of the state, he suggests an opening for Indigenous political action beyond the state; insofar as he secures this critique to a definition of indigeneity as absolute difference, he participates in the "strangulation" (Simpson 2014) of multifarious Indigenous sovereignties. Nadasdy is well aware of the two edges of his critical sword, and the book is littered with protestations against this more restrictive interpretation of his argument. A graduate student or very advanced undergraduate in anthropology, Indigenous studies or political science who is capable of discriminating between Nadasdy's critique and its less desirable entailments, so to speak, would profit from a close reading of the text, especially the introduction and the erudite Chapter 3 on "Citizenship." Given the colonialist assumptions still structuring the wider discourse on Indigenous sovereignty in Canada today, however, due caution should be exercised if assigning *Sovereignty's Entailments* to undergraduates unprepared to undertake such a critical reading.

References

Simpson, Audra. 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2003. "Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness." In *Global Transformations: Anthropology in the Modern World*, 7–28. London: Palgrave.

Ives, Sarah, *Steeped in Heritage: The Racial Politics of South African Rooibos Tea*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017, 255 pages.

Graham R.L. Fox
McGill University, Montreal

As African nations confront population growth, inequality, job shortages and mounting climate change, struggles over land mark social, economic and historical dilemmas from Cairo to the Cape. *Steeped in Heritage*, an ethnographic journey through the arid northern farmlands of South Africa's Western Cape Province, traces the global commodification of rooibos tea back to the fraught landscape in which it grows. Indigenous to this region of South Africa – a unique biome found nowhere else on earth – rooibos was domesticated in the nineteenth century by Dutch settlers who conscripted Khoisan hunter-gatherers as their labour. Due to violence and disease, the Khoisan people are said to be extinct in the Western Cape, though their Coloured descendants still perform most labour on Afrikaner-owned commercial rooibos farms. In claiming that the Khoisan are extinct from the Cape, Afrikaners identify as first-comers to the ecosystem and utilise the emotive powers of the rooibos plant as a political symbol of their belonging. A tough, stocky plant yielding a tea touted for its nutritive properties, rooibos is perfectly adapted, it appears, to a landscape in which little else survives. Afrikaner farmers see their familial histories and cultural values embodied in the plant. Cultivating rooibos is, for them, "a holy act" (22), even if Coloured labourers perform the work. Drawing on a robust assemblage of theories from Helmreich, Foucault, Malkki and Marx, Ives explores how rooibos has not only been grown but also *acculturated* to invoke the belonging of white farmers to the region. By the mid-twentieth century, rooibos tea had gained the status of South Africa's national drink, becoming a staple in schools, medical institutions, the military and many white homes. Since the end of apartheid and the neoliberalisation of South Africa's economy, the rooibos industry has successfully marketed rooibos as a tea for global consumption, using images of Khoisan peoples to mark an exotic and organic origin.

The product of a doctoral dissertation study supervised at Stanford by James Ferguson, the book's most valuable contribution is its animation of Coloureds' voices within the rooibos landscape. Stigmatised for over a century as a product of miscegenation between white and non-white people, Coloured South Africans face unique forms of marginalisation at a time when opportunities for some South Africans expand. In addition to convincing that the rooibos industry makes exploitative use of Coloured labour, Ives explains that Coloured people who grow their own rooibos are disadvantaged within South Africa's affirmative action programs. Ives contends that the African National Congress has tried to drive a wedge between white farmers and Coloured workers and warns that Coloured people stand to gain little from the land distributions that some now demand in their name. In the process, Ives illuminates, for the less familiar reader, the discourse behind South Africa's so-called "coloured problem" (34) – of how to envision a place within a nation for a people with no history or "precolonial reality" (36). As land relations in the Western Cape shift due to the effects of climate change, some Coloured workers are able to purchase land and are successful as small-scale rooibos growers. In response, white farmers are employing genome science and satellite technology to confine the plant, and argue that rooibos grown outside its native land is illegitimate, much like Coloured people.

Offering vivid insight into this socially and ecologically unique region of South Africa, Ives makes effective use of her own whiteness in this timely ethnography of difference. Ives gives a voice to Afrikaner farmers coping with profound social change and conveys in detail how racism still runs deep in some corners of South Africa. The claim that little has changed since apartheid is heard often among rooibos farmers in this region; Ives's descriptions of Coloured workers being infantilised by white employers supports this claim. In 1985, Vincent Crapanzano explored the banality of racism under late apartheid – how racism was "often lost to the social actor through the baroque texture of his everyday life" (xii). In the rooibos-growing region, the texture of white lives is consubstantial with the dusty ground. As an anthropologist specialising in the politics of land and whiteness in East Africa, I see *Steeped in Heritage* as articulating closely with a dilemma seen in white-dominated sectors of the region: how do whites make themselves politically discrete while simultaneously asserting that their alienation from land would be economically and environmentally ruinous for others?

One challenge that Ives confronts throughout her critique of the rooibos industry is in amplifying the voices of Coloured workers for whom belonging presents its own predicaments. Though most South Africans take for granted that Coloured people are descendants of Khoisan, Coloured communities are hesitant to invoke indigenous rights the way creole or Métis peoples in other regions have done. Describing the relentless and poorly compensated labour Coloureds have expended in

the rooibos fields, Ives attempts to convince the reader that Coloured workers possess their own potent form of kinship with the plant. But Ives's contention is not in harmony with the voices of many Coloured workers who resist a nature-bound logic of belonging in favour of a neoliberal form of citizenship. At times, Ives risks imposing a fetishised indigenousness on Coloured people, who resist association with the Khoisan out of fear of being locked in a primitive past. Ives's challenge, to be sure, is a feature of what she acknowledges to be the "culturally and politically fraught" (34) nature of Coloured identity in South Africa.

Still, *Steeped in Heritage* is a resounding, engaging and successful ethnography of difference in the time of steepened climate change and uncertain racial futures across Africa.

References

Crapanzano, Vincent. 1985. *Waiting: the Whites of South Africa*. New York: Random House.

Cookson, Tara Patricia, *Unjust Conditions: Women's Work and the Hidden Cost of Cash Transfer Programs*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018, 204 pages.

Marieka Sax
University of Northern British Columbia, Prince George

Tara Patricia Cookson's institutional ethnography of a conditional cash transfer (CCT) program in Peru called *Juntos* (Together) is a nuanced analysis of a widely implemented and evaluated approach to poverty reduction. Like similar CCT programs operating in 67 countries in 2017, Juntos gives poor households small cash incentives to use targeted government services. Such programs generally select mothers as recipients, because they are seen as primary caregivers who are more likely than men to invest cash in the household.

The book draws on fieldwork from 2012 to 2013, first with urban bureaucrats in Lima and later in the highland areas of rural Cajamarca, located in northern Peru. This is one of the country's five poorest regions, with a large population of indigenous descendants who self-define as *campesinos* (peasant farmers) and with profound inequities in health care and education. Juntos emerged in the wake of trailblazing CCT programs developed in Mexico and Brazil in the 1990s. CCT programs are supported by international development agencies like the World Bank, where they are seen to improve health outcomes and socio-economic indicators at the household scale. Cookson draws attention to what is not considered in CCT program evaluations: the quality of services provided and the demands made of recipients.

While mainstream quantitative research finds conditional cash transfers both effective and efficient for increasing household consumption of health and education services, Cookson emphasises the blind spots in this literature. She asks many questions. Should efficacy be attributed to conditionality, or might other elements of program design (such as increased household income or complementary health and nutrition training) be more important? Can positive economic impacts in one country be expected to be produced in another? What do we know about sustained impacts and long-term outcomes? It is not enough to measure quantitative changes by themselves, she argues. It is important to also consider the program's negative impacts and unexpected consequences.

The book develops two arguments: first, that CCT programs frame poverty as a result of the irresponsible behaviour of individuals, which excludes political-economic drivers beyond the household; second, that the coercive power of incentives in conditional aid produces hidden costs borne by poor recipients who experience unjust outcomes. Unintended effects go unacknowledged in program evaluations, as few researchers look for them.

The conceptual tools of care and power ground the analysis. Women fill in the gaps left by inadequate public services with unpaid household and community care work. Development programs that depend on the unpaid work of women to be efficient reinforce rather than ameliorate the gendered face of poverty. The regulation (or disciplining) of behaviour by the state is achieved through monitoring rural mothers to ensure conditions are met, and dispensing sanctions when they are not. This creates power-laden relationships between poor mothers and the local managers who enforce the program conditions set by urban bureaucrats.

How Lima-based development experts understand Juntos is the focus of Chapter 2. These bureaucrats frame Juntos in terms of state obligation to provide basic services for the poorest populations, even as the quality and availability of those services are the responsibility of other government agencies. Access, rather than health and education outcomes, is the key metric of success for Juntos. Conditionality is used to manage public anxieties about dependency and deservingness and to make redistribution more acceptable to taxpayers and voters. By targeting the household and casting poverty as the result of individual deficiencies (for example, the failure of poor parents to feed, educate and invest in the health of their children), Juntos relieves the state of responsibility to address political-economic conditions that make and keep people poor.

Moving from Lima to the highlands, Chapter 3 turns to the realities of low-quality rural service provision and institutionalised discrimination. Schools contend with chronic staff shortages and inadequate infrastructure and instruction. Health clinics are often closed due to staff absenteeism and turnover compounded by low wages, challenging working conditions and insufficient medical supplies. Moreover, rural women who access these services face considerable raced, classed and gendered discrimination, alongside mundane abuses of power.

"A little bit of help" is how women refer to the cash provided by Juntos, recognising that although the money neither covers basic needs nor replaces employment and government services, it has a positive impact on household economies. Recipients are not uncritical; they are active agents aware of the inadequacy of services and ironies of program implementation. Despite stereotypes that poor women fail to use services because of lack of motivation or responsibility, mothers are determined to improve their children's lives. High rates of compliance show that desperately poor families need every little bit of help they can get.

Peru is challenged by uneven development across formidable landscapes, and Chapter 4 shows how women are