

and Dwayne after 2013, it is difficult to recognize freedom here and to align with Lewis's claim of repair. Rather, the text reads as a cautionary tale of pursuing a sovereign self through the "satirical" appropriation of liberal capitalist technologies.

Scammer's Yard is an important ethnography in contesting the pathologizing of the urban poor and the vilification of the scammer as a heartless, predatory criminal figure. While Lewis's framing of the scam as a reparative practice is difficult to accept, the author makes a critical intervention to theory and praxes of liberation by offering seizure as an ethical postcolonial mode for not only coping with but also challenging political-economic stagnation. While scamming may not get us

to Black liberation, it articulates a necessary refusal of the normative conditions of postcolonial Blackness as one stops waiting for what will not be given and takes what is owed.

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REFERENCE CITED

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DOI: 10.1111/aman.13706

Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent: A History of Local Archaeological Knowledge and Labor

Allison Mickel

Louisville: University of Colorado Press, 2021. 203 pp.

Reconciling historically fraught social dynamics inherent in archaeology projects with foreign archaeologists who manage local community members employed as excavators is an obvious challenge. Yet, given disciplinary changes in archaeology, it is important to question if and how these relationship dynamics have evolved and whether laborers believe that they also contribute expertise to the archaeological research process. Allison Mickel addresses these questions in her book, which is based on about two years of ethnographic fieldwork with two long-term, large-scale archaeological excavations in the Middle East: Çatalhöyük in Turkey and Petra in Jordan. Using interviews and archival records of earlier archaeology projects at these sites, Mickel explains the labor conditions during a different era of archaeology when manual excavation practices were separated from documentation and interpretation. Then, given the development of contemporary archaeological theory and methodology toward multivocality and community engagement, she addresses the structural conditions of labor management with the more recent projects at these sites under new foreign directors.

Initial excavations at both archaeological sites began in 1961: James Mellaart directed excavations at Çatalhöyük, a Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlement, and Philip C. Hammond at Petra, a Nabataean kingdom. Both directors hired dozens of laborers—almost exclusively men—from local communities each season. These laborers endured precarious work and were rarely officially recognized. Fifty years later, at the start of Mickel's fieldwork, directors with vastly different approaches to archaeology oversaw new projects at these sites. Ian Hodder promotes progressive methodologies with the Çatalhöyük Research Project, such as community-based participatory research and the inclusion of ethnography. Christopher A. Tuttle also seeks to engage the local community nearby excavations at the Temple of the

Winged Lions in Petra through thorough documentation and responsible conservation. Both Hodder and Tuttle desire to change working relationships between project management and community laborers and intend their hiring strategies to be more inclusive, like hiring women and hiring beyond extended families. However, according to Mickel, laborers at these projects still do not see themselves as contributing beyond the manual work of excavation.

Curious if local excavators are interested in participating in archaeological knowledge production, Mickel observes that they deny expertise and reliably defer to project directors. Her understanding is what she calls "lucrative non-knowledge," or how archaeological laborers rationally maximize their financial gain from the archaeology industry by downplaying their knowledge and skill set, instead promoting a performative identity that foreign archaeologists might prefer. For instance, at Çatalhöyük, local laborers portray themselves as "proxy Neolithic subjects, reliving the foodways and lifestyles of the ancient inhabitants of the archaeological site" (p. 158). The Bedouin laborers similarly perform as Nabataean. This, sadly, is a vestige of foreign-led archaeology that developed in the Middle East and elsewhere during colonialism. Mickel notes this phenomenon around the globe and argues that archaeologists continue to, even if unintentionally, perpetuate structures of labor management that are hierarchical and that disenfranchise local community members.

The book comprises an introduction, conclusion, and six body chapters. Chapter 1 offers background of the two case studies and contrasts the archaeological excavation practices of the early 1960s to methodologies associated with postprocessual archaeologies. Chapter 2 provides social network analysis visualizations to demonstrate the social structure of relationships between members of these projects. Chapter 3 describes barriers that prevent local laborers from participating in more formal archaeological interpretation despite working on projects that promote community engagement. In chapter 4, Mickel expands on her concept of "lucrative non-knowledge" to explain why laborers do not claim archaeological expertise. Chapter 5 explores how this concept applies in other regions around the world that share a history of colonialism and excavations led by either foreigners or settlers. In chapter 6, Mickel suggests that project directors involve laborers in

various forms of documentation, or “inclusive recording,” such as photography and video, to enable better science, and she shares results from photography projects at Çatalhöyük and Petra.

Ultimately, Mickel concludes that despite the intention of greater inclusivity through community engagement, there is still a gap in getting local laborers to participate in archaeological interpretation. For a discipline with a history so entrenched in colonialism and Orientalism, it is crucial that its practitioners, scholars, and students—all of whom this book should be of interest to—continue reflecting upon their labor practices and ways of producing knowledge. *Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent* is an important assessment of archaeological labor and contributes to a growing literature on the ethnography of archaeological practice. The book offers hope with its suggestion of adopting visual

media and storytelling to better incorporate local knowledge in the archaeological process. It also raises the question about which measures foreign archaeologists are undertaking to go beyond community engagement with their own excavations, such as supporting more locally led archaeology and heritage projects.

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Tales from Albarado: Ponzi Logics of Accumulation in Postsocialist Albania

Smoki Musaraj

Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020. 216 pages.

Tales from Albarado takes an anthropological perspective on the boom and bust of the 1990s pyramid firms in Albania. The ethnography seeks to understand how people became attracted to the speculative logic of the firms, whose collapse led to a serious economic crisis in the country. Musaraj situates the pyramid firms' popularity within the political and economic transformations of the postsocialist period. The author traces how neoliberal reforms, transnational social networks, and ideas of a European modernity came together to account for the rise of the schemes. She takes the financial practices at the margins of global capital as an instance to think more generally about speculative finance in the context of neoliberal transformations.

The ethnography expands the study of speculative finance, which has mainly focused on global financial centers, to contexts of low finance. Drawing on a wide range of anthropological concepts, Musaraj investigates the “discourses, materialities, socialities and temporalities” (p. 17) through which the pyramid firms proliferated. The book is based on ethnographic fieldwork in Tirana and Vlora between 2008 and 2016, during which the author conducted archival research and interviews with former investors and managers of the schemes. As the author could not rely on participant observation, her account is in large parts a reconstruction of the events of the 1990s, although, especially in the last chapter, she draws parallels between the pyramid firms and economic practices in present-day Albania.

The book's perhaps most important finding is that participants in the pyramid schemes saw the schemes as legitimate capitalist firms. This perception of the firms was supported by official institutions, political leaders, and media coverage. By investigating the economic and social contexts that make speculative financial practices possible and legiti-

mate, the author is able to make a case in support of the argument that financial bubbles are not some sort of irrational “mania” but that they lie at the heart of capitalist economies. It was not the ignorance of capitalism but the economic processes of the transition period that fueled Albania's pyramid firm boom.

Tales from Albarado is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 investigates how local discourses of finance and entrepreneurship in 1990s Albania legitimized speculative forms of finance. The author traces how the firms gained legitimacy through political support, newspaper reports, or cultural representations of masculinity. Noteworthy is also the legitimacy the schemes could gain from the widespread tolerance of informal economic practices. The chapter provides a fascinating analysis of the discursive shift that occurred with the collapse of the firms, from legitimate to illegitimate, from that of the owners as powerful and honorable male capitalists to feminized representations of fraudulent magicians. Whereas initially the pyramid firms had been recognized as sound capitalist enterprises, their failings were framed as speculative bubbles or crises.

The second chapter deals with the changes to the forms and functions of money in the period of postsocialist transformation. Musaraj argues that whereas in the socialist economy money had been limited to being a medium of exchange and payment, it became also a store of value and a source of socioeconomic mobility in the capitalist economy. The demand for cash made the pyramid firms attractive, especially because access to formal banking institutions was limited at the time. With regard to this context, the author discusses the materiality of the schemes, in particular the image of stacks and sacks of cash that featured prominently in her interlocutors' memories. The chapter also traces how privatization vouchers and remittances became important sources for investment in the schemes.

Chapter 3 explores the role of social ties for the functioning of the pyramid firms. It looks at the role of intermediaries, such as managers who worked for the firms and were key figures in establishing public trust in the schemes. Moreover, social relations were very important in mobilizing transnational migrant networks as a source of cash. The