The final two chapters can be read as case studies of political complaints commonly made about Muslims in France, and how Muslim French respond. Chapter five examines assumptions at work within the political accusation that Islam oppresses women, weaving together reflections on sexularism (Joan Scott), carceral feminism (Elizabeth Bernstein), and heterofemininity. Chapter six, meanwhile, investigates the political framing of homophobia as a Muslim problem, despite the continued presence of homophobia throughout populations in Europe.

Fernando draws attention to the discomfort Muslim French sometimes experience in working alongside varying political allies, some of whom support causes they might not (such as gay marriage). Fernando uses this discomfort as an opportunity to meditate on the limits of the liberal spirit of respect for others. There is an asymmetry to the liberal demand for respect for others: the already-othered individual is expected to tolerate that which is different from him far more than the insider, whose limits of tolerance may be read as brave, humanitarian, or even common sensical. One soon picks up on Fernando's appreciation of the conscious effort of Muslim French to reflect on the limits of their respect for others, even when it makes them uncomfortably uncertain about deep moral and political commitments. Fernando admires the honesty of this admission, as opposed to the liberal shell game by which some theorists – she names as examples Michael Walzer and Alain Touraine – slip and slide between "their commitment to procedural reason and their attachment to [particular, I would add] moral norms" (238). Fernando also sees within these moments of Muslim French discomfort an opening, a place for politics to happen.

This brings us to Fernando's conclusion, which boldly asks: if not secularism, then what? Fernando draws heavily on William Connolly, whose alternative to liberal tolerance is the embrace of epistemic doubt: "critical responsiveness" regards nothing as a settled issue and asks us instead to continually engage in political negotiation while being open to the possibility that we may be forced to question our deepest moral and political convictions. Fernando is sympathetic to this, but recognizes that Muslim French cannot accept a basis for respect that is rooted in doubt. She notes that Muslim French actually base respect for others on their certainty in God: since he is the one who judges, humans must not. Fernando sees in this a radical embrace of non-sovereignty that allows for the kind of negotiations Connolly describes.

Hers is a fascinating suggestion, and one that will set alight many productive discussions. What should we make of Fernando's suggestion that the political work that takes place when we embrace "human non-sovereignty," happens in the realm of the affective – the "visceral register of subjectivity" (265)? What of those convictions that foreground evangelism? Their recognition of human non-sovereignty produces continual efforts to reshape the will of others, not respect for their decisions. How would they fit in this alternative to secularism? And even if we accept Fernando's premise that the underlying logic of secularism is the same everywhere, is there anything to be gained from examining differences in application and discursive mobilization across national contexts? I offer the highest praise for "The Republic Unsettled": it is a beautifully written book that readers will be eager to continue discussing long after they finish it.

Jennifer Fredette

Frembgen, Jürgen Wasim: The Closed Valley. With Fierce Friends in the Pakistani Himalayas. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 124 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-940023-2. Price: £ 15.99

"The Closed Valley" is a vivid personal account of fieldwork that will earn the ire of professional academic anthropologists while helping to draw the next generation to anthropology. Like Barley's, "Innocent Anthropologist," Frembgen is not speaking to the professional debates that advance careers or shift intellectual paradigms. He is speaking to a host of people who may never do fieldwork and/or experience that realisation that research "subjects" have real power over you. Frembgen reminds us that while the populations in the Tribal areas of Pakistan may not wield much power globally, in their own domains, they have both authority and power. This book reveals much about Frembgen and he is refreshingly candid about his own motivations for going to one of the more remote parts of Pakistan. He sought epiphanic moments in which he might discover pristine truths of faith and human existence. He speaks guiltily of his weakness at not rising in the middle of the night to join his host, Sher Ghazi, for the extra prayer recommended by the Prophet (36). The self-criticism implicit in such comments is endearing and provokes both sympathy and smiles. Frembgen has written an honest account of fieldwork that courageously embraces the frailty, naivety, and ignorance of even well prepared anthropologists.

Prior to Frembgen's arrival in Harban Valley, Kohistan, the local people had made clear their lack of patience with outside researchers. The few European researchers who had ventured into the area were escorted out of the village after outstaying a short welcome. Local relations in the area appear not to have been better. Local lineage groups were very suspicious and exhibited persistent animosity for one another. Sher Ghazi, for example, in explaining why he will not give his own sons guns, following local custom, tells a very sad story of being mistreated by his stepfather, his father's younger brother (32 f.). Such snippets of ethnographic information reveal much about the tensions inherent in the area. Brothers, Sher Ghazi tells Frembgen, must present a united front to the outside world, yet internally, they may not provide the care for one another's widows and offspring in the protective manner one expects.

Frembgen provides no grand theoretical analysis to draw together the rich accounts provided in this book. Indeed, he provides only a cursory attempt at analysing his experiences. Instead, he offers a more visceral experience of living and working with men, who live with the daily threat of violence. The sectarian tensions that permeate the region are brought up repeatedly as Frembgen describes the somewhat strict Sunni Deoband Islam

that dominates Harban. Sher Ghazi's carpenter, Qalandar Shah, tells a harrowing tale of growing up as an Ismaili, a group regularly grouped with Shia, who converted to Sunni Islam and fled his home village to find himself as a skilled tradesman. Frembgen narrates his own conversion to Islam carefully because it took place in the company of followers of a Sufi order in Karachi. To his Harban hosts, Sufi worship is tantamount to idol worship and risked undermining his legitimacy as a Muslim (78). Most anthropologists who conduct fieldwork in Pakistan know the delicacy with which one must discuss Islam. Casual comments about the nature of God or religion that would be entirely acceptable in a European context take on potential for offence there. This book provides a number of rich illustrative examples of how careful one must be.

The violence described is casual and normalised. Beating people to the point where they have difficulty walking, accidentally shooting relatives, killing a rival's animals are all ordinary events which colour the background experiences of everyone in this remote valley. The tenacity of blood feuds is stark and poses real challenges to ordinary functions. Hanifullah, a local man, had lived for 10 years in a fortified tower as a consequence of a blood feud when Frembgen met him (94 f.). Although he might have sought an easier life had he fled the valley, he garnered respect and prestige for his willingness to stay put. Sadly, he was chopped to death by rivals two years after Frembgen met and interviewed him. He had negotiated a truce to the blood feud, but this was apparently not accepted by all.

Frembgen ends his account with a harrowing adventure of a gun battle and having to flee with bullets flying past his head. A local woman had been killed in the cross fire of an earlier gun battle. Her son had been shot and rushed off to the nearest doctor. His friends explained their concerns about being drawn into a blood feud as a consequence. They accepted the fate of those who can no longer exit the safety of their houses and fortified towers without fear of violent death (96–102). Frembgen's host, Sher Ghazi, laments the fact that Tablighi, the Deoband Islamic organisation that preaches adherence to more orthodox, Islamic doctrine, has had next to no impact on what he sees as the damaging un-Islamic relations of blood feud.

The book raises a host of questions, but refrains from providing comprehensive answers. Its goal is to share the individual experiences of fieldwork and leave readers the space to interpret and assign meaning appropriately. Frembgen intentionally set out to construct a richer, more nuanced representation of Kohistan and the misunderstood "Tribal Other" that has appeared in countless adventure stories from the 19th century onwards. He tries to challenge the trope of the ferocious martial Pakhtuns through a relatively balanced account of men who laugh, joke, and tell stories. These men are not simply killing machines who enter into blood feuds with the mindless zeal of Bollywood (or even Hollywood) baddies. The men who are drawn into the blood feud as a result of the unintended killing of the local woman, Frembgen tells us, are visibly frightened. This is not the world they would choose if they had the power to change things. It is the world in which they live and they respond as any of us would in such circumstances.

For those of us who have worked with groups who espouse the virtue of blood feuds and honour and protecting one's lineage and dependents, the diversity and contradictions of such a representation are easy to see. I am persuaded that the Kohistani tribals befriended by Frembgen are complex characters who cannot be reduced to violent social relations. Sadly, I worry that this may not be the case with those who have no experience of rhetorically violent societies or have had no anthropological training. This is a book I will happily include on my reading lists in the future, but it will come with an advisory warning. I will draw my students' attention to the mundane descriptions of daily life and urge them not to allow the sexy blood feuds and gun battles to dominate their understanding of who these men are. It is *part* of who they are, but it is far from *all* of who they are. I believe this is the message that Jürgen Wasim Frembgen wants us to get from his brave, personal account, and I for one, am very pleased that he has taken the time to try and deliver it.

Stephen M. Lyon

Geissler, P. Wenzel (ed.): Para-States and Medical Science. Making African Global Health. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 369 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-5749-0. Price: £ 19.99

P. Wenzel Geissler has brought together a theoretically engaging and empirically rich collection of essays in the volume "Para-States and Medical Science. Making African Global Health." The eleven chapters explore various aspects of medicine and health care in Africa while engaging with the novel concept of the "para-state," or "the ways in which the state albeit changed or in unexpected ways, continues to work as structure, people, imaginary, laws, standards, and so on" (1). The concept of the "para-state" is welcomed in the humanities and social sciences because it "helps us to avoid alternative descriptors such as *post-* or *anti-* … which draw attention to important features but miss the peculiar sense of things changing without losing their form" (1). As Geissler points out in the introductory chapter, "para" enables us to think about the state in a different and unique way and allows us to account for the changing nature of the state, without losing sight of its role in society and people's everyday lives. "Para" encourages us to consider the state as being dynamic rather than static and fixed and in relationship with different publics, private entities, and other states. This collection brings a refreshing perspective not just to studying medicine and health in Africa, but also to studying the state as it counteracts much of the scholarship from across disciplines that treat the state as natural and predefined.

Geissler states, "[m]edical and medical-related bioscientific knowledge has been generated from and applied to tropical Africa for over a century, transforming global medical knowledge and health in Africa … what marks biomedical science is its particular moral valence. Preoccupied with saving lives and reducing suffering, medi-