

In chapter 3 the authors further examine the potential of digital tools. They are concerned with ways to document, organise and examine data, and consider social networking software as a way to construct participatory environments, especially in regard to cultural heritage projects, advocating 'multivocality in decentering the knowledge and authority of the scholar' (p.45). The subsequent chapter, which is written by Underberg and computer scientist Rudy McDaniel, presents insights into the use of extensible mark-up language (XML) as a tool to follow multiple paths through documents or narratives. They do so by referring to three rather diverse examples: the coding of vocation stories Underberg collected among Benedictine sisters in Peru, the creation of computer games for cultural heritage educational purposes and the employment of XML in a website concerned with the Puerto Rican diaspora in Central Florida.

In the last two chapters the authors focus on what they call 'cultural learning', i.e. on the design of digital environments for educational purposes such as video games where users learn by moving through virtual space. For this they present in detail a computer game that is based on a Spanish folktale recorded in the 1930s in Ybor City, Florida, a town once known for its cigar production by Cuban immigrants. Based on a research project by Underberg, the game is designed for middle and high school students and structured in five lessons teaching the students about social, cultural and economic aspects of Ybor City's history.

One could debate the extent to which the notion of digital ethnography is appropriate for cultural representations in computer games, despite the fact that these games are at least partly based on ethnographic knowledge. Moreover, one could also question the authors' definition of the concept *per se*, as too narrowly focused on representation and narration, i.e. on the products of ethnographic research rather than on the process of conducting it. Thus, readers who associate 'digital ethnography' with conducting online fieldwork in social media and virtual worlds will miss this aspect in the volume. However, those who seek a detailed account of the employment of digital tools for organising data, developing websites and computer games will find the book a useful and

inspiring contribution to the emerging sub-field of digital anthropology.

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Weiss, Erica. 2014. *Conscientious objectors in Israel: citizenship, sacrifice, trials of fealty*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. 216 pp. Hb.: US\$49.95. ISBN: 978-0812245929.

Israel is a highly militarised society. At the heart of Israel's armed forces lies the system of conscription: men are typically drafted for three years of service, women for two years. As this powerful ethnography reveals, refusing to join the ranks of the military often results in severe social sanctions. 'What I am really afraid of afterwards is the career', says a young Israeli contemplating conscientious objection. 'If am asked at job interviews what I did in the army, what will I say?' (p.99). Conscientious objection, he believes, will destroy the prospect of a career in politics. Another young man wants to train as a musician, but he has heard that musicians who refuse military service are systematically boycotted. A young woman worries about a proposed law to deny driver's licences to people suspected of shirking their military duties. Yet another believes it is impossible to become a medical doctor or psychologist without enlistment.

The conscientious objectors resist the hegemony of hawks in Israeli society. Though they may be marginal and maligned in public discourse, they are troubled by decades of occupation. They seem to realise that all revolutions begin with revulsion, and that precisely because 'the state needs bodies that can absorb bullets, kill, and die a principled death' (p.95), state authority is fragile and contestable. Over the course of three years, Weiss competently tracks and traces the trajectories of two activist groups: Combatants for Peace, consisting largely of older, war-weary Israeli and Palestinian ex-combatants, and New Profile, a youthful feminist organisation made up mainly of pacifists and women. While the Combatants

for Peace are able to reach a mainstream audience in stylised public ‘confessions’ because they are endowed with prestige and symbolic authority derived from the state, the New Profile objectors are consigned to an underground existence, attracting leftist, anti-establishment youths with intellectual proclivities, enamoured by veganism and rebellious rock music – and therefore derided by conventional society.

Both groups share a rejection of the *sacrificial economy*, the central analytic construct in Weiss’ work, capturing the ‘ways that sacrifice can be exchanged for honor and authority in society’ (p. 20). Israel’s sacrificial economy generates a series of dualising distinctions, placing Jews over Arabs, (European) Ashkenazi Jews over (Middle Eastern) Mizrahi Jews, men over women, the strong over the weak, the wealthy over the poor (p. 166). The military at once absorbs and reinforces hierarchies: Arabs are not required to serve in the military, thereby strengthening the ethnonational bifurcation of Israeli society. Women serve a lesser amount of time, and when they refuse they are less likely to be jailed than men. Orthodox Jews often do not serve at all, on grounds of religious exemption. Middle-class citizens are better equipped to negotiate the bureaucracy of pacifism in the Orwellian-sounding Conscience Committee, which grants exemptions largely to those who are able to frame their objection in terms of a pathological, visceral aversion to violence rather than a systemic repudiation of state authority.

For their refusal to serve, Israeli conscientious objectors often end up paying a high price and they are faced with an array of punitive sanctions: jail sentences, dismissal from the military and a renunciation of the symbolic profits available to those that serve. They face ostracism by the community, ‘rejections by loved ones and strangers alike who could not accept what they had done’ (p. 30). Since the armed forces are a hallowed institution, steeped in grandiose national myths about the ‘need for an aggressive posture of self-defense’ (p. 41), refusal entails sacrificing the profits of sacrifice. Israeli conscription is too closely entwined in the Biblical tale of Abraham’s offering of Isaac to God, or the story of Jewish mass suicide in the face of a Roman attack during the Siege of

Masada, or the fear of encirclement in an assumedly hostile region – in short, too tied up in national ideals of sacrifice and strength – to be rejected without repercussion.

The book is at its strongest when Weiss offers an almost journalistic rendering of scenes and situations. The work could have been edited more closely. Theoretical disquisitions could have been cut in places to make room for more descriptive detail. Still, Weiss has written an evocative, incisive and brave ethnography that brings home the trials and tribulations of resisting the state. One can only hope that Weiss will continue to provide readers with outstanding scholarship on those sparse voices that may yet carry the best chance of yielding a lasting peace.

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Winter, Trish and Simon Keegan-Phipps. 2013. *Performing Englishness: identity and politics in a contemporary folk resurgence* (New Ethnographies). Manchester: Manchester University Press. 224 pp. Hb.: US\$81.37/£60. ISBN: 978-0719085390.

I was a morris-dancing anthropologist. And so it was with a pang for my own English fieldwork that I saw the cover of Trish Winter and Simon Keegan-Phipps’ contribution to Manchester University Press’ burgeoning series of new British ethnographies. The cover shows a white-shirted dancer, complete with crossed baldrics and jolly floral crown. It’s a familiar image: in town square and comedy sketch, the garden variety morris dancer is easy to spot in the English wild.

From morris to melody, English folk music and dance is observably amidst a contemporary *resurgence* (a word that Winter and Keegan-Phipps choose carefully). This clearly written and neatly organised book delves into the increasingly lively folk scene. Over the past decade folk has gained popularity and prominence, and the book’s first, most substantive part charts this progression. Two chapters then illumine professional(-ising) performance, and explore folk’s growing, hybrid