

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

link between ritual and the body makes the insertion of a woman into the ritual to become a *dalang* subversive in the ritual hierarchy.

In the fifth chapter, Goodlander's interviews with five women *dalang*, Ni (The Honourable) Ketut Trijata, Ni Wayan Rasiani, Ni Wayan Nondri, Ni Nyoman Tjandri, and Ni Wayan Suratni give insight in the space of negotiation for women to be a *dalang*, to subvert the ritual hierarchy. This chapter shows the limitations of tradition in relation to gender. The spiritual power lent to these women *dalang* was transferred to them from a father or sometimes a husband in the instance of Ibu Nondri. It was granted by government educational institutions in the case of Ibu Tjandri and by the community to Ibu Trijata and Ibu Rasiani. Ibu Suratni and Ibu Tjandri used the study of *pedalangan* (puppetry) as a way to build acceptable performance careers. Goodlander concludes that these "women could be *dalang*, but the structures of society were not transformed by their actions" (167). The concluding chapter is an excerpt from the performance story "Gugur Niwatakwaca" (Death of Niwatakwaca) from Arjuna Wiwaha (Arjuna's Wedding) that focuses on a strong female character. The story illustrates that her study revealed how ritual hegemony functions in Bali, rather than that women were able to change it. "Her voice and body are denied access in the system" (174).

Goodlander's book provides valuable insight into the training of a *dalang*, the bodily aspects of the performance practice and the place of the body in ritual power. Her central thesis that tradition contains power in relation to ritual and the body is crucial to understand gender in relation to *wayang kulit*. However, taking the tradition as a starting point, the outcome could not have deviated from that tradition. Perhaps it is too much to expect the women *dalang* that were interviewed to have made a lasting impact on the structure of tradition. The result of taking the tradition as a starting point turns it into an all-encompassing framework that defines and dictates Balinese *wayang kulit*, including gender roles within the tradition. The five women *dalang* are now represented in just one chapter. Perhaps by giving more prominence to the women *dalang*, by giving their biographies and voices a larger platform, the book could have provided a more nuanced perspective of tradition and a glimpse of negotiable spaces within it. All these women were able to break stereotypes and found ways to subvert the tradition. There is a need to hear more about how such spaces of subversion work and to hear the voices of such women *dalang* louder. It is about time for women to come out of the shadows.

Sadiah Boonstra

Grasseni, Cristina: *The Heritage Arena. Reinventing Cheese in the Italian Alps.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2017. 188 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-294-4. (Food, Nutrition, and Culture, 5) Price: \$ 95.00

This valuable, detail-rich book offers a longitudinal view of turning cheese into heritage, and the various paths that may be taken – and blocked – as cheese-makers and their allies pursue admission into what Grasseni calls "the

heritage arena." Heritage here is a mode of producing value for goods, but also an arena for capitalist and social competition, and the book examines the tournaments of value that characterize how the people of the Taleggio Valley and their neighbors in northern Italy promote the cheeses they produce and to which they lay claim. All seek to add value to their cheeses through asserting their authenticity, typicality, and long histories of production, i.e., through making them into heritage. But Grasseni pulls apart the very processes that underlie this shared value, illustrating how historical claims to authenticity, for instance, may elide certain historical processes, such as transhumance, in order to foreground others, such as continuity of Alpine production. From town-hall meetings to dairies in mountain meadows, but also to the international celebrations of food and food production sponsored by Slow Food, Grasseni draws on her extensive ethnographic research to sketch how some cheeses and their producers have won the heritage lottery in the form of DOP designations (Denominazione di Origine Protetta) or Slow Food recognition, while others have secured less valuable designations and names. For scholars interested in heritage food, food certification, food policy, and its effects on the ground, as well as Slow Food and issues of authenticity, this is a compelling book, which lays out in detail the ongoing day-to-day, but also year-to-year, work and conflicts that shape the heritagization of food.

"The Heritage Food Arena" is in many ways an intimate book, drawn from the author's long-term research (since 1997) in the valleys to the northwest of Bergamo, Italy. A *bergamasca* herself, Grasseni maintained ongoing fieldwork with cheese producers in this area, a project which began with investigating the "skilled vision" that dairy farmers need to master across a number of domains. Grasseni's own skilled vision brings us acute portraits of mountain communities struggling to survive as their numbers dwindle, diligent community activists who work hard to promote local businesses and goods, interested politicians who seek to shape communities as much as represent them, and a range of families and individuals who are engaged in trying to make a living through cheese in a market saturated with competitors, some located in neighboring villages or areas.

The book is organized into 3 sections, with an introduction and conclusion. Each section contains two chapters and a brief conclusion, which recap its major points and bridge to the next section. The introduction paints an overview of Grasseni's research and positioning as a researcher, as well as her view of cheese as a pivot point around which to investigate broader epistemologies of work and landscape, political and economic structures, and processes, as well as the nitty-gritty, everyday details of making a living from food. The first part, "The War of the Cheeses" analyzes conflicts among cheese producers, specifically tracing the differing fates of three cheeses and the battles that shaped their heritagization: Bitto, Formai de Mut, and Branzi. Chapter one, "*Patrimonio* and *Tipicità*," investigates these two essential components of Italian notions of heritage and how they are calibrated in the production of heritage food. *Patrimonio* (roughly, "patri-