

consumption of butchered pork, often carried out within the context of extended Ifugao funeral ceremonies, a set of human-to-human and human-to-other-than-human relations are articulated from which the “becoming” or constitution of persons is made possible.

Remme supports his theoretical assertions with vivid examples drawn from his interactions with local Ifugao during an extensive fieldwork session in and around the secluded mountain village of Batad. Guided somewhat by the seminal work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1994, 2010) on relational philosophy, Remme’s approach to Ifugao personhood conceptualizes humans “not as entities that first exist and have relations with other entities but as entities which emerge from these relations” (p. 139). In short, he contends that among the Ifugao, humans are best viewed as assemblages comprised of a fluctuating set of relations within which sacrificed pigs figure prominently as mediating devices.

Remme explores how Ifugao kinship is informed by a sense of dynamism that is articulated through certain key practices related to pigs. Most notable is the ongoing reciprocal exchange of pork that frequently takes place when pigs are sacrificed at major life events such as marriages and funerals. The ritual sharing of butchered pork among community and family members over time becomes an effective way for delineating the flexible boundaries separating kin from non-kin. Through several resonant ethnographic examples, Remme demonstrates the ways through which this system of meat distribution acts as a “social map” (p. 33) of village life whereby (non-)kin relations are mostly affirmed but also negated when individuals who cannot afford the associative costs of ritual pig sacrifices lose once-viable kinship ties. In a very real sense, Remme is able to establish how Ifugao kinship is neither fixed nor static but, rather, continually (re)enacted through both pigs and practice.

Pigs and customs related to both their ritual sacrifice and the distribution of fresh cuts of pork are not only intimately intertwined with the making of persons and the establishment and (re)affirmation of (kin) relations with other humans, they also serve as integral factors in defining human interactions with various nonhuman entities, especially those disembodied spirits who exert considerable sway over local life known as *ba’i*. Like other belief systems rooted in animism, traditional Ifugao religion is largely predicated on a necessary, albeit cautious, interaction with *ba’i*. Remme reveals how dealings with *ba’i* necessitate a proper sense of decorum and respect lest they devolve into a series of detrimental outcomes for human health and well-being. One way to mitigate the likelihood of such consequences is by observing certain taboos and performing rituals involving pig sacrifices.

These types of ritual practices also figure prominently in matters of local prestige and social stratification, which

like Ifugao kinship remain subject to potential reversal or reconfiguration. With several poignant vignettes drawn from his time in Batad, Remme shows how an (in)ability to live up to obligations regarding the transfer of prestigious holdings such as rice terraces, rice wine jars, and gongs can dramatically alter local social rankings. This kind of fluidity reiterates the relational nature of Ifugao existence at the heart of Remme’s book and the inextricable role pigs play in the ongoing enactment of Ifugao personhood. Similarly, it also informs the gradual decoupling of individuals from the status of the living. To expedite this ultimate rite of passage, steps entailing the ritual sacrifice of pigs and adherence to a number of spatial and behavioral taboos by the living must be performed.

Taken as a whole, this work presents abundant ethnographic evidence that humans and pigs are entangled in constitutive interactions that reach into nearly all areas of Ifugao material and symbolic life. Remme’s research findings and his distinctive theoretical underpinnings regarding the processual nature of Ifugao personhood offer fresh, if sometimes “dark,” insights into a burgeoning area of study known as “multispecies anthropology” (pp. 137–138). Within this evolving branch of the discipline, the complexities and contradictions underlying the interpenetrative linkages between humans and animals are laid bare in a way that has previously not received much in the way of scholarly attention. Perhaps, more than anything else, it is within this context that the relational personhood Remme examines among the Ifugao assumes particular significance.

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What can we learn about citizenship from a small and relatively marginal rural population engaged in transhumant practices? Florian Mühlfried provides an answer by investigating Tusheti, a region in Georgia located in close vicinity to the border with Chechnya and Dagestan. The Tushetians number roughly 12 thousand and are settled mainly in two villages in Georgia, Kvemo Alvani and Zemo Alvani, located in the plains and at the foothills of the Caucasian mountains, respectively (p. 1). Mühlfried’s fieldwork involved rigorous surveying, interviewing, mapping, census work, and participant-observation. Additionally, he

accompanied shepherds en route to the winter pasture in a region near Azerbaijan, which necessitated walking more than 12 hours a day up mountains while taking care of the animals (p. 30).

Mühlfried presents important reasons for thinking about the “web of entanglements with the state” (pp. 13–14) that the Tushetians have historically experienced. His primary contribution is an elaboration on the term *reserves* from Thomas Hauschild (2003, 2008). “Reserves” encompass material resources, such as transhumant economic practices founded on physical mobility, as well as cultural resources, such as the persistence of religious forms associated with shrines. Rotating between two home bases has been a way that the Tushetians have tempered the effects of political crisis. Mühlfried elegantly describes this with the metaphor of shifting weight to maintain balance, with “one foot in the realm of the state and one foot beyond” (p. 69). Tushetians have relied on “reserves” to deal with the erratic nature of the state’s presence in their territory. Yet as a theoretical lens in this monograph, citizenship is more kaleidoscopic than focused—models of the state proliferate rather than coalesce. Mühlfried’s engagement with the concept of “citizenship” is diffuse, pulling on existing threads of scholarly inquiry on statehood without fully knitting them together. One exception to this is Mühlfried’s concentrated application of Aihwa Ong’s (1999) concept of “flexible citizenship.” Mühlfried convincingly argues that “hypermodernity endangers flexible modes of citizenship” rather than simply enabling them (p. 205).

Mühlfried begins by outlining four historical periods for understanding Tushetian relationships with the state: (1) the 1920s–40s, in which mobility was not yet significantly restricted; (2) the 1950s–60s, in which Tushetians were forced to leave the highlands to do factory work on the plains, where Kvemo and Zemo Alvani became targets for intensive development (p. 59); (3) the 1970s–80s, in which there was a wave of resettlement and infrastructural development of highland Tusheti under Shevardnadze; and (4) from the 1990s onward, as the fall of the Soviet Union meant an abrupt end to infrastructural support in Tusheti, and a shift back to the plains as a consequence (p. 63). Mühlfried discusses how Soviet citizenship remains a blueprint for contemporary expectations for the state.

Mühlfried then uses interview materials to illuminate Tushetian “cognitions” of citizenship (p. 92). In “Reborn Citizens in a Post-Soviet Landscape,” an interlude from the otherwise chronological progression of the chapters, he queries respondents’ assessments of importance of a set of 17 places (e.g., “school,” “church,” “administration,” and “cinema”), first, for “citizens” and, second, for “Tushetians.” Ambiguities in interpreting the significance of the rankings are reflective of the limitations of this instrument. Mühlfried discusses the central role of religiosity (in particular, shrines and the festivals related to them) for Tushetian

self-identity. An on-the-ground description of the forms of religious life that encircle the shrines would have been an excellent addition to this chapter.

Once he has laid the historical and geographical groundwork, Mühlfried’s ethnography excels. In a chapter called “Triple Winning and Simply Losing,” he investigates Tushetian labor migration practices in light of recent more restrictive political borders. Mühlfried balances mini-case studies of labor migrants against a narrative that chronicles changes in migration and citizenship policy in Georgia. *Circular migration* (Vertovec 2007) is the dominant theoretical term in this chapter, which Mühlfried engages in service of analyzing differing perspectives on citizenship in contemporary Georgia. Arguing that Tushetians’ labor migration practices mesh well with their transhumant practices, Mühlfried makes the case that Tushetians’ economic fate is ever more precarious as a consequence of increased state scrutiny on migratory practices.

Ultimately, citizenship is a form of political belonging. Mühlfried indicates several ways in which citizenship is made significant: border crossings, state-coordinated infrastructure, and, most strikingly, when Tushetians acted as the state by patrolling the borders in the 1990s. Mühlfried delineates the ways in which boundaries between rural citizen and an unreliable state are flexibly negotiated through material and cultural practices. Although citizenship is at times made vital by historical and political circumstance, what other forms of belonging—within, beyond, or unrelated to citizenship—are central to Tushetian social order? After all, Mühlfried comments that “citizenship hardly plays any role in the everyday language of the Tushetians” (p. 93). Kinship, among other axes of nonpolitical belonging, appears to coordinate much of Tushetian life. Some of the most compelling moments in the text are those in which Mühlfried describes particular people, such as the brigade of shepherds (pp. 45–48) and the profiles of three migratory laborers (pp. 168–173; 176–178). Adding a focus on social interaction would enrich Mühlfried’s descriptions by setting them in motion. Also, attending to the discursive practices among Tushetians would be a useful window into the forms of belonging most salient to the Tushetians themselves.

Mühlfried’s historical overview of Tushetians’ relationship to the state is indispensable. This is essential reading for scholars of the Caucasus as well as those interested in Soviet and post-Soviet citizenship. Mühlfried’s discussion of religiosity as forming a “spiritual border” entwined with the state is compelling and worth pursuing in future studies. Also worth developing in more detail is the treatment of gender, which structures not only labor migration patterns but also the moral landscape within Tusheti. Mühlfried’s comments on migration policy and citizenship are particularly timely given the uncertain future of Russian presence in regional and world politics. As Tusheti is refashioned into a destination for tourism, anthropological research on the

interface between economy and society becomes increasingly vital.

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Beyond Alternative Food Networks: Italy's Solidarity Purchase Groups. *Cristina Grasseni*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013. 210 pp.

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Today's alternative food systems offer a spectrum of options to the politically motivated consumer. From Slow Food to Fair Trade to Community Supported Agriculture, multiple movements converge on a shared goal: a system that supports nutritious, quality foods produced in a manner that is ethical, environmentally sustainable, and economically equitable to producers. In Italy, one path toward this goal is the solidarity purchase group (*Gruppo di Acquisto Solidale*, or GAS). GAS working groups comprise individuals or families who seek out ecologically friendly and ethically viable products and buy as much of their food as possible collectively and directly from farmers. In this book, Cristina Grasseni charts the skyrocketing growth of GAS networks in recent years and posits that unlike other "alternative" food provisioning systems, GAS offers a unique entry point into a larger realm of postcapitalist economies and "cultures of participation" in contemporary Italy. As such, "this book ethnographically tests the hypothesis that alternative food provisioning may work as a social ground in which, by meeting a basic need in new and collective ways, individuals and families move beyond their primary motivation in order to elaborate more complex political needs and agendas" (p. 24).

Emphasizing solidarity with food producers, GAS members (or *gasistas*) create volunteer networks that link consumers directly with producers. Groups vary greatly in size (from 10 to 200 members), degree of formality, and their level of connection to larger GAS networks. This form of direct purchasing can lead to lower prices on sustainably sourced foods, but it requires significant, ongoing investments of time and energy from *gasistas*. Although solidarity

purchasing groups have existed nominally in Italy for several decades, the GAS movement experienced rapid growth in the wake of the global economic crisis and subsequent Italian austerity measures. Conservative estimates from 2012 show that there are more than 1,600 GAS groups operating in Italy, with over 40,000 families spending approximately 80 million euros per year. Although many consumer-based food movements are accused of pricy elitism and an overreliance on bourgeoisie "distinction" purchasers, Grasseni shows how *gasistas* (most of whom come from educated, lower-middle-class households) critically reexamine and reshape alternative food networks to emphasize solidarity with specific producers. In this space, *gasistas'* economic motivations for affordable, high-quality food coexist with a unique set of GAS-specific social dynamics and cultural practices that extend far beyond the typical construction of a "foodie."

Grasseni argues, importantly, that the process of GAS food provisioning is not centered on the personal preferences of individual consumers but, rather, on collaborative group negotiations regarding dimensions of taste and quality, price, environmental impact, and social solidarity with producers. It is clearly, as the author states, "not a form of gourmet shopping" but a "self-selective practice that diverts time, effort, and money into a motivated and collectively organized effort" (p. 43). To support her argument that GAS moves beyond alternative food networks, Grasseni grounds her ethnographic work in a cohesive and comprehensive presentation of "alternative food" scholarship from a wide range of disciplines. Drawing from two years of engaged research as an active GAS member in the northern Italian city of Bergamo, Grasseni recounts the myriad grassroots efforts required to support her local group. Activities included locating food producers, determining fair prices, negotiating bulk orders among group members, collecting money and receipts, picking up food from the producers, and solving logistical issues of storing and redistributing large quantities of food. This highly interpersonal process of food provisioning requires a tremendous amount of ongoing collaboration and energy on the part of members, but most GAS working groups prove sustainable. Grasseni emphasizes that this "collective provisioning" creates highly situated practices wherein localized social groups, shared values, and relationships based on trust underlie the success of GAS as a movement.

Gasistas overlap with, and are influenced by, many other social movements such as Slow Food, environmentalist groups, and anti-Mafia activism. However, Grasseni argues that although GAS is dynamically addressing social, economic, and political issues in a holistic way through localized efforts, working groups are not always in agreement about overtly politicizing the movement. In chapter 4, which will be of particular interest to those studying social movements and organizational ethnography, the author expertly draws from her longitudinal analysis of the growing