservation partnership, but ironically such contact has only widened the gap between these two groups of people. For the Swiss people, the gap is widened because they use Madagascar as catalyst to think in ahistorical generalities about the moral value of protecting nature and the difficulties of life for poor peasants, thus erasing any specificity to the Masoala project. For the Malagasy people, the park echoes specific and painful historical injustices, and restricts their obligations to past, present, and future generations.

Keller's ethnography is captivating and original, and her arguments well supported and vividly illustrated by

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poignant examples. The book, however, can feel somewhat lopsided at times. First, there are great differences in her level of engagement with her subjects. The Swiss perspective was gleaned from short conversations with zoo visitors or one-off group interviews of schoolchildren, and the Malagasy perspective was gathered through months of intense participant observation. Keller herself recognizes this disparity but justifies it as due to the limitations of collecting data in the real world. And indeed, her different levels of engagement in research mirror her subjects' different levels of engagement with the Masoala project – Swiss citizens can have a cursory look at an exhibit during a weekend outing, while Malagasy farmers must contend with the park on a daily basis. Second, there are differences in chapters' depth and length. Some chapters provide well-developed and detailed arguments that stand alone, while others present what feel more like vignettes or elaborations of previous arguments. On the whole though, these two weaknesses are small in light of the book's overall merits.

This book will appeal to those interested in the politics of natural resource conservation, the symbolic and cognitive approach to understanding human-nature interaction, and more generally, local manifestations of global processes. Laura M. Tilghman

Kenny, Michael G., and **Kirsten Smillie:** Stories of Culture and Place. An Introduction to Anthropology. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, 254 pp. ISBN 978-1-4426-0794-1. Price: CAD 39.95

"Stories of Culture and Place" is an introduction to cultural anthropology unlike most of the ones I am familiar with. As one may guess from the title, the authors' approach explicitly emphasizes storytelling. Each chapter introduces relevant important concepts between and within the context of stories about historical and ethnographic encounters. Instead of opening with the standard explanation of the subfields of anthropology and an overview of the various definitions and aspects of culture, this text opens with stories of early explorers: experiences described by Christopher Columbus in his voyage to the Americas, Captain James Cook in Hawaii, and Simon Fraser in British Columbia. This begins to situate cultural anthropology within a longue durée understanding of how the field has interacted with and been influenced by the politics and ideologies of the day, from the earliest written descriptions of cross-cultural encounters to contemporary work.

One of my favorite aspects of this text is that the authors repeatedly remind the reader that none of this is neutral. Our understanding of core terms like culture is itself constructed in relation to issues and assumptions that hold sway within our own cultures. Beginning with stories about early explorers enables the authors to model an anthropological approach to understanding behaviors, grapple with the harm done by those early explorers, and introduce some core terminology, while setting the stage for similar critiques of more recent anthropologists. As they put it, "what we want to emphasize here is the fundamental idea that, then as now, theory shapes perception" (xx). Though I would expect this to be noted in other introductory texts, the story-telling approach of this book returns again and again to that theme while describing and analyzing disparate examples.

Following this introduction, there are nine chapters, divided into three parts. "Part I: Theory, Methods, and Concepts" examines "Culture Shock" and "Life in the Field." The first chapter begins to address what cultural anthropologists do, using stories about Bronislaw Malinowski's fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands, Elizabeth Warnock Fernea's fieldwork in Iraq in the 1950s, and Cathy Small's fieldwork in an undergraduate dorm in the 2000s. The stories highlight core concepts like participant observation, culture shock, and ethnocentrism, as well as some of the ethical dilemmas related to fieldwork. The second chapter introduces various approaches to anthropology, including the British School, illustrated through Audrey Isabel Richards' work in Zambia, the American School, illustrated through Margaret Mead's work in Samoa, and contemporary approaches to anthropology, illustrated through Vinay Kamat's work on malaria in Tanzania and Gerald Murray's work related to a development project in Haiti.

The second part addresses "Classic Questions in Anthropology," including a brief history of the field, kinship, and symbolism. Chapter three traces a very abbreviated history of the field, examining the ways Darwin, Hobbes, and Rousseau influenced the early trajectory of anthropology, including how their ideas about human nature and evolutionary "progress" were reflected in Lewis Henry Morgan's work. Chapter four introduces some key concepts related to kinship through a debate over the social identity of children born through in vitro fertilization, an examination of how the biblical tale of Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, Isaac, and Ishmael affects and reflects group identity today, and a discussion of a custody battle between a Native American father and the white couple who adopted the baby after the birth mother put the child up for adoption. Chapter five examines symbolism and myth through examples of everyday encounters with symbolism that often go unexamined, Ruth Benedict's role in popularizing discussions of symbolism and culture, Edward Evans-Pritchard's work on witchcraft among the Azande, Tanya Luhrmann's study of religious conversion among Evangelical Christians, and another interpretation of Captain Cook's experiences in Hawaii.

Finally, "Contemporary Anthropological Issues" includes chapters on the politics of culture, gender, race, and cultural change. Chapter six examines the ways ideology and politics affect our understanding and use of the term culture. Stories in this chapter examine concepts of ownership, illustrated by conflict over George Hunt's acquisition of a shrine for the American Museum of Natural History and by a land-claims case in Canada in which anthropologists testified as experts, and then shifted to an examination of how loggers and environmentalists use language about culture to argue their respective sides in Oregon. Chapter seven examines gender and sexuality, including two ethnographic studies of how children learn

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