

qu'ils sont). A cette époque, une nouvelle instance nationale, le "Conseil des sages", qui prit ensuite le nom de "Cercle de préservation du *fihavanana*", avait proposé de promouvoir l'amnistie politique comme mode de restauration des relations, sans succès. En tant que catégorie idéologique, le *fihavanana* reste assez indéfini pour être utilisable à loisir à des fins politiques.

Les travaux de Frédéric Sandron et de Frédéric Gannon, fondés sur le principe de l'enchâssement social de l'économie, s'intéressent aux pratiques concrètes d'échange dans les communautés rurales des Hautes Terres. Le *fihavanana* est identifié dans l'entraide pour le travail agricole au sein de groupes de parenté et d'interconnaissance, et comme mécanisme régulateur de redistribution. Il peut difficilement subsister, estime Sandron, hors de cette échelle du groupe de production. Parfois contreproductif, il permet de grandes disparités de prestige et de pouvoir, et freine l'innovation agricole qui appelle des initiatives individuelles menaçant l'équilibre collectif. Malgré l'introduction du salariat, les nouveaux rapports d'association, la création de clientèles, il reste toujours en milieu rural le dernier et précieux rempart contre le risque. Dans l'article suivant, Gannon souligne qu'il restreint la prise de risque individuelle ou familiale plus souvent qu'il n'agit comme garantie, comme l'illustre la lente diffusion de la culture du riz en ligne sur les quarante dernières années. Les deux conceptions, positive et normative, du *fihavanana*, la première ancestrale et très locale, la deuxième élevée au niveau national et/ou chrétienne, ne sont donc pas en totale continuité pour ces auteurs. Du point de vue du "capital social", forme sous laquelle Gannon a considéré le *fihavanana* pour étudier les réseaux et l'investissement social aux différentes échelles de son emprise supposée, son élargissement au niveau du bien commun, comme patrimoine national, ne représente rien de plus qu'une possibilité théorique.

Les ethnographies et les analyses apportent donc tout à la fois confirmations et démentis aux orientations introduites par Kneitz. Trois idées dominent : les normes de solidarité du *fihavanana* émanent de sociétés rizicoles plutôt que pastorales, le concept s'est répandu dans toute l'île pour désigner les procédures de conciliation et de consensus, le passage à un *fihavanana* national, et/ou chrétien représente un saut cognitif. Le travail de production du *fihavanana* comme réconciliation chrétienne dans la vie politique nationale est illustré par la contribution finale d'un théologien malgache. L'ensemble de l'ouvrage rend compte de l'historicité de la notion qui, en tant que norme, est adaptée à différents contextes, et montre à quel point subsiste la difficulté de son appréhension concrète. Le débat n'est pas clos et l'observation de la vie sociale et politique malgache continuera de l'alimenter.

Il est fort dommage que, faute d'un travail d'édition, ce livre présente un certain nombre de fautes d'orthographe et de frappe, en français et en anglais, et que deux textes traduits de l'allemand soient présentés en un français souvent maladroit qui nuit à la clarté des idées exposées.

Sophie Blanchy

**Kummels, Ingrid** (coord.): Espacios mediáticos. Cultura y representación en México. Berlin: edition tranzíva; Verlag Walter Frey, 2012. 410 pp., fotos. ISBN 978-3-938944-62-2. Precio: € 36.00

In this interdisciplinary and richly illustrated collection of essays, scholars from a variety of disciplines interrogate the relationship between the global and the local, in this case by exploring the impact of media/mediation and on the production of space. Starting from the premise that global structures do not determine the local, but are themselves "anchored in specific territories and expressed locally" (12), the authors deal with the ways that different actors, rooted in specific geographies, appropriate and manipulate technologies and symbols that circulate globally. Thirteen essays (two in English, the rest in Spanish) are divided into four sections: "Movimientos y temporalidades de los espacios mediáticos en los siglos XX y XXI"; "Representaciones mediáticas de la nación y de la transnación"; "Espacios locales, sus actores y medios de comunicación"; and "Nuevas colaboraciones y circulaciones."

Several of the essays are connected by a focus on the discourse of *indigenismo*, inside or outside of Mexico, expressed and circulated through a variety of visual media. For example, Deborah Poole and Cristina Kahlo each analyze ethnic cross-dressing by elite mestizas in early-20th-century photography (Frida Kahlo in the latter case, anonymous upper-class Oaxacans in the former) as a technology of nationalist self-representation. In a fascinating and complex piece, Paula López Caballero weaves together the history of visual representation, linguistic ideologies, and identity politics in Milpa Alta, a village (*delegación*) of Mexico City that stood in the early- and mid-20th century as a repository of "Aztec" culture, and that continues to figure as a site of contestation over indigenous identity at the local level.

While the first section of the book concentrates on the circulation of indigenist imagery in Mexican nationalist self-imaginings, the second section treats the circulation of international circulation of indigenist (and more generally Mexican) tropes and the indigenization of cosmopolitan tropes in Mexico. To that end, Deborah Dorotinsky Alperstein looks at the ways that early-20th-century theories of education were articulated through the visual representation of rural children, women, and school architecture in illustrated magazines. Maria Gaida and Bernd Hausberger focus, instead, on the appropriation of Mexican images and imagery outside of Mexico. Hausberger analyzes films about the Mexican Revolution (both Mexican and foreign made) to argue that their central message had less to do with the Revolution than with the reinscription of the hetero-monogamous patriarchal family for a non-Mexican audience. Gaida, the director of the department of Mesoamerican collections at the Ethnologisches Museum of Berlin, instead looks at the 1960 purchase by that institution of a Classical Mayan stucco head that turned out to be a forgery. She interprets her predecessors' failure to distinguish the forgery in light of the postwar German project of national vindication, reading their eagerness to acquire the object a symptom of their desire

to recuperate Germany's prewar reputation as a center of cosmopolitan aesthetics. Ingrid Kummels turns from the international circulation of Mexican tropes to the transnational circulation of *Cine Indígena* between Mexico and the United States. She argues convincingly that it is made possible by the confluence of two things: the availability of new technologies and the assumption of newly ethnicized identities, both of which are products of new migration patterns.

One of the most interesting aspects of this collection is the way that the authors take up the question of space (and "spaces in-between"). This is evident throughout the collection, but is most evident in the third section, where the authors explore the role that expressive practices play in the constitution and elaboration of communal identities. Alexander Brust examines the process by which community members control the presentation of their community history through the selection of and display of photographs in the *museo comunitario* Shan Dany in Santa Ana del Valle. Tabea Huth's, fine-grained study of the Tijuanaense *luchador exótico* Ruby Gardenia / Fernando Covarrubias treats the gender-blurring practices of her subject as an embodied performance of border consciousness. Sven Kirschslager follows ambulant musicians who play on long-distance buses. He shows how the musicians modify *corridos* (a type of ballad historically used to disseminate news of current events) to echo local events and concerns. By performing these on long-distance buses, he argues, they transform the liminal no-man's land of the bus into a socially meaningful place.

The last section of the book, "Nuevas colaboraciones y circulaciones," deals with the collaboration between visual anthropologists and indigenous subjects/producers, and the circulation of indigenous video. Authors Axel Köhler, José Alfredo Jiménez Pérez, and Florian Walter, authors of the first two pieces, work in the Tzotzil-speaking highlands of the state of Chiapas. Gabriella Zamorano Villareal, author of the third article works in Bolivia. Köhler and Jiménez Pérez's contribution is intended as both a chronicle and an enactment of collaboration. Jiménez Pérez is from Ch'enalvo, a municipality where, in 1997, paramilitaries entered the village of Acteal, massacred 45 civilian activists, members of the Sociedad Civil Las Abejas (an organization sympathetic to the Zapatistas). Köhler is a visual anthropologist from Germany, resident in San Cristobal. Their piece is a reflection on the making of a documentary about the massacre and the ongoing struggle to bring those responsible to justice. Rather than presenting a unitary voice, the two authors each contribute sections in which they situate themselves personally, academically, politically, and epistemologically. This strategy foregrounds Jiménez Pérez's perspective and voice.

Visual anthropologist Florian Walter works in Zinacantán, a community that, like Ch'enalvo, is located in the Tzotzil-speaking highlands, but that has a different history of engagement with Zapatismo and anthropology. Whereas Jiménez Pérez and Köhler are primarily concerned with the use of video as a tool of conscientization for members of indigenous communities, Walter takes up the

problem of representation and reception of ethnographic film by non-indigenous, non-academic audiences. He contrasts two of his films, the 2001 "My Job. Traditional Healer," and the 2004 "On the Road with Maruch." In the first, a real-time documentary about a Mayan *curandero*, his decision to subtitle his chants without additional expository narration was well received by anthropologists, but mystified non-academic audiences. In the second, he collaborated with his Zinacantán neighbor Maruch, who provided the direction of the film as well as the narration. As a result, non-academic audiences were drawn to identify with, rather than exoticize, the indigenous voice.

The last essay, by Gabriela Zamorano Villareal, traces the circulation of videos produced by Bolivia's "Plan Nacional Indígena Originario de Comunicación Audiovisual," Zamorano V. documents the contexts of reception and the resignification of the videos as they move between urban, rural, and international venues. She attends as well to the contexts in which the videos are not shown: the improvised halls screening pirated videos in the Barrio Chino, most important site for watching movies for working-class Paceños. Although the essay does not deal with Mexico, it contributes to the framing of the issues guiding the collection as a whole.

In all, this is an interesting and stimulating collection of essays. I would recommend it to anyone interested in media, popular culture, or discourses of indigeneity in 20th- and 21st-century Mexico.

Heather Levi

**Liedtke, Wolfgang, Georg Materna und Jochen Schulz** (Hrsg.): *Hunger – Ursachen, Folgen, Abhilfe. Eine interdisziplinäre Kontroverse*. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2012. 523 pp. ISBN 978-3-86583-699-1. (Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Ethnologie der Universität Leipzig, 10) Preis: € 32.00

Der Sammelband "Hunger. Ursachen, Folgen, Abhilfe. Eine interdisziplinäre Kontroverse", herausgegeben 2012 von Wolfgang Liedtke, Georg Materna und Jochen Schulz im Leipziger Universitätsverlag, basiert auf der im November 2009 durchgeföhrten, (nahezu) gleichnamigen Tagung. Das Thema "Hunger" wird aus einer interdisziplinären Perspektive dargestellt, wobei die Ethnologie (aus deren Forschungsdisziplin die Herausgeber stammen) wiederkehrend einbezogen wird. Der Sammelband ist in acht Kapitel gegliedert, von denen jedes das Thema "Hunger" aus einer anderen Forschungsperspektive betrachtet: Angefangen bei der geschichtlichen Einordnung des Themas, über die wirtschaftlichen, politischen aber auch religiösen Aspekte, bis hin zur Agrar- und Kulturpflanzenforschung.

Credo des Werkes ist es sowohl über den "Global Talk" (21), kurzgesagt das Aufwerfen von und Hantieren mit Statistiken zur globalen Anzahl unterernährter Menschen oder Staaten in Hungersnöten, hinaus zu argumentieren und gleichzeitig sehr kritische Beiträge, z. B. über das Thema der Zusammenarbeit zwischen Medien und Hilfsorganisationen im Bereich der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, zu integrieren und zu vereinen (Mükke 287 ff.). Beides ist den Editoren und Autoren gelungen.