according to Willford, a sense of historicity of both their place in the landscape and of their own subjugation.

The story of retrenchment is told in fragments. Willford moves from plantation to plantation, and from rural temples to high-rise apartments. The fragmented narrative reflects the fracturing of communities under plantation retrenchment and ethnic marginalization at the hands of the law.

He also offers an informative history of Malaysia's plantations and Tamils' place within them. As in other British colonial contexts, Tamils were brought to Malaysia because the British believed them to be ideal (read: docile) "coolies." And as in other plantation contexts, the Tamil labor force became permanently settled. Scholars of plantations will recognize this story, as well as the ways in which Tamils themselves narrate this history: how, as Willford puts it—following Jacques Derrida—they create their own "archive."

Tamil claims to land, which Willford discusses at length in their relationship to recognition, stem from an almost Lockean notion of property. Tamils helped construct the plantation landscape, yet contemporary Malaysian law does not recognize former land use as a significant rights-based claim. In the eyes of the law, Tamils are merely laborers—or, more precisely, ex-laborers. The search for compensation, in other words, becomes a method of reconstituting a community that is being legally erased. In one of the book's most compelling examples of mobilization, SUARAM (*Suara Rakyat Malaysia*, or Malaysian People's Voice) activists aided Tamils seeking to keep their land as developers swallowed it up to build high-priced residential subdivisions. SUARAM worked to identify sympathetic judges who might draw on principles of English common law in hearing Tamil land claims. These judges might possibly recognize that "land use was being capriciously driven by a real estate market created, ironically, by the labor of those being displaced by it" (126).

The book moves from struggles for compensation and recognition on plantations to descriptions of riots and increased ethno-religious animosity as Tamils resettle off the plantations. Willford pushes for a view of ethnic tension as fundamentally rooted in a profound uncertainty about identity. In one of the book's more tightly woven ethnographic set pieces, Willford takes us inside the high-rise apartments that house former plantation laborers. It is here—as in so many other instances of slum resettlement around the world—that the state's betrayal of its laboring poor minority is rendered spatially palpable. As they deal with the loss of garden space and community buildings provided on plantations, Tamils struggle with how to incorporate religious space into tower blocks. How to reconstitute the Hindu temples destroyed on the old plantations to make way for mosques that now serve residential subdivisions? Whose icons will be re-created, and whose temples will be consolidated when space is at a premium?

This book, then, is a story of how Tamils lost their homes and temples, how they were resettled into high-rise ghettoes that fractured their communities, and how that ghettoization fueled ethnic violence and marginalized them within very the nation-state where they live and which they have called home for generations. Willford uses lengthy explications of Derrida and Jacques Lacan to situate these dispossessions. Doing so, he attempts to tell a story—which would be familiar to scholars of ethnic and racial politics in India or even the contemporary United States—in a way that goes beyond staid narratives of structural violence. Fully engaging Willford's argument, however, requires a fairly deep familiarity with Continental literary and psychoanalytic theory. For this reason, the classroom appeal of the book may be limited, even though the story of how economic dispossession becomes conjugated with ethnic and religious marginalization is a timely one.

Land's End: Capitalist Relations on an Indigenous Frontier. *Tania Murray Li*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. 225 pp.

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Rural poverty exists worldwide and is expanding. Explanations of the causes of poverty often focus on the impacts of outside forces, especially large capitalist companies and their agents. At the same time, efforts to deal with this poverty and related problems largely focus on economic growth. In *Land's End*, Tania Murray Li complicates this picture for the highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. In twenty years of research through several visits to the Lauje region of Sulawesi, Li observed dynamic layers of intertwined changes in both social and land relations that led to some people in the highlands prospering while many others were cut off from access to land and opportunities to earn a livelihood. The value of her analysis is that the voices of these people are considered in terms of their own explanations of the changes, the places in which they had agency and choice, and the ways in which they found themselves without real options. She unpacks the history of the emergence of capitalist relations in the highlands in order both to critique development schemes (mainstream and alternative alike) for not paying attention to the complexities of this history and to understand the highlanders' roles in this process.

Li does not present a single factor as a primary cause for the rise of poverty among the highlander population. Nor does she establish the highlanders as passive victims of capitalist growth. Instead she examines their choices and the multiple factors at different points in time that

contributed to why individuals behaved the way they did. In doing so, she does not idealize an indigenous past in which people had harmonious relations with the land and took care of each other within the community. Rather, Li demonstrates the hardships of life for different groups of Lauje, from the coast to the middle highland to the inner highlands, and the desires that emerged as they came into contact over time with various outsiders, from traders to the Dutch colonists to missionaries to the central Indonesian government. Lauje were not an isolated, homogenous indigenous group, but a fluid congeries of people linked through language and kinship. She calls Lauje settlements "neighborhoods" in order to stress their fluidity, and while she focuses on the people who live in three of these neighborhoods in the middle highlands, Li places their situations and choices within the broader social and economic changes that occurred across the region.

Li lays out these changes over time, following patterns of economic and environmental evolution. Each chapter assesses an aspect of these changes, beginning with the historical relations that existed for the two centuries before 1990, when Li first went to the Lauje highlands. From the macro she moves to the micro, exploring the relations of what she calls "work and care" during a period when the highlanders had plenty of land and grew their own food. Individuals had access to land for their own use, and there was plenty of opportunity to open new areas in the primary forest. Individuals, even within families, owned the products of their work but shared responsibility to care for kin and neighbors in times of need.

With this context as background, Li then focuses on what happened when, starting in the 1990s, highlanders shifted from predominantly growing food (both for their own consumption and to sell to people from the coast) to planting cacao trees on common land. Here she makes a strong theoretical contribution to understanding how the concept of land ownership emerges in horticulturalist societies. The dynamic process did not follow the models of loss of indigenous common land usually described as outside forces pressuring highlanders and grabbing their land. Lauje highlanders readily recognized individual ownership once someone planted trees, but they debated who had the right to plant where. Even though people accepted the shift to individual ownership, its impact was to create "enclosures" from which some people were excluded, as individual Lauje responded opportunistically to outside circumstances.

Li then takes up the impacts of enclosures into the 2000s. She examines how capitalist relations emerged and competition and profit became the definers of status, social relations, and land relations. Inequalities grew rapidly, even within families, as some people acquired the capital to obtain significant amounts of land and others found themselves at the "land's end," with no primary forest on which to establish new plots. Li looks at the political responses of the Lauje highlanders and at the limited options they have for dealing with these inequalities and rural poverty.

The concept of the "analytic of conjuncture" (16) enables Li to weave together the wide range of elements that contributed to the situations the highlanders face, from economic factors to the materiality of crops and trees to shifting social relations. She presents these factors as dynamic, ever responding to each other and to new elements introduced from outside. Li incorporates both meaning and practice over time, factoring in how highlanders explain things themselves as well as how the academic theories that inform her work contribute to constructing understandings. The combination of the ethnographic longevity of her work with the theoretical sophistication of her analysis results in a provocative account of growing inequality and dynamic capitalist relations. The case studies and stories Li relates bring these elements to life, but the implications stretch far beyond the Lauje highlands. As she deftly and subtly indicates throughout the book, in both the text and footnotes, the complications she observed among the Lauje neighborhoods should be considered in other places and for other peoples around the world. Too often, she argues, development schemes are based on incomplete understandings or simplistic explanations, dooming such schemes to degrees of failure. Li asks tough questions about how development plans are made. Although she does not analyze specific development projects in depth themselves, she demonstrates how those targeted in such schemes need to be included in the process and listened to over time. Li does not simply argue against capitalist growth, but demonstrates the desperation of those at the land's end and the need for what she calls a "politics of distribution" (185) if people are truly going to find ways out of poverty. I found her approach and analysis refreshing and disturbing, as she shows that economic growth and development are not easy fixes to complicated problems. This book is worth reading, pondering, and comparing with other places and people in regions where the abundance of forests are giving way to private property anchored by cash crops.

Cora Du Bois: Anthropologist, Diplomat, Agent. *Susan C. Seymour*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. 423 pp.

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There are obviously many possible relationships between biographer and hero. In this case, the adulation that Susan C. Seymour feels for Cora Du Bois, her PhD advisor at Harvard, is informed by a kind of middle-class, glass-ceiling