

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

a series of discussions about repatriation, Kirsch's public comments were taken out of context and circulated in other venues without his approval. Still, this chapter is at odds with much of the rest of the book. Writing of his role as a graduate advisor and participant in a roundtable discussion, Kirsch says he "sought to make a pedagogical point, that anthropologists could analyze the different discourses invoked by the participants in politically contentious situations *without taking sides*" (p. 189, emphasis added). His point is well taken, yet it is curious that he makes it only in relation to campus politics. Throughout the rest of the book, Kirsch insists on the importance of taking sides as a researcher and expert witness. Is it possible to not take sides in politically charged discussions on campus today? Does this position risk giving too much credence to the idea of neutral debate and a maximalist version of free speech, positions that have been used to promote hate speech on university campuses?

The final chapter documents Kirsch's work as an expert witness for Indigenous land rights cases in Suriname and Guyana and offers a rich discussion of the "narrative choices" and "political dilemmas" that emerged in the course of such work. Kirsch presents two examples of legal affidavits from these cases (a great resource, as anthropologists rarely get a chance to see this kind of writing before being asked to do it) and reflects on his ambivalent use of the concept of "cultural survival" – a politically expedient term for what is "recognized as a fundamental right deserving of protection" by courts even as it is considered problematic by many anthropologists (p. 216).

Overall, each chapter reiterates the central argument in the book: engaged anthropology requires us to move "beyond the text." Kirsch situates this argument in the wake of the writing culture turn and the subsequent turns to the anthropology of suffering and the anthropology of ethics. Unlike those other approaches, however, Kirsch is not concerned with the politics of representation. Instead, his is a call for a "*politics of participation*" that takes anthropologists outside and beyond the text (p. 2, emphasis in original). As Kirsch writes, he "became an engaged anthropologist by accident rather than by design," as his concerns about pollution from the Ok Tedi mine during his fieldwork in the Yonggom Village in the 1980s pushed him to get involved in a legal case that, since then, has become a touchstone for those working to combat extractive capitalism (p. 12). In the end, it is through his autobiographical account of a deepening commitment to engaged anthropology that Kirsch's initial concerns shine through. These include an abiding commitment to the Indigenous communities with whom he works and to their struggles against extractive capitalism, multinational corporations, repressive or unresponsive governments and other powerful agents.

Engaged Anthropology is a great resource for those interested in what engagement looks like in practice. It is a nuanced approach, attuned to the shifting contexts of engagement. Anthropology has long grappled with these issues, but Kirsch's experiments in engaged anthropology offer a hopeful model for how to move beyond questions of textual representation or questions of "the good" to a substantive political commitment that insists anthropology matters and can make a difference. *Engaged Anthropology* is required reading in undergraduate and graduate courses, and for scholars working on decolonisation, Indigenous rights, collaborative anthropology, extractive capitalism, climate change and sovereignty.

Mannik, Lynda, and Karen McGarry, *Practicing Ethnography: A Student Guide to Method and Methodology*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017, 264 pages.

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Practicing Ethnography: A Student Guide to Method and Methodology offers undergraduate and graduate students an accessible, thought-provoking and useful introduction to ethnography as a research method. Drawing on contributions from anthropologists working in North America, it is tailored to a North American audience, with an exploration of the history of doing anthropology and a guide to conducting research at universities in Canada and the United States.

The book is divided into four parts and 12 chapters, each chapter featuring a vignette from an ethnographer reflecting on ethnography. These excerpts reflect the experience of conducting research and open discussions of topics that students might encounter in their own research. Taken together, these chapters offer a range of rich material for considering the methods, questions and ethical issues raised by practising ethnography. Each of the four parts addresses different aspects of fieldwork: ethics, writing, field sites and visual methods.

Part 1 examines the history and development of anthropological fieldwork methods in the North American tradition, asking what makes them unique, what the "field" is when researching at "home," and what the ethics and the politics of conducting fieldwork here are. *Practicing Ethnography* emphasises contemporary, community-based, decolonising methodologies, which are increasingly de rigueur. It encourages a critical examination of a researcher's positionality and the power relationships between researchers and the communities and interlocutors they work with. Collaborative research becomes central as an ethical orientation at all stages of research, which the authors describe as "the ideal moral stance that should guide you" (p. 52). Especially useful for student researchers is the practical advice on initiating a research project, seeking Research Ethics Board (or Institutional Review Board) approval, ensuring the welfare of research subjects, the logistics of interviews, how to find participants, how to develop questions, and when to use a focus group. The excerpts in Part 1 include a discussion of decolonising methodologies written by Niki Thorne, a segment on participant observation framed through George Gmelch's work studying the culture of baseball, a discussion of collaborative anthropological research with Indigenous peoples in North America written by Jen Shannon, and a reflection on interviewing and fieldwork with the Nuer in America by Dianna Shandy.

Part 2 discusses notes, data and representation. One chapter is dedicated to the process of writing field notes, examining different types of notes that an anthropologist might take and different methodological choices that researchers might make in the field. From here, the chapters turn to analysing field data and coding data, followed by an in-depth discussion on the process of writing up and the politics of representation. The vignettes in Part 2 include a reflection on field notes, photos