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Using a range of theories from communication, literature, popular culture and media studies, Fisher develops many intricate conceptual arguments about how Aboriginal audio media produce a particular sedimentation of a rich politics in sound that ‘draws voice, race, and agency together in distinctive ways, yet also tears them apart in forms of discursive contest, expressive performance, and technological work with wired sound’ (2). He approaches the mediatized voice as ‘sonic avatars’ (xix) both of and other to the Aboriginal radio workers (9); the ‘doubles’ in the title. He identifies three ‘metapragmatic frameworks’ (5) for how the Aboriginal broadcasters understand their work – ‘giving voice, sounding black, and linking people up’ (4) – and explores the expressive, technological and institutional aspects of these imperatives.

Chapter one discusses the mediatised sound and voices of radio requests and country music in order to argue that Aboriginal radio has become a generative cultural resource and a form of cultural activism as these sounds and voices reproduce kin and shared histories of injustice for Aboriginal people. Chapter two considers the sound of recorded country music as distinctively Aboriginal. I have analysed this subject in ethnographic detail among Central Australia Aboriginal musicians and was keen to compare with Fisher’s field sites in Darwin and Brisbane. However, the chapter mainly discusses secondary sources on Aboriginal country music, with additional interview quotes from radio workers and discussions of country music in films. After detailed theoretical discussions about radio as vocal technology and a historical outline of Aboriginal radio in Australia, chapter three draws on Fisher’s experiences at the radio station in Brisbane to explore how radio becomes ‘a generative site of Indigenous self-fashioning’ (117) through vocal expressions. He looks at the role of in-house training programs, various kinds of radio production and government policy in mediatising Aboriginal voice, but like in most chapters, the use of detailed ethnographic data as base for analysis is limited.

Chapter four provides an overview of the history of Indigenous radio policy in Australia and focuses on some key personalities shaping changing strategies to studio and live broadcasting at the Brisbane radio station. It outlines how training and work at the station need to satisfy funding bodies’ bureaucratic regimes that increasingly emphasise fiscal responsibility and entrepreneurial activities. The shift to market-based activities and organisational culture is further explored in chapter five, with a focus on the Darwin based media association TEABBA. Fisher considers the radio producers as ‘cultural brokers’ both between Indigenous groupings and between these heterogeneous groups and the bureaucratic patrons that fund the association. This chapter importantly illuminates the increasing diversity of contested experiences, values and needs within an Aboriginal domain in the north, which confirms what I have noted in relation to the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association: that such organisations occupy a precarious position as simultaneously sites for tensions and conflict between different Aboriginal interests, and sites expected to represent an Aboriginal view and voice in relation to non-indigenous agencies and society (Ethnos 2010, 75(3): 293).

In chapter six, Fisher follows a conflict between TEABBA and a remotely located media organisation. The use of Bourdieu’s notions of struggle as central in the dynamics of fields of cultural production here seems somewhat forced for analysing conflict as generative of Aboriginal media production and institutional sociality. Gillian Cowlishaw’s in-depth ethnographic arguments about the generative aspects of conflict in regional Australian Aboriginal settings seem more relevant for the conflict described in the chapter. Fisher also tends to side with a pan-Aboriginal political activist stance he associates with TEABBA (although quotes and descriptions do not always support this), while he doesn’t seem to take the aims of the remote media

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The Voice and Its Doubles: Media and Music in Northern Australia
By Daniel Fisher
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organisation seriously as representative of Aboriginal people’s desires and needs, even though the organisation is obviously supported by Aboriginal locals.

In the conclusion Fisher uses three terms to discuss the changing conditions for Australian Indigenous media production – Intervention, Alterity and Relation. The first is conflated with the federal government’s 2007 Emergency Response policy measures targeting Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, also called ‘the Intervention’. Fisher’s critique of these measures is somewhat undermined by a tendency to connect different and not necessarily related processes that continue to erode Aboriginal forms of control. Under Alterity he suggests that Aboriginal media is ‘driving a form of immanent alterity’ which seems to partly contradict the clearly interculturally reproduced practices, relations and desires presented in previous chapters. His final conclusion that Aboriginal audio media is fundamentally concerned with forming and maintaining relations certainly rings true for many of us working in similar settings.

Providing thoroughly explored ideas about sound and mediatised voice, this book will probably be most interesting for communication, media and cultural studies scholars and students, although the latter may stumble over the many sentences with 100 words or more. Anthropology students and scholars may long for more in-depth ethnographic analysis, as we don’t hear or see very much of the rich, loud and vibrant social life that energises sites of Aboriginal media production in this book.

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**Drawn from the Ground. Sound, Sign, and Inscription in Central Australian Sand Stories.**

By Jennifer Green
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2014
Pp: xvii + 270
Price: A$145.00

Green’s book provides a fascinating and fine-grained analysis of a traditional narrative practice among Arrernte women that entails the telling of ‘sand stories’. Green’s principle concern is how the technique of sand drawing is used in conjunction with speech, gesture, hand signs and song to communicate meaning. The complexity of sand story narration is such that it is difficult to separate these different semiotic modalities from each other. Indeed, ‘in isolation, each of these modalities does not carry the entire message’ (2014: 90). Accordingly, Green focuses on sand drawing as part of an ‘ensemble’ of expressive forms. Her approach is informed by new developments in linguistics and anthropology which view language as more than just speech and emphasise its embodied nature.

There is now a rich anthropological literature concerning various forms of inscriptive practice employed by Arrernte, Warlpiri and Western Desert peoples in Central Australia. However, much of the work (for example, Bardon 1979; Biddle 2007; Dussart 2000; Watson 2003) focuses on painting on bodies, sand and canvas. With some notable exceptions (referred to below), the narrative practice of sand drawing has been mentioned only in passing, if at all. This lack of attention is curious given that Aboriginal sand drawing practices have been documented in various other parts of the country, including South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia and New South Wales. Significantly, earlier linguists have largely ignored sand story narration.

Green traces the first record of sand drawing to 1915, when the missionary Carl Strehlow described a sand story game involving leaves that Western Arrernte women played at Hermannsburg. His son, T.G.-H. Strehlow, later also referred to the practice. However, it was Nancy Munn who provided the first detailed description of sand drawing, in her book *Wal-biri Iconography* (1973). Green notes that, in a chapter devoted to sand drawing as narrative practice, Munn described the system as ‘a kind of visual language for ordering meanings in general’ (1973: 212). Describing the graphic forms as ‘media of social interaction’, Munn observed that to use them in sand drawings, in accompaniment with speech, was to “talk in the Wal-biri manner” (quoted in Green 2014: 36). Munn’s research with both men and women provided a groundbreaking structural analysis of the iconographic system employed in sand drawing and painting. Ute Eickelkamp and Christine Watson have carried out more recent work on sand drawing. Eickelkamp conducted a three year study of Pitjantjatjara children’s sand drawing and stories and examined the social contexts in which these were produced and their social meaning (see, for example, Eickelkamp 2008). She adopted a psychoanalytic approach to their thematic content in order to understand what they revealed about ‘how the children’s inner world relates to the social field’ (Eickelkamp 2011: 104). Watson, on the other hand, emphasised the performative dimension of sand stories in her analysis of the sensorial and embodied aspects of Balgo women’s art and ritual, and her interests are more closely aligned with Green’s.

A number of writers have recognised the multi-modal and performative nature of sand drawing, but a lacuna has existed in the treatment of specificities: just how does inscription work in concert with sound and sign to convey meaning? Providing answers to this question, on the basis of a study of Arrernte women’s sand stories, is the task Green set herself. Her book is both theoretically and methodologically sophisticated and draws on linguistics, sign language and gesture studies, semiotics and anthropology to provide a detailed cross-disciplinary account of how the sand story system operates. Her approach recognises that ‘social actors are not only embodied but they