

which older boys show younger ones what it means to be a man – and playing rugby, in that part of the world, is part-and-parcel of the very definition of masculinity. On the global scene, rugby is what gives these half-forgotten parts of the world a crack at world recognition.

The children's "community sports" of middle-class Canada on which Noel Dyck conducted ethnographic work in the last several decades offer both fascinating parallels and jarring contrasts with children's sports as they are practiced in Polynesian villages. Perhaps the most striking difference is the fact that, for middle-class Canadian families, child rearing constitutes a family "project" (55), the focus of sustained, bracketed, and onerous attention, in sharp contrast to Polynesia, where it is a communal endeavor accomplished as a sideline to the more important matters in life. In Canada, this project mobilizes considerable time, attention, and material resources on the part of parents and requires of children an equally sizeable investment of energy. Sports of various kinds (hockey, swimming, baseball, soccer football, etc.) figure centrally in this child-rearing project, bringing other agents (other parents, coaches, clubs, local governments, etc.) in to it, while also transforming Canadian parents into volunteers, organizers, fundraisers, and drivers in charge of ferrying children from one sporting facility to the other.

In the context of the dizzyingly hectic life that these dynamics engender, it is no wonder that children's sports are associated with particular stereotypes in North American societies: for example, "win-at-all-cost coaches, out-of-control parents, and egotistical children and youth athletes" (194). Dyck subjects these stereotypes to sustained analytic scrutiny, demonstrating that, while they may be grounded in some reality (as all stereotypes are), they represent a sensationalized and profoundly limited way of understanding the practice of children's sports. Parents become involved in their children's sporting activities for a variety of reasons, which may include ensuring that the children grow up with the richest possible sociocultural capital, as well as other reasons that have little to do with children, such as the opportunity to meet and interact with other adults. Similarly, coaches, who are primarily volunteers who often end up devoting considerable time to community sports, are drawn to these roles by the satisfaction of the possibility of being recognized as an accomplished leader of children, a possibility that is nevertheless mitigated by the fact that they often become the target of parents' sharp criticisms.

Perhaps the most innovative aspect of this book is the attention that it pays to the child athletes themselves, who all too often are either absent or silent in public debates about community sports. Here, children emerge as agents, able to reflect on their actions and on those of others, albeit in the context of their still limited life experience. Some children recognize their involvement in sports as having had a beneficial effect on their lives, enabling them to prove themselves in the eyes of others and accomplish things they did not think possible. Dyck invokes the beneficial effect of discipline in the practice of sport, although he does not place these dynamics in a critical perspective, eschewing an analysis of discipline as an effect of the

transformation of structural forms into personal projects (cf. Foucault's biopower). Such an analysis may have enabled the author to develop a more nuanced understanding of children's agency.

There are, however, darker aspects to community sports, as Noel Dyck documents. Sporting activities can easily generate jealousy, between children as well as among parents and other adults. Like beauty, athletic ability has a way of undercutting mercilessly other parameters of inequality, easily generating tensions among those concerned. While the book pays attention to these tensions, one wishes to hear a little more about children who cannot keep up or about those poor kids who are shunned by others for being too weak, uncoordinated, or "weird," and for whom sport is equated not with success and self-development, but with oppression, marginality, and bullying.

At the same time, athletic accomplishments can generate hopes of turning them into a career; in the Canadian context, the initial step for such an endeavor is to obtain an athletic scholarship in the United States, since these scholarships are essentially unavailable in Canada. While a career in professional sport is possible, its probability is infinitesimal, and hope often gives way to disillusionment. Studying "south of the border" on an athletic scholarship comes with its own difficulties for middle-class Canadian kids, including homesickness, overwork, and having one's intellectual abilities questioned.

Finally, community sports are deeply marked for social class. In the case of some sports, the equipment is simply out of reach for families other than the well-to-do. Clubs can make demands that have the effect of weeding out families who lack resources and connections. But sports, as we know from Bourdieu's work on France in the 1960s, are class-marked in other, more subtle ways: in the form of "distinction," for example, which can operate as a highly divisive and consequential strategy that keeps social classes (as well as ethnic and racial groups) apart. While Dyck remarks in an endnote (186) that Canada's relatively egalitarian social structure gives community sport a different configuration from Bourdieu's France, he also fails to problematize the middle-classness of the materials, and this is perhaps the weakest aspect of the book. For example, a better development of the role of discipline in children's sporting experience along the lines I have alluded to above would have enabled Dyck to better place the children in the context of their class position. Nevertheless, this is very fine ethnography that makes an important contribution to the ongoing recognition of sports as an important anthropological subject, one that can illuminate a multitude of central issues in the discipline.

Niko Besnier

Endresen, Cecilie: *Is the Albanian's Religion Really "Albanianism"? Religion and Nation According to Muslim and Christian Leaders in Albania.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012. 275 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-06561-0. (Albanische Forschungen, 31) Preis: € 56.00

This book by Cecilie Endresen is an exploration of the relation of nation and religion in the meaning of the Alba-

nian nation according to modern Albania's higher clerics. Since Albanians do not share a single religion but historically were affiliated with Sunni Islam, Sufi orders of Islam, Orthodox Christianity, and Roman Catholicism, an examination of the worldviews of clerics of these four groups, and of their understanding of nation, is relevant. That is, the clerics are the leaders of potentially divisive institutions in a society that must work against these divisions to build national identity and unity. One common way Albanian nationalism has dealt with this is by postulating that nationality supersedes religious difference, or at its most extreme, that religion is not important, hence the title of the book which is drawn from a famous poem by a 19th-century Albanian leader.

Endresen's book is a study of symbolic constructionism – of the “nation,” of “religion,” and of “myths of Albanian national unity” wherein community is understood as a “boundary-expressing symbol.” Her analysis is based on twenty-seven interviews that she conducted with high clerical leaders of the four religious groups in three regions of Albania over six weeks in 2005, supplemented by written texts by clerics of these groups. The researcher did not intend to interview only the high clerical leaders, but they were the only ones who agreed to be interviewed. There are many more interviews with Muslim religious leaders, and few interviews with Christian leaders, but there are relatively more formal written texts from the Christian leaders. The Muslims are a majority, so the greater number of their interviews is not surprising. Still the same questions were not asked of all leaders. The discipline of the researcher is Religious Studies in a textual sense; concerns and constraints of social science did not figure in this study.

The book consists of three main parts. The first part is the background in which Endresen lays out the main focus of the book on the relation of nation and religion in the worldviews of Albania's high clerics, her data and informants, her methods, the theoretical background in symbolic constructionism of Anthony P. Cohen, and her interest in Albania's national myths that seek to promote national unity.

The second part, the strongest part of the book, presents the clerics' views on different themes, as well as Endresen's analyses of these views. These themes include: the past, religious tolerance, salvation and theological differences, family and life rituals, the fatherland, and space and symbols. In the section on “The Past,” Endresen makes clear why the Ottoman period is the most contentious for the different religious groups. In the section on theological differences, Endresen makes the interesting point that the clerics do not focus on theological differences; indeed their differences tend to surface more on political/national issues. In “Family and Life Rituals” there is reference to actual practices. Toward mixed marriages, Endresen found that the clerics reflected remarkably positive attitudes. In the last section on space and symbols, Endresen presented events in which different religious communities came into conflict in current times. One was the Roman Catholic Church wanting to celebrate St. Stephen's Day in a mosque that used to be a church

inside the citadel of Shkodra. Another was the placement of a large cross on a hill above Elbasan where many Muslims also lived. Endresen made the distinction that Albanian Christian clerics were more sensitive to these issues than foreign-born clerics from Italy or Greece.

The third part of the book reconsiders national myths and Albanian community. Whereas in the past religion was relegated to the margin, now the clerics promote an Albanian identity with religion as a central core, with the corollary that tolerance is also central to Albanian identity. There is an epilogue in which Endresen reiterates that the clerics see religion as central to Albanian identity. Where religion is divisive is where the different religions can be linked to networks beyond Albania, like Italy and the Vatican for Roman Catholics, Greece for Orthodox Christians, and more fundamentalist Muslim countries for the Muslims.

In essence, this book is a study in semi-public rhetoric, a study in ideology. It is a content analysis of texts, both oral and written, which are treated similarly. Herein lies its weaknesses as well. The oral data lack meaningful contrasts that would lend them credibility. With oral data, we should also have either data over time, or oral data of the clerics to their own communities. Instead we have interviews conducted by the author, a “neutral ear” as she portrayed herself. And yet she had previously conducted interviews with clerics for the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, and had worked as an election monitor for the European Union in Albania during which time she also interviewed clerical leaders. With Albania's aspirations to be part of the EU, I find her considering herself “neutral” naïve. Further, there are well-established ways of working with oral data as performance which differ from written texts. Then there is the unevenness of her data with formal written texts predominating for the Christians. On no account could this be considered a study of communities. We have no idea what Albanians, besides these few higher clerics, think or how they interact. Would that someone with Endresen's linguistic and analytic skills had been introduced to more productive methodologies.

On a different level the entire book suffers from a lack of cultural frame and historical specificity. It is not clear that Endresen knows the Balkans. The Albanian “myth of religious tolerance” has special meaning in the context of the Balkans where the surrounding societies are renowned for the opposite. Even Kosovo does not reach the level of Albania in this regard. Albania may have been isolated, but Albanians do know the neighboring lands where there are Albanians or where they have sought work. So when a large cross was placed above Elbasan, mention of the sixty-six meter Millennium Cross on the mountain above Skopje, Macedonia, would have been telling. And most people do not know Albanian history. So to note on p. 234 that Albanians have been under threat for two centuries from their Christian neighbors is too little too late. There needed to be clearer historical framing throughout. Indeed there seemed little concern with history apart from the early background section. It appeared that all that mattered to the author were the perceptions of the clerics. And yet, history does matter, and it puts these perceptions in relief.

Finally, the meaning of constructions of the Albanian nation makes more sense in a fuller Balkan context. Endresen does mention *phyletism*, or the conflating of ethnic or national principles in organization of churches. This is what became the tight bound of Orthodox Christianity with various nationalisms in the Balkans. As such, it is a basic cultural frame for understanding modern religious institutions there. How Islam escaped this, and how Albania with its multiple religions coped in such a setting is truly intriguing. But in Endresen's book this is just a short section under the theme of "fatherland." Overall, the neglect of the Balkan context restricts potential broader implications for the careful analysis of the entire book.

Frances Trix

Faudree, Paja: *Singing for the Dead. The Politics of Indigenous Revival in Mexico.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2013. 315 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-5431-4. Price: £ 16.99

Paja Faudree's "Singing for the Dead" begins by noting the emergence of a "wildly popular revival movement" (24) in the Mazatec town of Nda Xo in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, and uses this observation to launch an extended, thoughtful, and complex rumination on the politics of ethnic revival. While an extensive literature on this subject exists, Faudree breaks new ground in her careful, comparative approach that contextualizes different movements in terms of local politics, national and international discourses of indigeneity, and the specific linguistic modes – writing, speaking, singing – through which the movements are expressed.

Her analysis is carefully grounded in the details of two different movements, a Mazatec Song Contest and a new explicitly "Indigenous" Church, that both emerged in the same town and, even more fortuitously for Faudree's narrative, from the same family; each is associated with one of two gifted influential brothers and each constitutes an alternative, diametrically opposed way of navigating the paradoxes inherent to revival in contemporary Mexico. Yet, she concludes that "at a deeper level, the two projects are reinforcing, and each defines itself against the other" (p. 141 f.), and Faudree uses this contrast to make conclusions that apply to indigenous revival movements more broadly.

One strength of Faudree's book is the way she goes beyond the content or message of revitalization movements to analyze the specific issues raised by their form. The "wildly popular" movement in Nda Xo is a Mazatec language song contest connected to the Day of the Dead celebration, and in the chapter devoted to this contest Faudree demonstrates how linking *singing* to this holiday and to revival was an act of "cultural genius" (139). Singing establishes legitimacy through its connection to "authentic" Mazatec practices such as the mushroom healing ceremonies, while at the same time "leaving space for ... innovative adaptation to new influences" (138). Another chapter examines a more common genre for indigenous revival – writing in the indigenous language – that goes beyond the usual interpretations of indigenous-language

texts by focusing on the form. She points out that these texts are always published in bilingual editions, with the "true" text on the left and the Spanish "translation" on the right (198). In fact, she discovers through an analysis of writing and reading practices, there is no translation; the two languages "interact within the same integrated, diglossic entity" (231). This close reading of the forms of different kinds of cultural revival leads Faudree to unpack the implications, limits, and opportunities presented by contrasting models of indigenous action and identity.

The ethnographic heart of the book lies in the contrast between the locally successful song contest – led by Alberto Prado Pineda, and the small and embattled Mazatec Indigenous Church, led by Heriberto Prado Pineda, who, along with his brother, became the first Mazatec Catholic priests in the 1970s. Heriberto, who wrote many of the first published Mazatec-language songs as a priest, formed his own purist "indigenous" church after being kicked out of the priesthood. Faudree tells the story of his movement in fascinating detail in chap. 4, showing how many of the same features that Heriberto's group promote as signs of Mazatec authenticity paradoxically lead them to be rejected by most of their neighbors as inauthentic or even "foreign" (173) in contrast to the popular "ethno-folklorization" (122) of the song contest. The purism of the Indigenous Church, Faudree argues, connects with national and international discourses of indigenous rights and liberation theology, but falls flat at home, demonstrating "the shortcomings of identity politics as a vehicle for social change" (191). At the same time, while the song contest highlights the opportunities of identity politics, its ostensibly apolitical character subjects it to the criticism that it co-opted, accepting the licensed realm of folklore, thereby "reinforcing some of the very discourses it aspires to subvert."

Faudree effectively navigates the terrain of identity politics without falling prey to these polarized critiques, situating different movements within their very specific local cultural and political contexts, but not being shy to extrapolate broader significance to movements outside the Sierra Mazateca. In her conclusion, she combines a clear-eyed realism about the paradoxes of revival with a rejection of a cynical "hot house criticism" that these paradoxes render all indigenous revival illegitimate. Instead, she makes the point that by looking at movements together, instead of individually, one can still see them as offering creative opportunities "to critique the nation while creating new possibilities for national belonging" (239).

My one critique would be that the balance of the text, except for the brilliant central chapters, remains weighted too heavily towards theory and not enough on concrete ethnographic detail. Still, Faudree's book is a major theoretical contribution to the study of indigenous identity politics, as well as the Sierra Mazateca, largely unstudied except for its famous curing practices involving hallucinogenic mushrooms. Anyone who is interested in indigenous Mexico or indigenous revival would benefit from reading it.

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