

Mason admits to a lack of rich ethnographic material content in the book, particularly in comparison to authors such as Julie Cruikshank, who draws extensively on Tlingit concepts to inform her own analysis of the effects of colonisation on Tlingit ways of life. These gaps may be apparent to more anthropologically minded readers who might be more inclined to expect Nakoda-derived analyses of power relations to be prioritised; whereas readers in the more interdisciplinary fields of colonial history and Indigenous studies may find that strengths elsewhere in the book balance out the lack of ethnographic content.

While there may be nothing particularly innovative about Mason's contribution to the broader field of Indigenous-state relations in Canada, his book fills a well-defined gap in the literature concerned specifically with Nakoda responses both to Canada's policies of assimilation and to the influx of a tourist economy in the Banff-Bow Valley. Despite the lack of analysis grounded in the particularities of Nakoda lifeways and cosmology, Mason stresses that the book is not intended to be primarily a theoretical contribution. Rather, as he states repeatedly throughout, the material gathered for the book was built primarily on relationships. His priority, first, was to produce a manuscript for a Nakoda audience that speaks to their experience and addresses gaps in the literature on Nakoda history and, second, to make that history available to the general public.

Putting relations first, over and above the book's actual content, gives his work an ethical and methodological presence, which, while it may have not made its way into most of the chapters in any tangible sense, requires enormous integrity from a researcher and demands a great deal of commitment to relationships with Nakoda collaborators. For this reason, Mason's contribution shows an exemplary standard of engagement for research, and, despite its flaws, the book appears to have achieved its aims.

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**Klassen, Pamela**, *Spirits of Protestantism: Medicine, Healing and Liberal Christianity*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011, 348 pages.

*Reviewer: Mary-Lee Mulholland  
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Perhaps one of the most popular areas of study under the rubric of the anthropology of religion, to students and faculty alike, is healing. Interestingly, much of the research in this area focuses on either evangelical or charismatic Christian traditions or syncretic non-Western communities. Although there is no shortage of nuanced, theoretically sophisticated, and rich ethnographic research in this area, as an instructor of an undergraduate anthropology of religion class, I am always looking for ethnographic research that undermines student's perceptions of exotic religious practices situated with the Other. With this I turned to read Pamela Klassen's *Spirits of Protestantism: Medicine, Healing and Liberal Christianity*. Combining historical and ethnographic methods, Klassen gives readers a rich and detailed study of the connections between healing, Protestantism, liberalism, anthropology, and modernity in twentieth-century North America. Focusing primarily on

members and groups within the Anglican and United Churches of Canada, she examines how they pursued a "supernatural liberalism" that, at first, led to a combination of "biomedicine and evangelism to effect 'conversions to modernity'" (xiii). In particular, she details the influence of Protestant liberals in the fields of medicine and mission work. The intimate experiences of missionaries as agents and witnesses to modernity and colonialism led to a self-critique of the ethnocentric imposition of Christianity on non-Western people and a new openness to non-Western healing practices. As a result, many liberals began to embrace syncretism and various holistic notions of healing contextualised in a reflexive and critical understanding of the place of liberal Protestants in modernity, imperialism, and racism (xiii).

Klassen begins her analysis by situating healing and supernaturalism in a history of liberal Protestantism by challenging the stereotype and critique of liberal Protestants as being devoid of these practices. Here, she points out the importance of "experience and reason" as liberal Protestants contributed to, and were influenced by, a close relationship with science, particularly medicine and anthropology. Specifically, in the first chapter entitled "Anthropologies of the Spiritual Body," she demonstrates the commitment many liberal Protestants and missionaries had to biomedical care. It is also in this chapter she argues that before the academic understanding of anthropology there was also a "theological anthropology" and that the former is grounded in the latter. Drawing on the literature (by Talal Asad and others) that argues that anthropology, and, specifically, anthropology of religion, is grounded in a deeply Christian ontology and epistemology, Klassen maintains that it is difficult to fully separate academic anthropology from its theological kin.

In Chapter 2, Klassen draws on examples of well-known church figures who worked as medical specialists (nurses and doctors) in missionary work, combining, with little or no anxiety, the principles of Western biomedicine and the Bible. For many of these healers, including Anna Henry who was a medical missionary in China, the text was central to the healing process. In the following chapter, "Protestant Experimentalists and the Energy of Love," she examines the "experimentalists" who combined the knowledge of non-Western healing practices experienced through missionary work, supernaturalism, and an interest in "techniques of psychology" to develop different methods of healing (102). These healers include Fredrick Du Vernet and Belle Oliver, both of whom had worked as missionaries (one in Canada, the other abroad) and had become disenchanted with the missionary project and critically reflexive of the role of missionaries in the broader colonial endeavour. Whereas Fredrick Du Vernet combined science, technology, and supernaturalism to create "spiritual radio" ("radio waves as channels for divine energy"), Belle Oliver introduced Protestants to healing through prayer. Other experimental healing practices covered here include various advocates of "Christian Yoga." In the next chapter, "Evil Spirits and the Queer Psyche in an Age of Anxiety," Klassen turns her attention to the emergence of charismatic renewal and psychology as major influences on healing in the mid-twentieth century. Whereas some liberal Protestants were drawn to charismatic healing (including exorcism) in the 1960s, others were drawn to psychology and, influenced by a broader movement in social justice, the acknowledgement of the rights of Indigenous people

and homosexuals. From the influence of psychology and social justice, pastoral counselling emerged as an important method of healing. She concludes her research with her ethnographic research among liberal Protestants in Ontario and their use of supernaturalism and syncretic healing methods drawn from non-Western backgrounds, including yoga, reiki, and Indigenous practices.

In this superbly researched text, Klassen makes invaluable ethnographic and theoretical contributions to the anthropology of religion, studies of Christianity and healing, the anthropology of the body, and the intersection of modernity, secularism, and religion. However, this book can be quite dense and is ideally suited to specialists rather than generalists. Moreover, while I appreciated her comments on the critical reflection and regret of liberal Protestants involvement with colonialism, it seems that she focuses more on their complicity and regret rather than on their active engagement. On this important point, I was left curious about the role of liberal Protestants in the establishment and governance of residential schools.

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**Paerregaard, Karsten, *Return to Sender: The Moral Economy of Peru's Migrant Remittances*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015, 336 pages.**

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Karsten Paerregaard brings to publication a well-researched, comprehensive study of what he refers to as the “social life” of migrant remittances sent back to relatives in home countries. Impressive is his extensive review of the literature of current discourses and debates that take issue with the subject from differing standpoints of economists, sociologists, policy-makers, and anthropologists. He clearly illustrates that contrasting analyses and conclusions are due to distinct disciplinary methods of both data collection and interpretation. In part, Paerregaard's objective is to respond to the heavy bias of policy-makers who are convinced that remittances are a “remedy for creating economic growth” and presume unquestioned positive influence on the home country in terms of development. In contrast, a negative picture comes into view in both economy and sociology studies that underline how the out-migration of workers drains labour and how the increase of funds in the home country can lead to government inefficiency, dependence, and dangerously opens doors for corruption.

In his multi-sited ethnography that traces the social life of a wide range of remittance sending circumstances, a wide variety of examples are examined – from Quechua-speaking sheep herders who migrate to the pasturelands of the western United States to successful immigrant politicians in New England. Paerregaard follows the full life cycle of particular cases in families and does an excellent job of bringing to the forefront, what he calls, “true motives” that give life to remittances. As he explains, guaranteeing the well-being of family and relatives is the pure underlying motive, and earning, saving, and “gifting” money is simply a means toward gaining greater moral objective, which leads to the subtitle of his book, “The Moral Economy of Peru's Migrant Remittances.”

This careful, in-depth study relies on ethnographic inquiry carried out from 1997 to 2011 at a number of major sites where Peruvians have migrated, with a focus on the importance and impact of remittances on family relations. This point of departure provides historical analysis of the term and practice of remitting. It emphasises the significance of anthropological methods, which differ from economic and sociological approaches, solely concerned with statistics and the effect of remittances to reduce poverty on a national scale.

The strength of Paerregaard's very original study is his framework of the life course of remittances from birth to death. He offers a clear look at how families and society attribute moral and political value to remittances and moves on to focus on the “new family roles” that emerge when a member migrates and the consequent effects on relationships and responsibilities. His analysis takes the debate far beyond the optimistic versus pessimistic stances of current discourse, by bringing to light the implications of gender, class, and identity on the movement of people and funds, which he refers to as the “social anatomy” of remittances.

Three novel analytic approaches are applied to understand remittances that comprise, first, phenomenology, which explores the social biography of remittance behaviour; second, a process approach that pursues the life trajectory to explain how such transactions are born and flow through family networks; and, finally, a structural perspective that examines the socio-economic framework in place and asks “what is the moral economy of remittances?”

Three categories of commitments are identified by migrants to describe their personal goals. The first is a *compromise*, which is an individual promise or pledge to family members to send money; the second is a *voluntad*, which refers to free will or social volition, such as unrequested donations to community, church, or family causes; and the third is the concept of *superación*, which illustrates a kind of self-commitment toward success by overcoming class and economic barriers.

In conclusion, Paerregaard's study shows us that contemporary remittances emerge from a long history of exchange relations in a complex weave of economic, moral, and emotional motives, influences, and impacts. His message to policy-makers is that to calculate remittances as a contribution to home country development is a definite error, and, in fact, remittances lead to existing economic inequalities rather than ameliorating them. He bluntly advises: “Peru is far better off pursuing development strategies other than encouraging its population to migrate and remit” (207). His point is well taken at this particular moment, with presidential elections on the rise and the overall population's revulsion of the repeated menu of corrupt candidates, with no coherent plan to improve social conditions. Youth and working-class voters are demanding fair opportunities and a transformation of Peruvian society toward inclusion, accountability, and justice here at home. Migration experiences, narratives, letters, and stories told may have suggested that better social conditions are potentially possible in Peru, and Paerregaard's study certainly lays the groundwork for further investigation on cultural aspects of the international movement of people throughout the globe.