rumänischer Zigeuner, ihre ehemaliges Leben in Zelten durch ein Leben in modernen Häusern zu ersetzen, was Tesăr als komplexen Mechanismus der Abgrenzung und Annäherung an die Welt der Nichtzigeuner (*Gaže*) analysiert (181–200).

Das doppelte Ziel einer epistemologischen wie politischen Dekonstruktion des Stereotyps "Gypsy Economy" wird jedoch bereits in der Einleitung durch einen interessanten rhetorischen Kniff erreicht. So merken die Herausgeber an, dass die mit dem Buchtitel "Gypsy Economy" bezeichnete, spezifische Form ökonomischen Handelns und Denkens nicht nur auf die Lebenswelt und das Ethos der Zigeuner zutreffe, sondern ebenso auf den globalen Finanzkapitalismus sowie auf die Verhaltens- und Denkweisen von Finanzspekulanten (12 f.): Auflösung der Grenzen zwischen Legalität und Illegalität; Ablehnung bürokratischer Prozesse; Vorstellung eines Marktes, der unkontrollierbaren und unvorhersehbaren Schwankungen unterliegt; starke Gegenwartsfokussierung etc. Durch diese Parallelisierung gelingt es auf einen Schlag, die Vorstellung, es gebe eine genuin "zigeunerische" Ökonomie, zu dekonstruieren, und die mit einem derartigen Mythos verbundenen politischen Ressentiments zurückzuweisen.

Mit Ausnahme von Nathalie Manriques Analyse der Gabebeziehungen zwischen andalusischen Zigeunern, die an einer etwas gezwungen wirkenden Bemühung der Gabetheorie Marcel Mauss' krankt (221–239), verzichten die versammelten Beiträge zudem fast vollständig auf theoretischen Jargon. Dieser starke Fokus auf ethnografische Deskription führt dazu, dass einige ethnografisch solide Beiträge des Bandes theoretisch etwas uninspiriert wirken und wenig Überraschendes bieten. Dies gilt insbesondere für Tomáš Hrustičs Beschreibung des Verhältnisses zwischen Schuldnern und Gläubigern in einem Zigeunerviertel einer slowakischen Stadt (31–48), Judit Dursts Darstellung verschiedener Formen informeller Leihgeschäfte in Ungarn (49–67) und Jan Grills Analyse der ökonomischen Strategien von nach Großbritannien emigrierten slowakischen Zigeunern (88–106). Trotz dieser theoretisch unterkomplexen Beiträge, kann das, was Keith Hart in seinem Nachwort (240–250) bemängelt, nämlich die starke Fokussierung der Artikel auf ethnografische Daten und Besonderheiten, meiner Ansicht nach nicht als ein Mangel angesehen werden, der auf den Sammelband als Ganzes zutrifft – vor allem vor dem Hintergrund der Tatsache, dass die theoretische Einbindung ethnografischer Daten in ethnologischen Arbeiten häufig ohnehin ein Lippenbekenntnis bleibt und den Leser unnötigerweise abnötigt, zum tausendsten Mal über *actants*, *affects* und *attachments* zu lesen.

Die ethnografisch detaillierten Analysen der Beziehungen zwischen einzelnen kosmologischen Konzepten und dem ökonomischen Handeln der je in den Blick genommenen sozialen Gruppe müssen nach Ansicht des Rezensenten daher vielmehr als Resultat einer wohlbegründeten Rückkehr zu den Stärken ethnologischer Forschung betrachtet werden. So untersucht Martin Fotta in seinem Beitrag die Bedeutung von *vergonha* (Ehrhaftigkeit, Scham) und *força* (Stärke, Kraft) in interpersonalen Kreditbeziehungen brasilianischer Calon (201–220), Marco Solimene die Rolle von Glück/Zufall (*baxt*) für soziale Abgrenzungsprozesse in Rom lebender rumänischer Zigeuner und Gergő Pulay erklärt dem Leser in eleganter Manier, warum die Zigeuner eines Bukarester Stadtviertels "verrücktes und zivilisierten Verhalten" als komplementär und nicht als einander ausschließend wahrnehmen (127–144).

Der Band, der durch ein gelungenes und die Orientierung erleichterndes Sach- und Namensregister abgerundet wird, kann daher trotz einiger Beiträge, die die ambitionierten Ziele der Einleitung nicht ganz erreichen, sowohl allgemein an wirtschaftsethnologischen Fragestellungen interessierten Wissenschaftlern wie Tsiganologen uneingeschränkt zur Lektüre empfohlen werden.

Mario Schmidt

Bunten, Alexis C.: So, How Long Have You Been Native? Life as an Alaska Native Tour Guide. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. 251 pp. ISBN 978-0-8032-3462-8. Price: $ 26.95

In "So, How Long Have You Been Native?", anthropologist Alexis Bunten describes her personal experiences working as a Native tour guide for Tribal Tours, a cultural tourism enterprise run by Sitka, Alaska's Tlingit tribe. Her focus is on the commodification of culture and "cultural labor" (including the emotional labor involved) of being a Native tour guide. Her style is a self-described "amalgam of storytelling and ethnography, under the stylistic umbrella of creative nonfiction" (xiv). Written in the first person, the narrative includes recreated dialogue and, in addition to the experiences of the author, follows those of several composite characters – all co-workers at Tribal Tours. Although Bunten is not Tlingit, her part Alaskan Native heritage (Aleut and Yupik) allowed her to be hired as a Native guide, providing her with a unique research opportunity and insight into self-commodification. "As far as I know," she states, "I am the only individual who has conducted research on cultural commodification by actually putting myself on display. This is my story" (xvi).

The book recreates one season of work based upon two seasons of fieldwork carried out in 2003–04 for the author's doctoral dissertation. Its highly readable chapters are organized by month, beginning with "March: 'Congratulations, You're Hired!'" and ending with "September: End of the Season." Readers follow the author through the entire process, from her workplace training and first interactions with tourists to her later performance and interaction strategies as a guide and end-of-season burnout. Along the way, readers learn about Tlingit history and cultural practices (particularly those related to the clan system) and a host of other contextual topics including Russian and American colonization, the history of tourism in southeast Alaska, and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971. The author's lengthy discussions of the cruise ship industry, its business practices, and the economics of its relationship to Tribal Tours and other local tour operators as well as to the town of Sitka are especially strong.

How Tribal Tours markets Tlingit culture and how its

guides present themselves to tourists is the topical heart of the book. Although not all Tribal Tours' guides are Tlingit or equally enmeshed in the culture, the training they receive on Tlingit history and culture – from their written training manual, cultural consultants, and more experienced guides – covers an impressive array of topics and is sufficient for the one-hour city tours they typically offer. Given this training and Tribal Tours' goal of offering a Native perspective, it was surprising to learn how its employees went about trying to entice cruise ship tourists to take their tour instead of that offered by Sitka Tours, their main competitor, which was run by a non-Native hostile to them. Instead of highlighting Tribal Tours' distinctiveness, they used very generic language when presenting their tour offering to tourists: "I've got a one-hour city tour leaving in just ten minutes from right here at Crescent Harbor for only ten dollars. If you want to purchase this tour, just find any of us wearing the black-and-red button vests" (76). Knowing the rich cultural information that guides could impart to tourists – and which a few apparently did (see the author's narrative on pages 125–129 of a tour given by a guide she has named "Natty") – caused me to reflect on my own experiences with Tribal Tours. I have gone on their city tour several times over the years while in Sitka for research or teaching, both as part of a regular tourist group and with my university students, and have always been disappointed with the scant information imparted about Tlingit culture or being an Alaskan Native. My experiences were nothing like the culturally-rich tour given by Natty and more like that of the disgruntled tourist whose 2011 online review Bunten later quotes (185 f.).

For me and the tourists and students I accompanied, the best part of the tour was the Naa Kahidi dance performance held in the Sheet'ka Kwáan Naa Kahidi Community House – an impressive modern interpretation of a precontact clan house. Here visitors see and learn something about "traditional" Tlingit architecture, visual art (e.g., carved house screen), and language as well as songs and dance. The author notes that the manager of Tribal Tours frequently asserted that the Naa Kahidi dancers are the heart and soul of Tribal Tours' operation, not financially, but because they are carrying the Tlingit language and culture forward to future generations. The author's discussion of the behind-the-scenes grousing, especially on the part of one older Tlingit, about the group's style of dancing and one clan's dominance of their performances reveal strongly-held Tlingit ideas about ownership and intellectual property and hint at the factionalism within Sitka's Native community. But these are not topics discussed with tourists.

In terms of tourist-Native interactions, we learn that tourists gravitate towards the guides and dancers who look "Native" to them. To help establish their identity as authentic Natives, guides are taught to introduce their tours in the Tlingit language, giving their Tlingit name and clan affiliations. The author acknowledges her personal ambivalence about this practice – which she dropped – since she is not Tlingit. As might be expected, guides tend to play up the positive stereotypes about Natives that tourists bring up. "Working for Tribal Tours," Bunten states, "that meant that our clients longed for us to be further removed from modernity than themselves. And we complied by talking about nature, subsistence, ceremonies, and demonstrating other signs of 'primitivism' – but we did so on our own terms" (140). After talking about some aspect of traditional knowledge, for example, guides might joke that they had learned the information from the Discovery Channel, thus reminding tourists that they are fully modern. Guides also used humor to defuse the discomfort or feelings of white guilt that a topic like cultural genocide might create. When a controversial cultural topic like shamanism was brought up, guides avoided discussing it. They also were advised to ignore tourists' inappropriate remarks (e.g., about a female guide's appearance) or interactions (e.g., kisses, hugs) which are fostered by the "faux intimacy" created between guide and tourist while on tours.

The final chapter includes with some comparisons between the Native tour guide and the anthropologist; "they are both professional cultural brokers, whose occupations serve to bridge the gap between peoples of disparate backgrounds and worldviews" (203 f.). It also discusses the importance of Native-owned cultural tourism enterprises, not only economically but culturally. To the outside world, cultural tourism serves to legitimize Native groups by showing "that Native peoples are capable of successful participation in the dominant political economy, and that they have a voice in national and global politics" (217). Tourism-oriented practices (like the Naa Kahidi dancers) and facilities (like the Sheet'ka Kwáan Naa Kahidi Community House and other groups' community centers) are also repositories for tangible and intangible culture with will benefit future generations.

Overall, "So, How Long Have You Been Native?" is a highly readable, informative, and often entertaining account of the Native tour guide experience. I can envision the book being used as a case study in university courses on tourism; most students will appreciate its easy style and learn much about southeast Alaskan tourism and the Alaskan Native experience. Sharon Gmelch

Charbonnier, Pierre : La fin d'un grand partage. Nature et société, de Durkheim à Descola. Paris : CNRS Éditions, 2015. 311 pp. ISBN 978-2-271-08211-4. Prix : € 25.00

Das Buch von Pierre Charbonnier entfaltet sich in zwei Schichten, in einer sozial- sowie gesellschaftstheoretischen und einer sozialphilosophischen Schicht, oder einer "*politischen* Philosophie der Natur". Diese letztere Schicht bildet den Rahmen, gleichsam die Schale des Buches (in Einleitung und Schluss); ihr geht es um nicht weniger als um die "Verschiebung der Definition" der Sozialwissenschaften, um einen neuen Begriff von Soziologie und Anthropologie als Disziplin, die sich *zwischen* Natur- und Kulturwissenschaft aufhält, da sie die "Formen des Wissens und der Praxis, die moralische und die politische Organisation" eines Kollektivs als "Modi der Relation zur Natur" (10) ausbuchstabiere und dabei der