

is restored to community. Religion, in a Tocquevillian way, beautifully harmonizes American individualism and community.

I'd argue that *Talladega Nights* offers as good an example as any for the era of millennial prayers. When Ricky Bobby prays to the "eight-pound, six-ounce newborn infant Jesus," he can't help but move almost immediately to "We just thank You for all the races I've won and 21.2 million dollars—Woo!" (291). A prayer that's ultimately self-congratulating and includes product placement captures the essence of American popular piety. The latent dig at Christian culture in the South shouldn't be missed, nor Lindvall's more general comments about this period. "Humor in prayer in the millennium reflects a more informal approach to faith" (291). I would add that a pervasive irony concerning religion makes such humor palatable.

Certainly, in a COVID-19 world—but even before—Americans had moved from the big screen to the small ones we have in our homes and in our hands. I'd personally like to hear more about this development in the book. Lindvall does note *Esquire's* 1970 analysis "that movies shaped the moral and spiritual condition of American youth more than schools and churches" (159). He also discusses Robert Wuthnow's work on the shift in the 1960s away from religion to spirituality (158), and the transformation from "spiritual dwellers to spiritual seekers" (5). I am certainly persuaded that students of American religion need to look toward popular culture to see the actual religious practices of Americans. Still, while the author shows how film *reflects* prayer, he's not as strong on how cinematic transcendence shapes and may even replace piety.

Lindvall concludes that, in some ways, American films teach us what to do, religiously speaking. "Alas, so it is that movies," laments Lindvall, "in aiming at authenticity and verisimilitude or sheer fantasy and satire, indirectly, and mostly unintentionally, provide a primer on how one is to pray" (328). That seems accurate to a degree, and yet my concern, as a student of contemporary American spiritual life, is whether we as moviegoers end up taking this cinematic advice. Or whether films, as Updike pointed out, provide us with a version of transcendence, which we sit back and experience. And then we let the films do the praying for us.

Greg Cootsona, California State University–Chico

*The Insider/Outsider Debate: New Perspectives in the Study of Religion*. Edited by George D. Chryssides and Stephen E. Gregg. Equinox, 2019. 434 pages. \$105.00 cloth, \$42.00 paper; ebook available.

Since the twentieth-century shift in cultural studies away from a positivist scientific objectivity in fieldwork toward a model of naturalism,

then to an interpretive and phenomenological approach, the distinction between “insiders” and “outsiders” has continued to be problematic in both the social sciences and humanities. Previous studies on the insider/outsider “problem” within anthropology and religious studies have rejected the notion that ethnographic accounts can represent social reality in a rather straightforward way; they argued for an increasing recognition of reflexivity, which implies that there are certain elements of positivism and naturalism that must be abandoned while simultaneously reflecting deeply upon the role and position of the ethnographer in the field. This anthology, written by a diverse range of scholars, extends this discussion from a multidisciplinary approach.

*The Insider/Outsider Debate* is an immense volume separated into two parts with twenty articles. The contributors not only question the usefulness of the categories insider and outsider, but also clearly demonstrate that these are false dichotomies. As Stephen E. Gregg and George D. Chrystides state in the first chapter, “there are no clear definitions of insider and outsider, and . . . the best classifications that are based on belonging or not belonging need to be much more nuanced” (11). Therefore, in understanding religious identity and subjectivity, the authors argue for a new framework that goes beyond insider/outsider binaries and takes into consideration a variety of positionalities and “relational categories of outsideness.” Following this line of thought, Steven J. Sutcliffe in chapter 2 re-examines emic and etic distinctions, specifically arguing that an emic and etic understanding of defining New Age Movements, spirituality, and “seekership” demonstrate the fraught nature of epistemology in the study of religion. That, “recovery of the emic/etic distinction can enhance alterity and difference in representations, enabling scholars to compare and translate divergent knowledge claims as part of systematic study without losing either specificity or the ability to generate comparison” (46).

Particularly useful for ethnographers in Part One is Marie Dallam’s essay on the space of lived fieldwork ethics and the binaries of right and wrong. As a cultural anthropologist myself, I could immediately relate to Dallam when she states that, “the reality is that we are rarely neutral figures in our own research, and distinguishing correct practices from errors can be a murky business” (71). Here we see the complicated intersection of research design and that of being in the field. For, as Dallam rightly points out, identity disclosure, relationships with subjects, or participation in religious rituals call into question the extent to which one conducts overt and or covert research. Furthermore, while we as ethnographers strive to “do no harm,” as Dallam goes on to say, “ethics are frequently fluid and situational” (84).

The blurred boundaries between insider and outsider are carefully problematized throughout the text. Fiona Bowie pays close attention to this through an examination of Amerindian perspectivism, Normandy

witchcraft, and the disciplinary boundaries in the academic study of spirit possession and mediumship. Part One concludes with Tom Wilson and Naomi E. Thurston examining how forthright one should be with interlocutors about aspects of personal identity, the ongoing oscillation between Christian identity and the practice of theology as part and parcel to methodology, and self-conscious modes of outsider-ness that are being discursively constructed and employed by contemporary Chinese scholars of Christian studies.

In Part Two, contributors focus primarily on identity politics in the study of religion. Steven Jacobs details his brief yet insightful encounter with two Hindu gurus—Swami Divyananda Saraswati and Sri Sri Ravi Shankar. Jacobs argues that these two anecdotal accounts draw much needed attention to a “third space” of being neither an outsider nor insider, and that this points out that, “the outsider’s failure ‘to grasp the native’s point of view’ is not an obstacle to ethnographic research,” but, “provides valuable insight into the world of others” (220). This third space can also be seen in Dan Cohn-Sherbok’s chapter on modern Jewish identity and the widespread recognition and acceptance of the individual character of Jewish experience. Lyndel Spence captivates the reader with an article on the women’s ordination movement in the Roman Catholic Church and the efficacy of a virtualized religion—specifically how members “are able to use forms of social media to subvert the dominant attitudes towards women in the Catholic Church and to provide an alternative form of religious expression for disaffected women and men within the Catholic Church” (266).

Part Two emphasizes and elucidates how individual religiosity is multi-layered and bound up in religious hybridity and bricolage, by utilizing examples such as nominal Muslims in Yogyakarta in Central Java, Indonesia; Buddhist communities within the United States; what it means to be Catholic after Vatican II; and the ongoing tension between Free Zone Scientologists—those who identify as Scientologists, but are not involved with the Church of Scientology—and the Church of Scientology.

The book concludes with an in-depth look at apostates of new religious movements. In chapter 19 George D. Cryssides argues that, “ex-member testimony should not be disregarded, but it should not be privileged either . . . the vociferous hostile ex-member should not be regarded as speaking on behalf of all who leave that organization” (389). Carole M. Cusack, in her intriguing consideration of conversion, believing, and belonging in Kerista Commune and the School of Economic Science Forums, makes visible the ways in which insideness and outsideness are intimately connected multifaceted categories of being in the world.

*The Insider/Outsider Debate* is a comprehensive study of the ways in which religious identity and our relationships with both colleagues and

informants do not fit into clearly defined categories. This is a text that not only contributes to an ongoing methodological discussion within academia, but also shows that notions of insider and outsider, like the cultures we study, are not static, but always changing through time.

Tarryl Janik, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

*Global Sufism: Boundaries, Structures, and Politics*. Edited by Francesco Piraino and Mark Sedgwick. Hurst Publishers, 2019. 299 pages. £35.00 cloth; ebook available.

Initiated through the proceedings of a 2017 conference in Venice, Italy, this edited volume effectively shatters many interrelated shibboleths we still cling to in our understanding and teaching of Sufism—that Sufism in the West is stripped from Islam; that Sufism is quietist, passive, or at most a pawn to hegemonic politics; that Sufis are expansively inclusive rather than exclusive; and that Sufis are typically on the fringes of defining Islam. In twelve chapters plus an introduction, experts in Sufism from Europe and North America reveal the boundaries, structures, and politics—as the subtitle indicates—that exist in Sufism today.

Several chapters largely serve to challenge, or at least update, the characterization that Sufism in North America and Europe is largely stripped of Islam. In chapter 2, Mark Sedgwick argues and traces a history in which Sufism was principally presented as “the essence of all religions,” a universal/perennial spirituality, rather than part of the Islamic tradition. However, there was frequently a re-rooting of Sufism in Islam and the *shari‘a* in the 1980s and later, as evidenced by the discourse of Sufi teachers, a moving towards *salah* (prayer), Ramadan fasting, avoidance of pork and alcohol, and some mild separations of space by gender. Chapter 7, by William Rory Dickson and Merin Shobhana Xavier, gives evidence of a reordering of Sufi organizations in the West—from the 1970s to the present—towards the classical *tariqa*/Sufi-order model, primarily in response to four social conditions, including a revival globally of traditionalism as being ideological capital that marks authenticity and significance.

The volume demonstrates that Sufi leaders have been quite agile in adapting their activities to cultural and political conditions not just to make their movements survive but to flourish. In Chapter 9 Florian Volm tracks the situational-based self-presentation of the Gülen movement, “Sufi” to a Western audience that generally views Sufism positively, while “not-Sufi” within Turkey itself since *tariqa* activity continues to be illegal in the Republic of Turkey. In chapter 10, Simon Stjernholm unfolds the ways in which Muslim speakers are chosen for the Swedish public radio program the “Morning Service” for their approach to their religion that