

African countries appear persistent, as technological advance allows industry to produce ever more with ever less need for labour. Efforts to improve the position of the poor primarily by expanding and improving employment, Ferguson argues, fail to acknowledge this basic fact: the global economy no longer needs so many workers. It is in this context that distributive politics are presented as taking on an urgent relevance. Ferguson provides an amusingly literal interrogation of the book's eponymous slogan to make the point. Do people really need to be taught to fish in a world of high-tech fisheries that shed jobs even as they increase production?

A closely related concern is an exploration of the alternative basis of entitlement implied by distributive political initiatives such as the proposed Basic Income Grant. Conditional and insurance-based welfare systems, revolving around the figure of the male breadwinner, have been bound up with a model of entitlement centred on the exchange of labour for wages. Legitimate beneficiaries in such systems show up as those unable to work. Distributive political claims, Ferguson argues, fundamentally question this centrality of labour and exchange in theorizing entitlement, along with the related understanding of welfare as an unreciprocated gift. Drawing on anthropological analyses of 'demand-sharing' in hunter-gatherer societies, Ferguson suggests that a contrasting model of entitlement founded upon sheer 'presence', and related to an insistence upon a 'rightful share', could provide the conceptual underpinning for a practical expansion of unconditional cash transfers into a potentially radical political project.

If political thought has much to learn from cash transfer programmes, however, Ferguson makes clear that ordinary people in southern African countries have long been developing their own forms of distributive claim. Dependence might be denigrated by productivist assumptions, but Ferguson analyses a range of everyday livelihood strategies as explicitly seeking out forms of dependency in order to facilitate distributive flows. This 'hard work of dependence' (p. 94) – described as playing out in social fields as diverse as landholding, migration, sex, and funerary practice – serves to bind overlapping networks of dependants into the income streams of those who do have access to cash. Wage labour may have previously been the central source of such flows, but Ferguson describes new cash transfer programmes as necessarily taking shape in the context of these quotidian distributive pressures: as pensioners, for example, come to be subject to the kinds of claim long aimed at migrant workers.

Overall, the book stands as a compelling manifesto for an 'inductive' politics of distribution grounded in ethnographic observation of 'what the world's disadvantaged actually do and say' (p. 140). The writing is clear and the analysis lucid throughout. Readers may be left wanting more extensive ethnographic treatment of the way existing cash transfer programmes are playing out, but the book comprises a powerful theoretical intervention, and can be expected to provoke anthropologists to undertake such studies.

DAVID COOPER *University College London*

FLYNN, ALEX & JONAS TINIUS (eds). *Anthropology, theatre, and development: the transformative potential of performance*. xiv, 368 pp., illus., bibliogr. London: Palgrave, 2015. £73.00 (cloth)

Eugenio Barba wrote: 'Theatre anthropology does not seek principles which are universally true, but rather directions which are useful' ('Theatre anthropology', *The Drama Review* 94, 1982, p. 5, original emphasis). This statement aptly summarizes the aims and utility of the edited volume *Anthropology, theatre, and development*. 'Development', a term laden with divergent understandings, is given useful direction through the series proposal that readers think through 'development as change' (p. viii, original emphasis), a theme that editors Flynn and Tiniius harness with effective centripetal force. This multidisciplinary collection articulates transformation as the root of what 'the theatre' and political performances can and will do – not just in terms of final outcomes and 'impact', but in how performers and audiences 'develop' the worlds they create together.

To unify the contributors' myriad takes on transformations, the editors suggest employing an analytical tool: 'relational reflexivity' (p. 5). Relational reflexivity demands an engagement with performers' internal processes of change as these impact upon, and are in turn impacted by, external processes of development, enabling examination of 'radical changes in people's conceptions of themselves and their understanding of wider political subjectivities' (p. 5). The collection's articles mobilize relational reflexivity by unpacking: performers' intensive processes of self-becoming; ways people collectively interpret, manage, and perform their imagined and 'real' worlds, particularly during moments of conflict and upheaval; and ways performance praxis and process interact with

institutions – state, religious, artistic – through entrenched rules and expectations.

The volume is presented in two parts: 'Ethnographies of political performance in developing contexts' (I) and 'Theatre as paradigm for social reflection: conceptual perspectives' (II), from which a selection is briefly highlighted here. Part I presents changes wrought through the processes of theatrically embodying protest. Flynn cogently focuses on the practice of *mística* performances as critical to the MST (Landless Workers Movement), '[envisaging] change within themselves and also collective change in the conception of political subjectivity' (p. 13). Jeffrey Juris examines 'protest theatrics' (p. 100) as ways activists controvert institutional and social expectations using artistic confrontations.

This section then looks to performative engagements in rule and justice. Here, Jane Plastow convincingly advances the concept of theatrical performance as one of literally 'taking space' (p. 111), citing bodily transformation from a physicality of shrinking to one which expands – through revision of self-value and a greater expectation of recognition – filling both staged and everyday spaces. Plastow simultaneously problematizes continuance of 'developed' being represented as 'correct', and questions how this influences development projects and their participants (p. 119).

Part II scrutinizes the relationship between performers, audiences, and institutions, calling to mind Richard Bauman's definition of communicative performance as 'responsibility to an audience' (*Verbal art as performance*, 1984, p. 11). The first three essays work well in concert: Tinius discusses the tension between performer developing 'self' as she affects (and is affected by) institutional expectations, and aesthetical aspirations (pp. 192-8). Rafael Schacter examines 'allegiance to the social body' (p. 216) through processes of masking and revelation, an argument Clare Foster's piece furthers through her understanding of the performer-audience relationship as the 'embodiment of a fractured, multiple and contradictory "we"' (p. 247). Artistic objectification of transformations wrought by conflict is provocatively discussed through several essays from arts writer Rolf Hemke (pp. 267-70, 273). Ethnographic application is directly and persuasively addressed by Nicholas Long and Caroline Gatt, both of whom look to theatrical praxis – verbatim theatre and research theatre, respectively – as a potentially transformational tool for anthropological representation.

The success of relational reflexivity becomes apparent in the unease that results from dividing

these essays into 'contextual' versus 'conceptual'; the collection is strongest in its moments of interconnection. Narratives are retold not only as a matter of ethnographic record, but, particularly in Dan Baron Cohen's offering, as ethical, methodological engagement (pp. 73-80), echoing Gatt's assertion that research theatre enables 'ways of knowing of the people we collaborate with to influence not only the content of our anthropological work, but also one's methods' (p. 338). Breed's presentation of (invisibly) scripted 'law-as-performance' in Rwanda's post-genocidal *gacaca* courts (p. 127) juxtaposed with scripted theatrical counterparts (p. 142) seemingly answers Foster's contribution on the 'collective meaning-making' potential of theatrical performance processes (p. 18) as well as reflecting on similar challenges to those presented by Rau (pp. 283-4) and Schuler (pp. 294-300) regarding the institutional restriction of social transformation.

Ultimately, mobilizing 'change' as the locus for what is otherwise a highly diverse interdisciplinary assemblage is compelling as a cohesive thesis *because* it defies division between contextual and conceptual. This volume therefore not only challenges readers to question processes that typically nest under the term *development*; it demands re-examination of embedded conventions concerning ethnographic practice and representations. This yields deep implications for anthropological and theatrical practices, providing very useful directions for future thought.

KELLY FAGAN ROBINSON *University College London*

MALKKI, LIISA H. *The need to help: the domestic arts of international humanitarianism*. x, 270 pp., illus., bibliogr. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2015. £17.99 (paper)

*The need to help* is an ambitious book that aims to demystify humanitarianism as an ideology and practice of selflessness. It is inspired by Liisa Malkki's long-term engagement (beginning in 1996) with the Finnish Red Cross doctors and nurses who worked with the International Committee of the Red Cross in Rwanda, Goma, and Burundi (where Malkki previously conducted her ethnographic research, *Purity and exile*, 1995) and supplemented by data derived from an extended participant observation in the humanitarianism context in Finland. Malkki argues that, contrary to the popular assumption surrounding humanitarian motivation, and the work