

this, I think that this is not an omission but a result of the artfulness of Bamford's highly responsible ethnographic assessments. She can relinquish responsibility for the total story for a more conscientious claim: that deep understanding is built through exposing her ignorance and misunderstandings. Her experience with the Kamea exposed quite a bit about what she had learned honestly, or put differently, what she had never before understood about human relations. She required a specific kind of comparative anthropological craft to communicate what she learned from fieldwork to a reader who had not the privilege to visit the Kamea.

Bamford has her own anthropological craft under tight control. Her presentation of Kamea views of humanity produces an exciting three way comparative framework. In each chapter her research into Kamea understandings of how they are related to each other as kin is contrasted with the assumptions of evolutionary biology by reference to a vignette about a debate in biotechnology. She introduces each chapter with a notable moral dilemma: sometimes a matter of who is related to whom, and how that is so; in other cases a concern about what makes a good parent and how one can know what is good. In so doing, she shows the pervasiveness of biological thinking in European and North American experience and provides readers, lecturers or students, plenty of material to think with as they prepare their own answers to these questions. She then provocatively contrasts that logic to its radical opposite: non-biological thinking among the Kamea.

Bamford practices ethnographic comparison as a kind of polemic; she destabilizes the assumptions of received wisdom creating doubts in her reader about their own assumptions about what is right and wrong about how humans claim to be each others' relatives. In the process Bamford makes readers wonder if Westerners have wrongly enshrined or sacralized many of the assumptions of biotechnology. With deft tacking between Kamea and Western assumptions about how we are kin, Bamford uses the craft of anthropology to travel in more uncertain waters. The distant shore is a space for anthropologists to invigorate their discipline by asking what it means to be human and thereby take responsibility for what they do not understand.

Todd Sanders, *Beyond Bodies: Rainmaking and Sense Making in Tanzania*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 261 pages.

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It is hard not to compile a running mental list of actions, objects and qualities that the Ihanzu people of Tanzania consider to be gendered in one way or another while reading *Beyond Bodies: Rainmaking and Sense Making in Tanzania*. Caring for livestock is the domain of men, beer production that of women;

bows, arrows and firesticks are considered male, grindstones and hearths female; heat and dryness are masculine qualities, coolness and wet feminine, et cetera. What a shame, however, to read this book for nothing but the details. What makes *Beyond Bodies* so commendable is what Sanders does with the rich accounts of daily, seasonal and ritual life from which this list might be compiled. He takes us beyond, as the book's title suggests, the familiar, attractive and ultimately misguided assumption that people like the Ihanzu, who understand themselves as living in a "thoroughly gendered world" (p. 200), must associate everything they deem masculine and feminine with sexed bodies. Sanders "seeks to develop...an alternative set of conceptual tools that will allow us analytically to extricate the body from gender—or rather, gender from the body—while simultaneously maintaining gender's manifest materiality" (p. 27) in the contexts such as the ones he describes.

Key to Sanders argument is the notion of "gender complementarity" (p. 104), a way of thinking about maleness and femaleness that is central to how Ihanzu make sense of the world. For Ihanzu, Sanders writes, "one gender evokes and demands its opposite; one without the other is neither meaningful nor potent" (p. 104). Just as men and women must work and live harmoniously if communities are to thrive, so must male and female forces come together in any number of other contexts to effect the transformations necessary for productivity and prosperity. Not that Ihanzu see all male-female combinations and the transformations they effect as reminiscent of or analogous to the processes of human sexuality and reproduction. Nor, Sanders argues, should analysts do so. "For the Ihanzu, male and female forces, while always relational, can operate within and without human forms...to assume a priori that gender must somehow be about men and women and/or the relationships between them is to disallow such understandings" (pp. 16-17). For Ihanzu, objects, action and qualities associated with male forces are as ineffective without their female complements as a firestick is without a hearth (and vice-versa), a fact that is nowhere more evident than in rainmaking.

Although I highly recommend Sanders' previous work which addresses some of anthropology's latest preoccupations—on the fate of African witchcraft in postcolonial, neo-liberal times (2001), for example, and on the parallel rise of discourses of "transparency" and "conspiracy" in the new world order (2003)—I was very happy to read in this book an unapologetic and exhaustive account of topics that are so obviously more important to Ihanzu than to anthropologists these days. Ethnographically, *Beyond Bodies* is primarily an account of Ihanzu rainmaking—and for good reason. For Ihanzu, as for so many others in the world, rain is a necessary obsession. "Without rain nothing grows. And without growth, people and animals wither and die" (p. 3). No wonder, then, that Ihanzu invest the time, resources and energy they do in thinking about, deliberating over and seeking to direct the seasonal rains that make or break them. In offering such a comprehensive and readable account of these investments, Sanders reminds us of

how insightful and effective ethnography can be when it takes direction primarily from the people on which it focuses.

Given what I have presented thus far, some might well wonder what this book is about exactly. Is it a study of Ihanzu conceptions of gender or a book about Ihanzu rainmaking? It is both. Sanders' greatest accomplishment here may well be that he never allows the reader to lose sight of the impossibility of disentangling one matter from the other. By the end, it is just as clear that an account of Ihanzu understandings of gender complementarity would be incomplete without reference to its manifestation in rainmaking, as it is that an account of rainmaking without a full reckoning of Ihanzu understandings of gender would be unnecessarily superficial. In this, Sanders' book fits well within a long tradition of holistic ethnography—work that stresses the connectedness of seemingly disconnected aspects of people's lives, and, as such, work that is particularly effective at demonstrating the value of anthropological research to newcomers. Written with an undergraduate audience in mind, *Beyond Bodies* will make an excellent addition to the reading lists of any number of courses.

References

Sanders, Todd

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Nathalie Lachance, *Territoire, transmission et culture sourde. Perspectives historiques et réalités contemporaines*, Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2007, 292 pages.

Recenseuse : Anne-Marie Dion
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Dans *Territoire, transmission et culture sourde*, Nathalie Lachance explore les conditions dans lesquelles apparaît une frontière qui marque la séparation entre deux identités, l'une sourde, l'autre entendante. Les analyses présentées dans cet ouvrage sont tirées des travaux de recherche effectués par l'auteure dans le cadre de l'obtention de son doctorat en anthropologie (voir Lachance 2002).

Territoire, transmission et culture sourde est divisé en deux parties. Dans la première partie, intitulée *Construction des espaces sourds*, l'auteure présente le processus de développement identitaire à travers une description du contexte social et des débats idéologiques qui ont marqué les modes d'organisations et le choix des méthodes pédagogiques à l'in-

térieur des écoles spécialisées. Bien que la recherche se limite à la zone géographique du Québec, le thème de la construction identitaire est également exploré à travers des documents d'archives témoignant de l'histoire des personnes sourdes en France et aux États-Unis. Ce choix méthodologique permet à la fois d'enrichir le corpus de données disponibles et de situer l'histoire des personnes sourdes québécoises dans un contexte socio-historique plus large.

Dans la deuxième partie de l'ouvrage, intitulée *Production et diffusion du concept de culture sourde*, l'auteure analyse la manière dont les acteurs sociaux définissent et utilisent le concept de culture sourde. Afin de mieux comprendre la construction et l'utilisation contemporaine du concept de culture sourde, des entretiens de type qualitatif ont été effectués auprès de trente intervenants en lien avec le milieu de la surdité sur le thème de l'éducation bilingue et biculturelle. Ce thème a été retenu parce qu'il permet d'explorer la construction et l'utilisation du concept de culture sourde sans l'aborder directement.

Les conclusions que l'auteure a tirées de ses travaux sont de différents niveaux. Tout d'abord, l'analyse du discours émanant des documents d'archives met en évidence le fait que la création de frontières entre deux identités, l'une sourde, l'autre entendante, prend forme à partir de l'exclusion sociale dont les personnes sourdes font l'objet. En réponse à l'image de personnes dépendantes et inférieures que leur attribue la collectivité entendante, les personnes sourdes ont créé, entre elles, une image plus positive de la surdité. L'apparition du concept de culture sourde dans le discours pour dénommer les manières de faire, de penser et d'agir est importante parce qu'elle permet de transformer le regard que la collectivité entendante porte sur la surdité et, du coup, les rapports entre les deux groupes.

Ensuite, l'analyse du discours qui émane des entretiens semi-dirigés sur le thème de l'éducation bilingue et biculturelle permet de faire ressortir que la reconnaissance ou la négation de la culture sourde a un impact sur l'application de cette approche pédagogique. Par exemple, lorsque les manières de faire, de penser et d'être des personnes sourdes sont réduites à des comportements déviants par rapport à la norme définie par la collectivité entendante, l'éducation devient synonyme de normalisation. Cette vision, qui correspond à une négation de la culture sourde, s'accorde mal avec la création d'un environnement scolaire fondé sur le respect de la différence et avec une valorisation des manières de penser, d'être et d'agir sourde, qui sont pourtant les principes à la base de l'éducation bilingue et biculturelle.

Les analyses que Nathalie Lachance a tirées de ses travaux de recherche soulèvent des questionnements de nature éthique et politique susceptibles d'interpeller les chercheurs, les éducateurs, les décideurs politiques et la collectivité sourde en général. Malheureusement, cet ouvrage ne s'adresse à aucun de ses groupes. En effet *Territoire, transmission et culture sourde*, dans son style et dans sa structure, est un ouvrage qui est difficilement accessible.