

the food security of these populations is through the decolonisation of food and the implementation of protection programs that ensure the maintenance of the habits and identity of the region.

To conclude Part 2, Kristen Lowitt and Barbara Neis discuss the retail food environment in the Bonne Bay region of Newfoundland in Chapter 8. Prices are high, and fresh food is scarce and unvaried. Residents find little supply in local stores and must travel to larger centres to shop. The authors propose four steps to improve food security: increasing the supply of fresh produce, supporting the creation of community partnerships and cooperation between residents, improving income policy, and restructuring rural areas to ensure greater access to food.

Part 3 turns to fishing, beekeeping, and berry production. Paul Foley and Charles Mather describe the provincial fishing market in Chapter 9. Drawing on the concept of the Three Food Regimes, they seek to understand its trajectory and the lessons that the fishing sector can offer academic debates.

Myron King presents a case study on the acknowledgement of fishers' ecological knowledge in Chapter 10. He considers how this knowledge is still under development and how it can contribute to primary food production, via the market and academic studies. Because they have a working knowledge of what goes on at sea and know fishing history through generations, fishers are an important source of knowledge and information.

Cyr Couturier and Keith Rideout explore the potentials of sustainable aquaculture production in Chapter 11. The authors trace the efforts made to introduce new species and the setbacks faced in recent decades until Newfoundland and Labrador became Canada's second-largest producer of sustainable aquaculture, after attempts over the years by researchers at producing different species in the region.

Stephan Walke and Jianghua Wu discuss sustainable apiculture in Chapter 12. Due to its isolation, Newfoundland has the advantage of having a disease-free bee population and therefore high potential for the expansion of apiculture, organic product development and scientific research. However, complementary legislation is needed to protect and encourage local apiculture.

Samir C. Debnath and Catherine Keske present the potential for berry production in Chapter 13. Newfoundland and Labrador have an extensive variety of berries, which have become sought after and are valued by international markets due to different properties and health benefits. Berry production has the potential to raise awareness of berries' nutritional benefits as well as promote the region's food security and sovereignty.

In all, *Food Futures* offers a rich buffet on a little-explored side of Newfoundland and Labrador, showing the richness of the province's food culture and the potential that the region has to develop food sovereignty. It is a fundamental book for the people of Newfoundland and Labrador to learn more about the potential of the territory, its cultural heritage and the possibilities that the future may present. It is also important for food studies and the development of further research on how food influences and affects people's daily lives, and it could be useful for exploring a multidisciplinary collaboration involving the social sciences and production chain, market and government policies.

Kikon, Dolly, *Living with Oil and Coal: Resource Politics and Militarization in North-East India*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019, 188 pages.

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In her ethnography of the Indian states of Nagaland and Assam, Dolly Kikon contributes to a growing body of literature that deals with resource extraction, militarisation, and the politics of "frontier" regions and how different forces work in concert to construct the idea of a frontier. Additionally, she makes a valuable contribution to South Asian studies by applying theories from extractivist literature to an Indian context. Through this powerful ethnography, we learn how the valley-dwelling Assamese and the hill-based Naga live with and respond to oil and coal projects on their respective territories.

Readers familiar with the *Nature, Place, and Culture* series from the University of Washington Press, edited by K. Sivaramakrishnan, will recognise these themes. For example, Jeremy Campbell's *Conjuring Property* (2015) describes similar processes in Brazil. Both *Conjuring Property* and *Living with Oil and Coal* deal with the construction of a national frontier, with competing ethnic claims and identities, and with the role of documentation and paperwork in the construction of various forms of claims-making over the frontier. *Living with Oil and Coal* draws on and contributes to the growing canon of extractivism literature.

Kikon identifies oil and coal as new extractivist projects in her field site, ones that shape the contours of local politics and livelihoods. Yet the book is as much about tea as it is about oil and coal. Kikon identifies cycles of accumulation and extraction occurring in Nagaland and Assam, which, according to Kikon and many of her informants, began with the pre-independence industry of tea plantations, which paved the way for independent oil and gas development projects in an independent India. Almost perversely, the Indian state continues to rely on laws from the colonial period to justify its post-colonial resource development.

Kikon also engages in literature dealing with state formation and geographies, which describes the long history of early state formation in valley areas as stateless peoples retreated into hillier terrain. While the Assamese developed state formations in the valleys, based on inter-communal trade, the Naga tribes retained hunter-gatherer lifestyles in the hill regions, creating the distinction between "hill tribes" and "valley tribes." It is a dynamic reminiscent of what James C. Scott describes for state formation in southeast Asia, as early states originated in agricultural valleys and non-state societies took refuge in the highlands. A similar distinction persists to the present – despite cyclical migration of Naga and Assamese between their two regions – as both ethnic groups were made subjects first of the British and later the Indian state.

While all Indian citizens are theoretically equal members of the same sovereign state, Kikon's informants express the feeling that little has changed from when they were subjects of the British empire. For them, Indian security forces feel much like occupiers in the region. Kikon's fieldwork shows the challenges of constructing national identity in a multi-ethnic post-colonial state like India, as well as the ongoing colonial

patterns of resource extraction that are contingent on state violence to enforce.

At the same time, Kikon identifies the importance of British documents for locals making claims over various territories and development projects. One informant collected British-era documents in order to protect the claims of his municipality against another one, with great seriousness. Even though the British colonial documents may not necessarily have real legal force in contemporary India, various groups continue to use them as a basis for legitimising their claims and making them appear to precede the modern Indian state.

Kikon identifies that the “contestations over issues of citizenship, sovereignty, and ethnic alliances in a militarized land were tied to extraction and flows of natural resources, which defined relations and shaped the outline of a carbon future” (p. 27). One of the ways these contestations are expressed is through various expressions of “love” (*morom*) for various sovereign entities. As tribal authorities, state governments, the central (Union) government, and various divisions of the military all compete for sovereignty and jurisdiction, locals express their affinity for one or more divisions of the Indian state. The term “state love,” used by one of her informants, is developed as an analytical tool by Kikon to express various constituencies’ relationships to different state bodies, where having “state love” represents having a positive reciprocal relationship with a state body and lacking “state love” indicates a negative or absent relationship. Kikon thus deploys the concept of “state love” to effectively incorporate local knowledge into her theorising.

The strength of Kikon’s work is not so much in wholly original theoretical contributions, but in the creativity and skill of its synthesis of existing theoretical work, applied to a new context and matched with local knowledge. The book prods scholars of anthropology and resource extraction to consider the role of militarisation and the politics of space and presents ethnography as a viable way to examine these phenomena. Scholars of other regions, especially Latin America, will recognise many of the ideas presented in Kikon’s work, while scholars of South Asia will have the opportunity to see these ideas applied in their region.

## References

Campbell, Jeremy. *Conjuring Property: Speculation and Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.

Kirsch, Stuart, *Engaged Anthropology: Politics beyond the Text*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2018, 328 pages.

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Stuart Kirsch’s *Engaged Anthropology* is a sophisticated and passionate account of anthropology put into practice in a variety of political and social contexts. Drawing on ethnography, autobiography, disciplinary history, legal affidavits and other writing styles, Kirsch offers an intimate look at the “backstage”

of politically engaged research and advocacy. It is the emphasis on explicitly *political* engagement that distinguishes engaged anthropology from related approaches, including applied, activist, collaborative or militant anthropology, and Kirsch makes a compelling case for foregrounding our political commitments, in part by showing just how much anthropology can matter in the world.

*Engaged Anthropology* can be read in two ways: first, as a narrative account of the development and deepening of Kirsch’s own political engagement across a variety of contexts; second, as a series of experiments in engaged anthropology (p. 225). This experimental aspect – and Kirsch’s willingness to take risks and to document failures – is a key strength of the book.

The first chapter takes us backstage of the now famous legal case against the Ok Tedi copper and gold mine in Papua New Guinea and includes a discussion of Kirsch’s “ethnographic refusal” and prior reluctance to write about a possible turn to violent resistance during the lawsuit. Along the way, Kirsch details the corporate disciplining of expertise and the ways that certain legal categories have “colonized” anthropology. Subsequent chapters offer remarkably frank accounts of what Kirsch sometimes refers to as “failed” interventions. For example, in a chapter on refugees and migrants in West Papua, Indonesia, Kirsch shows how anthropologists can bear witness to violence and work against racist or colonial stereotypes (for example, that Indigenous communities in the region are inherently violent). Still, “it is not always possible for anthropologists to make a meaningful contribution to the political struggles of the people with whom they work” (p. 81). The defining feature of engaged anthropology is not its outcomes, but rather the stance taken in relation to the people with whom engaged anthropologists work.

In this vein, Kirsch recounts his experiences working as a consultant in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. In both cases, the projects for which he consulted did not yield the expected or desired outcomes, but Kirsch reminds us that such work can galvanise our own political commitments, as his work on conservation did for him, turning him to more active and direct modes of struggle against the mining industry (p. 105). Drawing on his work in the Solomon Islands, Kirsch reflects on how research and advocacy efforts can be “overtaken by events” (p. 135). Changing circumstances unfolding in real time can cause legal cases, consulting work or other interventions to falter or fail. And yet, even in such circumstances, engaged anthropology has a value that extends “beyond the immediate goals of a project” (p. 135). In a particularly captivating chapter, Kirsch recounts his work on a case representing the former inhabitants of Rongelap Atoll in the Marshall Islands. Kirsch worked on a claim before the Nuclear Claims Tribunal, which grants compensation for loss or damage due to radiation exposure. The former inhabitants of Rongelap had been exposed to radiation after the United States tested a nuclear bomb on Bikini Atoll. Kirsch writes movingly about their case and the broader issue of cultural losses that can never be repaired, while reflecting on the problematic ways culture as a concept is used in legal contexts.

In the final chapters, Kirsch explores the risks and dilemmas of political participation. In a short chapter on a campus debate about repatriation of Native American human remains, Kirsch shows how attempts to engage in politically fraught circumstances can have negative repercussions. For example, during