

The last, and most optimistic, chapter considers Occupy Wall Street as a counterhegemonic movement. Notwithstanding its ephemeral quality – the occupation of Zuccotti Park lasted from 17 September to 15 November 2011 – Crehan argues that it created a time and space that allowed elements of “good sense” (Gramsci’s term) to coalesce and to be heard. The movement’s catchphrase, “We are the 99%,” has become part of American culture. Occupy Wall Street brought inequality to the fore and reintroduced a concept of class to American political discourse. It was, in Crehan’s view, an advance in the long, slow war of position that subalterns must wage to transform society. Taken together, the case studies offer some strategic lessons as well. Chief among them is the necessity to engage both reason and emotion in political struggle.

Gramsci’s Common Sense is not an easy book, but it is clear, logically organised and illuminating. The engaging case studies in the second half of the book, although they can probably be read on their own, serve to clarify and illustrate the important concepts carefully laid out in the first 77 pages. The book should be read by those interested in political movements and how to make them. Although the case studies are Scottish (Smith) and American, the book will certainly be of interest to those working elsewhere. The combination of concepts and cases make it particularly well suited to graduate teaching in anthropology, sociology or politics.

References

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Costa, Luiz, *The Owners of Kinship: Asymmetrical Relations in Indigenous Amazonia*, Chicago: Hau Books, 2017, 275 pages.

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Although over the last decade Luiz Costa has discussed feeding and predation and contributed to the ontological turn in anthropology, his *The Owners of Kinship* is grounded in ethnographic encounters with the Kanamari, a Katukina-speaking people of the Jurua Valley tributaries in the western part of the Brazilian state of Amazonas. The Kanamari traditionally practise swidden agriculture, hunting, fishing and gathering. They were involved in logging and rubber tapping in the twentieth century, and although the Kanamari still practise these economic activities, they also participate in other cash-income-related enterprises, including governmental jobs and teaching.

Costa proposes an ethnographic account of the Kanamari that considers asymmetrical relations and the distinction between feeding and commensality. Costa shows how different levels of asymmetrical relations – father/son, master/pet, chief/

community, government/indigenous people, animal master/animal – are created through feeding in indigenous Amazonia. By “feeding,” Costa means a relational schema in which food is provided to individuals who would not have access to it otherwise. Such feeding creates an asymmetrical relation of dependence. This claim develops Carlos Fausto’s works on “familiarizing predation” (1999; 2007), which describe a type of relational structure present in many Amazonian societies through which external predation is transformed into internal familiarisation, be it through warfare, shamanism or hunting. This relational structure makes it possible for an unrelated enemy, toward which one has a relation of predation, to become related through kin, as might happen in the adoption of a war prisoner. From here, Costa turns to the distinction between feeding and commensality, the first being constituted by hierarchical kinds of kinship relations (like a mother feeding her newborn) and the latter being characteristic of consubstantial kinship (like brothers sharing a meal). In this framework, feeding leads both to the magnification of the feeder and to the incorporation of the fed within the feeder.

Chapter 1 describes how the Kanamari conception of feeding generates relations of dependence. Costa gives an overview of the question with observations he has made on humans’ relations, pet taming, and the relations between shamans and their auxiliaries. Chapter 2 introduces the Kanamari concept of “-warah,” which Costa translates as “body-owner,” because it designates both one’s body as well as a master/chief/owner position. According to the Kanamari, “to feed is to cause an entity to be dependent on a body-owner; to be part of a body-owner; to belong to a body-owner” (p. 65). Chapter 3 presents the implication of the feeder/fed relation in the mother/child bond. Costa shows how relations of kinship are “made possible by the conversion of predatory relations into kinship” (p. 22) and how Amazonian filiation “is always an adoptive filiation, even when it is natural” (p. 22).

Chapter 4 demonstrates how feeding relations influence the Kanamari regional organisation and historical narratives. According to Costa, the Kanamari divide their history into three parts. The first epoch, the Time of Tamakori, represents the “pristine” past of the Kanamari and allows Costa to give an account of their social organisation. The second epoch, the Time of Rubber, gave rise to the fragmentation of the Kanamari society because their “involvement in the extractive economy removed the -warah from their social possibilities, resulting in a horizontalized world of excessive flux and erratic movement” (p. 185). The third epoch, the Time of FUNAI (the Brazilian government agency concerning Indigenous affairs), reintroduced -warah in the form of the FUNAI agency. This means that Kanamari society came to envision FUNAI as its -warah as it became dependant on the merchandise FUNAI fed it with. In the conclusion, Costa digs into the Kanamari’s myths and rituality (the Jaguar-becoming ritual) to expose the cosmological preconditions for feeding relations to arise as they are. Kanamari mythology emphasises how the figure of the Old Jaguar was the owner (-warah) of everything in primordial times. According to Costa, most of this mythology is about “how Jaguars are made to relinquish their mastery over the world” (p. 190) and, by doing so, create the preconditions for the present world.

Costa’s work is relevant because it invites us to ethnographically qualify the underpinnings of fundamental relations in

an Indigenous society in Amazonia: the creation of adoptive bonds, declinations of master/dependant relations, conceptions of cultural diversity, and requirements of symmetrical bonds between individuals. However, Costa's book does not deal with questions outside of the ontological turn. In a sense, the author's ethnographic enquiry responds to existing theoretical insights rather than raising novel concerns. Costa formulates his insights solely on the basis of the feeding/predatory paradigm, and does little to elaborate on competing interpretative paradigms. This work helps make sense of his ethnographic data, yet fails to explore wider analytical possibilities, which, ultimately, weakens his claims.

Despite this, *The Owners of Kinship* represents an excellent ethnography of the Kanamari people, and its emphasis on the Kanamari language and Kanamari concepts adds depth and strength to the analysis. Still, the very last pages of the book are disconcerting. Costa returned to the field in 2015, and affirms that the Kanamari have forgotten their legends and that the universe he describes is now lost. In only a decade, one is left to wonder how things could have changed so fast. Costa suggests that money transfers from the state contributed to the loss of the feeding relations he described, but such an abrupt ending requires more field investigation and a different theoretical analysis. Still, the book is clearly written and accessible to anthropologists of various backgrounds, interests, and stages in their careers, especially those working on kinship, indigenous societies, and cosmologies.

References

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Dussart, Francoise and Sylvie Poirier, eds., *Entangled Territories: Negotiating Indigenous Lands in Australia and Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017, 269 pages.

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Dussart and Poirier have edited a timely collection of 11 essays set in Canada and Australia that concern the circumstances Indigenous peoples face in reorienting their relationship with the state, and in protecting their relationships with the land and all the beings on it. The volume uses a distinctive and effective strategy of an opening foreword by John Borrows, which establishes the grounds the authors will visit, and, at the end of the book, a succinct and insightful essay by Michael Asch, who provides his view of the major debates in anthropology that have led up to the current positions taken in the volume.

Borrows writes, "Essentialism has great appeal because it allows for the telling of a less tangled story. It is an attempt to embroider the truth with a few simple stitches. This book is an antidote to these proclivities" (viii) and "To be alive is to

be entangled" (ibid.). Borrows concludes, "As such, each essay effectively illustrates how Indigenous people reconstruct their distinctive identities, notwithstanding ongoing colonial encounters" (ix).

The editors have built the volume around the concept of entanglement – following Nicholas Thomas's 1991 book, which supposes that relations are unpredictable, unexpected, unseen, emergent, also harmful, decomposing and reshaped, and, they say, allows inquiry into the dialectical and dialogical dimensions of these encounters. Collectively the authors engage a whole bag of related and competing theories and test them out with detailed accounts of their own fieldwork with Indigenous peoples. These efforts to understand the complex relations between the Indigenous world and the mainstream population in the age of modernity include concepts of relative autonomy, hybridity and resistance, and intercultural concepts. In her own chapter, editor Poirier takes note of entangled territorialities, and says she calls on the concepts of relative autonomy, coloniality, ontological obstacles, political ontology, senses of place, multilocality and multivocality of place, relational ontology, and naturalist ontology to build her argument (p. 215). It's a lot, and the editors and most of the contributors try to make the case for the utility of the concept of entanglement.

I point now to chapters that concern the relations between anthropologists and Indigenous communities, although many chapters have a lot to say on other topics. Nicholas Peterson, an anthropologist who works in central Australia, raises the provocative question of whether there is a role for anthropology in the reproduction of Indigenous cultural knowledge. In particular, Peterson is concerned with the practice of mapping by anthropologists and with members of a society, the Warlpiri, who practise secrecy and economising regarding the transmission of information between generations. He notes that younger people assume that older people hold knowledge, and that more is known than is told them. He writes that he is questioned by these younger people about what he might know. It's an awkward position, and one anthropologists often face. Peterson also wonders about the use of ethnographic film and recording songs in restoring ritual. But it isn't just recording information in various modalities that is at stake. Peterson writes of how the use of the term "culture" spread across the region where he works, inspiring Indigenous people to speak of "my culture" in a new way. This term brings the potential to reorient the encounter with the state, noted in this volume as entanglement.

Peterson asks what the role of an objectified and codified account of some small part of Indigenous knowledge recorded by an anthropologist might be. Further, do we have an undefined responsibility for what we have learned from elders? Also, he observes that the balance of knowledge shifts between generations with the publication of maps and place names, making public the knowledge that the elders once held. While Peterson doesn't put it this way, he evokes the old problem of knowledge without wisdom, a dilemma that came with the invention of writing. Reading a map cannot replace walking the landscape or listening to stories, and maps can undermine this prior system of intergenerational transmission. Peterson, though, argues that the value of mapping lies in sustaining an ever-changing cultural identity.

Brian Thom raises a related issue in his chapter. He takes up the thorny problem of belief and ontological difference. He recounts, among several narratives he uses to illustrate his