

zwei Blogs und die Seite einer Facebook-Gruppe. Hier wurden dem Rezensenten weitere Grenzen der vermeintlichen Demokratisierung im Internet bewusst. Nicht nur bestimmen infrastrukturelle Aspekte wie v. a. der Zugang zu schnellem Internet (Stichworte Breitbandverbindung, direkte Glasfaseranbindung und Netzneutralität), wie demokratisch der Zugang zu Bild- und anderen Datenbeständen sein mag: Der Gebrauch privater, kommerzieller Plattformen wie Facebook etwa macht Bilder wiederum exklusiv. Wer wie der Rezensent Facebook aus diesen oder jenen Gründen meidet, ist zumindest stark eingeschränkt bei der Sichtung und Nutzung eines Teils der im Beitrag behandelten Bilder.

Unter den insgesamt sehr gelungenen Beiträgen sei zuletzt auch noch derjenige von Michael Kraus erwähnt. Kraus beginnt mit der Ausbreitung des Forschungsstandes zu v. a. deutscher ethnologischer und anthropologischer Fotografie in Südamerika im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jh., um dann anhand von Beispielen die Schwierigkeiten und Besonderheiten aufzuzeigen, die sich bei der Rekonstruktion der Geschichte einzelner Aufnahmen (und man könnte ergänzen: ganzer Bestände) ergeben – insbesondere hinsichtlich der Biografien von zu wissenschaftlichen (oder kommerziellen) Zwecken porträtierten Indigenen. Im zweiten Teil seines Aufsatzes geht der Autor dann auf die oben erwähnte Ausstellung “Touching Photography” ein. Diese stellte – ganz bewusst – einen Bruch mit einer solchen Rekonstruktion im herkömmlichen archivistischen Sinn dar. Die Idee der Ausstellungsmacher war es, offenbar im Anschluss an Mary Louise Pratt, den Besucher_innen Begegnungen mit den Abgebildeten zu ermöglichen, etwa in Form von lebensgroßen und z. T. digital animierten Bildern. Auch audiovisuelle Beiträge, Text-Bild-Tafeln und Tablets mit Bildern stellen – *touching photography* – eine Begegnung, Kontakt zwischen Besucher_innen und Porträtierten her.

Kritisch angemerkt werden soll abschließend lediglich, dass sich in einigen Beiträgen doch mehrere Fehler eingeschlichen haben (z. B. Zahlendreher). Außerdem ist der Titel etwas weiter gefasst und für manche_n eventuell mehr versprechend als der Band dann einlöst: Während Bilder und Identitäten tatsächlich durch Zeit und Raum verfolgt werden, handelt es sich statt um Bilder aus ganz Lateinamerika doch in erster Linie um solche aus Peru (Beiträge von Cánepa Koch, Kummels, Figueroa und Ulfe / Málaga Sabogal) sowie aus Kolumbien (Reyes) und Mexiko (da Costa A. Petroni). Im Beitrag von Kraus dominieren Bilder aus Brasilien und dem Gran Chaco. Bilder aus Patagonien etwa werden Leser_innen vergeblich suchen.

Hinnerk Onken

Chakravarti, Leila Zaki: *Made in Egypt. Gendered Identity and Aspiration on the Globalised Shop Floor.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. 258 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-077-3. Price: \$ 110.00

“Made in Egypt” is an account of workers’ social worlds and of the moral constructs that they build so as to navigate their working lives. The ethnography is based on the author’s sojourn in 2004 as a participant observer

in the shop floor of a clothing-manufacturing firm based in the Export Processing Zone of the city of Port Said in Egypt that she called Fashion Express. Clothes in this and in similar factories are produced for international markets. Chakravarti’s immersive style is an excellent illustration of layered meanings as proposed by Geertz. In an almost architectural account, the author begins by describing the geographic, political, and historical landscape of the city of Port Said and of its industrial trajectory so as to locate the firm in a physical space and a historical moment. Next, Chakravarti describes the firm itself in terms of its history and economic activity. Then she arrives at the core of her work, that is about the people who create the firm as a moral, social, and economic entity. The author lingers at the core as she describes how the firm’s management instills order, loyalty, and functionality through the creation of a family ethos or what she calls “Firm as Family” by espousing values of respect (*ihitiram*), loyalty (*ikhlaas*), and solidarity/connect-edness (*taraabut*). Finally, the author zooms out again to illustrate how this socially constructed, personally experienced, and symbolically valuable core determines the fate of the economic relations that define the business of the firm. Through this investigation, the author guides her readers through the labyrinth of meanings that forge a social contract between workers and management; one that is drafted in terms that depart from the adversarial competitions between capital and labor.

The ethnography meets its dual objectives of providing an account of a “hidden community”; that of women and men working in the formal and private sector of the labor market and of interrogating this ethnography to explore issues of gender, religion, status, and class in the context of industrial production in an urban setting. The stories of both people and firm, however, also succeed in explaining why the humanistic lens of ethnography can provide necessary and often absent understanding of industrial and economic failures, injustices, dynamics, and challenges. “Made in Egypt” restores the importance of ethnography as a research tool that can puncture description so as to relay informed and iterative interpretations and even predictions.

The discursive practices that structure labor identity are shaped by the personal, the political, and the professional in Chakravarti’s three-dimensional mapping of the workplace. She illustrates the power of spatial organization that differentiate between ‘*edara* (management) and ‘*entag* (production) in terms of exposure and control. She describes the hurly-burly of the firm that stands in opposition to premises of Taylorism’s efficient processes. This firm goes through famine and feast cycles whereby orders cease, then flood in and whereby supervisors and workers manage these erratic cycles by putting in extra effort, running competitions, willing away free hours engaging in commerce or looking at catalogues of consumer items and accepting wage delays, while wishing for the robust sustainability of “their” firm. The third dimension, eloquently and expansively covered, concerns the agency and gendered identities of the workers themselves in terms of both their aspirations and their relations to one

another. The granularity of these accounts and of the snippets of charged personal choices and dreams are framed by a Foucauldian concept of power that shapes the practices of all parties and is the substance of all relationships.

The family that comprises the firm is littered with differentiations of class, gender, status, and power, but these fractures are mended and managed through idioms and ideals of familial and collective care and connectedness. The day-to-day of the factory is a series of stories, flirtations, competitions, sarcasms, and dreams of the future. The proprietor is the “father” of the firm who displays kindness and an engaged interest in his “children” who in turn are challenged to display their support and respect. However, these idealized relations are punctuated with practices of constant surveillance and spying as well as periodic ruptures caused by personal stand-offs and confrontations.

Throughout the narrative, Chakravarti connects these perceptions and constructs of familial belonging to aspects of production. She illustrates the precarious nature of employment for workers and contrasts it to the long service of the supervisors who through loyalty gained seniority, power, and work security. They are the sons and daughters of the firm. The other workers come and go in synchrony with the cycle of orders and the seasons. Family seeps into the firm at the managerial level too, as the proprietor relies on his son, in-laws, and cousin to manage the firm.

The to and fro from the poetic to the profound makes for good reading as when she describes when the patriarch visits the shop floor and “leaves behind the heady scent” of his expensive eau de toilette, which also means that wages will soon be paid. When wages are in arrears, the father disappears.

The firm is a production unit but is also a space where the evil eye must be countered through periodic religious rituals performed by a sheikh brought in specially by the proprietor and a set of gendered relationships that must be regulated and monitored, but it is also a resource upon which workers can rely for loans, exceptional payments, emergency funds, love interests, and social support.

The personal lives and lifestyles of some workers feature prominently in the three ethnographic chapters making it a character-driven narrative.

But the big picture is never lost, as the last chapter details the management take-over of the firm by a team of seemingly modernist and efficient professional managers who are brought in by the proprietor to save the factory from bankruptcy. This team promises the workers a future of stable and high incomes but soon runs the whole operation to the ground by virtue of an abrasive and divisive as well as ineffective and unfair approach to factory management. This team shatters the “firm-as-family” ethos on the altar of efficiency and profitability, but fails dismally to run the factory or to get orders.

The book ends with the news of the Fashion Express closure and the loss of livelihood for workers.

The book is a valuable addition to the ethnography of Egypt in general and to gender stories in particular. It succeeds in describing the inner lives of men and women

working in the firm and in charting their social and sexual agency and aspirations. The chapter on the shop floor supervisors is potent in its portrayal of gendered strategies that enable these senior persons to yield influence. The young male supervisor, Zaim, adopts masculinized religiosity so as to defend his space and influence in the face of the more experienced and older well respected and much trusted female supervisors. Drama, performativity, and all sorts of public displays of morality and of wisdom ensure that supervisors succeed in keeping the work force loyal, competitive, and productive. They also listen to the stories of workers and provide support, understanding, discipline, and guidance.

The book is well written and conveys the humanity of its characters. It counters dominant notions of female docility on the shop floor and of male domination. It even questions the facile ideas of the power of management over workers as it shows how all the employees of Fashion Express – men and women, *entag* and *edara*, young and old, the senior workers who had work security, and the temporarily employed precariat – faced the eminent closure of the factory and the failure of firms who had relied on globalized production for access to markets, but had no influence on how these relations of production are drafted and managed.

Hania Sholkamy

Cohen, Paul T. (ed.): *Charismatic Monks of Lanna Buddhism*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017. 266 pp. ISBN 978-87-7694-195-6. (NIAS Studies in Asian Topics, 57) Price: £ 18.99

The aim of this wonderful and skillfully edited volume is to shed light on new dynamics in Lanna Buddhism of Northern Thailand. There are beautiful pictures of the most charismatic monks of Lanna Buddhism on the cover – with Khruba Bunchum the most famous living saint and the father of all holy men in northern Thailand – the deceased but highly praised Khruba Siwichai, living in the second half of the 19th century. The charismatic monks, called holy men (*ton bun*) in Thai, are at the center of scholarly interest and at the center of Buddhist revitalization, not only in Lanna, but also in Shan State, Myanmar, and in Sipsong Panna, southwest China. Every chapter in this volume is empirically rich and worth reading on its own.

The volume is looking at the role of Buddhist holy men in a rapidly transforming world. The volume begins with a very helpful and informative introduction by the editor. As Cohen explains, northern Thailand has a strong millenarian Buddhist tradition, with expectations of the advent of the future Buddha Ariya Metteyya (Maitreya), who would liberate the peasants from exploitation and suffering and bring economic prosperity.

Cohen rightly underlines the Karen tradition of messianic leaders who aimed to establish strong moral proto-utopian communities guided by Buddhist injection. But unlike the northeastern Phi Bun tradition, the Karen leaders welcomed royal support when it was forthcoming and thus participated in the difficult path of national integration.