

den das vestimentäre Erbe neu, um es ihrem kosmopolitischen Lebensstil anzupassen. Eine Demokratisierung erfuhr die Mode allerdings erst in den 1990ern, als nach und nach Modeschulen, marokkanische Modemagazine und europäische Marken den Modemarkt eroberten. Nicht mehr als Teil der gesellschaftlichen Elite wurden die Modemachenden dieser zweiten Generation, von der Autorin auch als "Generation Caftan" bezeichnet, insbesondere durch den medialen Einfluss diverser Modemagazine bekannt. Jansen sieht das Gemeinsame dieser Generation in einer Neubewertung und neuen Wertschätzung des kulturellen Erbes Marokkos und im Wunsch nach einer spezifischen marokkanischen Moderne, die in der Mode ihren Ausdruck fand. Die sehr heterogene dritte Generation (misfits) hingegen interpretiert an der Wende zum 21. Jh. ihr kulturelles Erbe jenseits folkloristischer Stereotype, verortet sich global und propagiert die künstlerische Freiheit. Für sie soll Mode als Mittel fungieren, essentialistische Vorstellungen von marokkanischer Identität zu hinterfragen und mit dem Selbst-Orientalismus zu brechen, weshalb sie innerhalb der marokkanischen Öffentlichkeit regelmäßig auf Kritik stoßen.

Das vierte Kapitel ist dem Einfluss der (neuen) Medien gewidmet, die die Entstehung einer marokkanischen Moderne entscheidend mitgestalten. Hier nimmt die Autorin insbesondere Prozesse von Modernisierung, Demokratisierung und Kommodifizierung in den Blick, wenn sie die unterschiedlichen einflussreichen Modezeitschriften, die von ihnen initiierten und organisierten Modeevents sowie online-Magazine und Modeblogger vorstellt. Insbesondere Blogs haben den Kommunikations- und Informationsfluss durch die Herstellung eines interaktiven Raums revolutioniert.

Im fünften Kapitel zeigt Jansen, auf welche Art und Weise die Ankunft westlicher Modemarken neue Konsumverhaltensmuster und Marketingstrategien prägt, die wiederum zur Kommerzialisierung wie auch Demokratisierung der marokkanischen Modeindustrie führen. In diesem Kontext beobachtet sie markante Veränderungen, vorrangig eine Verschiebung des bisher üblichen, an der Nachfrage orientierten Konsums hin zu einem Konsum, der auf Angebot basiert, und damit einhergehend den Wandel vom anonymen kleinen Eckschneider zum gefeierten Modedesigner sowie von der rein funktionalen Schneiderwerkstatt zur modischen Boutique. Auch die Vermarktung neuer hybrider Kleidungsstile sieht sie als zentrale Charakteristika der Kommodifizierung marokkanischer Mode. Neben Gemeinsamkeiten in der Produktion und Konsumtion von marokkanischer und europäischer Mode erkennt die Autorin auch markante Unterschiede: Da ist zum einen der Wunsch der marokkanischen Klientel nach Unikaten, der zumindest teilweise – und auch in Zeiten der zunehmenden Industrialisierung von Mode – Handarbeit erforderlich macht, sowie ihr Anspruch, in den Entstehungsprozess eingebunden zu sein. Marokkanische Mode ist mittlerweile selbst zu einer Marke geworden. Jansen identifiziert in diesem Zusammenhang den *beldi*-Stil, dessen Erfolg in den letzten Jahren an ein Wiedererstarken lokaler Kultur als Gegenreaktion auf die zunehmenden globalen Einflüsse geknüpft ist.

Das analytisch überzeugendste und auf der beachtlichen Anzahl von 90 Interviews basierende Kapitel 6 beleuchtet den Modekonsum, dessen zentrale Rolle in den soziokulturellen Kontext der zeitgenössischen Stadtgesellschaft eingebettet wird. Hier erläutert die Autorin unter anderem, wie lokale bzw. europäische Mode in Marokko klassifiziert wird und zeigt, wie bedeutend beide gleichermaßen für die Konstruktion dynamischer multipler individueller wie kollektiver Identitäten sind. Dabei zeigt die Autorin scheinbare Widersprüche im Moderverhalten auf, in denen sie Ängste und Unsicherheiten in der Aushandlung der Grenzen zwischen Kontinuität und Wandel, Tradition und Moderne, national und transnational sowie lokal und global reflektiert sieht, die zugleich die Entstehung neuer Kategorien befördern.

Das abschließende Kapitel 7 stellt vor allem eine Zusammenfassung dar, wobei die Autorin nochmals zentrale Debatten ihrer Forschung aufgreift, wie Fragen nach Authentizität, Kommodifizierung von Kulturerbe sowie die zunehmende Betonung nationaler Modeidentitäten.

Diese informative und sehr verständlich geschriebene Zusammenschau gibt einen guten Einblick in ein bis dato wissenschaftlich nur peripher wahrgenommenes Phänomen und kann daher mit gutem Recht als Pionierarbeit bezeichnet werden. Der klassische Aufbau sowie Duktus der Studie erinnern allerdings eher an ein Lehrbuch, ein Eindruck, der durch den deskriptiven Stil zusätzlich unterstrichen wird. Zahlreiche Repetitionen hätten insbesondere zugunsten einer tiefergehenden Analyse vermieden werden können. Das umfangreiche und dichte Material findet damit leider nicht immer die entsprechende textliche Übersetzung, insbesondere auch, da es von Jansen nur zaghaft interpretiert wird. Etwas mehr Mut in das eigene analytische Potenzial, das in Kapitel 6 durchaus erkennbar ist, hätte die Studie zusätzlich bereichert und sie trotzdem nicht, wie von der Autorin befürchtet, in die Reihe eurozentrischer Beiträge zu Mode eingegliedert. Ihr Anliegen, der Vielfalt und Dynamik von Mode in Marokko gerecht zu werden, hat sie jedenfalls ebenso deutlich artikuliert wie ihren beständigen Verweis, dass das Aufeinandertreffen lokaler und globaler Modestile nicht zwangsläufig konfliktiv verlaufen muss. Vielmehr werden Vorstellungen von Kultur und Moderne, die beide weder statisch sind noch einander ausschließen, im Kontext einer *modernité marocaine* neu ausgehandelt und sind Ausdruck gelebter multipler Realitäten.

Kristin Kastner

**Klein, Jakob A., and James L. Watson** (eds.): *The Handbook of Food and Anthropology*. London: Bloomsbury, 2016. 480 pp. ISBN 978-0-85785-594-7. Price: £ 115.00

While "foodways" have long received the attention of anthropologists, the few decades has seen the blossoming of the anthropology of food and the establishment of new food anthropology college courses and degree programs. Jakob A. Klein and James L. Watson's "Handbook of Food and Anthropology" aims to serve this growing audience of scholars and students in the discipline and beyond.

The “Handbook” does not attempt to review comprehensively the past contributions of anthropologists to the interdisciplinary field of Food Studies, but focuses instead on several directions in which anthropology has developed a strong research trajectory. The editors’ introductory essay, “Anthropology, Food, and Modern Life,” which could have been the title to the volume, provides a brief focus on the roots of food anthropology but emphasizes key contemporary debates surrounding industrial food production, such as genetic modification, food safety, and the future of meat. The volume’s greatest strength is, perhaps, that it is forward looking, and thus very useful for defining a set of issues that are likely to occupy anthropological research for years to come.

Contributors to the volume include both well-established scholars and younger anthropologists. Several are affiliated with the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) where Klein is Lecturer of Social Anthropology and Deputy Chair of the SOAS Food Studies Centre and Harvard University where Watson is Professor Emeritus. All authors are ethnographers with long-term research experience in their field sites. The essays cover a broad geographical range with a slight emphasis on the editors’ regional expertise, China and Asia generally. While some chapters are strongly theoretical and based on the author’s broad research experience across regions of the world, others explore detailed ethnographic cases that bring to light ongoing research topics and queries. The book’s twenty essays are organized into three thematic, but interrelated, sections.

The first section, “Food Self and Other,” deals with one of the most developed areas of food anthropology – the role of food as a tool for the creation, expression, and negotiation of identities, be they local, ethnic, or national. Illustrating the ways food rules are a malleable resource for personal distinctions and interpersonal relations, James Staples (chap. 3) shows how economic globalization and an emerging middle class in India have shifted attention from caste-based food rules to other social hierarchies, such as gender and class. Michael Herzfeld (chap. 1) discusses food stereotyping, or gastro-essentialism, and the paradoxes surrounding claims to authenticity, which purportedly references stable and age-old traditions, but is often meaningful only in the context of cultural encounter, social conflict, and change.

Other chapters in this section highlight foodways in transnational and diasporic contexts. Noting the widespread convergences (and variations) in dietary practices among Muslims in diverse contexts, Maris Gillette (chap. 2) calls for more attention to the dynamic arenas where the depersonalized global food system results in transnational market niches for certified halal foods and varied efforts to repersonalize foods via other means. Joëlle Bahloul (chap. 4) shows how North African Jewish immigrants in France sustain Sephardic Jewish traditions and participate French citizenship by establishing distinct temporal and spatial boundaries between kosher and non-kosher foods as well as divisions of labor, ingredients, and cooking techniques. Emma-Jayne Abbots (chap. 5) argues that the well-worn path of analyzing immigrant foodways

should be expanded to explore the impact migration has on sending communities’ food practices – a direction she illustrates through her work on Ecuadorian emigration.

Section Two, “Food Security, Nutrition, and Food Safety,” moves the reader’s attention to food provisioning and key dilemmas of how to provide safe, healthy food for all. Johan Pottier (chap. 7) and Francesca Bray (chap. 8) provide complementary discussions of food insecurity to show that a holistic political-economy of food is important for understanding development programs and their effects as well as the need and challenges of anthropological engagement in food system advocacy and policy-making. Two chapters on children’s food (Jennifer Patico and Eriberto P. Lozada Jr., chap. 9 and Andrea S. Wiley, chap. 10) bring into focus intense debates over food safety and health, and the ways children’s food articulates the moral parameters and goals of modernity.

Many essays in this section draw fruitfully on dialog with other interdisciplinary fields such as Border Studies, Science and Technology Studies, and studies of post-socialist societies. For instance, while Border Studies has focused primarily on human mobilities, Josephine Smart and Alan Smart (chap. 11) remind us that most of traffic in our globalized world is non-human in nature (260). Their work on the Hong Kong-China boundary exposes how consumers’ desires for exotic products and distrust of local products may fuel parallel trade markets even as import/export controls seek to regulate food contamination. In her work on artisanal cheese and the “microbiopolitics” surrounding pasteurized versus raw milk, Heather Paxson (chap. 12) considers the very nature of food as a “thing in itself” showing how, for instance, contemporary tasting events encourage eaters to appreciate not only the intrinsic qualities of microbially-diverse cheeses but extrinsic properties such as clean farming practices from which they are produced. In a contrasting case, Yuseon Jung (chap. 13) argues that concern for food quality and safety have a much different salience in Post-Soviet Bulgaria where the rapid opening of food markets led to a nearly obsessive concern with fraudulent or adulterated foods and provoked nostalgia Soviet-era industrial foods.

The third section, “Food as Craft, Industry, and Ethics” offers a number of gems such as David Sutton’s (chap. 16) discussion of the surprising paucity of anthropological investigations of cooking. Pointing the way to future research, he provides several frameworks through which we might view cooking – from more well-developed perspectives on cooking as a form of power (and oppression) to new perspectives on cooking as “everyday risk.” James L. Watson’s chapter (14) on mess halls and the destruction on household kitchens in Maoist China cautions us from the romantic notions that commensality necessarily equates with solidarity. Indeed, the coerced commensality of Mao’s collective kitchens bred famine and death on a massive scale.

This section’s focus on food industries brings us contrasting cases such as Elizabeth Hull’s (chap. 17) study of supermarket expansion on rural South Africa and Harry G. West’s (chap. 19) discussion of the growth of interest in artisanal foods and culinary cultural heritage. Hull’s

work shows that the expansion of formal food markets does not necessarily replace older informal markets but may result in a diversity of formal and informal modes of food distribution. West points out that the demand for heritage foods is in part a reaction against the global food system and a desire to preserve local practices and “authentic” products. He explains that defining *authentic* is almost always contested and that heritagization is both a contradictory process and a performance that can be appropriated for many kinds of commercialization and tourism. The volume concludes with Melissa L. Caldwell’s provocative discussion (chap. 20) of her work as a food anthropologist and cultural expert for corporate clients. Her chapter illuminates the ethical, methodical, and conceptual challenges of such work, and the ways in which her role as cultural translator resulted both locally appropriate products and better corporate research and development ethics.

Unusually for a handbook, the various chapters and sections build upon each other in fruitful ways. A seminar on local food might draw on a number of chapters: Here, the United States, Rubie Watson’s (chap. 15) historical examination of community cookbooks and newspaper ads from rural American Midwest provides an overview of the broad shifts in labor, economy, and agriculture that have led even farming communities to rely on industrial, prepared, and fast foods. Nir Avieli (chap. 6) queries the contingent meaning of *local* food and provides several ethnographic cases of “local specialties” in Vietnam to reveal the various dimensions of locality, including, as Avieli’s interlocutor says, the way “Food only becomes local when outsiders arrive” (133). Meanwhile Peter Lutchford (chap. 18) examines Fair Trade and local food movements to reveal the conundrums of ethical consumption such as the ways that marketized ethical consumption often undermines, in the name of greater market-share, the very principles that appeal to conscientious consumers.

As a text in the rapidly growing field of Food Anthropology, the “Handbook” will find audiences in upper-level undergraduate and graduate-level university courses in which students have already completed foundational readings by Bourdieu, Counihan, Douglas, Goody, Lévi-Strauss, Mintz, and Wilk among others. For food scholars, the “Handbook” is a must-read. Gina L. Hunter

**Konagaya, Yuki, and Olga Shaglanova** (eds.): *Northeast Asian Borders. History, Politics, and Local Societies*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2016. 205 pp. ISBN 978-4-906962-43-3. (Senri Ethnological Studies, 92) Price: \$ 25.00

China has been concerned about Northeast Asia for centuries. Several foreign groups that raided or invaded traditional China, including the last dynasty in Chinese history, derived from that region. In times of peace, China received gold, ginseng, and furs from Northeast Asia. Twentieth-century China faced threats from Japanese and Soviet policies in the region. On the other hand, Russia and then the Soviet Union feared Chinese migration to Siberia. The border peoples, including a variety of Mon-

golian and Tungusic groups have naturally been affected by the increasing Sino-Russian interest and involvement in the region.

“Northeast Asian Borders” is a welcome addition to studies of this strategic area. It derives from a conference convened at the National Museum of Ethnology of Japan in 2014. Like most collections of essays by different authors, the quality of the contributions varies. Nonetheless, it has the advantage of multinational authorship, with chapters written by Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Russian, British, and American contributors. The authors representing the first four of these six groups are the most personally involved, but Britain and the United States who have strategic interests in Sino-Russian relations need to be concerned as well.

The volume deals with the diverse relationships on the Northeast Asian borders. Sino-Russian relations dominate, but Russo-Mongol and Buryat Mongols and other Mongols’ relations and even Japanese and Korean involvement are covered. These complex interactions reveal the critical significance of this area. Another book will be required to focus on its extraordinary economic potential. Natural resources in Siberia and Mongolia, labor in China, and investment and technical expertise in Japan and Korea could, if mobilized, offer considerable opportunities for economic development.

The authors in these essays also show the impediments to such an economic success story. Sino-Russian relations along the lengthy border of more than 4,000 kilometers have often been unsteady since the late 17th century. Even after the border demarcations of the Treaty of Nerchinsk of 1689, territorial disputes persisted and were aggravated by 19th-century treaties which the Russians imposed upon China. The Sino-Soviet split of the mid-20th century exacerbated these conflicts, leading to armed clashes on Damanskii Island in 1969. Restoration of relatively harmonious relations between China and the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s ushered in a period of increasing trade between the two countries. In 1991, the two sides signed a border agreement, and by 1997, the borders had been fairly clearly demarcated. Yet suspicions and remembrance of things past hindered closer cooperation among Russians and Chinese. As Franck Billé writes in his essay, phantoms bedevil attempts at stability and harmony. He describes the Russians’ massacre of about five thousand Chinese in a Russian city along the Northeast Asian border. They feared that the Chinese would support the Boxer Rebellion and would attack Russians and other foreigners. Chinese museums and annual ritual occasions commemorate this disastrous event. Thus, this phantom continues to shape Chinese perceptions of the Russians.

A successful conclusion of treaties demarcating the borders and a revival of Sino-Russian trade have not overcome mutual suspicions. Many of the essays in the book imply or even state that future Sino-Russian relations in Northeast Asia will face many barriers. To be sure, the local inhabitants, according to several chapters in the book, will also confront difficulties in their dealings with the Chinese and the Russians, as both seek to influence or gain access to the regions’ resources. As Yuki Konagaya