

very thing you are being attentive towards (i.e. a community), then how accurate is the analysis of the community's needs to begin with? A reflexive analysis concerning the role of city branding and gentrifying practices would be a welcome addition to this text in order to assuage these concerns.

In sum, Waldemar Cudny has written an erudite text that examines the ideological and practical realities of city branding within the context of management strategies, in a manner which is approachable to all readers. The lack of reflexivity concerning the role of city branding and gentrification, however, is a frustrating omission which merits attention and has a place within the wider debate around the development and strategic implementation of city branding practices.

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Film

HOLTEDAHL, LISBET. *Wives*. 85 mins. DVD, colour.
London: RAI, 2017. £50 (institutional); £5 (home)

The subject of polygamy often evokes mixed sentiments and sometimes outright rage from opponents who hold that polygynous marriages are patriarchal schemes designed to gratify men at the expense of women. A viewer of *Wives*, Lisbet Høltedahl's ethnographic film, may easily arrive at this conclusion after 85 minutes spent in the company of the household of Al Hajji, a retired Muslim judge (Alkali) who lives in the northern Cameroonian town of Ngaoundere with his children and wives. Far from being a celebration of patriarchal command, *Wives* is a nuanced portrayal of what life as a co-wife feels and looks like, what it entails to be the husband of a coterie of wives, and the tensions, ambiguities, and precarity of living in a fast-changing world where one's values or convictions may no longer hold sway. If anything, *Wives* may be understood as an ethnographic tribute to women in polygamous marriages, first by witnessing how they make sense of their conditions and then, importantly, by documenting their exercise of agency in creating and recreating the essence of being.

The central subject of *Wives*, Al Hajji, is a serial polygamist who over his lifetime has married over eleven wives and fathered thirty-two children. Early in the film, he acknowledges the primacy of women and of wifehood in the constitution of social life. 'A man without a wife has no home',

he tells his interlocutor. 'Without a wife, even a castle is nothing but a hut with a fence'. As an Alkali and Islamic scholar, Al Hajji always has four wives at any given time, even remarrying Aminatou in his final years, a wife he had previously divorced. He justifies himself by reference to Islam and the Prophet Muhammad, who Al Hajji claims left nine wives and two concubines at the time of his death. Except for a few scenes, the film follows Al Hajji around his residence as he attends to his students and interacts with his children and wives, especially Hajja, the head wife. What does it entail to balance relations with wives living in such close proximity to each other? Al Hajji believes the secret is to 'keep them calm' at all times by providing for their needs, and by maintaining a fair and balanced schedule in his rotational visits to each wife. With respect to fatherhood, he oversees his children's religious instruction and leaves their secular training to the state schools. Hajja has been married to Al Hajji for forty-three years and is his most loyal and trusted wife. But even though she undertook the Haj with her husband, she feels long abandoned by him as he seems more preoccupied with his younger wives. Her greatest fear is being thrown out of Al Hajji's compound by his oldest children upon his death. Two co-wives later reminisce about their younger days when they cooked from the same pot, shared the same room, and undertook regular escapades into town together, leaving Al Hajji wondering about their whereabouts. The older children have migrated to cities in Cameroon and abroad to Germany and France, and Hajja rationalizes their desire for Al Hajji to marry a younger wife; she would assist in looking after the younger children, and Al Hajji especially, as his health suffers.

Shot between 1997 and 2001, and edited over a period of fifteen years, *Wives* raises several themes covered in the ethnographic literature, such as gender, Islam, power, polygyny, and healthcare beliefs and practices. The latter is particularly salient when Al Hajji's health begins to suffer and he is believed to have been assailed by an unknown sorcerer. The film also shows that women in polygamous marriages hold differential social power and that ambiguity and vulnerability characterize the lives of all parties involved in such unions. Thanks to his wives, Al Hajji counts himself a highly favoured 'father', but he also acknowledges his incompleteness and the indebtedness of his humanity to the interdependent relationships he has forged with his wives: 'we wouldn't have children without our wives', he says, and 'a man without a wife has no

affection'. Holtedahl has successfully assembled a nuanced story that instructs without projecting any assumptions about polygyny's 'otherness'. By privileging the women's voices as they recount the dynamics, woes, fears, and delights of living in a polygamous marriage, we cannot help but see striking parallels between their predicament and serial monogamous arrangements in the West. Al Hajji and his wives, as with humans elsewhere, are implicated in the business of forging 'affective' relationships circumscribed, as it were, by the forces of religion and tradition.

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POLTORAK, MIKE. *The healer and the psychiatrist*. DVD/PAL, 74 mins, colour. Watertown, Mass.: DER, 2019. £320.00 (institutional use)

The healer and the psychiatrist focuses on issues related to cross-cultural mental health and how well suited Western biomedical frameworks can be in treating indigenous subjectivities. Mike Poltorak's intricate film is set in the Kingdom of Tonga, where Emeline Lolohea, a rural healer, and Dr Mapa Puloka, the one psychiatrist in the country, offer different kinds of care. Its handsome and absorbing narratives tell a layered story about Emeline and Dr Puloka, the people they treat, and, not least, the filmmaker and his research. What is more, the movie fosters dialogue between healer and psychiatrist, and the contrary institutional frameworks to which they subscribe.

As a mother, wife, and lay preacher in a Wesleyan church, Emeline is deeply embedded in Tongan society. Well regarded for her healing powers, she has evident charisma and powerful oratorical skills. Like other senior women, she is a monolingual Tongan speaker who lives in humble circumstances. Careful about her hair, she dresses in formal waist-mats when she walks with her children to church. The plants she infuses into the medicinal liquid with which she treats headaches, fatigue, visions, numbness, and so on, she gathers from land she owns. Many illnesses can be treated in the local hospital, but when medical treatment fails to bring relief, she assumes that interaction with local spirits (*tevolo*) is the cause.

While most of the documentary focuses on Emeline's work, it also features Dr Puloka, who treats patients in a psychiatric unit of an urban hospital on the main island. We see scenes of his syncretic practice that include assembling patients around a kava bowl and having them sing together. Dr Puloka, who speaks English,

discusses and assesses the efficacy of treatments, his support for traditional healers, and his understanding of the role of spirits in diagnosis.

Mike Poltorak is at pains to encourage dialogue between the psychiatrist and the healer, which culminates in the case of Tevita, Emeline's husband, who is a large, senior man with a broad face, and a mane of curly, yellowish hair. When his badly infected knee does not heal, and he becomes bed-ridden, he finds little relief in hospital. With growing concern, Emeline suggests that Poltorak take her daughter and marry her off 'overseas' so she can remit money to pay for medical bills. Instead, he approaches Dr Alani Tangitau, then visiting kin on holiday, and shows him the video of Tevita's knee, which, the doctor says, 'should have been drained'.

Poltorak then plays the video he took of the doctor sceptically discussing Tongan cures to Emeline and Tevita. 'He didn't understand my view', Tevita complains. 'I left [the hospital] ... because there wasn't anything he could do for my leg'. At the doctor's request, two nurses pay a house call to check Tevita's knee. One of them politely asks him to go back to hospital, upon seeing how swollen the abscess has become. As they walk to the car, Emeline gives each woman a taro plant as a departure gift. Confident that Tevita is in good hands, Poltorak prepares to return home to the United Kingdom.

Several years later, however, Tevita has died. Even though Dr Tangitau dismissed Tongan medicine, Tevita did not trust anyone else, so he never went back to the hospital because the doctor had finished his leave and gone home. Devastated at the news of the death, Poltorak studies photos of the funeral on Facebook. To make matters worse, Emeline's daughter also dies. Poltorak decides to return to Tonga to pay his respects. Emeline takes him to visit the graves, where she informs their ghosts that Poltorak has returned, now with a partner and a young son in tow. As the documentary ends, Emeline goes on treating people and fulfilling her lay leadership role in the church while Dr Puloka continues to gather patients around a kava bowl where they sing together. Poltorak once more takes his leave, feeling respect and esteem for both people and treatment practices.

The healer and the psychiatrist succeeds on a number of levels. It raises useful questions about cross-cultural mental health. It conveys a complicated relationship between Tongan and biomedical systems of diagnosis and cure, one that is ambiguous rather than idealized. It offers several sensitive ethnographic portraits of illness