Shah, Nafisa: Honour and Violence. Gender, Power, and Law in Southern Pakistan. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. 283 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-081-0. (New Directions in Anthropology, 39) Price: £ 21.00

Nafisa Shah's landmark study of honour violence in Pakistan's Upper Sindh skilfully elucidates the complex motives that lie behind honour killings. In her book, we are shown how the articulation of honour violence must be understood in a historical and local perspective, and how violence is used strategically in local competitions for power, resources, and desirable marriage exchanges. In Upper Sindh, she argues, honour does not lead to violence; rather, violence is strategically masked in honour, which gives the violence legitimacy.

The book focuses on the practice of *karo kari* (literally "black man and black woman"), an honour-based practice in Upper Sindh and other parts of Pakistan that punishes men and women accused of sexual transgressions with death. According to Shah, "[*k*]*aro kari* is a complex system of sexual/social sanction that is considered a part of the moral ideology of honour – *ghairat* – a value that encompasses emotion, anger and even shame. In Upper Sindh, women signify *ghairat*, and honour is violated if they are perceived as having sexual relations with men other than their husbands" (32). Locally, people think of *ghairat* as a natural and timeless ideology, and murders committed in defence of *ghairat* are therefore considered morally defensible. However, Shah argues that accusations of "blackness" – of having committed a sexual transgression – do not primarily result from sexual transgressions, but are rather a way to assert power. People use the custom of *ghairat* strategically, "whether for private gain, to harm their enemies, or to rid themselves of women they [do] not want" (2).

Shah places the ideology of exchange marriages – *sangawatti* – alongside honour. She recounts that "[i]t often seemed as if life in Upper Sindh was one perpetual struggle to get the *sang* [woman in marriage] that one desired or was owed" (45). Marriages are therefore highly political sites in which struggles over power are constituted and negotiated in Upper Sindh. Women are killed in revenge against those who did not return a woman in an exchange marriage; women and men may be accused of being black as a way to pressure an opposing group to give an owed woman in marriage; and women may be accused of being black in order to facilitate divorce. Shah underlines that the majority of women accused of blackness are not killed, but many, nevertheless, are expelled from the community and married off in *vekro* (literally "sale," but also "brideprice") marriages, to a distant relative in another village. This means that accusing a woman of being black can also be a way of getting both money and a new woman in exchange for her.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many people in Upper Sindh say to Shah that *karo kari* is a business. Shah writes that it is difficult to say whether violence emerges because of material exchanges or is resolved by material exchanges. Either way, she argues that "[*k*]*aro kari* can be seen as a transaction" (53) – changing enemies to friends, and a relationship of retribution to one of kinship. Material exchanges also lie at the bottom of many accusations – for example, someone may be accused of being black in order to intimidate his or her family into giving the title to some land as a part of an ongoing marriage negotiation.

Shah builds her argument first by delving extensively into the workings of the criminal justice system in Pakistan. She traces treatments of honour violence in the justice system from the colonial period and through the postcolonial period, "to introduce into the study a political approach that implicates much more than simply men, honour, culture or custom, and to emphasize the large-scale historical and power processes that are conjoined in the local problem" (22). Then, she studies *karo kari* violence in everyday life, in the context of contemporary state laws, to determine what role the law plays in shaping current forms of such violence. She argues that the law provides a formal legal space through which honour violence is allowed to persist and be used strategically by opposing groups to gain access to power and resources, and to negotiate marriage exchanges. The result is a book that successfully uses legal anthropology to shed new light on the anthropology of honour. Simultaneously, it gives a detailed overview of how justice is found in Upper Sindh – a description that is useful for understanding the workings and lack of justice in Pakistan more generally.

One important reason why *karo kari* killings have continued to be so prevalent is that, in the postcolonial Pakistani state, the very same people who are likely to kill a woman have been legally empowered to punish or waive punishment of the killer. This is because murder has been made a private offence against the victim's heirs rather than a crime against the state. Considering that *karo kari* killings of women are most likely to happen within the family, one will have a situation where one family member kills the victim, and then another family member, who is defined as her heir, will pardon the offence. As a result, there have been no significant legal consequences to killing a family member.

However, a bill has since been passed to change this law. Nafisa Shah conducted her fieldwork during her five-year tenure as an elected mayor of her home district in Upper Sindh, giving her unique access and insight into the issues surrounding honour violence. She is now a member of parliament in Pakistan, and has in this position supported a new law that deny heirs the right to pardon most murders. This law was passed in October 2016, around the time when Shah's book was published, although the effects of it are still to be seen.

What this book shows, then, is that the honour concept in itself is not the main reason for honour killings. Rather, it is poverty and need, a lack of justice, and the fact that Pakistani law has created a space in which *karo kari* killings are allowed to continue. Shah convincingly shows that "complex forms of violence seem to be simplified in the moral idiom of honour and that violent practices are made moral as a result" (52). *Ghairat* is thus revealed as an instrument of power and social control, which is rationally used to perpetrate violence for ulterior purposes. This conclusion makes Shah's study an important advance on previous essentialist approaches to honour

killings, which tend to see honour as a culturally specific concept. Such approaches offer a circular explanation of the motivation for violence, arguing that violence is undertaken because of the honour culture, which occludes such acts of violence further. By examining the circumstances of the violence itself, Shah offers insights into the complex factors motivating honour violence. This study is therefore a significant and welcome addition to the anthropology of honour that, I believe, will change the way we understand honour killings, not only in Pakistan but in any place where people cover up their violence by resorting to arguments of honour.

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Simoni, Valerio: Tourism and Informal Encounters in Cuba. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. 266 pp. ISBN 978-1-78238-948-4. (New Directions in Anthropology, 38) Price: $ 95.00

Anthropologist Valerio Simoni's "Tourism and Informal Encounters in Cuba" is an unflinching study of the role of trust in the complex interactions that emerge between tourists and locals. Simoni delves into how relationships – both short and long-term – develop across boundaries of language, economic inequality, and desire. He finds relational contexts thick with both stereotypes and suspicion, as well as pleasure, festivity, and hope. Uncovering the uncertainties that ensue between Cubans and tourists, Simoni charts the behavioral clues both puzzle over as they search for friendship, commitment, and romance, or as they fear manipulation and deceit. The author considers what motivates tourists to visit Cuba, where many anticipate encountering a tropical island with hot music, sultry beaches, and friendly, approachable locals. He also investigates the Cuban gaze upon the foreigner, questioning what Cubans suppose about tourists and the expectations at play in exchanges between the visitor and the visited. He asks, are encounters between tourists and locals necessarily impermanent and commoditized? In coining the term "informal encounters" (a reference to "informal economies") to probe these relationships, Simoni shifts "the focus from entrepreneurship and economic occupation to the qualities of encounters and relationships" (10). He posits that as visited populations try to improve their personal economies by selling tourists commodities ranging from souvenirs to sex, interactions can be better analyzed through the lens of an "informal encounter" rather than "pursuit." Taking into account the aims, goals, and desires of both visitor and visited, "informal encounter" shifts attention beyond economic motivations to the different ways in which people arrange to meet each other and build relationships for mutual benefit.

In Cuba, most state jobs do not pay a living wage. So "resolving" and "inventing" have become part of a vocabulary that citizens use to describe how they make ends meet. Local slag terms such as *jinetero/jinetera* translate literally as "jockey" but actually denote "hustling" or resolving needs through creative means. *Jineterismo* (jockeying) can include strategies such as "liberating" items from workplaces to trade with neighbors or sell to tourists. In Cuba, where state vigilance hampers businesses of clear-cut sex-for-hire, *jineterismo*, rather than primarily implying prostitution, instead encompasses a wide variety of ways that locals seek relations with foreigners. Simoni studies connections that may include brief exchanges such as selling black-market cigars, or long-term friendships and romantic relationships. He explains that an "informal encounter" may simply generate an invitation to drink, dine, or dance in a restaurant that only foreigners can afford. Or, it may develop through time and result in gifts, financial support, or invitations abroad. Simoni finds that Cuban *jinetero/as* who troll for relationships with foreigners may disclose that a fiancée visa is their ultimate goal. However, others simply want foreign friends who can help keep a cell phone or email account charged or who might assist in a time of crisis. The Cuban environment, argues Simoni, blurs lines between hospitality, friendship, commerce, and romance (15).

"Tourism and Informal Encounters in Cuba" is divided into two parts. Part 1 focuses on the encounters between foreign tourists and members of the resident population in Cuba and investigates stereotypes, assumptions, and preconceptions held by each. Part 2 delves into different kinds of relationships between locals and foreigners. These include hospitality, friendship, partying, seduction, romantic relationships, and commoditized sex.

Simoni begins, in chapter 1, with an overview of the history of tourism in Cuba and broadly outlines tourism theory. This chapter could function as a stand-alone reading for a class introducing the anthropology of tourism. The rest of part 1 is more specific to Simoni's research on "encounters," as chapter 2 highlights the complex nature and moral controversies of defining tourism and hustling and chapter 3 delves into stereotypes that tourists have of Cubans and Cubans have of tourists, as well as tactics for managing Cuban authorities including police and neighborhood vigilance committees. The specifics of strategies used to meet, including where to go, how to dress, and techniques to capture attention and generate conversation are the themes of chapter 4. The second part of the book begins with chapter 5, which specifically considers the case study of cigar deals. Simoni explains that he chose cigar deals because while they are regarded as "emblematic turf of tourism hustling" a deeper look often revealed ways in which both Cubans and tourists also struggled to achieve meaningful interactions including reciprocity and hospitality within the context of economic transactions (108). Chapter 6 focuses on friendships and their meaning, and Simoni asks whether a Western notion of friendship as essentially "pure" and affective might give way for a model that allows for relationships in which economic interest intermingles with intimacy and emotional attachment (140). Finally, chapter 7 probes partying, leisure, and "letting go" in a touristic environment, and chapter 8 delves into sexual relationships, particularly between foreign men and their Cuban girlfriends, and the expectations and goals held by each party. In the book's conclusion ("Treasuring Fragile Relations"), Simoni contends that broader theoretical and methodological tools are necessary to understand touristic encounters and the