

past, the Christian-based narrative became far more persistent and central than that of secular origin, to the point that it eventually became part of the village's history (201). Finally, the chapter by Damaris Parsitau offers a critical perspective on such competitions through the lens of gender ideologies and negotiations in Kenya. She analyzes the increasingly public dimension of gender dynamics in this country, in both secular and religious fields, and discusses how it has become part of a common discourse on empowerment and liberation, although with diverse formations of social transformation.

In sum, the chapters collected in this book cover several angles that problematize the debate concerning the intersection of Pentecostalism and development. I have outlined those that seem to me to be most relevant: rural/urban developments, autochthonous/allochthonous initiatives, and ideologies that promote sustainability, progress, and social change. The common theme throughout is an examination of the simultaneously empirical and epistemological dualism between Pentecostal and NGO models that have been established and an investigation of the underlying or explicit contrasts and competitions that shape it. This leaves sufficient room for further questioning and analysis of Pentecostalism and its complex place in Africa. Within this framework, this book becomes a crucial reference.

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Nicolas Argenti and Katharina Schramm, eds., *Remembering Violence: Anthropological Perspectives on Intergenerational Transmission* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), x, 270 pp. ISBN 9780857456274.

This smart volume, the condensed outcome of three separate conference panels held in 2006 and 2007, positions itself against what the contributors refer to as the 'post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) paradigm'. The critique of the inbuilt inflexibility of diagnostic criteria is central both to the dense introduction, written by the book's editors, Nicolas Argenti and Katharina Schramm, and the short afterword, penned by Rosalind Shaw. Argenti and Schramm, for example, dismiss the PTSD paradigm as reductionist and mechanistic; it is, they say, a positivist model that removes agency from the equation. More, the PTSD paradigm has evolved into a standardized global discourse with far-reaching consequences. Here Shaw mentions the analytical fallacy, among non-anthropologists in particular, to treat social memory and culture as something homogeneous. This trend ignores that the anthropological study of the cultural over the past decades has emphasized disjuncture, rupture, and instability as drivers of society and history. Socio-political regimes of memory and oblivion, even active forgetting, Argenti and Schramm add, are aspects that also need to be analyzed when any history of violence and collective trauma is written and remembered.

It is difficult to disagree with the editors' call for an ethnographically grounded perspective that actively avoids pathologizing conclusions. Still, a

colleague of mine, with one foot in each camp (i.e., in socio-cultural anthropology and in academic and clinical psychology), felt that the critique, in being unnecessarily polemic, throws out the baby with the bathwater. A more sympathetic reading would be to see the book as a call for a methodologically holistic approach, whereby the global discourse on trauma, increasingly popular with non-governmental organizations active in conflict and post-conflict settings, could benefit from ethnographically grounded insights.

Argenti and Schramm's introduction is well-researched, with almost countless cross-references to the literature that positions their critique. The editors pedagogically divide their unfolding argument into four subthemes that also separate the chapters thematically. The goal is to highlight complexity and richness, even contradiction and incommensurability, so as to avoid what the editors call "premature reductions" (21).

The first section deals with 'bodies of memory'. Noteworthy in this section is Janine Klungel's chapter on slave history, rape, and remembrance in Guadeloupe. It recounts how stories of rape are told by women in a matter-of-fact way, but also, how some mothers, in a desperate effort to safeguard and control their children, force themselves upon their daughters to carry out virginity tests. Such mothers, rather than men, are eventually recognized by their daughters as rapists. It is a harrowing story. The second chapter in this section, by Dorthe Brogaard Kristensen, deals with embodied memories of the Pinochet years in Chile, as evoked within a framework of Mapuche indigenous medicine and healing.

The book's second section addresses ritual performance and spirit possession, a well-known theme from the history of anthropological thought and one that, in the context of trauma and violence, is highly relevant. David Berliner contributes a chapter that assesses the concept of "vicarious memories" (84) and the reproduction of the deep past, focusing on pre-Islam initiation rites among the Bulongic in coastal West Africa. Described by Berliner as part of an epistemology of secrecy, these were brutally violent rites that his young adult informants did not have direct experience of but still evoked as part of their cultural repertoire. Jackie Feldman's chapter then proceeds to revisit the Holocaust. He presents a fascinating tale of contemporary Israeli nation building: together with one guide and one Holocaust survivor, Israeli students travel to Auschwitz-Birkenau. When the past is captured in the present on location, the students more or less become Holocaust survivors. In the process, Poland as a country (and perhaps even Europe) is reduced to the death camp experience. Within a year after their return to Israel, most of the students are drafted into the Israeli armed forces. Their national future is actively built, in several stages, on a very violent past.

The third section of the volume begins by discussing 'memoryscapes', that is, memories as encoded landscapes. Adelheid Pichler describes how a history of slavery in Cuba is narrated and remembered ritually. Then, despite—or rather because of—imprecise images of past times and the polyphonic character of ritual activities, this narrated history not only reproduces and but also produces a cultural landscape of memory. The section next turns to the idea

of ‘postmemories’, whereby people engage with a past known to them only indirectly. Here, Paola Filippucci revisits World War I and the killing fields of Argonne. Villages completely destroyed and never rebuilt are reimagined with the help of pre-war postcards. Filippucci also explores the selectiveness of post-memory as it plays out in contemporary family histories. The same site also suffered heavily during World War II, and some stories remain untold, while others are recalled in memory work that emphasizes the heroic.

The book’s final section addresses traumatic memory as transmitted between generations. Carol A. Kidron presents a thought-provoking comparison of genocide legacies as played out among Cambodians in Canada and Jews in Israel. “Contrary to Jewish Holocaust descendants,” Kidron notes, “the majority of Cambodian descendants do not depict a matrix of silent genocidal presence in the Cambodian home” (212). In his concluding chapter, Stephan Feuchtwang looks at political violence and the transmission of traumatic loss in Taiwan. Feuchtwang analyzes developments whereby traumatic events are documented and inscribed in monuments and, thereafter, are no longer actively or even passively transmitted.

The book’s four sections are separated mainly for pedagogic reasons. In reading the case studies, I realize that they all spill over in more or less explicit ways. Yet the compartmentalization is a heuristic reading device that works well. It structures the book and puts on the table nuances of cultural, social, political, and historical differences, while presenting a variety of anthropologically grounded perspectives. Taken together, the case studies build a tangle even if heterogeneous ethnographic critique that balances medicalization discourses in general and the PTSD paradigm in particular. At the same time, *Remembering Violence* is an invitation to re-examine two long-standing anthropological concerns—that of the importance of comparative analysis, and that of participant observation and its methodological limitations.

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Soumhya Venkatesan and Thomas Yarrow, eds., *Differentiating Development: Beyond an Anthropology of Critique* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 360 pp. ISBN 9780857453037.

Differentiating Development offers an interesting and important read in making sense of what seems to have become a somewhat uneasy relationship between anthropology and development. This relationship started to deteriorate in the late 1980s when many anthropologists began to write from the emerging post-development theoretical perspective. In offering a post-structural critique of development, the post-development approach makes ‘development’ the empirical object, seeing it as a powerful discourse in an attempt to make sense of why so many development projects seem to fail. But this move from development anthropology to an anthropology of development has had at least two