

Cet essai entend explorer et restituer l'histoire de ces ajustements entre parties à la fois religieuses et politiques. L'auteur, ethnologue, spécialiste des Iqar'iyyen, population berbérophone du Rif dont il a retracé les structures sociales précoloniales comme préalable à la compréhension de leur situation contemporaine. Ce va-et-vient entre perception ethnographique de leur historicité et la physiologie de leur relations internes et externes, était déjà au centre de sa démarche, mais restreint au groupe observé. S'il a par la suite travaillé en Inde, ce texte marque un retour à ses premières amours.

La royauté marocaine repose sur deux formes de légitimation : la dynastie et la sainteté. Pour Jamous, la force ne fut pas l'*ultima ratio* des victoires et bouleversements politiques qui ont fait le Maroc, mais y est intimement mêlée la lutte pour l'influence religieuse et le soutien des populations aux confréries et aux saints locaux plutôt qu'aux sultans dans une lame de fond persistante, que seuls les alawites ont su intégrer à leur système de gouvernement.

Les mythes guident la réflexion et disent d'abord la façon dont les Iqar'iyyen ancrent leur mémoire dans cette double appartenance à la montagne rifaine et au pouvoir lointain du sultan. Les quatre premiers chapitres s'attachent ainsi à rappeler l'histoire du Maroc sous l'angle de la constitution et de la confrontation des dynasties sultaniennes, des armées voisines et des confréries (dont la bataille dite des « trois rois » fut une sorte d'apothéose). Le modèle dynastique pré saadien s'inscrivait parfaitement dans le modèle khaldounien, celui d'un chef de tribu prenant l'ascendant sur ses ennemis internes et externes et parvenant à installer une domination éphémère, vite contestée par un membre de l'alliance intertribale. Or la dynastie alawite s'est érigée en dehors de ce modèle et s'est installée durablement.

L'objet de ce travail est donc l'histoire des alliances et des reconnaissances réciproques, contraintes ou négociées, des souverainetés complémentaires qui font, au Maroc, à la fois la sainteté du sultan et l'autonomie des populations et des confréries, autonomie toujours combattue et toujours résiliente, une histoire rythmée par les conflits entre les sultans et les confréries religieuses qui leur tinrent tête. Les fameuses confréries zawiya de Dila, de Wazzan, d'Ahansal ou encore celle des derqawa n'ont cessé de contester au Sultan sa légitimité à gouverner d'autres que les siens, au titre d'une connaissance intime des voies du salut et de la protection dont ils faisaient bénéficier les populations qui leur étaient affiliées.

Les sultans alawites eurent pour eux de stabiliser le système du makhzen, l'association entre administration et armée, recrutant des membres de tribus qui se spécialisèrent dans le service du makhzen et des sultans, telles les tribus guich, ou daïa ou maqil. Le recrutement dans les armées, la délivrance de titres, la délégation de pouvoir, le partage du temps mystique entre célébrations sultaniennes et célébrations chérifiennes ont progressivement contractualisé cette alliance sans cesse rejouée, ritualisée. Jamous questionne ainsi cette "incertaine parturition du Maroc" qui fit aux alawites un destin différent des saadiens.

Le chapitre 5 revient sur la façon dont la sainteté du sultan se construit dans la confrontation avec les saints, inscrits dans l'espace confrérique et pourvoyeurs de baraka pour les populations. Le saint et le sultan nouent relation et, au gré des récits et des mythes fondateurs, se valident l'un par l'autre, chacun reconnaissant la puissance et le caractère sacré de l'autre. La

présence du sultan est seule à pouvoir se confronter aux saints et aux confréries dans une alliance dans le respect des prérogatives de chacun. Les déplacements du sultan et de son armée, la *mehalla*, rythment cette histoire en même temps qu'ils l'écrivent. Ces alliances formées à la suite des rencontres et confrontations revêtent un caractère sacré, qui engage tout le corps armé et administratif dans une entreprise missionnaire. « L'expédition est une forme de pèlerinage du souverain », elle est ponctuée du souvenir des glorieux prédécesseurs, se voit ritualisée en maints instants. Elle forme une cohorte non de mercenaires, mais d'engagés pour la cause du Sultan et sous le sceau de sa baraka, laquelle attire tout du long les habitants des régions traversées. L'unité se fait alors en intégrant dans l'alliance les confréries et les lignages, et revêt un caractère mystique qui est celui de l'unité de tous les croyants dans une même *mehalla* du sultan. Ces conflits mobiliseront un espace néanmoins fini qui permettra aux composantes de ce Maroc de s'enfermer dans ce système de relation dont l'une des issues est l'unification sous une bannière. C'est un pouvoir supra tribal, qu'il tire de sa capacité à nouer les fils de ce modèle transcendant et armé.

« Mon hypothèse, dit Jamous, est que les deux niveaux historique et mythique sont complémentaires et renvoient à une forme de reconnaissance réciproque entre le pouvoir central et l'autorité des chorfa et des confréries ». En somme, plus que les cérémonies d'intronisation du souverain connues ailleurs, c'est la circulation répétée, ritualisée et arpentant les portes des territoires variés, qui fait le souverain alawite. C'est en tant qu'il incarne les différentes composantes du pouvoir, qu'il la puise et la redistribue dans tout le pays qu'il devient un incontournable dans l'imaginaire rural : « le souverain chérifien trace par son itinérance un espace frontière, comme le fait le saint : il utilise la violence comme manifestation de son pouvoir politique et il manifeste la force de sa baraka ». La *baraka* « devient cette valeur qui articule les différents niveaux de la relation » dans une alliance sacrée garante de la coexistence pacifique de ces deux pôles de la légitimité à exercer cette double prérogative, chacun à son échelle.

Archambault, Julie Soleil, *Mobile Secrets: Youth, Intimacy, and the Politics of Pretense in Mozambique*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016, 224 pages.

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In the wake of Cyclone Idai – which ravaged southern Africa in March 2019 – emerged the story of Amina Murteira, a woman who paid someone in a canoe for her family's rescue using her mobile phone. It was not e-currency from the phone that saved Murteira; it was the phone itself. Murteira exchanged the device for rescue service (Lusa 2019). While expansion of the mobile phone network and its accessibility in Africa has been swift, use of the technology has not always been predictable. The example of Murteira may seem an extreme case, borne of desperation, but Julie Soleil Archambault's careful analysis suggests that phones are in fact enlisted for a host of noncommunication activities in Mozambique. In Inhambane, phones

are changing how love and affection are expressed, how relationships are negotiated, and how Mozambicans craft fulfilling lives in a world where individual potential is not always met with opportunity.

Mobile Secrets: Youth, Intimacy, and the Politics of Pretense in Mozambique offers an ethnographically informed assessment of mobile phone use in Inhambane, where Archambault spent 17 months collecting data through participant observation, organized youth debates, semiformal interviews, focus groups, mobile phone guided tours, and at times personal shaming, as when the author's very visible social life gained her a reputation as "the woman who never stays home" and so lost her female friends who(se husbands) no longer saw her as a "good wife." It was through contemplating why she provoked such scorn that Archambault developed the core argument of *Mobile Secrets* – essentially, that it is not so much what a person does but how he or she does it that matters, and that concealing that which is "ugly" is a form of respect. Obfuscation is enabled and enhanced through mobile phones, though the potential for interception of clandestine communications is always present. In this way, the author draws attention to a contrast between fears of mobile technology as centred on anonymity in North America, and on intimacy in Mozambique. This is an important distinction, which deftly underscores different purposes of mobile technologies around the globe.

Mobile Secrets begins with the official expectations of proponents of Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D), who see in mobile phones the potential to "save" Africa. Such techno-enthusiasts envision phones as facilitating the circulation of useful information, boosting entrepreneurialism, allowing remote diagnosis, and promoting active citizenship. Archambault suggests that access to phones does not guarantee that they will be used in development-inducing ways. Mozambicans use mobile phones, she argues, to mute and cover up and *restrict* access to information rather than share it, privileging a "willful blindness," a mode of *not* knowing that demands pretence and concealment. This is especially true for the young men and women of Inhambane, who are suspended in a kind of "waithood" (Honwana 2012) as they struggle to live up to gendered ideals of a successful life. Young people get by through resourcefulness that enables them to have a good time, or *curtir a vida*, rather than to merely survive, and in so doing, to retain a sense of authorship of their own lives. Phones contribute to these aims by lubricating social networks, by facilitating access to people and things, and by embellishing reality by concealing the ugly things that people do.

The chapters that follow detail and illustrate these points in what Archambault terms a narrative-driven style that, in her words, zooms in on the everyday lives of a dozen or so young people and their use of mobile technology. Chapter 1 considers practices that serve as workarounds for infrastructural limitations to phone use in Mozambique – things such as hanging phones in trees to improve reception for incoming calls and reducing costs by sending *liga-ma* ("call me") texts and *bips* (calling, but hanging up before the call is answered). Phone communication, which is often rote and stilted, is contrasted with *bater papo*, the art of (male) conversation, which is done in person, creative, and highly valued for inspiring the imagination. In Chapter 2, the focus is on the struggles of young men to live up to mainstream ideals of respectability, which are presented as stemming from colonial relations between the

Portuguese and the people of Inhambane, resulting in "Bitonga pride" and the unwillingness to settle for menial labour to make a living and in the importance of concealing less respectable pursuits. Youth struggle to balance being seen (through phones that index potential more than wealth, for example) and remaining hidden (through pretence enabled by mobile technology). Archambault contextualizes her discussion within broader ethnographic literature on secrecy that collectively suggests that concealing and opacity contribute to making the world by differentiating those who know from those who do not.

Chapter 3 explores *visão* (vision), which describes street smarts useful for both constructive and destructive aims. Carelessness (for example, falling victim to phone theft) is presented as a momentary lapse in *visão*, whereas carrying out a theft shows a hyperawareness of *visão*, which is required for city living. Engaging with ethnographies of crime and youth, Archambault encourages the reader to consider theft as a social practice through which young men redress their exclusion from the labour economy by engaging in redistributive labour. These conditions lead to an atmosphere of suspicion and envy where all relationships are juggled with caution. This point is further developed in Chapter 4, which focuses on the use of phones to flirt, to coordinate intimate relations and to insult romantic rivals. This chapter most centrally addresses expectations that men demonstrate their resourcefulness through airtime generosity and the broader use of phones to facilitate infidelity by making it easier to accumulate suitors, persuade lovers and deceive spouses in secret. Lovers will rarely look for evidence of infidelity where a partner is discreet.

Chapter 5 focuses more closely on the hardship borne by young men in having their financial instability made apparent through their failure to bankroll intimate relations, and the art of *chular*, which refers to the ways women take advantage of a man to extract resources in the guise of a relationship. In Chapter 6, Archambault elaborates the idea that *not* knowing is an intentional social practice designed to silence and conceal dissonances between ideals and reality. Relationships are built and maintained on informational fidelity rather than sexual fidelity, and phones are an important weapon in an arsenal of pretence to conceal enough so that people can choose or pretend to not know. The Conclusion expands the findings beyond Inhambane, dialoguing especially with Michael D. Jackson to argue that *Mobile Secrets* reflects a broader "conundrum of intimacy" inherent in the human condition of juggling the demands of redistribution and self-indulgence.

Mobile Secrets is excellent for an undergraduate course, as students find the volume readable, enjoying the topic and its content. The book gives students "a sense of what it might mean and feel like to be a young adult in contemporary Africa" (23). Love and intimacy and secrecy and technology in the global South are incredibly relevant. Each chapter is carefully and intentionally couched within a relevant ethnographic literature, and throughout Archambault uses popular music as a point of triangulation. For example, *Problema* (Maya Cool), which is on YouTube, is accessible in its cadence, even for non-Portuguese speakers. At times, however, content within some sections felt unfocused; for example the historical review of Mozambican history in Chapter 2 was abrupt. In addition, students complained that the book was biased toward the experiences and interpretations of men.¹ However, the content was more "tantalizing than unsettling," as the author writes

of uncertainty in Inhambane, and there is no question that the volume is a welcome contribution to the ethnography of Mozambique.

Notes

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Liu, Jieyu, *Gender, Sexuality and Power in Chinese Companies: Beauties at Work*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 158 pages.

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This book is the first ethnographic account of the work and life of "white-collar beauties" in contemporary China. It addresses the gendered and sexualised issues in the workplace of the "one child generation." Women of this generation are presented by the media as living an enviable life: urban, highly educated, professional, intelligent, pretty and the only children of their natal families – young women who grew up in a child-centred environment and received unprecedented care and investment from their parents. Simply put, few gendered differences in their education have meant these young women have strong career ambitions. Liu argues that the way young women strategise has significantly shaped their negotiations of the gender-based inequality that they still face in the workplace. The social, economic and cultural processes that lead to the making of the "white-collar beauty" in post-Maoist China are the topics of Chapter 2. The media feature such women and, in doing so, influence the aspirations of young women of a generation. White-collar beauties are constructed to embody nationalist and neoliberal desires, which clash with earlier ideologies. One question the book develops is how much such depictions are a media fantasy and how much they are a reality. Is the enviable lifestyle real?

In rethinking the concept of gender and sexuality, two fundamental notions of feminist theory, Liu argues, in Chapter 3, for the importance of reformulating local feminist frameworks to account for the gendered and sexual control and resistance experienced by her interlocutors. The ethnographic material of the book is foregrounded in Chapter 4, where the ideas of gender of her interlocutors collide with the essentialisation of gender categories by company management. Management ideologies legitimise male domination, which offers poor career advancement possibilities for young and highly educated women with career ambition. Liu shows the interplay between

women's consent and resistance to their experience in a highly patriarchal Chinese work environment. As a matter of fact, many women reject the gendered expectations of their work. This refusal arises in a context where women, growing up as the only children of their families, do not experience gender differences in educational development. Liu succeeds in documenting the complexity of the politics of the naturalisation of gender and its interaction with class as a central issue in the white-collar workplace.

Next Liu turns, in Chapter 5, to the ways that the objectification of women's sexuality is put in place and sustained by managers to enhance workplace productivity. Liu shows how "white-collar beauties" are subject to a deep level of objectification and commodification. Indeed, women become the targets of sexual jokes in the private setting, and when their reputability is less of an issue, women may even become the tellers of such jokes. In what amounts to a highly patriarchal and eroticised work setting, with few procedures for dealing with sexual harassment, white-collar women learn to behave strategically.

Chapter 6 addresses the relationships between women and their clients to reveal the sexist politics and sexual content of interaction between women workers and clients. Here, selling women's sexuality is institutionally and deliberately deployed by management. Women treat clients to banquets, karaoke parties, and saunas. Such business practices are exhausting and extremely stressful for women. As the sexuality of women is highly moralised, white-collar beauties find themselves walking a fine line between respectability and disreputability. They strive to look pretty, but not sexy. Women, in addition to having to abide by business practices, have to take great care to manage their sexual reputations. This is a burden their male colleagues need not undertake. This insight allows Liu to challenge Hakim's (2010) claim that women use erotic capital as a way to advance in modern societies. Liu argues this ignores how sexuality is culturally shaped, and that such a strategy, which overlooks local gender politics, further perpetuates and naturalises a Chinese gendered order.

The politics of the relationship between women and men, but also of that among women themselves, is the subject of Chapter 7. The women who are included and excluded in women's social activities outside the work setting reveal deep segregations and hierarchies that are based on background (such as rural versus urban) between female co-workers. What are the different ways in which resistance becomes possible and what is the importance of the mobilisation of women's capacity to do emotional labour in a context where the pursuit of harmony is paramount?

The experiences and expectations of marriage and family, in Chapter 8, show how the changes in private life, such as singlehood and increasing divorce, challenge the working assumption of the traditional division of the public and private sphere. To women of the "one child generation," marriage and family are essential places from which to manoeuvre, strategise and exercise power. In the Conclusion Liu shows how, contrary to Western feminist discussions that consider the dichotomy between family and work a cause of inequality in the family and segregation in the workplace, a reconstitution of the private sphere away from the workplace facilitates the ability of young women to enact the Chinese family.

This concise book is a welcome contribution to the understanding of highly educated young women in the labour market of China. White-collar women face many gender-based