Kummels, Ingrid: Transborder Media Spaces. Ayuujk Videomaking between Mexico and the US. New York: Berghahn Books, 2017. 336 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-582-2. (Anthropology of Media, 7) Price: $ 140.00

The subtitle of Ingrid Kummels's book is misleading: rather than limiting her focus to videomaking as such, Kummels offers a richly variegated panorama of the heterogeneous media fields that connect the Ayuujk (Mixe) town of Tamazulapam in northwestern Oaxaca, Mexico, to satellite Ayuujk communities in Mexico City, northern Mexico, and Los Angeles, as well as to fellow mediamakers and activists in the pan-American indigenous movement. In addition to video, her book considers Ayuujk uses of photography, megaphones, and loudspeakers, radio, traditional broadcast television, and the Internet, and Kummels is explicit about framing this attention to media diversity as a corrective to what she calls the "master narrative" of indigenous media. She sees the latter as having tended to over-prioritize one set of media practices and representational strategies at the expense of a broader, more inclusive understanding of the multiple ways in which indigenous peoples have incorporated a host of media forms and technologies into their everyday lives, for a variety of different purposes (4 f.).

"Transborder Media Spaces" draws on ten months of ethnographic research, as well as three months of fieldwork in Los Angeles, conducted between 2012 and 2016 (xi). Kummels had previously visited Tama (as she abbreviates the town's name) in 1993 while producing a documentary about a local, indigenous-run television project, TV Tamix, for the German public broadcaster Westdeutscher Rundfunk. Her book is an ambitious attempt to provide a synoptic view of the ways in which the local mediascape has changed in the intervening decades, especially in response to several generations of northward migration. Kummels pays particular attention to media forms and genres that fall outside the category of the "community media" paradigmatically associated with indigenous filmmakers. Her most vivid examples include patron saint fiesta videos, land dispute documentaries, photography exhibitions organized by Tama youth as part of the local Feria Cultural del Pulque, and anonymous or semi-anonymous discussion in online forums. Over the course of her study, she draws on the vernacular theories of Tama mediamakers to develop a concept of "media spaces" (14, 99, and passim) that empirically anchors her inquiry in local Tama micropolitics while nevertheless allowing her to trace specific connections between the town itself, the Ayuujk diaspora at large, and the international media institutions of the pan-American indigenous movement.

Media anthropologists and anthropologists of indigenous Latin America alike will encounter a wealth of fascinating material in Kummels's exposition. The ethnographic highlight of the book is her meticulous, blow-by-blow presentation of the social drama surrounding the Second Continental Summit of Indigenous Communication in Abya Yala, hosted by the neighboring Ayuujk town of Tlahuitoltepec in 2013 (261–293). The chapter dedicated to this event is a tour de force, with Kummels mobilizing a range of data from ethnographic interviews to documents that circulated online to her own observations of the summit. Elsewhere in the book, she documents intergenerational tensions surrounding the prohibition on photographing certain features of traditional Ayuujk devotional practice, such as the stone sculpture of Konk ëna' (104–110). She traces the genealogical development of new patterns of leisure by reconstructing the history of a traveling cinema that operated from 1978 to 1983 in the Sierra Mixe, capturing the imaginations of a group of children in Tama who would later go on to found TV Tamix (147–151). She notes that migrants who live in Los Angeles and defer returning to Tama for fear of being unable to re-enter the United States have developed the practice of commissioning videographers to document their sponsorship of the annual patron saint fiesta in Tama, which enables them to participate in the local system of civil-religious governance from afar (223–230).

On these counts, Kummels's approach to the diverse media spaces that link Tamazulapam to other, translocal milieux does indeed offer the salutary contribution she intended, even as the style of her exposition tends to dampen its impact. There is a kaleidoscopic quality in her presentation that can leave the reader almost dizzy. Chapter 3 exemplifies this tendency. Over the course of sixty pages, she discusses patterns of migration from Tama since the 1960 s (131–134), the political trajectories of two Ayuujk leaders during the 20th century (134–139), a comparative case study of two siblings who were among the first indigenous teachers in Tama (139–147), the episode about the traveling cinema I mentioned above (147–150), a reconstruction of the history of competitive sports among Ayuujk villages after 1967 (151–156), the recollections of two of the first Tama residents to acquire their own cameras (156–158), the career of Tama's first professional photographer (161–167), the artistic trajectory of a younger photographer from a different generation (167–174), the history of land disputes, the emergence of the genre of land dispute videos, and Facebook debates over communal landholding patterns (175–191). The chapter concludes abruptly, with no unifying or synthetic discussion of the data Kummels had presented up to that point. In the absence of any critical guidance from the author, we are faced with the risk of taking these discrete episodes as so many examples of a single process she labels "mediatization," and thereby obscuring the specificity of each of the lines of historical development she has so carefully traced for us.

Much of the book follows a similar expository procedure. This form of ethnographic montage – the scholarly analog of an observational documentary – places the responsibility for analysis almost entirely with the reader. If Kummels had opted for thicker description and less repetition, the relative paucity of analysis might not

have seemed so stark. As it is, however, it would be difficult to teach this text without exercising a heavy pedagogical hand. In that regard, it will be of most interest to researchers with an interest in the way indigenous communities are creatively adapting media technologies for their own, heterogeneous purposes, especially as those communities are undergoing major social, cultural, political, and economic transformations.

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Lashaw, Amanda, Christian Vannier, and **Steven Sampson** (eds.): Cultures of Doing Good. Anthropologists and NGOs. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2017. 272 pp. ISBN 978-0-8173-1968-7. Price: $ 59.95

Not long ago the anthropological study of NGOs was a marginal field. Neither the anthropology of development nor political, economic, or organizational anthropology cover it completely. NGOs exist at the junction of state, civil society, religion, and moral economy and they have become part of institutional power relations on regional, national, and global scales. "Cultures of Doing Good" aims to find a place for the anthropology of NGOs and, thus, to do justice to transforming global situations. It declares the anthropology of NGOs to be an academic field of its own.

The central starting point for "Cultures of Doing Good" is that NGOs are "engaged and entangled" (17). These organizations are shaped by emotional activism and rational professionalism, as well as by elites and grassroot actors. NGOs speak for communities but also have to justify their actions before stakeholders and donors. They claim neutrality and are yet deeply intertwined in political-public interests. Anthropologists in turn hesitate whether they should "dive in" (188) the agenda of NGOs or keep their distance – a methodological debate that has been subject to earlier discussions between the currents of "action anthropology," "development anthropology," and the "anthropology of development." The answer of Erica Bornstein is appeasing in the sense of a "the end justifies the means"-atmosphere: Both approaches have strengths and limitations; it is more a question of suitability in the particular field.

Another core issue tackles the heterogeneous and multifaceted frameworks surrounding NGOs in relation to political, social, and legal contexts. What is also being studied, is their historical and contemporary spaces of maneuver in the light of the NGO performances and symbolic representations. Another important aspect is the array of organizational structures that subsume under the category "NGO." This takes up discourses on "NGO-ization," "NGO-ing," and most recently the "NGO-form," concepts that vary ontologically but point to the same argument: NGOs today comprise a conglomerate of organizational anatomies reaching from social movements, associations, and activist networks to bureaucratized project managements under "neoliberal restructuring" (31).

Apart from this cross section the editors pursue a more basic intention. They treat NGOs as a doorway to the contemporary world. It is being entered by the proclaimed "second generation" (10) of anthropologists, who take the power formations, knowledge productions, and postcolonial dimensions pervading NGO fields into account. The new generation is interested in the dialectical nature of NGO contexts, their dilemmas and ambivalences, the conflicts of morality and management, autonomy and governments, practices of "doing good" and domination. Most striking in this context is the resurrection and involvement of an old, controversial anthropological term hiding right in the title of the book: "culture." This could be the attempt to point out the heterogeneity of the presented field of research being at the same time the mating call for anthropologists to pay more attention to the everyday of the cultural, social, and political contexts of "NGO life" (3).

The edited volume is published within the book series "NGOgraphies: Ethnographic Reflections on NGOs." The introduction by Steven Sampson, one of the three editors, shows the dynamics and developments of the research field. To describe the relationship between anthropologists and NGOs, Sampson chooses the pleasantly catchy term "messiness" (4). The goal of this book is set: to demonstrate and dismantle this at times confusing entanglement in a fruitful and productive way. Furthermore, the introduction also provides a viable working definition of "NGOs: as voluntary, not for profit, autonomous from government, and juridically corporate" (11).

The main body consists of three parts, each opening with a short introduction. These units, written by renowned scholars structure the entire work in a very reader-friendly way. Part 1 is entitled "Changing Landscapes of Power" and profits from an introduction by Mark Schuller. The author sketches a framework for the five contributions in this part. He raises the question of the balance of power that comes into play in the conflict between NGOs, the state, and donors. Donors have more power and are able to set priorities, which challenge their own credo of the bottom-up approach. Schuller also focuses on the NGO as a practice instead of a structure or organization. NGO-ing as a verb, therefore, engages with relationships that are set up, maintained, or broken off. The empirical examples gathered in this part address different contexts such as Tanzania, Serbia, and the Czech Republic. They examine both, the internal logics of NGOs in the light of their contradictions and the relations of NGOs to their social environment. At the same time, they scrutinize the particularity of professional encounters between academia, NGOs, and their staff.

In Part 2 – entitled "Doing Good Work" – Inderpal Grewal introduces the following three contributions by focusing on the moral legitimacy of NGOs. What does it mean "to do good" under changing circumstances? How does one prevail against other actors in the same field? In what respect and to which extent does this in-