

The following chapters of the book deal with a variety of issues and engagements with digital phenomena. From the meaning of home when participating to the digital lodging platform *Airbnb* to mobile dating apps in Chile to Facebook groups for blind and visual impaired people to bodily representations and new forms of censorship in (visual) social media like Instagram. Due to space restrictions, I am going to review only a selection of chapters; two from each part of the book. The book's first part includes nine chapters about digital communality and sociality in relation to the construction and negotiation of digital selves. The second part consists of seven texts that focus on interconnections between the political and the digital as well as different types of digital activism.

In her contribution, Jóhanna Björk Sveinbjörnsdóttir examines online commenting systems as spaces for public debate in Greenlandic media. In doing so, she focuses on the portrayal and the discussion of East Greenlandic culture. After introducing East Greenland, its people, and living conditions, she briefly discusses the concepts of "public sphere" and "mediascape." Sveinbjörnsdóttir then identifies several reasons for commenting on East Greenland to conclude that the commenting sections in Greenlandic online media can be considered as public spheres to discuss cultural matters and to debate controversial (intercultural) issues. Ellen Lapper analyses in her chapter how social media have changed the way people grieve. She begins her ethnographic investigations by following the "digital traces" her late father left on several social media platforms (128). After thoroughly reflecting on the meaning of sharing of memories via digital platforms and communication tools as well as the loss of digital presences and personal conversations due to technical complications, she comes to the conclusion that "[a]s worlds between offline and online blur, we must become better acquainted in how to deal with the loss of an online presence" (138).

Suzanne Beukes explores in her contribution how the digital discourse around inequality and race in South Africa has been challenged by young black South Africans via the social networking service Twitter. She utilizes the *#Feemustfall* protest movement that also became a big event on Twitter in 2015 as a "pivot for discussion" (196). In her conclusion, Beukes argues that young black South Africans used Twitter and mobile technologies to disrupt the White, mainstream media narrative. Thus, opening a "wider, diverse, more robust discussion around race and inequality in South Africa" (208). In her chapter, Karly Domp Sadof highlights how mobile phones and visual images became important means for new forms of citizen journalism during the *#Euromaidan* protests in Kiev. The impact of these events can still be witnessed and studied on photo-sharing platforms like Instagram. She remarks that in a "battle for self-representation", the Maidan protesters' use of mobile technology challenged "the modes of visual media production" (249).

This edited volume provides a great overview of projects and approaches to the anthropological and ethnographic analysis of digital phenomena, processes, and practices, particularly from a visual and media anthro-

pology perspective. In doing so, the book achieves its aim of presenting and showcasing the variety of research conducted by young and emerging scholars of the Visual and Media Anthropology M.A. Programme in Berlin. However, the large number of single contributions limits the room for more detailed discussions of empirical results and theoretical contexts. So the strength of the book in providing an extensive collection of student and graduate projects is at the same time its minor weakness.

Philipp Budka

Goldstein, Daniel M.: *Owners of the Sidewalk. Security and Survival in the Informal City.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2016. 334 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-6028-5. Price: \$ 99.95

You could say that "Owners of the Sidewalk" is yet another book about the informal economy of a postcolonial city. Seasoned urban anthropologists should be warned that they will not be surprised by a new, groundbreaking theory of the informal or its politics. What this book offers can be summarized in a sentence: it explains the (re)production of the informal underbelly of a city, along with its problems of insecurity and violence, with special attention to clarity of writing and the politics of ethnography. Goldstein, who is anthropologist by training, spent 7 years studying the challenges facing "formal" and "informal" street vendors in Cochabamba, Bolivia. He describes an extraordinary site, the Cancha, a vast, dense, and socially complex marketplace where "vendors sell from every possible perch" (69). The Cancha foremost puts on display the problems that informalized urbanites the world over are struggling with: insecurity, inequality, and political discrimination. As citizens, they fight for their right to sell in public space, because the state does not provide alternative employment. Or, as Goldstein puts it, they "stake [their] claim to the sidewalk, a space to which they believe they are legally entitled" (212).

Publishing an ethnography on informality when urban anthropology had arguably just moved on to new exciting topics (e.g., infrastructure, embodiment, or the non-human) is a surprising choice. Of course, the book in part is owed to the fact that the informal sector is not disappearing but rather expanding and, therefore, bound to develop new forms that require description. At the same time, Goldstein seems to argue that previous work on the "informal" shrouded it in such a sticky cloud of mystery, overusing jargon and "deep" theory, that there is still room for a clarifying word – especially given that governments and international agencies are unsuccessfully trying to get a grip on it. While not offering much new wisdom to the theorization of the informal, Goldstein ably shows that doing ethnographic work in the informal sector, a tricky ethical terrain, can give rise to new and collaborative forms of anthropological inquiry. A key element of his research, he claims, was to let "research subjects themselves identify and drive the goals of the project" (61).

The book begins by showing the dark side of the Cancha, a market that can look deceptively "lively and attractive to tourists" (5). The reader is led through the chaos

and frustration that a veracious fire caused in the market's furniture section. Failing to elicit a quick response from the authorities, the fire leaves in ruins entire businesses, seriously endangering the livelihoods of hundreds of families. The story introduces the reader to a set of risks that market vendors have to regularly deal with. Vendors not only have to improvise and auto-construct infrastructure, but when the latter fails, they cannot rely on the state to help them. In addition to this volatile state presence, vendors have to compete for selling space, making the marketplace a site of fierce contestation and an existential "battleground." The reader then meets two of the principal characters of the book which sometimes reads like a novel: the president of the documented market vendors (*fijos*), Don Rafo, and his research assistant, Nacho. As cultural brokers, both play important roles in the collaborative kind of ethnography that Goldstein has in mind. Allowing for the slow pace and unpredictability of ethnographic research to infuse the narrative arc, Goldstein introduces the president of the undocumented vendors (*ambulantes*), Don Silvio, a bit later. By then, the reader has learned about the history and political economy of Bolivia as well as Cochabamba and gained insight into the temporal and spatial orders of the Cancha. The Cancha is presented as an embattled territory, divided into documented and undocumented vendors and governed by the municipality as well as private security firms. The latter exemplify the multiple forms of sovereignty that emerge in the market (148) and, of course, benefit from insecurity and chaos. The question of who is entitled to selling in the Cancha places *fijos* and *ambulantes* regularly at loggerheads and produces violent encounters that get rarely mediated by the police. Goldstein aptly lays out the reasons for the fierce and deeply entrenched competition between the two groups. He cites records dating back to 1917 that mention the *ambulantes* as a public disturbance within or at the fringes of legitimate city markets. Here, legal vendors were allowed to operate after paying a licensing fee. Today, the *ambulantes* are denied the opportunity to pay taxes to the municipality, which makes them subject to exploitation and eviction. They are "the most insecure of anyone in the Cancha." Every day, they face discrimination and persecution by the state and other powerful institutions, which further intensifies their daily insecurity. This discrimination can be intensified by racial tensions, as itinerant vendors are often indigenous and considered "backwards" and a nuisance by the *fijos*. As Goldstein becomes more involved in the political projects of organized vendor groups, he also reflects on the ability of his subjects to improve their lives in the informal sector. Drawing on Bayat and others, Goldstein considers the informal vendors' spatial mobility and social organizing as forms of quiet encroachment but he also points to "louder" forms of resistance, such as protest marches and public speaking. Both have afforded the illegalized small improvements.

By attempting a thick description of the Cancha, the book does not pretend to "lay to rest" the question of the informal (14). While Goldstein scolds the concept for being imprecise and value-laden, he holds on to it to ex-

plain what happens in "disregulated" spaces. Here, the state is not absent. Disorder rather originates from the state's arbitrary and selective application of law. The state is always present in the Cancha, but not in a helpful way. Though skeptical of their ultimate truth, Goldstein's work can be said to be still organized around binary oppositions: order/disorder, present/absent. In a similar vein, the descriptive part of the book works towards a report on what "really" happens in the Cancha. Goldstein is out to reveal the "real and the true" (11), by grounding his observation in the everyday and letting his gaze be guided by his interlocutors. Here, it is not entirely clear what Goldstein actually means: are the real and the true ideal types or do they exist, and does his inquiry reveal the real and the true or the actions and interpretations of his interlocutors? This is an important question, since, although his collaborative ethnography "calls attention to the diversity of political perspectives that exist in the Cancha marketplace and the different kinds of political behavior that these perspectives mobilize" (250), he seems to accord most political potential and truth to the moments when his subjects manage to rally behind a common cause. Though attentive to and in admiration of the potential of social movements, Goldstein misses to connect his work with scholarly investigations of other Southern cities, such as Jakarta (A. Simone and A. U. Fauzan, *Making Security Work for the Majority. Reflections on Two Districts in Jakarta. City & Society* 24.2012.2: 129–149) or Mumbai (A. Appadurai, *Deep Democracy. Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics. Environment & Urbanization* 13.2001.2: 23–44; N. Anand, *PRESSURE. The PoliTechnics of Water Supply in Mumbai. Cultural Anthropology* 26.2011.4: 542–564) – here, anthropological research has revealed how subjects achieve security through innovative alliance-building across occupational divides.

"Owners of the Sidewalk" surprises with an unconventional structure. It is divided into 37 chapters which are between 5–8 pages long. This style provides for easy reading, especially for unexperienced readers new to anthropological writing. The novella-like chapters each look at the actors, places, or events that make up the Cancha, resembling short TV episodes with the occasional cliff-hanger. This chapter composition provides a captivating image of Goldstein's field site. Dwelling on a particular aspect, as anthropologists often do, or debating theory is not his cup of tea. The perspective is as ambulant as Goldstein's research subjects, with whom he checks in now and then. Dwelling is, therefore, not the adopted method. While being well-written and holding the reader's interest throughout, the ethnographically rich book would have benefitted from a more creative analytical framework. Goldstein relies on dated concepts in his interpretation: writing against the "culture" of the urban poor and the idea of one single or "entire" city (80) is not really new. Relying on "blitz interviews" with vendors shows that the study was not designed in an experimental fashion but rather to get quickly to data.

As the book is structured to reflect the unpredictable and chaotic nature of the informal (as well as anthropological research thereof), the reader needs to wait until

its end to understand what Goldstein really attempts to achieve. “Owners of the Sidewalk” represents a form of engaged anthropology in that it not only describes the concerning race to the bottom of Bolivian informal and formal vendors, whose conflicts are old but stoked by neo-liberal measures of the state, but it also attempts to help both groups realize important milestones. Goldstein insightfully describes his discomfort when he gets caught between the lines. Though he aims for transparent research and struggles to maintain open the black box of ethnography, he admits to naïve behavior and questions his own research moves in retrospect. For example, the bosses of the associations of vendors that he befriends do not initially know that Goldstein is doing research with both groups. The rivaling associations represent very different interests but both contest state power in the Cancha. I consider the book a solid, sincere, and inspiring example of how to connect data to a clear agenda that ties into the subaltern’s world-making projects.

“Owners of the Sidewalk” certainly will not be the last word on informality. This not only has to do with the slippery and ever-evolving subject of Goldstein’s ethnography. It also owes to the fact that “Owners of the Sidewalk” does not try to provide a new twist to the topic and lacks analytical creativity. It is on the topics of “engaged” anthropology and the political and “even painful” (241) nature of fieldwork that the book is most elucidating.

Lukas Ley

Goodlander, Jennifer: *Women in the Shadows. Gender, Puppets, and the Power of Tradition in Bali.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016. 199 pp. ISBN 978-0-89680-304-6. (Ohio University Research in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, 129) Price: £ 25.99

The first question people usually ask about a *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet theatre) performance is: “Who is the *dalang* (puppeteer)?” People are often fascinated by the *dalang*, who is the central figure in the *wayang* performance. The *dalang* is the storyteller, the singer of the songs, the director of the gamelan, but, above all, the one who breathes life into the puppets. The *dalang* brings the puppets into motion, moving them on the screen and manipulating them, placing the puppets in the banana log, and giving the different puppets a characteristic voice, both to men and female characters. There are as many *wayang* styles as there are *dalang*, but *dalang* play in a style that is regionally, esthetically, and personally. As varied performance styles of *dalang* are, this is not reflected in the diversity of gender of *dalang*. Even though there are women in Bali studying and performing as *dalang*, this phenomenon is still controversial and exceptional. *Wayang* puppet theatre in Indonesia today is still very much a men’s world.

Jennifer Goodlander’s new book “Women in the Shadows” promises to give a novel insight into a much under-researched topic: women *dalang* and *wayang kulit* in Bali, Indonesia. Goodlander uses *wayang kulit* as a prism to examine gender and its relation to concepts of power, tradition, and ritual in Balinese society. She combines her

personal experiences of her *dalang* training of over a year with *wayang* performance practice and anchors it in social science methods and cultural theory. This approach is refreshing and results in an easy read even though interwoven with cultural theory.

The book starts with an introduction to the tradition of Balinese *wayang kulit*. In the context of Balinese performance tradition, Goodlander highlights that other authors have interpreted *gamelan wanita* or women’s gamelan as evidence for women’s expanding gender roles in Bali. Goodlander, however, found that “women *dalang* have had little lasting impact on social hierarchy in Bali – and women *dalang* rarely, if ever, presently perform” (11). She confesses she had hoped to find that “women performing as *dalang* would show a real departure from gender norms and indicate that the goal of equality was within reach” (11). As her findings did not match her expectations, Goodlander wanted to understand better the notion of tradition in relation to gender and performance within Balinese society.

Goodlander takes on a clever approach by dividing the book into two distinct parts that reflect “the primary division of Balinese cosmology” (12): the first part *sekala*, the visible realm, gives an analysis of the visible elements of *wayang kulit*, the performance practice and objects of the tradition, i.e., the puppets. In the second chapter she gives a description of her own training and practice to become a *dalang*, providing an interesting insight into the training of an aspiring *dalang* and the Balinese *wayang* tradition, through a discussion of the structures and aesthetics of *wayang kulit*. An interesting point she provides here and continues to follow throughout the book is that “[t]eachers in Bali transmit knowledge and skill of performance to their students through the body” (30). Students copy the movements of their teachers, and teachers will adjust the bodies of the students to correct the pose or movement of the puppets. The third chapter discusses the objects of *wayang kulit*, the puppets. She analyses a number of displays at Museum Bali from which she concludes that the key objects of *wayang kulit*, the puppet box and the puppets themselves hold power through their status as tradition.

In the second part of the book, Goodlander examines *niskala*, the invisible realm of Balinese cosmology, to analyse invisible dynamics that underlie the tradition. Chapter 4 investigates the ritual side of the tradition for which she takes her training as a *dalang* as a starting point, reflecting on her position as both a foreigner and a female within the ritual realm of the tradition. This angle provides interesting and insightful descriptions of the rituals she underwent as a part of her trajectory in becoming a *dalang*. Goodlander posits that the power of the *wayang kulit* tradition is a combination of the mastery of written text and the supernatural. The ritual lends spiritual power to the *dalang*-to-be, connecting the *dalang* to the sacred objects, the puppets. Ritual encompasses power. It is the “productive force” that inserted Goodlander into the social structures of *dalangness*. Interestingly, Goodlander points to the importance of the body in ritual, and the importance of ritual in learning to play *wayang kulit*. This