small number of key informants for information about earlier periods. In their recounting of the Billionaires' history, members tended to focus on protest events rather than on the day-to-day practices of the organisation. Further, participants tended to remember their activities as being successful if they managed to garner media attention, but, as Haugerud notes, it is extremely difficult to assess the direct effects of protest actions. Do they attract new participants, alter policies, or harden the hearts of the opposition?

Haugerud's direct observations, presented in Chapter 5, reveal that the Billionaires' attempts at humour were sometimes lost on their spectators. Some spectators who did "get it" recognised the Billionaires' playful satire as a privilege that a member of the working poor described as "for people who got money" rather than a form of protest available to people struggling to pay rent (147). The Billionaires understand themselves as advocates for the poor but, for the most part, are not poor themselves. Haugerud reports that most are middle or upper middle class. As well, most are white, well educated, and well-versed in progressive politics. Their ranks include public relations professionals, authors, lawyers, artists, graduate students, and more than a few university professors. Chapter 5 also includes details about how the organisation's leaders in New York City exerted control over the form and content of Billionaires' events around the country. The first-hand ethnographic material is fascinating, and I found myself wanting more of the kind of analysis and careful ethnography that Haugerud provides here.

As we know, George W. Bush was re-elected in 2004. However, did the Billionaires succeed in altering American political discourse or expose the contradictions between the policies and the rhetoric of politicians? For a tiny group – during the 2004 presidential election, the largest and most active chapter, New York City, had around 150 members – the Billionaires appear to have garnered relatively outsized press attention, including stories in the *Washington Post* and a short feature in the Sunday magazine of the *New York Times*. Nonetheless, as Haugerud notes in Chapter 6, media coverage of the Billionaires rarely included an explanation of the group's political aims. Instead, news reports tended to focus on the Billionaires' light hearted play and pleasant appearance, which the journalists contrasted to existing frames of "angry liberals," scruffy social justice protestors, or window-smashing anarchists. Ironically, it seems, the Billionaires possess the cultural capital to engage in protest without offending middle-class aesthetic sensibilities or making observers (including journalists) truly uncomfortable.

In the aftermath of George W. Bush's re-election, many of the Billionaires packed away their top hats and tiaras, occasionally re-emerging as Billionaires for Bailouts or Billionaires for Coal, and even produced a video spoof of Barack Obama's Yes, We Can campaign slogan entitled "No You Can't." In her final analysis, Haugerud suggests that the real point of the Billionaires' satire is fun; it lightens the mood and restores hope among Progressives fighting what seems to be a lost cause. American politics in 2016 are no less beholden to corporate and financial elites than at the birth of the Billionaires. As this year's US presidential election approaches, it is reasonable to imagine that the Billionaires will once again don their finery to parade against plutocracy.

Manning, Paul, *Love Stories: Language, Private Love, and Public Romance in Georgia*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, 157 pages.

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In a way that reminds one of classic ethnographies, *Love Stories* is a book tightly woven around a paradoxical, and now discontinued, social practice. *Sts'orproba* was a way of teenage romance in a small and remote community of mountain-dwelling Khevsurs in Georgia 100 years ago. In sts'orproba's consummative moment, the *sts'orperi* lovers "lied down" for the night of talk and some carefully restricted physical intimacy. Sts'orproba, however, was understood as a sociable, and not sexual, relationship between affable peers because it was only approved between co-residential, or otherwise socially proximal, young people whose union in marriage was impossible in this exogamous society. Opposite to both sex and marriage, sts'orproba continues to fascinate with the question: What was love in Georgia?

Although of interest to scholars of post-socialism, the Caucasus, and linguistics, the book is that much sought-after, brief, jargonless, and vividly written ethnographic introduction to anthropological "intersections" that brings together a variety of classical anthropological topics, all in about 140 pages. Choosing a wonderful crosshair case of sts'orproba, Manning has built a tale around the cultural construction of desire, age, and kinship; native ethnography; gift giving; semiotic ideology; language and gender politics; religion and folklore; colonial and post-colonial encounters; cultural change; aesthetics of modernity; conundrums of nationalism; and, finally, contemporary Internet worlds. At times, *Love Stories* reads as a detective novel where Manning carefully reconstructs the kinship, gender, and sexual practices of "secretive Khevsurs" from ethnographic and folkloric sources, which include a native ethnography by a couple whose public openness becomes possible only after their exile from the Khevsur community.

Another organisational setup of the book is a romantic novel that develops chapter by chapter and stage by stage, following the progress of a teenage sts'orproba relationship through the lens of a classical ethnographic depiction. In a chapter entitled "The Ambassador," we are taken to see a matchmaking teenage girl secretly bringing lovers together, lulling a suspicious mother, persuading the girl who shows female-appropriate modesty, and the boy, whose worth as a warrior could be questioned if he showed interest in girls. In "Spending the Night Together," Manning explains what could and could not be done while "lying down" together and for what reason. Apart from being a part of sts'orproba, "lying down" could be performed in several genres and for corresponding purposes, which range from sexuality to social obligation to mere necessity of finding a place to sleep. Exploring the themes of transgression and personal autonomy, he demonstrates how much the meaning of "lying down" depended on the genre of talk associated with it and how the genre depended on whether the purpose of lying down was social or erotic.

"Going Steady" is an excellent chapter to introduce the themes of material semiotics and gift giving, where, for instance, the girl first steals, and then presents the boy with, a bottle of vodka – a present of hard spirits that never goes bad – to signify the shift from casual to durable relations. "Invisible Love Poetry" explores the ways in which love poetry, the most public of Georgian linguistic genres, may be a source of knowledge about the most intimate and secret practices pertaining to sexuality, for both the ethnographers and the natives. Manning finds Khevsurs' love poetry paradoxical in the way that it avoids what could be understood as lyrical mode because the identity of the poetess (only women composed love poetry) and her egocentric, individual desire are erased and replaced by praise for the socially acknowledged desirability of the male object of affection.

Manning follows a classical "tradition and modernity" route in this ethnography by first representing Khevsur culture as a coherent and rather structuralist whole, where neat symmetries and oppositions between social distance and linguistic genre, freedom and obligation, sexual boundaries and marriageability fit and function together. Describing the cosmology of Khevsurs in the chapter entitled "Demons, Danger and Desire," Manning explains how the sharply gender-dualistic Khevsurs' universe, where masculine divinities represent productive order and feminine demons represent destructive and dangerous desire, may fit and reflect the paradoxes of Khevsurs' sexuality. In this chapter, we also begin to see the depiction of foreign influence and cultural change. From discussing the supernatural alterity of female demons, Manning moves to describing the ways in which Khevsur cultural identity is constructed *vis-à-vis* neighbouring Pshavi but even more so against the ultimate (sexual) alterity and depravity of the Russians.

The colonial encounter, first, with the Russian state and then with the Soviet state disrupted the intricate philosophies and performances of Khevsurs' language and identity. Manning describes the appearance of scandalous narratives about scandalous distortions to sts'orproba. However, the biggest blow was the Orthodox ban on divorce, a previously uncomplicated procedure among Khevsurs. Teenage girls, whom the ban had put in danger of marrying a stranger with no way out of marriage, started to insist on marrying the boys they knew or even the boys with whom they "lied down." The final dissolution of Khevsur customs came about in 1952, when by a single Stalinist mandate, Khevsurs were forced to leave the mountains for the plains.

By the 1960s, the Khevsurs' way of life, the "romance of the mountains," had become an established fantasy in Georgian public and media cultures. Manning brings in various theories of representation to show how Khevsurs' sexuality, poetry, and cultural identity continue to be translated and appropriated in the popular imagination. What appears most significant and most curiously shifting in these imaginaries is the "traditional" or "modern" status of Khevsurs. "Soviet Hollywood" used the figure of the "wild and free" traditional Khevsur girl in a romantic cinematic tragedy, where her elopement with a more modernised male Khevsur sts'orperi results in her death at the hands of offended male relatives and, thus, condemns the barbarism of tradition that demands female "honour" and subjugation. Georgian nationalists locate Khevsurs as the wild and exotic noble savage to the modernist Georgian nation-state and as the emblem of authentic and essential Georgianness. In Internet chat rooms, Georgian teenagers fantasise and argue – was there, or was there not, premarital sex in Georgia and whether sts'orproba can, or cannot, be compared to the (modern) Americanised boyfriend-girlfriend relationship? These shifts and contestations in imagining Khevsurs, according to Manning, are a "secret key" to understanding Georgian modernity.

The same qualities that make this book wonderfully concise and clear also suggest certain limits. The book is not a showcase of anthropology's better-known hallmark: the long-term, experience-near, immersive participant observation for which Manning and others have made Georgian ethnography so rich in recent years. *Love Stories* is a textual enterprise, drawing on ethnographies, movies, advertisements, and Internet forums that nonetheless demonstrate with virtuosity what an anthropological approach to such social archives can yield. These rich detective stories about sts'orproba – did they, didn't they, and does it matter? – offer abundant complexity and paradoxes. *Love Stories* should engage readers at any stage of their romance with Georgia, the Caucasus, sex, language, and anthropology itself.

Le Gall, Josianne et Meintel, Deirdre, *Quand la famille vient d'ici et d'ailleurs : Transmission identitaire et culturelle*, Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, 2014, 166 pages.

Recenseuse : Jolana Jarotkova
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Josiane Le Gall et Deirdre Meintel s'intéressent ici à une question relativement peu abordée dans les études québécoises en relations ethniques et en immigration : celle de la transmission culturelle au sein de familles où les parents n'ont pas la même origine ethnique ou nationale. Ce qui peut aller relativement de soi pour la plupart des parents – transmission de la langue, de la culture, des pratiques religieuses, etc. – suscite d'importants questionnements chez ceux et celles qui ne partagent pas l'origine de leur conjoint-e. Au travers des différents chapitres, les deux auteures cherchent donc à mieux comprendre les projets de transmissions de ces parents : que veulent-ils transmettre et par quels moyens le font-ils ou envisagent-ils de le faire?

Le Gall et Meintel ont adopté une définition très large de la mixité conjugale. Celle-ci comprend non seulement les couples composés d'un-e conjoint-e immigrant-e et d'un-e conjoint-e du groupe majoritaire – ici les Franco-Québécois – mais aussi les couples composés de deux parents immigrants, mais de pays différents, voire de deux immigrants de 2e générations, c'est-à-dire nés au Canada de parents migrants provenant de deux pays différents. Ce faisant, elles dépassent les rapports sociaux centrés sur la dichotomie minoritaire/majoritaire, souvent interprétés sous l'angle du conflit entre les deux groupes dont l'issue serait l'assimilation de la culture minoritaire. Si ces rapports demeurent pertinents pour l'analyse présentée dans le livre, d'autres dynamiques tout aussi prégnantes émergent.

La méthodologie qualitative – entrevues semi-directives – utilisée par les auteures leur permet par ailleurs de situer plus étroitement le processus de transmission dans le contexte