

rences ...) dans un monde qui joue de l'accordéon. Malgré ce qui les sépare, les auteurs réunis dans cet ouvrage semblent s'accorder sur une chose : les mouvements de globalisation et de mondialisation ne se font pas au détriment des expressions singulières, renouvelées, dynamiques, des cultures. Sur une autre encore : l'anthropologie est inventive et l'avenir est devant elle ... Si l'on conçoit l'anthropologie comme une science de « la pluralité des formes de l'humanité » (Gilles Bibeau, p. 242), et l'expérience de terrain comme « une expérience collective du partage du sensible » (François Laplantine, p. 221), il est évident que la discipline n'est pas en péril.

L'univers que dessinent les auteurs de ce livre en est un dans lequel tout se dit au pluriel : les cultures, mais aussi les globalisations ou les mondialisations, les modernités, les épistémologies, les ontologies. Les approches et perspectives déployées dans cet ouvrage ne font pas exception. Il n'est visiblement pas question de faire école. Plutôt qu'une logique d'homogénéisation ou de théorisation, c'est une logique de *réconciliation* qui articule l'ensemble des contributions. On aurait aimé cependant percevoir les échos de cohabitations qui s'annoncent parfois périlleuses...

Pnina Werbner (ed.), *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism*, New York: Berg, 2008, 396 pages.

Reviewer: *Daniel Yon*
York University and University of Cape Town

The recent “cosmopolitan turn” in anthropology and the social sciences has been marked by international conferences and a burgeoning scholarship that distances a “new” cosmopolitanism from the charges of elitism and Eurocentricism of the Kantian-inspired post-Enlightenment cosmopolitanism that preceded it. The contemporary turn, in the context of globalization, insists upon the plurality of “cosmopolitanisms” to stress the expanded reach of the concept—hence the range of adjectives such as “vernacular,” “rooted,” “discrepant,” “banal,” “abject,” “demotic” and others, to qualify the “type” of cosmopolitanism that is addressed. Pnina Werbner's edited collection, *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism*, is a rich and well-organized collection of papers that makes an important contribution to this growing body of scholarship. The papers in this collection were initially presented at the diamond jubilee conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists (ASA) at Keele University, U.K. The volume has several strengths but I particularly appreciated its efforts to guard against what Werbner describes as “an over-promiscuous tendency to label cosmopolitan, anyone or anything that is no longer purely local or parochial” (p. 60). Thus, this ethnographically grounded collection of papers goes a long way toward bringing a disciplinary focus to cosmopolitan talk.

This book aims to “reposition” the discipline of social anthropology “in relation to an evolving new cosmopolitanism,

theorized in political philosophy, sociology of globalization and postcolonial cultural studies” (p. 1). This emphasis is significant because it seeks a conversation with the large and growing body of literature in political philosophy and social theory rather than simply appraising or critiquing that literature with examples “from the field.” It is, as Werbner suggests, not the fieldwork encounter that makes the anthropologist but rather the kinds of “creative, collective and cross-cultural conversations” that make for a “dialogical cosmopolitanism” of which the anthropologist is a part (p. 25). This repositioning also opens up an interesting set of questions about the history of the discipline and those who practice it, past and present—for example, were those who gathered to form the ASA 60 years ago themselves “cosmopolitan” in terms of their diverse origins and the degree of “openness to strangers” they displayed? And, what of the cosmopolitan sensibilities of those studied who also had to display some “hospitality and openness” to the stranger-anthropologist among them? The jubilee collection is thus useful for reflection and for contextualizing the present interest in cosmopolitanism in relation to the discipline's past practices and conventions. In this regard, Elizabeth Colson's commentary and “ethnography” (as she describes it) of the founding moments of the association, drawn from her own memory of participating in the initial meetings, is a particularly interesting first-hand history of the association. Reflecting on the significance of those early works and encounters, she reminds us of how the “echoes” of what these pioneers said and wrote are present in the scholarship on popular culture today and have been absorbed into the culture of the globalized cosmopolitan world of the 21st century (p. 45). Colson's bibliographic search confirms her claim. Chris Hann's paper, “Anthropology as a Cosmopolitan Discipline,” is a lively engagement with the cosmopolitan nature of some of the established figures in the discipline as he elaborates the idea of a Herderian cosmopolitanism and the East European influences subsumed in the scholarship of Malinowski and Gellner respectively.

The thematic structure of this book usefully sharpens the focus of the collection. Importantly, the theme of cosmopolitanism often comes after the fact—as a concept that is deployed to reflect upon the research (even when the concept itself does not appear in the ethnographic accounts). In other words, cosmopolitanism, whatever its nature, is not taken to the field and deployed as a concept through which the ethnographic details are filtered but is taken as an idea that can be discerned from the practices that are observed and described. Indeed, it would seem that contributors to this collection revisited their respective works with the theme of the conference in mind.

The second section, “Feminism and Non-Violent Cosmopolitan Movements,” is especially important with regard to discerning cosmopolitanism. Maila Stevens thus points out how the “c” word (as in cosmopolitanism) tends to be absent or is not readily discernable in scholarly works on feminism. Accordingly, the three papers in this section flesh out in interesting

ways the cosmopolitanism inherent in feminism and feminist practices in diverse settings. Three papers, by Maila Stivens, Kathryn Robinson and Kalpana Ram, elaborate their research with religious-based women's groups in Malaysia and Indonesia and with caste-based women in the south of India, respectively, to show how "historically contingent [and] intimate domestic practices and organizations" run by and for women enable a reconfiguring of cosmopolitan spaces and practices. These works also highlight two features of new cosmopolitanism: The first has to do with how the concept has been detached from the privileged and class-based meaning that has historically defined it and how it can be re-articulated to capture the possibilities for engaging subaltern cosmopolitanisms. The second is the principle that cosmopolitanism can best be discerned from studying what people do and the kinds of relationships that are forged and imagined in the doing. In this regard, cosmopolitanism emerges not as foreclosed but as a more open category that captures what people do and what they are becoming, as opposed to what they are.

Section 3, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism, Public Cosmopolitans," puts greater focus on individuals in cosmopolitan-inducing settings. Aref Abu-Rabia, a native Palestinian anthropologist and self-identified "rooted cosmopolitan" living and working in Israel, gives a fascinating personal account of having to navigate the borders, literal and figurative, that have been established to render Palestinians manageable within the state of Israel. The result is that Palestinians quickly developed "that sense of cosmopolitanism"; at all times they feel "the suspicions and stranger-hood inflicted by the Israeli authorities and the majority society" that have, in turn, produced (as in himself) "rooted [Palestinian] cosmopolitans that are weak politically and marginalized socially" (p. 168). Abu-Rabia thus invokes the estrangement that has historically been attached to European cosmopolitanism. Estrangement, in this sense, is not pathological and is a concept that is equally applicable to Richard Mannathoko, the subject of Richard Werbner's paper. Werbner describes his personal friendship with Mannathoko built over years of fieldwork in Botswana and shows how, through his work and public criticism of colonialism, Mannathoko came to be a "free-thinking" example of a "rooted public cosmopolitanism." Dorothy Hodgson, on the other hand, discusses the "cosmopolitics" of the Indigenous Rights Movements in Africa, focusing specifically on the Masai activists of Tanzania. Eric Hirsch highlights the "paradoxes of cosmopolitanism" among educated Melanesians who utilize explicit metropolitan literary forms in order to render themselves or their culture intelligible, thereby contributing to the predicament of re-making their cultural representations through the influences they seek to transcend (p. 210). The paradoxes he elaborates are multilayered.

While the vernacular status of new cosmopolitanism is a theme throughout this collection, it is given prominence in Section 4 where, in his analysis of the circumstances of Chamba communities in Nigeria and the Cameroon, Fardon cautions against the prospects of cosmopolitanism coming to serve as

a defining trope of anthropology, arguing that it is no less loaded in the present century as ethnicity was in the last (p. 239). Despite efforts to stress the vernacular, discussions of cosmopolitanism, he insists, remain indebted to their roots in European assumptions about cultural homogeneity with respect to the nation. Such assumptions cannot be sustained in the context of the highly heterogeneous Nigerian nation. Joel Kahn's paper, on the other hand, makes the case for acknowledging multiple and competing universalisms as a counter to Kantian assumptions about a universalism that, he suggests, end up being exclusionary. Kahn focuses on "myriad of spaces," "language games" and "hybrid Malayness" that variously govern social interaction in Malaysia. He argues that these spaces and hybrids may already pre-figure alternative cosmopolitan futures.

The final section of this book considers "demotic" and "working-class" cosmopolitanism. Owen Sichone provides a fascinating account of the "cosmopolitan" multilayered relationships of Somali migrants in Cape Town against a background of xenophobic attacks on them. Sichone singles out women in the townships of Cape Town as particularly disposed to showing hospitality to male Somali migrants, concluding that it is in these often surprising local places that cosmopolitanism flourishes in contrast to the unfulfilled promises of the global cosmopolitan promises embodied, for example, in the United Nations Charter. Similarly, Jonathan Perry's study of an Indian Steel Town in Bhilai, the final ethnographic paper in the collection; returns us to the relationships between nationalism and cosmopolitanism as he demonstrates how, notwithstanding potential ethnic backlashes and local chauvinism, these two concepts are not necessarily antithetical attitudes. This conclusion is borne out by the kinds of social relations that are forged through this state-owned steel industry, itself a nationalist project, between migrant workers from the Indian Ocean basin and natives alike. An interview by Phina Werbner with Britain's leading cultural theorist, Stuart Hall, concludes the collection.

There is much to commend in this book, not least the ethnographically grounded quality of the papers; the multiple, and even critical, ways cosmopolitanism is taken up; the kinds of cautious reflexivity towards the "turn" to cosmopolitanism in anthropology that it reveals; and, the resultant openness to debating the merits and de-merits of the "turn." Scholars interested in cosmopolitanisms in contemporary times will find this a valuable text and it has already proved its value for an advanced undergraduate course I taught.