

Book Reviews

Immediate Struggles: People, Power, and Place in Rural Spain. Susana Narotzky and Gavin Smith. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. 250 pp.

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Immediate Struggles is an ambitious undertaking. It is simultaneously an economic history of a region of Spain, Valencia; a plea for a return to detailed, realist anthropological methods; an apologia for class analysis; and a critique of the reification and autonomy of “culture.” The basic question the authors address is: Why do certain regions like Valencia in Spain and Emilia Romagna in Italy appear to be hotbeds of entrepreneurship? Recent explanations of these regional peculiarities have focused on such notions as “social capital” and social networks acquired and established by resorting to culturally engrained traditions of entrepreneurship potentially accessible to all who embody a local tradition. The authors explode this myth by means of a detailed examination of the region’s history or, rather, histories, since major events, like the Franco takeover and the subsequent reign of terror, had very different effects on persons depending on their standing in the social and political hierarchy and on the particular mix of economic activities—agriculture and industry—in which they were engaged. They find, instead, that “social capital” depends heavily on class position and gender.

The book focuses on the Vega Baja, a subregion in the province of Alicante, composed of an arid area of farming combined with irrigated farming along the coast, but neither the “site of viable small farms found in some parts of the north nor monopolized by the latifundia system of Andalusia” (p. 18). In this area, agriculture has always been complemented by trading and manufacturing. The nature of this mix depended and depends on national and international fluctuations in demand that constitute major factors in the persistent uncertainty in the livelihood of local workers.

Compounding and exacerbating the asymmetry of these relationships between capitalists and workers, *franquismo* led to a reign of terror and black-market activities in which the Franco loyalists had the upper hand (the authors could have noted that such practices as systematic avoidance of taxes are still very much in evidence today)

and were indeed built into the very functioning of the Spanish economy. Politics of autarchy were followed by an opening to the outside world that manifested itself in the rise of the shoe exports, and with it the increasing dominance of manufacturing over agriculture. Ultimately, neoliberal “flexibilization” has led to increasingly exploitative relations between differently placed individuals in outsourcing hierarchies, rendering worker solidarity ever more difficult. In addition, artificially created crises, designed to enable owners to fire more expensive long-term workers, undermining whatever worker protection remained, kept workers on edge. Especially in recent years, there is always the threat that firms will shift their operations elsewhere.

Historically, uncertain conditions in all potential economic activities have led agricultural workers to adopt two strategies: (1) tying themselves to a local landlord through progressively more permanent work arrangements, ending with administering parts of the property, and, perhaps, even acquiring the land; or (2) moving flexibly between farms and working outside of the region or even abroad for protracted periods of time. These two strategies led to very different ideological emphases: *confianza* (trust, loyalty to a patron), reflecting a stress on vertical ties versus honesty, namely, sticking to one’s ideological commitments as a member of the working class, thereby foregrounding horizontal ties.

The authors refuse to consider such adaptive strategies as “cultural” but, instead, consider them to be historically contingent responses. They reserve the concept of “culture” for a kind of classical Marxist class consciousness, “a critical awareness of their lived reality” present (or approximated) only during a brief period during the Republic (p. 205). At another point, they give a more inclusive “understanding of culture in which a variety of perspectives and positions produce a dialogical open-ended engagement with reality” (p. 143). They regard all other manifestations of “culture” as based on what Marx would call “false consciousness”: fear of bodily harm (in the aftermath of Franco’s takeover); of losing one’s job; of conjuring the specter of civil war; or as constituting elements of a neoliberal project directed by regional, national, or international elites as well as lesser power holders (amply aided by modern social scientists such as social capital theorists) to obfuscate exploitative relationships by “naturalizing” social class differences, thus making them appear as normal and inevitable.

The authors amply illustrate the formation of enterprises and the exploitation of workers they entail by means of examples of both entrepreneurial families and worker families. We become privy to the dilemma of the labor contractor–work team leader, himself also a worker who, while identifying with the day laborer he engages also becomes a part of the exploitative mechanism set up to favor the owner of the firm; we witness the distress of the niece of a subcontractor who finds herself working long hours with little pay to enable her uncle to be magnanimous toward his other workers when their work is deficient and has to be redone. And we are introduced into the subtle shift in ideology, often by the selfsame actors, from an emphasis on uncovering adverse working conditions to a celebration of an “exciting world on the threshold of a new kind of economic life” (p. 173). Thereby, the authors convincingly demonstrate the strength of the ethnographic method to enable the reader to visualize socioeconomic processes as they unfold in concrete local contexts. While the authors explicitly disclaim any intention of “match[ing] up the people we now encounter with their appropriate ‘ancestors’ in the past” (p. 228 n. 2), their most fascinating examples actually address the fate of families over multiple generations, giving a glimpse of the range of options open to differently positioned individuals and the likelihood of certain paths being taken. The authors’ narrow definition of *culture* may have precluded them from engaging in a systematic analysis of the manner in which earlier regularities in social behavior are employed (perhaps in altered form) in new contexts.

Immediate Struggles is by no means an easy book to read. The argument is not always immediately apparent from the organization of the chapters. Early in the book, the authors explain that different localities in the Vega Baja have experienced divergent microhistories. Yet the initial contrast between Catral, a town with major class differences, and Dolores, a community with a more equal land distribution, is not carried through the rest of the book, which focuses entirely on examples from Catral. The book would have benefitted from more detailed maps and a more comprehensive index. And one might object that class positions in the Vega Baja are not immutable, as illustrated by the fact that shop stewards in left-wing unions often became managers of shoe firms (pp. 146–147), indicating that workers sometimes do gain social capital from scratch. However, the cases of upward mobility do not undermine the authors’ contention that unequal power remains the dominant force in the regional economy. In sum, the book provides a welcome antidote to facile celebrations of regional culture, showing, instead, the complex and often insidious ways in which power differentials, in general, and global capitalism, in particular, intertwine with local conditions to perpetuate economic inequality.

Intimate Distance: Andean Music in Japan. *Michelle Bigenho.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 230 pp.

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Michelle Bigenho’s *Intimate Distance* offers a valuable contribution to the burgeoning discourse on intercultural music making in Japan (see Sterling 2010). She considers both the performance of Bolivian music in Japan by Bolivian touring musicians and Japanese musicians and Japanese who sojourn to Bolivia to immerse themselves in the culture that contextualizes the music. She grounds this work in what she calls a theory of “intimate distance,” referring to “the contrasting distance that one still maintains while taking on the cultural trappings of an Other” (p. 2). In the case of Japanese and Bolivians engaged with folklore music, “intimacy is about narratives of shared blood traced to an imagined past that is safely distanced from contemporary nationalist narratives” (p. 20). Indeed, Bigenho seeks to critique conceptions of nationalism and race that often imply that someone in one nation with its set of cultural traditions should not play “someone else’s music” (p. 22). As such, her study of practice in both Japan and Bolivia challenges how we read music in relation to place and identity, as well as how we frame sites for research (p. 10). And her experience as a self-proclaimed “white middle-class gringa” (p. 2) musician on tour with the Bolivian group *Música de Maestros* in Japan offers further insight to the powerful role music making plays in interracialized identity formation politics.

After framing her research, Bigenho reviews how Bolivian music found its way to Japan in the 1960s, “mediated through ... Simon and Garfunkel’s version of ... ‘El Condor pasa,’ ... a European Andean music boom, and ... the popularity of Andean folklore in neighboring Argentina” (p. 49). At the time, Bolivian music, and particularly the sound of the *quena* (bamboo or wooden traditional flute), represented something radical, gradually increasing in popularity when used to represent an idea of “indigeneity” in Japanese schools (p. 57). Once in Japan, Bolivian songs were shaped to present an “indigenous” Bolivian identity, although “filtered through a set of audience expectations about the Other” (p. 34). In a sense both Japanese and Bolivians “represent cases of non-indigenous people staging Bolivian indigeneity” (p. 34), although this necessarily means something quite different to each respective group. For Bolivians, indigeneity is part of a larger nationalist discourse, whereas for the Japanese it inspires nostalgia for something perceived lost in modern life.

Bigenho further considers the life of traveling Bolivian musicians in Japan and the repetitive and scripted nature of their performances primarily for children. Bolivian

musicians value performance in theatrical contexts, but these opportunities are limited. Therefore, the economic value of Bolivian folklore is as a “cultural show” performed in pedagogical venues, rather than as an “artistic expression” presented in theaters. Throughout the work, Bigenho highlights the difficult schedule and mediocre conditions musicians endure, motivated in part by the lucrative salaries that are often used to purchase Japanese electronics, cars, or more secure housing back home.

Despite the economic importance of tours for Bolivian musicians, there are actually a limited number of Japanese fans. Nonetheless, Japanese have had an important presence in the music scene in Bolivia (p. 94). Japanese fans enjoy Bolivian folklore as it allows them to engage with a music relatively unique to Japan, while also avoiding the common consumption of Western cultural forms, instead playing at something quite different. Bigenho argues that Japanese are in fact often first attracted to Bolivian musical practices through the sound of the quena (p. 99) and the quality of the music before connecting with the indigenous culture. Japanese may play the music in college circles or later in life as a “serious hobby,” which is consistent with the passionate pursuit of many of amateur musicians, all similarly attracted to the “pleasure of collective participation” (p. 101). The escape from routine and opportunity to build a community around a shared interest is enough engagement for some practitioners—whereas others take the next step in the journey and travel to Bolivia to study. Here, she includes many stories of individuals’ involvement with Bolivian folklore culture that collectively paint a thorough picture. Although it is not unusual in the history of Japanese musics for relatively wealthy amateur performers to actively engage with so-called foreign musics, little has been written about the Japanese who actually travel abroad to experience such musics performed in their originating contexts, making this section particularly rich.

Bigenho returns to her exploration of “the way both Japanese and Bolivians claimed closeness with and distance from the others with whom they engaged in a musical intersection of transnational musical performance” (p. 123). She considers perceived connections—from common use of pentatonic scales to a belief in shared ancestry, taking particular care here to explore Latin American nationalist discourse that infuses the idea of “indigenous” with deep cultural meaning. In the end she argues that although grounded in a common desire to define self against an Other that is not the dominant United States, the Japanese seem to be looking for a connection to an imagined, traditional past, and Bolivians look to the Japanese for an imagined, modern future.

Bigenho rightly establishes one of the strengths of her work in the opening, framing her training as a Latin Americanist and lack of Japanese as an asset. She conceptualizes “this work as a unique inter-area ethnogra-

phy in which specific ethnographic insights emerged not in spite of, but because of the divergence in [her] area studies trainings” (p. 23). However, when she returns to methodological considerations at the end of the book, Bigenho spends too much time attempting to validate the very approach that she positioned as a positive of the book. She also relies perhaps too much on a couple of ethnographic encounters to make large claims about the significance of Bolivian’s unexpected views of Japan’s imperial moment and criticism of U.S. colonial policies (pp. 151–154). More significant is that she has demonstrated in this case that everyone is playing someone else’s music—whether contemporary Bolivians playing indigenous folklore, Japanese playing Bolivian music, or she herself playing Bolivian music in Japan. She eloquently argues in persistently lively and engaging language that others may make music their own without losing their own identity (pp. 167–177).

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Under Solomon’s Throne: Uzbek Visions of Renewal in Osh. *Morgan Y. Liu*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012. 296 pp.

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Morgan Liu’s superb monograph accomplishes many different things on many levels, all of which are seamlessly integrated in his creatively ordered exposition. On one level, this study provides a nuanced, insider’s feel for the texture of daily life in the city of Osh after the end of Soviet rule. On another level, the book provides an overview of the dilemmas endemic to a broad swath of postsocialist, postcolonial society. Throughout the formerly Soviet territory of Central Asia, people continue to negotiate the relationships among available (but not always congruent) ethnic, national, religious, and socioeconomic allegiances. How does an Uzbek community function as the heart of a Kyrgyzstani city? How do certain Soviet assumptions about economic modernity function as rediscovered understandings of “traditional” Islam? On yet another level, this study offers an impassioned justification for careful (re)construction of cultural perspective from within the vernacular language and bodily experience of urban space. This perspective not only rewards the investigator with a far more accurate and predictive understanding of complex social currents but also uncovers alternative modes of social and ethical resilience that are

too often overlooked by Cold War–inflected scholarship. In other words, Liu’s study serves as a model for updating the mandate and epistemological framing of anthropological research in Central Asia.

The fertile Ferghana Valley is an intermountain depression that cuts across three countries whose borders were created by the Soviet empire: Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. The city of Osh, which lies at the eastern end of the valley very close to the Uzbek border, was a minor urban center with a mostly Uzbek population for many centuries. In Soviet times, Osh was elevated to the status of a regional capital, becoming the second most important city in the Soviet socialist republic of Kyrgyzstan. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Osh Uzbeks suddenly found themselves to be doubly excluded—from citizenship in the newly independent, overtly nationalistic Uzbekistani state, and from meaningful political recourse in an increasingly ethnocentric Kyrgyz state. In 1990, on the cusp of the transition to a post-Soviet order, a land dispute ignited interethnic riots in Osh that killed hundreds and shattered the city’s long record of relatively harmonious Uzbek–Kyrgyz relations. Exactly 20 years later, in June 2010, the ousting of Kyrgyz President Kurmanbek Saliyevich Bakiev triggered a wave of violence that killed thousands, mostly ethnic Uzbeks, and displaced thousands more. Liu’s decades-long engagement with Osh’s Uzbek community in the interval between these two social calamities makes for a surprisingly optimistic analysis. He shows that the story of this divided city is ultimately not the story of intractable ethnic claims to territory. Instead, the idioms of exchange, mediation, moral order, and accountability of leadership that emerge from the “concrete spaces of everyday urban life” (p. 13) point consistently to the community’s interpretive resilience. Osh residents “think with their city” when they reiterate or mobilize forms “ethnic tradition,” socialist structures, Inner Asian sensibilities, and Islamic knowledge toward a vision of post-Soviet societal renewal.

To give even a brief description of *Under Solomon’s Throne*, the reviewer must adopt the same “bifocal” apparatus that Liu uses to move from panoramic changes in post-Soviet Central Asia to embodied, local ways of interpreting those changes and back again. Liu’s study will rightly be acknowledged as seminal in the field because it simultaneously provides a multilayered, richly detailed account of a region that is strikingly underrepresented in Western (or, for that matter, Eastern) scholarship, and it articulates the theoretical and methodological issues that are at stake if we are to develop the kind of “bifocal” ethnography we need to understand developments in this part of the world. In six thematic chapters, the author walks us through the walled-in alleyways of Osh’s Uzbek mahalla, along Osh’s Soviet-era boulevards, and through teeming multiethnic bazaars, as well as through his conceptual apparatus. To make

the connection between embodied, everyday practices and Central Asian understandings of their place in the global order, Liu identifies the contours of various influential “idioms” (locally generated configurations of ideas and behaviors) within the larger “imaginaries” (sense of how the world works) of a given community. Thus, each chapter covers the ground of a certain space (bazaar, border, divided city, neighborhood, house, and Republic, respectively) as a way of revealing—and thinking about—the overlapping grounds of national and transnational identity, ethnicity, and agency that have shaped this region in the last two decades. The introductory and concluding chapters make the case for the author’s cautious optimism at the time about the ability of complex, ethnically and economically diverse communities to find ways to make sense of their postsocialist, postcolonial situations.

Under Solomon’s Throne is likely to have enduring relevance far beyond the time period covered. Liu’s study establishes Osh’s paradigmatic status as a place where civilizational contradictions converge and confront each other, a status that is affirmed by the welcome addition of new studies; for example, a recently published study of youth allegiances in Osh and the “global marketplace of ideologies” by the German anthropologist Stefan Kirmse (2013). *Under Solomon’s Throne* thoroughly debunks simplistic constructions of post-Soviet Central Asia as either on the road to “democracy plus capitalism” or on the road to Islamic fundamentalism. This is a work that manages to relate the enormous complexity of contemporary Central Asian life in beautifully clear prose. It should inspire productive change in the way both scholarly and policy communities think about the future of the region.

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Medical Anthropology at the Intersections: Histories, Activisms, and Futures. Marcia C. Inhorn and Emily A. Wentzell, eds. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 343 pp.

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An assessment of disciplinary progress to date and potential next steps is rejuvenating, rewarding, and necessary. This excellent edited volume, *Medical Anthropology at the Intersections: Histories, Activisms, and Futures*, does just that. It

presents an expanded form of the plenary lectures given by some of the most prominent scholars in the subdiscipline from the 2009 Society for Medical Anthropology (SMA) conference. As the title of the book suggests, the contributors highlight the ways that practitioners of medical anthropology have engaged with other disciplines; show how they have met with successes, taken wrong turns, and suffered disciplinary growing pains; make suggestions for the trajectory for future research; and, importantly, trace the complicated but necessary relationship between advocacy and research. Marcia Inhorn and Emily Wentzell offer an excellent introduction to the vast body of material discussed in the chapters that follow. Interdisciplinarity, they assert, pushes disciplinary boundaries that result in “new ways of being and thinking” (p. 5). Further, interdisciplinarity is a characteristic feature of medical anthropology’s past and will be key to its future. At the end of the introduction, the editors summarize the contributors’ suggestions for needed areas of future research as discussed throughout the book. The book is divided into three parts—“Histories,” “Queries,” and “Activisms”—which Inhorn and Wentzell suggest represent the areas of scholarship that a medical anthropologist must master.

Part 1 of the volume, “Histories,” features chapters by Emily Martin, Lynn Morgan, and Lawrence Cohen that highlight the fields with which early medical anthropologists interacted, namely, feminist technoscience, medical history, and international area studies. The authors describe major dilemmas that have emerged throughout medical anthropological history and describe the evolving role that scholars have taken in these controversies. Martin and Morgan effectively embed their discussions in their own experience as researchers, providing excellent illustrations of professional development. Martin describes her experience in relation to emerging scholarly inquiries into gender, medical knowledge, and technology. Morgan uses a case in her own research that examined the manner in which ideas about race were produced more by the discussion between anatomists and anthropologists regarding the specimens of Chinese embryos and fetuses than by the observations of the specimens themselves. Morgan reminds us that sometimes remembering the past of anthropology can be painful but in her examination demonstrates the importance of doing so. Cohen explores the possibilities for the future of cultural notions associated with geographical categories based on the problematic history of area studies, globalization, and the trajectory of the concept of culture. The three authors conclude that a careful assessment of the challenges and benefits that have resulted from interdisciplinarity, coproduced concepts, and territorialized knowledge is important both for medical anthropology and its intersecting fields. Martin states, “the field of STS stirred medical anthropology’s past. In turn STS was not well known at the time for its engagement with

feminist issues on any wave, and so the anthropological engagement stirred the STS pot as well” (p. 30).

Part 2 of the volume, “Queries,” features chapters written by Didier Fassin, Arthur Kleinman, and Margaret Lock that examine the intellectual development of the field of medical anthropology and its engagement with three key concepts: global public health, mental health, and genetics and genomics. The writers of these chapters assert that these concepts are in need of greater analysis and assessment of their usefulness. Fassin suggests, “global health has become an effective signifier. Independent of the object to which it refers, it transmits an idea of change, of worldliness, of postmodernity. This dimension—which makes it a keyword of our time—should not be understated” (p. 101). Fassin ultimately wonders if the concept of global health is more about Western power to define and transform the world than about the practical matter of addressing health problems throughout the world (p. 113). Kleinman laments what he sees as a recent trend in medical anthropological studies away from global mental health (p. 117). In describing his view to the future, Kleinman suggests promising areas of study centering on mental health that include concern about social suffering, the care of mentally ill people, the misuse of psychopharmaceuticals, and the need to reframe social sciences in an era of biologically driven brain research. Lock picks up a trending theme in the volume concerning the renegotiation and examination of social practice in light of technoscientific research. Lock specifically explores the manner in which genetic and genomic research have reinvigorated anthropological interest in kinship as well as nature–nurture dichotomies. Lock challenges medical anthropologists to engage with “deterministic genetics and epigenetics” in analyses that would bring “the new entangled social bodies to center stage” (p. 160).

Part 3 of the volume, “Activisms,” features chapters written by Rayna Rapp and Faye Ginsburg, Merrill Singer, and Richard Parker. Medical anthropologists have long been compelled to do research that would make the world a better place. There have been missteps (as discussed by Morgan in chapter 2, “Getting at Anthropology through Medical History” and by Cohen in chapter 3, “Making Peasants Protestant and Other Project”), but the interest has always been there, at different levels of engagement. Indeed, the SMA conference is held every other year with the Society for Applied Anthropology. This section of the book directly addresses the relationship between medical anthropology and advocacy, a theme that has already emerged as central in the previous sections. All the authors of this section consider themselves to be “engaged” scholars and make a strong argument for others in the field of medical anthropology to do the same. Rapp and Ginsburg make a profound point that even though anthropology has long focused on difference, it has underinvestigated one of the most

common forms of difference: disability. They convincingly argue that the study of disability should not be contained in medical anthropology; rather, they argue, a study of disability gets at the heart of “what it means to be human” (p. 166). Singer describes the frustrations, successes, failures, and great potential of medical anthropological engagement with public policy. He urges engagement with community-based organizations to influence public policy. Parker’s chapter directly builds on Singer’s and serves as a conclusion as it beautifully brings together many themes that emerged throughout the book in his description of his experience with research and advocacy with the HIV/AIDS movement in Brazil. Parker emphasizes that it is important to recognize that the interdisciplinarity of medical anthropology is not only engagement with other academic disciplines but also with activist communities. The voices of the other contributing authors are heard when Parker states that medical anthropologists have been “on the front lines of political struggles taking place in diverse settings around the world” (p. 222) and should continue shaping policy from their distinct understanding of the relationship between theory and social practice. *Medical Anthropology at the Intersections* is a model of an edited volume; it is a multivoiced but coherent scholarly reflection on paths already taken and trajectories for the future. As such, it will serve as a valuable learning tool for advanced undergraduate or graduate students. Even for those already familiar with the breadth and depth of each of the contributing scholars’ writing, there is much to be gained from a close read of every chapter.

Between Art and Artifact: Archaeological Replicas and Cultural Production in Oaxaca, Mexico. Ronda L. Brulotte. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012. xvii + 215 pp.; black and white photos, map, index.

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Before I began reading this volume, I had certain expectations, based on the title, recent literature, and my own experience with fakes and replicas and artisanal crafts. Perhaps as a consequence, my reaction to the book may seem overly critical; I don’t think the content really matches the title. What I see as flaws are not unusual—particularly in a first book—but I want to convey something of my reading for the benefit of others who are seeking innovative work in these domains. As an introduction to the relationships between craft and identity production in the Mexican context this should be useful to many, but scholars more familiar with the area, or more generally interested in relationships among craft production, reproductions, forg-

eries, and the international markets, may be left wanting more.

To clarify my point of view, I curate a collection—the Cornell University Anthropology Collections—that includes archaeological fakes and replicas along with original pieces, and I confront these issues regularly. I have also purchased archaeological replicas at various sites, in Mexico and elsewhere, including modern versions of Casa Grande pottery at the Society for American Archaeology meetings back in the mid-1980s, and I have a modest collection of Mexican (and other) folk art, all of which turned out to also be relevant experience for this reading.

The book is structured in a way that will be familiar to readers of contemporary ethnographies and dissertations, with an introduction laying out the field site and theoretical starting points, followed by a series of chapters interspersed with brief fieldwork vignettes—the latter are typeset with a ragged right margin to signal their difference. The introduction includes the obligatory literature review, referencing scholars beyond the Mexican scene (e.g., Shelly Errington and Fred Myers) but more fully those working in that context. The following chapters deal with the crafts of Oaxaca: wood carving, ceramic replicas—and the constructed past, authenticity, and identity. The final chapter seeks to tie these all together—invoking Derrida, Baudrillard, and Deleuze; the instability of the sign; the simulacrum and fields of cultural production—to suggest the multiplicity of stories captured by these objects and their production and trade.

The writing is generally clear, and the ethnographic accounts interesting and evocative. But some of the authorial choices seemed less than transparent, at least for me. For example, the first chapter deals with Oaxacan wood carvings—probably the best known, most popular folk art of the region. If the intention is to explore “archaeological replicas” and cultural production, those would seem to be misplaced; they are not in any way archaeological replicas. Rather, they are autochthonous 20th-century folk art. The connection given is that “all of these processes must be considered as the mutually constituting terrain of the archaeological replica trade as well” (p. 29), but that argument is not really developed in detail. This certainly is a legitimate argument to make, but it needs to be made and not just stated. Instead, the bridge to the next chapter on “Arrazola’s Other Craft” is a vignette involving a photograph from Monte Albán, the archaeological site at the center of the trade in ceramic replicas. The conclusion similarly begs for development of its arguments beyond the assertion and invocation of Derrida, Baudrillard, and Deleuze; that concluding framework, to me, demands much greater development and incorporation throughout the text, and an exploration of the history of the ideas underlying those often-cited pillars of contemporary interpretation.

Scholars familiar with the subject will probably wish, as I did, that the author had pushed harder and more thoroughly woven the theoretical strands into the ethnography. She might also have drawn productively on some of the more recent literature that is not cited, such as Charles Stanish's (2009) article on the selling of fake artifacts on eBay and the consequences of fakes finding their way into scholarly collections—a piece that circulated widely in different versions around that time, online and in print, and would seem directly relevant here. Another exemplary text that explores the relationships among Latin American objects, identities, and memories is Silvia Spitta's *Misplaced Objects* (2009), which deals with a larger variety of kinds of objects, and a longer history, but does so in a clearly developed theoretical framework that is well integrated into the text.

The above may leave readers of this review with the feeling that I consider this a weak book, but that is not my intention. Its ethnographic grounding is strong, and the writing conveys the author's ideas clearly. For these reasons, I imagine that the book would be quite useful in an undergraduate course on the contemporary constructions of identities in heritage sites, for example, and for audiences in art history, cultural studies, and anthropology. If the title were more indicative of, say, an ethnographic exploration of contemporary craft production in Oaxaca, or, perhaps, how contemporary Oaxacan artisans relate their work to local archaeological heritage, that would better reflect the strengths of the work.

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Healing Secular Life: Loss and Devotion in Modern Turkey. *Christopher Dole*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. 299 pp.

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In the decade since the publication of Talal Asad's *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (2003), the anthropology of religion has witnessed a full-tilt theoretical reformation. Drawing on the influential opening of Asad's earlier work, *Formations* provocatively argues that secularity (or "the secular") is the background against which the modern concept and category of "religion" emerges. Rather than the mere absence of religion in the public

sphere (a secular ideology in its own right), Asad contends that secularity is a discursive field in the full Foucauldian sense: a distinctive ensemble of practices and modes of knowledge that produces characteristic assumptions about subjects and the world they inhabit. In the intervening decade, a cottage industry of fine, new anthropologies of secularism has seized on Asad's call to conduct a critical genealogy of the liberal-secular concept of "religion" in the contemporary day. Over roughly the same period, a new generation of anthropologists of contemporary Turkey has focused on the powers and discontents of Turkish state secularism as rich ethnographic objects in their own right. Until recently, however, these two emergent bodies of literature had not directly spoken to each other. But no longer.

Christopher Dole's magisterial new ethnography, *Healing Secular Life: Loss and Devotion in Modern Turkey* constitutes a much-needed, direct engagement of the anthropology of the secular by an ethnographer of Turkish secularism. In this fine book, which will surely attract broad interest among medical anthropologists, and scholars of religion generally, Dole both rearticulates the foundational questions of Asad's critique and, drawing broadly on the work of Jacques Rancière, infuses them with a new emphasis on what he dubs the "secular politics of aesthetics."

The strength and originality of *Healing Secular Life* hinge on its deft synthesis of the theoretical concerns of the anthropology of secularism with a unique ethnographic object: an array of Islamic healing practices that have persisted in the shadows and crevices of contemporary Turkish life, in spite of broad-based, public disdain for them. As Dole traverses the cultural, social, and political geography of the poorer districts (*gecekondular*) of Turkey's capital city, Ankara, he encounters a swath of alternative, often marginal religious healers and practitioners, including saints (*evliya*), preparers of Qur'anic amulets (*muska*), and specialists at expelling malevolent spirits, or jinn (*cinci hocalar*). These various healers and practices defy the expectations and imperatives of both secular Turkish modernity and neo-orthodox forms of Islam. Dole argues that "forms of Islamic practice that have been cast out of orthodoxy and dismissed as corrupted forms of Islam" (p. 16) cast unique light on questions of secularism, secularity, and Islamic modernity more generally. Rancière's theory of the politics of aesthetics forges the link between these disparate therapeutic practices and questions of secularism and state practice generally. As Dole provocatively asserts, "that which is at stake in Turkey's project of secular modernity—to reframe Rancière's observation—is precisely what is at stake in healing: the organization of the sensible, the ordering of social relations, and the building of alternate constellations of past limits and future possibilities" (p. 10).

The opening anecdote of *Healing Secular Life* dramatically stages the aesthetic politics of secular Turkish modernity and the manner in which Islamic healers both inhabit and disorient this aesthetic politics. Dole follows the son-in-law of one of the saints that we meet in the book, a woman known as Zöhre Ana, and his family on an excursion to Anıt Kabir, the massive mausoleum of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and a principal site for the ritual production of Turkish secularism and nationalism. The group arrives at Atatürk's tomb complex with a passel of young boys who have just been circumcised, in accordance with the Sunna, the authoritative example of the Prophet Muhammad; Zöhre Ana recommended that the boys seek Atatürk's blessing on the occasion of this key rite of passage. After being harassed by the guards at Anıt Kabir, who assert that it "is no place for worship" (p. 4), the group reluctantly withdraws. The tensions and ironies that this anecdote illustrates so vividly animate Dole's entire presentation to come. As he persuasively demonstrates, alternative Islamic healing practices destabilize the rationalizing teleologies and ideologies of corporeality and care that undergird Turkish secularism while simultaneously inhabiting and recasting secularism's distinctive politics of aesthetics in unexpected ways.

The subsequent ethnographic chapters of *Healing Secular Life* offer a wealth of material too diverse and fascinating to summarize properly in this brief context. We come to know the figure of Zöhre Ana particularly well. Over the past quarter-century, Zöhre Ana has attracted a substantial following of devotees who attribute the healing powers of a saint to her, yet she is also consummately "modern" in her appearance—she favors business suits and maintains her hair in a short, no-nonsense cut. Furthermore, she reveres Atatürk as a saint endowed with healing powers in his own right and, thereby, reframes the entire project of Turkish modernization as theological and soteriological. In another chapter, we meet the *cinci hoca*, an object of frequent anathema who is broadly considered to embody "a regressive form of religiosity, as the embodiment of irrationality, as an affront to individual autonomy and freedom of consciousness" (p. 129). And, yet, the *cinci hoca*, too, straddles debates over corporeality, therapeutic care and its commodification, and the proper place of Islam that are central to Turkish secularism and neo-orthodox Islam alike. Turkish studies scholars, in particular, will be fascinated by the tensions and continuities that Dole reveals between Turkey's two major confessional communities, Sunni Muslims and Alevi, who constitute as much as 20 percent of Turkey's population, and who combine Shi'a Islam with distinct ritual practices rooted in Central Asia. Although Dole registers the mutual disdain that often maintains between Sunnis and Alevi, the therapeutic practices he describes span and unravel this politicized division in myriad ways.

More generally, all of the healers and patients that we meet in *Healing Secular Life* necessarily negotiate, inhabit, and reframe the distinctive secular politics of aesthetics that defines contemporary Turkish life. And it is Dole's diligent sensitivity to the ethnographic textures, dilemmas, and reconciliations entailed by this secular politics of aesthetics that endows the book with its unique eloquence. While Dole's ethnography offers ample, urgent lessons to anthropologists of contemporary Turkey and Islam specifically, its intervention is by no means limited to these fields. On a more expansive level, *Healing Secular Life* is a compelling example for all scholars of modernity's constitutive politics of aesthetics and the manner in which it forms and reforms contemporary life.

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Storytelling on the Northern Irish Border: Characters and Community. Ray Cashman. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011. 283 pp.

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In the preface to *Storytelling on the Northern Irish Border: Characters and Community*, Ray Cashman reveals something of what readers should expect from his book when he tells us he has resisted "reactionary calls" (p. xi) among anthropologists to focus their research on Irish urban environments. Instead, he draws us back into the country parlors and small towns of an earlier generation of ethnographic and folkloric analysis in Ireland. So Cashman's book feels slightly anachronistic, and readers may be forgiven for recalling the writings of Henrie Glassie and Conrad Arensberg as the author analyzes the lives of various rural "characters" whom he came to know through extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Aghyaran, a so-called mixed (i.e., blend of Catholic and Protestant residents) border community in Ballymongan townland, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland. Those individuals not met in person he learned about through the many "larger-than-life" anecdotes and stories he heard while attending those most traditional of Irish events: the wake and *ceili* (a traditional social gathering or party). One can virtually taste the porter and feel the heat of burning peat in the cozy, country cottages that were the most common sites of both celebratory and memorial social gathering. In some ways, this is the most appealing feature of Cashman's book—the human dimension that enriches the analysis.

The substance of Cashman's book is deeply grounded in contemporary linguistic and folkloric theory concerning the oral production and performance of community and identity in and around the town. He uses the important social events of *ceilis* and wakes as central contexts for understanding how different kinds of cultural boundaries are identified and sustained in the face of a rapidly changing social and historical context. These events (the former being of generally more frequent occurrence than the latter) are arenas for the "neighborly exchange of stories" concerning personhood and social belonging. In particular, although a range of folkloric genres is represented in his analysis, Cashman is most interested in the "local character anecdote"—"short, snappy narratives" of "improbable ... social consequence" (pp. 6–8). His overarching perspective is that such spoken anecdotes provide the substance of how complex individuals are transformed into exemplars of character types, which in turn provide idealizations of certain kinds of desirable (and undesirable) persons and character attributes. These are a form of autoethnography through which residents "represent themselves to themselves." With the passage of time, deceased characters are rhetorically distilled into increasingly compact assemblages of traits that provide idealized models against which other persons can be socially positioned and evaluated. Such stories cease to "depend on biographical fidelity" to convey meaning and the unknown protagonist is rendered "virtually anonymous" (p. 161). They become "literary" characters, members of a well-rehearsed ensemble of types.

In contrast, the subject of a story that Cashman calls the "local character" is marked precisely by his or her extraordinary difference from others—persons "distinguished ... by uncommon wit, effusiveness, gullibility, volatility, backwardness, or some other marked trait of excellence or eccentricity" (p. 170). It is the transgressive, rather than idealized, quality of such characters that marks them as special. They are local geniuses and "good talkers" gifted with the increasingly rare quality of authenticity and an ability to be wittily incisive about an idyllic (or at least preferable) past. This despite certain "undesirable" traits or flaws that somehow accentuate their distinctiveness: besides being recognized wits and orators, they are the outlaws, smugglers, and scoundrels of a fondly remembered time, now gone. The anthropological category of "trickster" is deeply imbricated in the tales told by the "codder"—a type of storyteller known for embellishment. His stories often lionize the shrewd practical joker capable of "pulling a smart one" on the chronically gullible (p. 192). The codder and trickster mirror one another in a tight hermeneutic of reflexivity in which social values and aesthetics are replayed in social events.

Cashman then moves on to consider how both forms of local character anecdote are institutionalized within "cy-

cles" that tend to have a social force born of repetition and routinization. The distinctively local personal, leavened by a literary quality that mirrors the modern novel, is transformed into a "realistic" person easily recognized as an individual who is nevertheless mimetic of translocal ideal types. Such anecdotes furnish a "conceptual stage" for the consideration of a human nature that inevitably includes vice and the penchant for transgression of norms and mores. Evaluating individuals by way of anecdotes, Cashman offers, is not so very different from what theatergoers (in a Shakespearian allusion) sought to understand and "evaluate themselves through evaluating celebrated characters' affective preferences in the midst of competing discourses" (p. 220).

In what may be the most interesting chapter, by way of conclusion, Cashman address the subject of sectarian sentiment as an ongoing basis for social alignment and exclusion. Of course, social scientists and others have long been preoccupied with social division along the Northern Irish borderlands, if for no other reason than these have constituted something of a "liminal" geocultural space in which community passions run deep and the ability to judge one's surroundings and read the diacritics of identity have literally been a question of life and death. Although such is perhaps no longer as virulently the case as it might have been 30 years past, it remains somewhat axiomatic of Northern Ireland ethnography that such studies speak to the production both of sectarian identity and to the making of Catholic–Protestant social relations. In diverse "acts of commemoration," Aghyaran residents evoke social relations based either on shared sectarian connection or, rejecting this, shared community based on regional experience and affinity (p. 234). Regarding the former, Cashman invokes the existing and voluminous literature on Catholic–nationalist–republican and Protestant–unionist–loyalist rituals of solidarity and exclusion. Contrasting the many religiopolitical rituals that compose these (e.g., Saint Patrick's Day, Feast of the Ascension, Twelfth of July, and Remembrance Sunday), rituals of local community and their associated "stories" tend toward ecumenism and a spirit of "interchurch" tolerance and respect. The Killeter and District Historical Society, especially, has been a counterpart to translocal sectarian organizations (pp. 246ff.). Fairs, historic preservation projects, and interfaith, regionally focused events provide a vehicle for representing a past of cooperation and amity that cuts against "nonlocal" narratives of social division. In so doing, they provide yet more grist for understanding the local self through narrative and performative acts of recollection and sociality.

Cashman is a gifted writer, and his affection for the residents, the older men and women he came to know in his fieldwork, is clear. Those people who would have counted as parental and grandparental generations to Cashman

almost certainly provide a depth of perspective concerning longitudinal transformations over time in the community—in particular, when relaying character anecdotes concerning the deceased. Although I would not frame this focus as a weakness, it does tend to elide the youthful and transformative in favor of a certain social conservatism in which the preservation of ideal character types is assumed to be desirable. This adds to the atmosphere of nostalgia in this nevertheless compelling book.

Stealing Shining Rivers: Agrarian Conflict, Market Logic and Conservation in a Mexican Forest. *Molly Doane.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012. i–xx + 203 pp.

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Environments, like communities, are imagined; they are continually being produced, consumed, and re-formed. In this way “tropical rainforests,” like all environmental labels, evoke different images to different people, varying over time and space according to the specific cultural filters deployed, individual lived experiences, and the dominant modes of production. The particular ecological worldview of tropical rainforests promoted by contemporary Western environmentalists emphasizes overwhelmingly positive attributes such as extraordinarily diverse ecosystems, which act as the vital “lungs” by removing greenhouse gases from the planet we continue to poison. Meanwhile, the popular imagination has been captured by images of exotic forests—untamed and mysterious, shrouding countless priceless treasures, but increasingly endangered by heedless exploitation. Yet, not long ago, negative images of tropical jungles as a “green hell” of impenetrable and virtually unusable wastelands held sway—where dreams of riches died from serpents’ bites, deadly diseases, hostile natives, or simply suffocated in the relentless heat and humidity. The only way to tame these vestigial hearts of darkness was to improve on nature via modernization and mechanization, which often meant cutting down the trees.

In *Stealing Shining Rivers*, Molly Doane sets out to uncover what happens when well-meaning outsiders, under the guise of conserving biodiversity, end up appropriating and redefining a tropical rainforest in Mexico’s southern state of Oaxaca. She takes a long view, tracing an ongoing process of “production” of public perceptions of the narrow Isthmus of Tehuantepec, long seen as a potential canal link between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, over four main periods of historical and environmental time-space. In the colonial era, Indian communities were es-

tablished in this backwater where only a few natural resources were of interest. The 19th century saw the Liberal push to accelerate resource extraction, open the area for agriculture, and entice foreign investment, spurred by the construction of the trans-Isthmus railroad. The 20th century was marked by postrevolutionary land reform followed by a national agricultural developmentalist thrust on one of Mexico’s last frontiers. From the 1950s, peasant colonists, often from the uplands, were encouraged to carve out infrasubsistence plots, while expanses of forest were bulldozed to accommodate cattle ranchers. After the construction of the Cerro de Oro Dam in 1973, 85,000 hectares of the contiguous Uxpanapa forest were designated a resettlement zone for thousands of displaced indigenous Chinantecos in a model development predicated on large-scale mechanized agriculture, which soon became notorious as a resounding failure both economically and ecologically. The contemporary era, which occupies the bulk of Doane’s attention, is framed by globally linked megaprojects. Within this context, new regional, community, and environmental identities are emerging, as environmentalists attempted to recast agrarian disputes—partly rooted in interstate border conflicts and government-supported corporate incursions into community lands—as environmental problems. In the process, Chimalapas, translated as “shining rivers,” has emerged as a discrete community and region within the larger Uxpanapa–Chimalapa area, definable from without, as well as from within.

Anchored in fieldwork conducted in 1996–97, with follow-up trips in 2000 and 2005, Doane’s focus is on attempts throughout the 1990s to establish a “Campesino Ecological Reserve” in Chimalapas, spearheaded by the local environmentalist NGO with which she was affiliated, Maderas del Pueblo, funded by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), whose parent funder was the U.S. Agency for International Development. The goal of Maderas was to depart from the top-down “bounded” national park or biosphere reserve models, for a decentralized strategy of community-centered ecological management. Other key stakeholders included the mélange of colonists, smallholders and ranchers mentioned above, local *caciques* (big men), drug trade interests, local and state government agencies, community activists, and politicians. Always contingent on an uneasy alliance between ecologists motivated by the “consumer claims” of the global North and the “producer claims” of peasants recast as environmental stewards, Doane argues that the initiative became seen as politically threatening by the neoliberal Mexican state, which, by 2000 had convinced the WWF to redirect the conservation funding to the state government and its agencies. The WWF eventually abandoned attempts to establish a designated reserve or to gain communitywide acceptance of conservation.

Instead, the WWF began to pay individuals for “environmental services” such as reforestation and environmental monitoring under a market-based conservation model wherein the rainforest itself becomes a commodity deemed invaluable to the global community such that local value is discounted. A global logic of “accumulation by conservation” prevails.

Stealing Shining Rivers is an important contribution to environmental anthropology and development studies for its focus on Western environmentalism under contemporary globalization as part of the ongoing subordination of the periphery to the core in the name of the greater good. Doane’s theoretical articulation is finely nuanced. She is a skilled ethnographer and empathetic interviewer, mindful of research ethics and protective of informants’ identities. The writing is crisp and fluid, especially evocative when characterizing the hyperreality of the magnificent rainforest exhibit in San Francisco’s Academy of Sciences Museum and in her pithy descriptions of her field base, which will resonate with anyone who knows the area. In addition, she makes good use of participant-observation, and includes well-chosen extracts from public presentations. The main limitation of the work is that it seems rather dated, published 15 years after the main fieldwork, and seven years after the last update. Globalization gallops, and a lot has changed in Mexico in the interim. A more minor drawback is that the development field is rife with agencies and acronyms and the list provided is insufficient to keep the reader from foundering in alphabet soup. Also, the sole map is woefully inadequate for locating Chimalapas within the broader regional context. Finally, although Doane is studying an environmental organization, rather than communities, a few photographs would have been invaluable in underscoring the gulf between idealized environmentalist rhetoric and on-the-ground realities, where bug bites and bog holes are more immediate concerns than the threatened orchids and jaguars of a fetishized rainforest.

Democratic Insecurities: Violence, Trauma, and Intervention in Haiti. Erica C. James. California Series in Public Anthropology. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010. 357 pp.

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In *Democratic Insecurities: Violence, Trauma, and Intervention in Haiti*, medical and psychiatric anthropologist Erica C. James offers readers a vivid and uncompromising ethnographic account of the mostly female victims of politically motivated violence and the unsettling business of interna-

tional humanitarian aid. James outlines a “political economy of trauma” in which the experiences of *viktim* (pronounced “veek-teem”), a Haitian Creole term she adapts to identify individuals who suffered human rights abuses, are extracted, transformed, and modified through a humanitarian intervention and become a source of profit and power for intervening organizations. The analysis constructs a political economy of trauma through a careful consideration of history avoiding the all-too-common ahistorical treatment of Haiti that pervades the literature and press. Her work forges new ground through the study of a “compassion economy” in which trauma portfolios become commodities created using “technology of trauma” whereby *viktim* recount the abuses they suffered to qualify for humanitarian assistance. The value of trauma portfolios, like the value of commodities, reflects the perceived usefulness to the consumer. In this case, the value of portfolios depended on their worth to U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)–Haiti as a means of demonstrating its success in promoting democracy and human rights to USAID–Washington.

James’s account of victims’ experiences and the structures of international aid are based on primary research conducted during more than 27 months of fieldwork between 1995 and 2000 in the capital city of Port-au-Prince. The depth of perspective in her ethnography is achieved through a mixed-methods and multisited fieldwork project both planned and designed during the course of fieldwork. James has formal academic training and experience as a therapeutic practitioner using the “Trager Approach,” a form of therapy that relies on gentle physical manipulation to release long-held patterns of tension in the body. Her ability as an ethnographer and a therapeutic practitioner facilitates her access and interactions with a range of stakeholders including victims, clinicians, scholars, and aid bureaucrats. Her goal is to study the complexities of democracy and civil society building by transnational organizations and the experiences of individuals who suffered human rights abuses during the 1991–94 period of de facto political rule in Haiti. To this end, James uses a range of methods, including archival research, interviews, participant-observation, and clinical practice. The core of the text is built on primary data collected through interviews with *viktim* and is situated in the context of her clinical work. James’s masterful ability to navigate clinical, scholarly, and bureaucratic landscapes provides readers with insights from a variety of perspectives. In addition to extensive therapeutic work with patients followed by in-depth interviews, James’s work with America’s Development Foundation (ADF) Human Rights Fund, USAID, and Haiti’s State University Hospital Mars–Kline Center for Neurology and Psychiatry offers other valuable perspectives.

The book has renewed relevance for a Haiti still recovering from the devastating 2010 earthquake. Although some context of suffering in Haiti has changed since the 1990s, James's analysis of how international organizations commodify and circulate trauma portfolios for their own purposes is still relevant in the postquake context, in particular, her treatment of the ethical debates involving the motivations of donors and humanitarian aid organizations during crisis and the ways in which victims are triaged for the distribution of aid. Additionally, James's analysis of insecurity and gender violence is particularly relevant for understanding the violence against women being perpetrated in camps throughout Port-au-Prince by residents and humanitarian aid workers alike. Her study demonstrates how transitions in Haiti's political and economic position can manifest in targeted violence and emphasizes caution to those involved in planning Haiti's transition from a state of emergency. The lessons learned from the failure of ADF, which are not unique for international organizations in Haiti, should encourage readers to consider the limits and alternatives to donor driven, transnational humanitarian assistance.

In its broader implications, this innovative study design, both in terms of its conceptual and methodological approaches, is transferrable to other postdisaster contexts and offers a useful model of mixed, multisited, and applied research. James challenges readers to consider how the introduction of foreign aid in emergency situations can have unintended consequences for those populations deemed to be the most vulnerable. Her description of "bureaucraft," the practices of humanitarian bureaucrats that resemble witchcraft and shape the political economy of trauma, captures how conflicts within and between aid organizations are ultimately about establishing power through the control of trauma portfolios. This study makes significant contributions to recent debates in anthropology about disasters and the complex position of applied researchers as both critics of and participants in structures of humanitarian assistance. James does not avoid this dilemma but is transparent and reflexive about how she personally and professionally adapts to this difficult environment.

In conclusion, the study deals with a critical turning point of Haiti's recent history, its turbulent transition to democratic rule, and considers the voices and experiences of those who paid dearly during this historical moment. The text is a significant contribution to Haitian studies, critical medical anthropology of trauma, and the anthropology of development. If there is anything problematic about this book, published as part of the California Series in Public Anthropology, it is excessive use of jargon, making portions of the text inaccessible to the public. Despite its cumbersome language, the book is an outstanding example of how public anthropology and applied research can engage audiences across disciplines and sectors.

Performing Place, Practicing Memories: Aboriginal Australians, Hippies and the State. Rosita Henry. New York: Berghahn, 2012. 275 pp.

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It was writer Ursula Le Guin, daughter of Alfred Kroeber, who once wrote something to the effect: "You cannot go home again until you realize that home is a place you have never been." This is what immediately came to mind as I read the opening pages of *Performing Place, Practicing Memories*. It is a risky business researching the place from which you have originated: in Rosita's Henry's case, Kuranda in North Queensland. I tried it once myself and ended up concluding it was simply better to just live there (Perth, Ontario, in Canada). One danger is not being able to see the trees for the woods, the woods in this case being the theoretical agendas one brings to bear on one's field research. Another is not being able to see the woods for the trees, in this case being too close to your collaborators to gain a somewhat objective perspective on your subject. Happily, Rosita Henry seems to have avoided both dangers.

I know Kuranda and it is a complex place—a stone's throw from cosmopolitan Cairns and the Great Barrier Reef—itself a tourist destination through the Kuranda Heritage Train and Skyway Rainforest Cableway, yet inhabited by an Aboriginal people, the Djabugay, formerly dispossessed but now working to reestablish their culture and make a living. Rosita was brought up in this environment and returned to "study how differences are both generated and effaced within and in relation to a transforming state system" (p. 239). In my view, she maintains a balanced view and succeeds in illuminating the very real difference-generating conflicts that exist within an overall "village" identity as a homogeneous community.

The two basic categories of people in the area are settlers and Aborigines. The former can be subdivided into the descendants of the original non-Aboriginal settlers, those who moved in during the counterculture movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and those who arrived later in conjunction with the tourist industry. Local Aboriginal people categorize themselves as the traditional owners of the area in continuity with the traditional owners who were displaced by settlers and their state representatives at the turn of the 20th century. This makes for quite a mix of interests in a town of only some 1,500 people and those in the surrounding area.

The ideology of village homogeneity or "sameness" that attempts to encompass these differing interests—group and individual—in fact, according to Rosita Henry, actually works to reproduce these differences. In other words, the very idea of "unity," which seeks to bring people together, also acts to display the very differences that divide them.

This dialectic is also played out in the counterculture movement in which communal separation from the mainstream confronts the libertarian individualism of its own members. In both cases, predictably, the outcome has been fracture. Aborigines remain a shadowy presence hovering in and out of this dynamic.

Rosita Henry skillfully dissects the relations among indigenes, “locals,” incomers, and the various government jurisdictions impinging on developments in the Kuranda area tracing, for instance, the history of the Kuranda Amphitheatre in which many of these dynamics are, or were, dramatized in performance before it evolved (some would say devolved) into the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in Cairns. The history of Kuranda market followed a similar course, first introduced by “hippie settlers,” then expanding to encompass the locals, eventually to be overrun by outside interests as the tourist trade expanded with the building of Skyway and the marketing of the “rainforest experience.”

Paralleling all this is the sorry treatment of Aboriginal people (no surprise given the history of black–white relations in Queensland), some Djabugay, others from related groups, and their experience of dispossession, removal, institutionalization, attempted assimilation, and then revival in the post-Mabo era, seeking to reconstitute their language and culture from memory fragments and internal revelation (seeing or dreaming heretofore unknown signs of supernatural intent). Then, of course, there are the differences within each of these constituencies, skillfully dissected by Rosita Henry. All in all, a window—a microcosm—of “place” in the so-called modern world.

The Migration Apparatus: Security, Labor and Policymaking in the European Union. *Gregory Feldman.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012. viii + 224 pp.

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In this tightly focused book Gregory Feldman vividly details the migration management apparatus in the European Union to pursue what he calls a “nonlocal” ethnography “to account for rationales, discourses and processes” that are entangled in global, neoliberal capitalism. The apparatus here, following Foucault, Rabinow, and the ubiquitous Arendt, is a set of heterogeneous, noncentralized, but linked elements that together serve to manage and control migration into the European Union. This book is brimming with information about policymaking, politics, and technocratic advances in knitting together disparate pieces to effect the management of mobility in Europe. In a clear

but theoretically informed prose, Feldman reveals the apparatus through the examples of standardization, harmonization, and common discursive terrains that link those governmental, agency-based, and policy-based experts and private contractors charged with securing the Union’s border and creating an ideal migrant subject for managed migration into the European space. The scope of the details and imagination of the argument demonstrate what anthropologists could contribute to a field more associated with political science.

The book is divided into seven chapters and an epilogue. In chapter 2 Feldman very effectively explores the usually underexamined synergies between the philosophical approaches neoliberals and neonationalists take toward migration across the political landscape of Europe, especially their common concern for security, the dismantling of (certain) facets of the welfare state, and the length of time migrants can remain. If neoliberals push for individualization, human rights, and humanitarianism, neonationalists are more focused on cultural fundamentalism. Both are concerned with security. Yet the key area of conflict between the two is over the length of stay by migrants, and this, Feldman reveals, gets cleverly resolved by circular migration. Chapter 3, “Making It Simple,” demonstrates that the normalization of terms within policymaking and the production of the good migrant. The creation of groups such as the European Migration Network, which seeks a common glossary of migration terms across the EU, or tools such as I-Map or 3MP, which give border guards ways of visualizing clandestine flows begin to reveal the links between disparate parts. It nicely sets up the very effective next three chapters that chillingly reveal the militaristic “apparatus” that integrates the national border control systems of member states. Chapter 4 explores the EU’s strategies for strengthening control through FRONTEX (the European Agency for the management of operational cooperation at the external borders of the Member States of the European Union) that not only concerns itself with illegal migration but also sanitizes the human dimension with expert terms of reference such as risk, crisis, and humanitarianism. Chapter 5 on biometrics reveals the class-based and individualizing process of technological control over cross-border movement and makes one long for the porous borders of the 19th century and the absence of the technological tools of today’s security state. Finally, chapter 6 examines the emergence of “circular migration” as the policy solution that unites the right and policymakers, with its focus on security, human dignity, rights, and restricted temporality. This policy solution solves the dilemma of an aging European population by providing migrants with short-term visas to meet labor demands and, thus, satisfies the flexibility that neoliberals want and the limited presence that neonationalists desire for migrants.

Despite this, there are some difficulties I have with the elisions and omissions in this “nonlocal” ethnography as a way of entering into the complexity of grasping the elements at play in the contemporary world. As a theoretical-methodological perspective, I am not convinced that a focus on the apparatus, so well presented here, precludes a more substantive form of ethnographic practice, as Feldman seems to suggest. One could study an apparatus and still embrace intimate sites of intersection between the “verticality” of policymaking and their effects, linking the apparatus with on-the-ground refractions of experience rather than a horizontal sketching of the apparatus above the fray. Feldman suggests that this “nonlocal” ethnography itself is particularly effective because it mimics the detached rendering of migrants that the apparatus achieves—a kind of superficiality that policymaking represents (p. 19). Even so, the advantages of incorporating a situated, local ethnography to understand the “apparatus” is too easily dismissed with this position. Integrating the “nonlocal” with the local or “traditional” ethnographic methods would be a way to see how these policy forms, technocratic decisions, discursive frames, and technological devices impact on and get refracted by real migrants, media, and those agents of the state, politicians, and NGOs engulfed in it. In the absence of what might be characterized here as “traditional” ethnography of the “effects” of the apparatus, Feldman depends on journalistic accounts of migrant experiences, which raises questions about how journalism might be entangled with the “apparatus,” or how the media might be implicated in the discursive rationales of the apparatus; but Feldman does not problematize these sources and seems to present them as a kind of replacement for the situated, local ethnography (see, ch. 2, esp. the country examples of coping with migration in the Netherlands, Italy, and Denmark or the extensive use of the BBC account of “Billy” in ch. 4). This kind of “traditional” ethnography might also avert a Foucauldian fetishizing of the apparatus, which displaces responsibility from the actors onto the system by revealing a more complex and contradictory everyday reality underneath the apparatus.

Finally, Feldman’s rendering of the network of the apparatus, of disparate but interrelated actors in multiple locales articulating and acting on the same discursive terrain, is so effective that when he targets “public administration” the phrase strikes the reader as out of date—a target for critique whose time has passed in the complex assemblages of today. What Feldman really seems to be exploring is something more akin to a more amorphous administration of publics. As such, this ethnography would be an excellent, accessible, and theoretically interesting book for advanced undergraduate and graduate students about the possibilities and challenges of ethnography in the contemporary world.

Anthropology in the City: Methodology and Theory. *Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato*, eds. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012. 231 pp.

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It feels disheartening today to encounter yet another text on anthropology and the city whose introduction begins by lamenting the rejection of the field by “real” anthropologists, invokes urban anthropology’s relative newness, and includes incantations of past failures while underplaying recent growth and debates. While some of these constraints indeed challenged us in the past, theoretical and practical projects engaging cities, citizens, and urban phenomena in anthropology in recent decades have become ubiquitous. Vibrant dialogues exist within the field while we share debates over identity, space, process, power, and flows with those who never call themselves urban anthropologists. Moreover, the interactions of urban anthropologists with geographers, environmental students, architects, information specialists, media scholars, political activists, community groups, and others speak to the health and significance of this field. Thus, even in the most interesting chapters in this volume, the question of why the collection feels compelled to address such chimerical limitations proves haunting. Even while the authors foreground the experiences of British anthropologists in contrast to North American studies, the prominence of urban anthropological studies I see in Spain and across the EU suggests that this volume has remained insulated since its original round table in the Seligman Library of the LSE in 2008, rather than engaging contemporary debates on urban theory and method despite the potential of the ethnographic investigations here.

Pardo and Prato’s introduction frames this urban crisis up to the 1990s and then moves quickly through a variegated palette of urbanist issues, including the value and meaning of multisite ethnography, issues of urban typology, and relations of time and reflexivity. The introduction concludes, nonetheless, with surprising banality:

if there is a single point that this volume does make, it is that anthropologists should stay unequivocally committed to ethnographic methodology that links empirically-based analysis to theory. It would be a mistake to fail to recognize that the in-depth knowledge offered by long-term anthropological fieldwork has a contribution to make to our understanding—and hopefully to the betterment—of our increasingly urbanized world. [p. 20]

Really? Who is this arguing against today?

The collection itself assembles regional overviews, methodological reportage, and autobiographical experiences of ethnography in the city. Chapters outside of the European context provide some of the broadest, strongest pieces. Jonathan Parry draws on his decades of work in diverse South Asian settings to skillfully elucidate interlocking debates on the unity of Indian civilization, the relation of caste and class, and the differentiation of urban lives; Henrike Donner complements this overview well with an interrogation of women's places in South Asia and urban fieldwork. Similarly, Elizabeth Lund Engebretsen examines the florescence of urban anthropological studies in China through her explorations of fieldwork within lesbian networks in Beijing, highlighting changing urbanism as well as issues of position and fieldwork facing 21st-century anthropologists. Finally, American Linda J. Seligmann builds on her decades of subtle work with Peruvian market women in Cusco and engages ongoing debates about space, power, multilayered globalization, and indigenous responses.

Other pieces focus on individual fieldwork projects rather than engaging wider contemporary dialogues or creating cross-cutting discussions within the volume. Christian Giordano, for example, reviews plural societies as a long-standing anthropological question and state strategy to explain contemporary practices and diversity in Georgetown, Penang; this analysis invites critical reading in counterpoint to work on Singapore (as an excision from this happy Malaysian pluralism) and Chinese and power relations across Southeast Asia that highlight more problematic relations. Ilká Thiessen's interesting reflections on decades of research and teaching in Skopje, Macedonia, still seem to address urban issues raised by Hannerz in the 1980s rather than engaging other comparable works on complex urban identities and modernities such as García Canclini (2005). Giuliana Prato's comparison of two Adriatic cities, Brindisi, Italy, and Durrës, Albania, also hews close to the case materials of cities undergoing global changes rather than posing wider questions. Co-editor Italo Pardo summarizes decades of fascinating work in both poor Naples neighborhoods and later studies of elites and urban symbolism amidst political changes but again introduces these data by collegial rejections. The piece eventually escapes this defensive tone to speak to general issues of class, power, and action central to contemporary global urban anthropologies, but these theoretical considerations do not really reverberate across the volume.

Marcello Mollica's study of retrospective appropriation of a hunger strike death in Northern Ireland after two decades rehashes many studies of political death but rushes through concrete data, especially a report on a survey of modern Catholic students. Finally, Fernando Monge's rapid notes on the Boston waterfront gloss over a great deal of work there (such as that already undertaken by Tim Sieber

in 1992) and only hints at the comparative framework he initially evokes.

Both the strengths and shortcomings of individual articles and their limited interactions thus end up underscoring the isolated discussions of the volume, which seems to overlook today's flourishing urban ethnographies and reflections rather than contributing to debates that have, in fact, become central to anthropology as a whole. Some articles raise important general questions, and many present interesting fieldwork data and experiences, but these projects might still be better approached through the authors' monographs themselves. In the end, this volume represents a strong call to more vigorous public dialogues about anthropologists and cities because of its omissions rather than its contributions to theory and methods.

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Genocide Lives in Us: Women, Memory, and Silence in Rwanda. Jennie E. Burnet. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012. 277 pp.

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The Rwandan women who appear in Jennie Burnet's *Genocide Lives in Us* are complex. The lives they led prior to and during the genocide and the lives they lead in its aftermath are difficult and varied. *Survivor*, *victim*, *Hutu*, and *Tutsi* are all terms that have meaning, but these meanings are contextual and contested. Women's roles within and vis-à-vis their families, communities, and the Rwandan state all take shape at the intersection of violence, memory, and ethnicity, but that intersection results in different possibilities for different women. Portraying this complex landscape in clear and compelling prose—and demonstrating the unique perspective anthropology brings to such difficult topics—makes *Genocide Lives in Us* a valuable teaching tool.

Burnet's ethnography is based on a 15-year engagement with Rwanda, beginning in the tense days of early 1997 as large numbers of refugees returned from eastern Zaire. Much of her fieldwork was conducted with women's organizations in a middle-class neighborhood of Kigali and in a rural community in the south, although Burnet draws on interviews and observations from around the

country. The depth and richness of this fieldwork comes through in carefully chosen interview excerpts and first-person accounts peppered throughout the text. Burnet self-consciously works in the narrative tradition of scholars like Ruth Behar and Elaine Lawless, scholars for whom deep and sustained dialogue is simultaneously a research method and a form of paying respect. The result is a book in which much of the argument is embedded in the words of women reflecting on their experiences or in the author's descriptions of what they cannot or will not say.

Burnet set out to understand how women survived the genocide and, perhaps, even more importantly, how they survived postgenocide. In her introduction she lists a range of questions that animated the work, which she then groups loosely in three themes: "coping mechanisms, the politics of memory, and reconciliation" (p. 5). The book's chapters are built around specific postgenocide social and political developments, including the proliferation of female-headed households, the declaration of a national month of mourning, and the implementation of supposedly traditional *gracaca* courts as a means for achieving local-level reconciliation and justice. These chapters are purportedly clustered to treat each of Burnet's themes separately. In fact, the rich narratives and ethnographic voices present in all the chapters weave these three themes together in a dense and multilayered analysis of the ways many women's genocide stories are told and the many ways they remain untold.

The politics of silence might therefore better describe the book's core concern. Burnet's first chapter briefly traces how long-standing cultural and political discourses silenced certain forms of women's agency and experience prior to the genocide. The remainder of the book then explores how, as Rwandan and international actors have attempted to craft discourses of reconciliation and postgenocide development, certain tropes and discourses of gender and ethnicity have become standardized and acceptable, while others are silenced. Set against a background of violence that is itself hard to narrate, the undoing of many pregenocide social norms, and the concerted effort of the Rwandan state to control the story of the genocide, many women's experiences of contemporary Rwanda are difficult to articulate and difficult to hear.

Genocide Lives in Us is obviously informed by the large literature on the Rwanda genocide and is grounded in Rwanda's social and political history. But the book reaches outside the debates internal to Rwanda scholarship. It seems primarily designed as an intervention into broader conversations in which Rwanda figures in important ways. Among them is the emerging narrative of Rwanda as a success story in African development, a country that has overcome "tribalism" to achieve social harmony and phenomenal economic growth. Another is a discourse of African women as natural peacemakers, finding ways to band to-

gether to end Africa's seemingly intractable (and mostly male) conflicts. Both stories are rooted in superficial understandings of recent African affairs, but both have become surprisingly powerful in popular representations of the continent. Burnet's extensive interview quotations and careful deconstruction of official accounts and conventional wisdom illuminate both where these master narratives are wrong as well as the ways in which they alter or erase many women's experiences.

Early in *Genocide Lives in Us* Burnet reflects on how anthropological research is a particularly effective means of engaging the kinds of "amplified silences" she explores here. "Rather than merely reporting what Rwandans say," she writes, "the anthropologist attempts to understand why Rwandans say what they say" (p. 33). As Burnet herself points out, this is one of hundreds of texts dealing with the Rwandan genocide. But the events of 1994 remain particularly hard to address in the classroom, not least with students for whom the details of the genocide are largely unknown but for whom the conflict is emblematic of African crises. There remains, therefore, space for a book like *Genocide Lives in Us*. It is a book that effectively deploys ethnography to help students of recent African history or of the anthropology of conflict understand why Rwandan women say many different things about the genocide, and what their silences mean.

Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa. James McDougall and Judith Scheele, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012. 291 pp.

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Once regarded as an isolated wasteland of little interest to the outside world, the Sahara Desert today figures among the globe's most notorious trouble spots. The post-9/11 spread of militant Islamist groups in the region, growing concerns over narcotics smuggling and terrorism, the fall of Mu'ammarr Ghaddafi in Libya in 2011, the spectacular collapse of the Malian state, and the Islamist takeover of northern Mali in 2012 (prompting French and UN military intervention in 2013) have brought the Sahara squarely to the world's attention. Discussion of these events has often been explicitly regional in scope (e.g., Wehry and Boukhars 2013). Most of the chapters of *Saharan Frontiers*, edited by James McDougall and Judith Scheele, were written for a 2008 interdisciplinary conference and do not therefore address the region's present turmoil. The volume does, however, provide valuable insight into a part of the world long perceived as an empty space—"a gap that must simply be crossed," to quote from the editors' introduction (p. 5).

The contributors to *Saharan Frontiers* present the Sahara as a dynamic, highly differentiated social and ecological space characterized by an “intrinsic interdependency of exchange” (p. 13), both internally and with neighboring regions. The paths people, livestock, and merchandise follow within and across this space shape Saharan identity, even as they are themselves shaped by changing climatic, economic, and political conditions. The volume’s chapters offer an antidote to the sterile dualisms dominating discourse about the region: “North African” versus “Sub-Saharan,” “white” versus “black,” “nomadic” versus “sedentary,” “slave” versus “free,” or “trade” versus “smuggling.”

The book’s highly theoretical part 1, “Framing Saharan Africa,” considers the Sahara’s long-term history, emphasizing its connections with its neighbors to the north and south. Following Peregrine Horden’s discussion of historical connections linking the Sahara with the Mediterranean, E. Ann McDougall provides a historiographic review contrasting the meaning of Saharan identity in Western and Saharan thought. Katia Shörle considers the Sahara in classical antiquity, describing it as “a space of vibrant interaction extending in all directions” (p. 70). And James McDougall discusses Saharan Africa as a shifting social and ecological entity.

The chapters in part 2, “Environment, Territory, and Community,” include Fatma Oussedik’s examination of the revival of “ancestral” ritual practice by town dwellers in central Algeria; Abderrahmane Moussaoui’s analysis of Mawlid celebrations and pilgrimage in Algeria’s Mزاب valley; Charles Grémont’s treatment of constructions of territory and political control among Tuareg populations of northern Mali; and Olivier Leservoisier’s discussion of historical relations between Moor and Halpulaar residents of southern Mauritania, relations characterized as much by cross-cutting alliances and interdependence as by conflict. In light of resurgent Tuareg separatism in Mali and the movement’s 2012 declaration of the “independent state of Azawad,” the Grémont chapter is particularly timely for the way it traces the evolution of political practice after the onset of French colonial rule, from centering on flexible alliances between mobile groups to focusing narrowly on control over territory. Grémont highlights uncanny parallels in northern Mali between colonial and postcolonial governance, both seeking to segregate or sedentarize troublesome nomadic populations.

Part 3, “Strangers, Space, and Labor,” offers important contributions to the small but growing scholarly literature on international migration within the African continent. The case of Mauritania illustrates how a country can serve as both a destination and a transit point for migrants. Chapters by Armelle Choplin and Laurence Marfaing consider how migrants from West and Central Africa transform Mauritania’s urban spaces as heightened European border polic-

ing cause growing numbers of migrants to be “stuck” in the country. Mauritania has long depended on foreign workers, particularly from countries south of the Sahara, yet many Arab Mauritians fear being swamped by immigrants from “black Africa,” and their government increasingly targets dark-skinned foreigners on Mauritanian soil for arbitrary arrest and deportation. Dida Badi’s chapter focuses on the southern Algerian city of Tamanrasset, a city attracting foreign migrants to important niches in its artisanal economy, even as others use it as a way station to the Mediterranean coast and to Europe.

The volume’s final part, “Economies of Movement,” focuses on flows of people and goods through Saharan borderlands, illustrating the “intrinsic interdependency” mentioned above. Mohamed Oudada’s chapter looks at southern Morocco and the trade—both formal and informal—in animals and merchandise across the country’s frontiers with Algeria and Mauritania. Judith Scheele contributes an ethnographically rich chapter drawn from fieldwork (cf. Scheele 2012) in Al-Khalil in Mali’s far north, a locale noted not only for “the absence of law and state officials, but also, perhaps, of mothers, wives, and table manners” (p. 225). The sole reason men inhabit this town is the nearby border with Algeria and the many opportunities it presents for trade in goods, both licit (foodstuffs, livestock, and fuel) and illicit (arms and narcotics), which escapes state regulatory and fiscal control. Yet these traders’ lives in Al-Khalil are only made possible through their connections to people—especially wives and relatives—in more “civilized” parts of Algeria, Mauritania, and Mali. Thus, place in the Sahara, Scheele writes, “exists as the result of permanent movement” (p. 235). The last chapter, by Julien Brachet, examines the border between Libya and Niger, noting the long history of labor migration and trade connecting these two countries.

Saharan Frontiers is uneven in some respects: the first section tends toward abstraction, while many chapters of subsequent sections focus so narrowly on empirical case studies that one may have difficulty following the common analytical threads from one chapter to the next. Nonetheless, the book makes a compelling case for the importance of Saharan history, both in its own right and in its articulations with the histories of other regions.

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Drugs for Life: How Pharmaceutical Companies Define Our Health. *Joseph Dumit.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 262 pp.

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The title of Joseph Dumit's latest book, *Drugs for Life*, is a double entendre: it refers not only to the chronic disease medications that are the pharmaceutical industry's cash cow but also to shifts in U.S. popular ideas about health that the industry's strategies have effected. This is the escalating belief that living requires drugs. Health, the book argues, has been redefined as the consumption of drugs that lower risk factors, even among those who show no signs of disease. According to this logic, even feeling healthy is a sign that one is at risk. Further, the risk of disease is now considered a (pre)disease itself; everyone is at risk and is therefore in need of treatment.

Dumit identifies his book as an ethnography "of the cultural work being done in the name of risk, screens, drugs, and clinical trials ... a thick description of how it comes to be common sense ... to talk about everyone being on five or more drugs for life" (p. 21). His approach ranges from citing popular magazines' descriptions of proactive, affluent patients who, believing in their own informed decision making, survey the medical literature to fine-grained analysis of pharmaceutical ads, and an assessment of corporate investments in clinical trials based on the size of potential markets to the politics of setting national treatment guidelines based on risk factors.

There are some classical anthropological moments in the book, such as its reading of a Zoloft antidepressant commercial as enacting a rite of passage. The ad depicts a viewer who feels unlike him or herself, and then introduces "biomedical facts ... [as] the voice of liminality" (p. 73). The viewer's self-alienation is thus identified as a biological symptom, and Zoloft promises the hope of return to a freshly understood "true" self. The book also offers several counterintuitive insights. These include the observation that pharmaceutical companies are most interested in developing products that are effective enough to gain FDA approval but ineffective enough that they will not shrink their own markets by making people well, and the observation that direct-to-consumer ads succeed by undermining the authority of doctors, motivating consumers to insist on prescriptions for advertised brands over their doctors' recommendations. Dumit points out that the most desirable markets for new drugs are large, healthy populations (hence the emphasis on risk factors, rather than disease, as indications for medication), and that health is no longer experiential or clinical in the older sense of the term: rather, the ability of patients to gauge their state of health in consultation with a doctor has been usurped by medical tests and

national guideline committees that determine when an individual is above the risk threshold calling for treatment.

Dumit's argument is powerful, albeit heavy handed and repetitive at times, perhaps because of a self-conscious attempt to write for a popular audience. Many of the discrete points that make up his larger argument are not new. Rather, they are a skillful synthesis of much science studies literature on pharmaceutical marketing over the past two decades, which Dumit brings together into a comprehensive and satisfying explication of the strategies and logics of marketing that in concert have shifted our common sense about what it means to be healthy or need treatment.

Drugs for Life also is an ethnography in that it carefully and methodically provides evidence for this shift in the form of cultural artifacts (e.g., pharmaceutical ads) and the statements and interpretations of natives (mostly those published in reports and textbooks).

What is missing, however, is a fine-grained view of how these strategies are deployed and how they are received on the ground. One does not find in *Drugs for Life* observations of marketers as they problem solve to create and access markets, or observations of, or many quotes from, prescribers, consumers, FDA regulators, or clinical researchers. Dumit does not describe his interactions with his informants or how he entered the field. Because he almost exclusively cites publicly accessible popular media, research reports, and textbooks, there is a disembodied quality to his narrative, reproducing the distance from personal experience that he describes as increasingly true of popular understandings of health. This leaves the monograph almost too tidy: we do not see corporate uncertainties or errors in marketing or conflicts among or between marketers and medical professionals. Nor do we see patients and physicians who resist the pressure to multiply prescriptions. In addition, Dumit represents images of mainstream, middle-class Americans; he does not examine the segmentation of markets, such as the privately insured and medically literate consumers versus publicly insured Medicaid patients, or the ethnic marketing of pharmaceuticals, which would have given additional texture to his analysis.

Having undertaken fieldwork on pharmaceutical marketing myself, I suspect that some of the book's lack of observational and interview data is because of the difficulty of studying up. Pharmaceutical company executives are so successful in their marketing that they are among the wealthiest and most powerful people on earth. Their privileged information is guarded from publication by confidentiality agreements and corporate lawyers. Other field data might be more easily published, however, including observations or interviews with patients, prescribers, and clinical researchers. The end result of Dumit's hesitancy to go this route is that, for an anthropological audience, his portrait of the cultural landscape lacks the sense of contestation and indeterminacy that is inherent in cultural process;

it is unidimensional. And for a popular audience, the result is a view of pharmaceutical corporations as hegemonic. It leaves little room to imagine resistance to the corporate colonization of our physiologies that Dumit diagnoses. Nevertheless, *Drugs for Life* is a synthetic achievement. It captures a web of phenomena occurring in disparate spaces—clinical research, treatment guidelines, advertising practices, biotechnology investments—and shows how they interact to reconfigure our intuitive, personal sense of what health is and what living requires. For this reason, it is destined to enter the canon of science and technology studies.

Colonial Entanglement: Constituting a Twenty-First-Century Osage Nation. Jean Dennison. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. 256 pp.

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In *Colonial Entanglement*, Jean Dennison provides a window into the process of contemporary Native governance—including what's at stake for tribal citizens and noncitizens, their debates about citizenship requirements, and the ways in which tribal sovereignty and citizenship are caught up in the ongoing colonial process in America. There is a growing scholarship in anthropology that uses sovereignty as a productive analytical framework to understand the everyday lives and practices of Native peoples, for example, regarding economy (Cattellino 2008) and identity (Sturm 2002). Dennison's account looks at debates about sovereignty itself through unprecedented access to the 2004–06 constitutional reform process in the Osage Nation located in Oklahoma. She focuses on the creation of the 2006 Osage Nation constitution and captures a moment in which tribe is trying to settle the “Osage citizenship problem,” which Dennison identifies as the “headright system” in which only 4,000 out of a possible 16,000 Osage descendants can vote in tribal elections (p. 1).

The Osage Nation is both a unique case and one that exemplifies the “colonial entanglements” of contemporary Native life. In 1897 oil was discovered on Osage lands. In 1906, a year before Oklahoma became a state, a roll was created along with the Osage Mineral Estate, managed by the Osage Tribal Council. The roll determined which Osages, called annuitants, had “headright” or shares of revenue from oil and were eligible to vote in tribal elections. The outcome of this process was that some Osage were disenfranchised and others, through the passing on of mineral rights, only had a portion of a vote (e.g., if an annuitant passes on their share to three children, each child would have one-third of the revenue and one-third of a vote in tribal elections). Although it is not mentioned until chapter

5, the other unusual situation for the Osage Nation is that its reservation borders are coterminous with a county of the state of Oklahoma, and within the territory only 3 percent are enrolled Osage citizens (p. 143), in part because of this citizenship criteria but also because of allotment.

Dennison is trained in anthropology and is candid about her own identity as an Osage who was never able to vote in tribal elections. In her introduction, she explains that it was her father who implored her to document the constitutional reform process. To do so, she used a video camera and attended Osage Government Reform Commission (OGRC) meetings, interviewed people, and attended other meetings and events pertinent to the process. In her analysis, Dennison has a clear and strong point of view, which is a foundational part of her theoretical approach to this work. She considers the actions of the annuitants, who are reticent to embrace reform, to be shortsighted. She writes, “My perspective must be understood as an Osage nationalist who hopes, sometimes beyond the evidence, that increased Osage control can improve our future capacities” (p. 10). Barriers to reform include “a lack of trust, histories of exploitation, mistrust of governments, limited faith in one's own capacities, jealousies, and disenfranchisement from full governing authority” (p. 39). Her approach and critical stance on her own community reflects her employment of critical race theory—a form of scholarship that Dennison emphasizes not only helps us to better understand a social situation but also aims to change it, to transform it for the better (p. 15).

If her account feels “thin” ethnographically, it is because of a conscious choice she made to “focus primarily on the rhetoric behind nationalism rather than the structures it produces, investigating how the 2006 Osage Constitution itself was debated and eventually came into being” (p. 5). There is little sense of being there, of the nation itself. Instead, there is a detailed analysis of the past and present discourses of blood, culture, minerals, and sovereignty—chapter titles in the book—and how they have both been a part of, and challenged, the settler colonial process. Her focus on rhetoric also reveals “complex negotiations that are often concealed by ratified documents” like constitutions (p. 5).

Dennison views these discourses through the lens of what she calls “colonial entanglement.” Entanglement purposefully goes beyond the notion of contradiction and represents “the moments of complexity and follow how they serve to at times bolster and at other times hinder national capacities” (p. 7). She explains that “for their part the Osage and all American Indian nations have long understood the colonial process as at once devastating and full of potential” (p. 7). Part of this potential is a possibility for sovereignty, even if it is based on a nation-state model that is “clearly a necessary entanglement. The key is making something out of this structure that does not mirror the oppression

of the colonizer" (p. 8). Dennison also cautions about the possible negative impacts of scholarship about indigenous sovereignty, which can sometimes "aid settler colonial efforts to discredit indigenous authority" (p. 131; cf. Briggs 1996). This is a key consideration in contemporary Native North American ethnography and one of the reasons why sovereignty has become such a productive framework.

Dennison begins with a chapter on reform, providing some historical context to the debates around constitutional reform and the history of colonial entanglement for the Osages. She then considers the various options for citizenship criteria and argues, similar to Circe Sturm (2002), that blood quantum is a colonial concept that should not be the main criteria for citizenship. In the chapter about culture, she elaborates the discussions about whether or not there should be cultural criteria to citizenship, and whether traditional governance patterns should influence the contemporary government structure. The chapter on minerals details debates about the changing role of the Osage Tribal Council and how the Osage Mineral Estate should be managed. Finally, Dennison concludes the book with a chapter on sovereignty, focusing on colonial entanglements with state and federal governments and the consequences of the new Osage constitution—including disenfranchising non-Osage residents and the uncertainty that some Osages feel about the Osage Nation's capacity to provide the necessary infrastructure to increase sovereignty and manage internal affairs that for the prior 100 years were the purview of the Osage Tribal Council, focused mainly on the mineral estate, and the state of Oklahoma. Dennison is optimistic about the capabilities of the Osage Nation and argues in favor of it taking on these new responsibilities.

Dennison's future perspective is key to a burgeoning literature in anthropology and Native American Studies that is focusing more on the present and future of Native communities and building a critical scholarship in service to understanding and advancing self-determination for indigenous peoples. It is clear this book was written first for her community, but it is also a valuable resource to the wider public as well, including other Native nations and the disciplines of Native American and Indigenous studies, anthropology, and history, as well as the scholarship on sovereignty beyond Native American studies.

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Drawing on Tradition: Manga, Anime, and Religion in Contemporary Japan. *Jolyon Baraka Thomas*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012. 199 pp.

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Jolyon Baraka Thomas's *Drawing on Tradition: Manga, Anime, and Religion in Contemporary Japan* explores the vibrant world(s) of Japanese manga (illustrated comics) and anime (animated cartoons), showing how these art forms create spaces for entertainment and religion to overlap and intermingle in the Japanese cultural milieu. As commodities, manga and anime represent two of Japan's most famous global exports, popular at home and familiar to many abroad by their distinctive styles of illustration and production. While manga and anime are often dismissed as frivolous entertainment or the purview of an obsessive fandom, Thomas argues that the term *religious* can be readily applied to much of manga–anime culture: not only in their content or interpretation but also in their creation and consumption.

Thomas bookends his discussion by situating anime and manga in the context of public discourse about religion in Japan in the aftermath of Aum Shinrikyō, the religious group that gained international attention for its deadly sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway system in 1995. Public distrust of religion and especially of "cults" amplified dramatically in the wake of these attacks. Manga and anime were swept into this climate of distrust by virtue of their reported role in influencing Aum's messianic and apocalyptic worldview and their use as proselytization tools by the group. The public vilification of these art forms was relatively short-lived, but the critical spotlight put on manga and anime at the time revealed that far more work had been done discussing religious ideas and imagery in these genres than had ever been applied to understanding the ways in which this content was received, interpreted, and acted on by their audiences.

Despite this sobering opening, Thomas quickly pulls back to show that discussions of religion in manga and anime are far from being doom and gloom: if anything, these art forms reveal a wonderful playfulness with and about religious ideas, themes, and figures that permeates both the creation and consumption of these illustrated works. Thomas demonstrates that manga and anime are often sites for "recreating religion": that is, not only are they used for entertainment purposes ("recreation"), but they are used to expand on, innovate, and otherwise play with existing religious motifs ("re-creation").

The thrust of Thomas's argument is encapsulated in a Japanese term of his own devising: *shūkyō asobi*, which can be simultaneously glossed as both "religious entertainment" and "playful religion." This concept is fluid by

design, allowing for “oscillations between perceptions of an activity or media product as either religious or entertaining while emphasizing continuity between the similarly imaginative aspects of religion and recreation” (p. 17). In so doing, Thomas provides a useful theoretical apparatus that allows for both textual and ethnographic analysis among multiple dimensions.

Thomas conceives of his apparatus as two parallel continua. The first continuum represents authorial intention and ranges from didactic (using religious content to promote specific religious ideas) to aesthetic (using religious content for purely entertainment purposes). The second continuum represents audience reception to these ideas, ranging from apathetic to highly receptive. Thomas correctly observes that “authorial intent does not always match audience reception” (p. 19), and he spends much of the book describing various works of manga and anime that conform to different possible configurations of coordinates along these continua, with the most instructional examples being the outwardly “religious” works that fall far from their target by their apathetic reception, or seemingly innocuous works that surprise their producers by the level of religious sentiment that they inspire in the audience.

In providing evidence for his arguments, Thomas relies heavily on synopsis and textual analysis of various manga and anime as well as previously published interviews by influential authors and filmmakers such as Miyazaki Hayao (whose oeuvre, which includes the internationally renowned movies *Spirited Away* and *Princess Mononoke*, is the subject of ch. 3). However, Thomas’s writing most comes alive when he leaves the synopses behind and engages with the research data he personally gathered through interviews and a small-scale survey conducted at a Japanese university. In this regard, one of the narrative high points of the book is Thomas’s interview with Kuroda Minoru, a manga author whose beliefs about the “unseen world” were so fervently embraced by his readership that it led to the formation of a religious movement in Japan, with Kuroda as its spiritual head. I was likewise fascinated by several of Thomas’s interlocutors, especially a Shingon-sect Buddhist priest who found his calling after reading manga that depicted the clergy as having “supernatural powers” (p. 76).

While securing interview time with big name authors and filmmakers is challenging even for industry professionals, I would have liked to see Thomas make more ethnographic use of “actual sites” of production and consumption—*genba*, to borrow from Ian Condry—such as comic book shops, fan conventions, the “geek paradise” neighborhood of Akihabara in Tokyo, or possibly a visit to an anime or manga production studio.

Nevertheless, Thomas’s mastery of the genres of anime and manga is impressive, and his analysis is both clear and accessible even to a reader who is unfamiliar with the works being discussed. A familiarity with Japanese religious mo-

tifs is not a prerequisite to understanding Thomas’s analysis, and the subject matter is relevant to those whose interests extend to film and media studies, the interplay of religion and material culture, and the ethnography of East Asia generally. While this book is an easy fit for mid-to-upper-level undergraduates, with little contextualization, this book could also be an engaging addition to introductory courses, as students are likely to have some previous exposure to, or even familiarity with, the genres of anime and manga.

Long Live Atahualpa: Indigenous Politics, Justice, and Democracy in the Northern Andes. Emma Cervone. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. xiii + 332 pp.

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During my fieldwork in an indigenous village in Chimborazo province, Ecuador, villagers spoke admiringly of a powerful parish-level organization called Inca Atahualpa, further south in the same province. This organization had been able to eliminate local cattle rustling, they said, by capturing and harshly punishing rustlers—a model they eventually emulated. Thus, I read with great interest Emma Cervone’s account of the Inca Atahualpa and its struggles over land, the administration of justice, and interethnic relations.

Cervone’s study is based on two years of fieldwork (1991–93), during which she lived in the mainly white-mestizo town of Tixán, the parish center, while conducting an oral history of the Inca Atahualpa, attending its activities, and visiting indigenous communities affiliated with the organization. She also draws on subsequent experiences as a consultant in Quito to analyze national-level interactions between the state and the indigenous movement in the last two decades.

A central theme of the book is the relationship between cultural distinctiveness and politics. The author aims to show that everyday experiences and responses to interethnic domination contributed to the Inca Atahualpa’s political strategies and were in turn reshaped by the organization’s successes—a quintessentially anthropological view, articulated here in theoretical language drawn from de Certeau, Bourdieu, James Scott, and others. This approach recognizes the fluidity of indigenous identity and culture and, at the same time, their deep grounding in everyday performance and affect.

Four chapters form the book’s ethnographic core. Chapter 3 examines everyday interethnic interactions in the town and perhaps most interestingly, in *compadrazgo* (ritual kinship). In tandem with the more explicitly political process of ethnic mobilization, interethnic *compadrazgo*

became more equitable. Succeeding chapters analyze the Inca Atahualpa's role in land invasions and the 1990 national uprising, its practice of "indigenous law," and a new annual harvest festival that it organized together with the parish priest, an important supporter and adviser.

While sensitively tracing the history and politics of the festival, the author wisely rejects reducing it to an instrumental "invented tradition." Instead, she shows how the festival drew on common features of Andean fiestas and discusses participants' biographical connections to emblematic ethnic dress displayed in the festival. She likewise suggests a parallel between older fiestas involving a ritual "seizure" of the town square and the harvest festival as an indigenous assertion of power in the parish. There is thus no need here for false dichotomies between authentic tradition and political innovation; rather, lived and remembered experience, affective attachments, and political strategies are all interrelated.

As with any ethnography, some of the book's strengths and weaknesses derive from the circumstances of the author's fieldwork. Her location in a rural parish and, subsequently, in Quito affords her an interesting perspective on connections and differences between parish- and national-level processes. Working in the town, she learned a lot about the local-level state administration, and she stresses the ways the Inca Atahualpa borrowed state practices and improved on them in building its own legitimacy as an arbiter of justice. The ethnographic material on the organization richly conveys the complexities of parish-level indigenous politics.

By contrast, the book's portrayal of hacienda-era indigenous society and contemporary indigenous communities is rather thin and at times inaccurate. As is common in studies of indigenous movements, the book's focus on domination and resistance sometimes overlooks their connections to other dimensions of indigenous life. Most of the indigenous protagonists in the book appear faceless and nameless. The analysis of the Inca Atahualpa's role in conflict resolution misses the ways the organization may have helped to fill a vacuum of strong village-level authority produced by agrarian reform and the weakening of the fiesta system. The reader learns of political rivalries between moorland and valley communities but gets little sense of other axes of diversity between and within indigenous communities. Indigenous Catholics and evangelicals have competed fiercely in Chimborazo, promoting different models of ethnicity and politics, and evangelical communities exist in Tixán, but one would not know this from the book. I would have liked to learn how this Catholic-sponsored organization has dealt with religious diversity and competition.

To her credit, the author includes numerous direct quotes, but she does not adequately consider translation issues. Cervone seems to have translated Quichua

gerundlike forms mechanically into the English "ing" without regard for differences in English syntax, and various Spanish words into English false cognates. Readers who can back-translate will find themselves frequently doing so to make sense of quotations and assess interpretations. *Comuneros* as indigenous "commoners" misleadingly implies the persistence of an indigenous nobility. Cervone claims dominant racial perceptions of Indians have changed from "brutish" to "brave," but *bravos* is better translated here as "fierce" or "prone to violent anger." The image of *indios bravos* is older and has more in common with *indios brutos* than she recognizes: both are rooted in Indians' purported lack of rationality—a connection the mistranslation obscures. I sometimes felt like I was working through a trilingual crossword puzzle, as when I realized that a quotation about townspeople who "converted [Indians] into Christians" must mean "sponsored their baptism" (p. 126)—highland Ecuadorians have been Christian for centuries.

Duke University Press did the author and readers a disservice in not subjecting the manuscript to the thorough copyediting that should have flagged these and various other stylistic and factual problems. Historians will wince when they read of events that happened "following independence at the beginning of the twentieth century" (pp. 41, 42). Stylistically, the author's analytic pronouncements can be hard to parse. I cannot figure out exactly what problem she is pointing to when she writes that "the harvest festival ... problematizes evangelización inculturada as a theological practice that was born out of a debate that questioned power relations" (p. 209).

Despite these problems, instructors should consider the book for upper-level courses on indigenous politics and social movements. Scholars of these topics will find valuable ethnographic material and much insightful analysis.

American Indians and the American Imaginary: Cultural Representation across the Centuries. *Pauline Turner Strong.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2011. 277 pp.

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It can be easy to forget that studying Native Americans was the bread-and-butter of American anthropologists back in the old days. "How many people in a Navajo family?" went one rueful joke I heard on the Navajo reservation in the late 1970s. The answer was five—father, mother, two kids ... and an anthropologist. Actually, by that time, the number of anthropologists in Indian country was already declining; Indians, tired of being under the microscope, were making it far harder for researchers to traipse onto reservations to gather material; soon anthropology itself would be turning

away from its hoary old obsession with tribal societies to studying just about everything from strip clubs to nuclear research labs and white suburban life. By the century's end some very prestigious departments no longer had anyone at all who specialized in Native America.

But there has been a miniresurgence in the anthropology of Native America lately. A new generation of scholars—many native themselves—have breathed fresh life into the field. Pauline Turner Strong's *American Indians and the American Imaginary: Cultural Representation across the Centuries* is a noteworthy contribution to rethinking native experience and the place of native peoples in the American imaginary. The book is not an ethnography so much as a wide-ranging exploration of key debates around the shape of American Indian culture and politics. It's a thorough, intelligent piece of writing that draws extensively on the latest scholarship about Native America (the list of references alone is 36 pages long, and that's not to mention the helpful bibliographic notes at the end of each chapter). *American Indians and the American Imaginary* will be a valuable resource for anyone trying to get up to speed with the cultural politics of indigeneity in this country, or to think more deeply about them.

The book is comprised of 12 chapters grouped into five parts. If the old anthropology sought to salvage information about ostensibly traditional native ways, Strong typifies newer scholarship that focuses much more on the political economy of representation—the strange mirror-dance of fantasy, desire, and mass media that has bound whites and Indians together across the centuries. She traces the genealogy of the imagery of indigeneity from the vanishing Indian to sports team adoption of Indian mascots, and to more recent movies like *The Indian in the Cupboard* and *Pocahontas*. As Strong shows, some of the same tired tropes have persisted through the decades, like those moldy old clothes in the garage that we should throw out but somehow never do. In other ways, however, the panorama of debate and understanding around things Indian has changed a great deal, among other things with Native American activists, artists, and scholars having far greater voice nowadays.

It's impressive just how much ground Strong covers. Her analysis ranges across historical periods. Thus, for example, the section on captivity narratives considers Puritan versions of these stories as well as the modern-day debate over Indian adoption as exemplified in Sherman Alexie's novel *Indian Killer* (1996). Even in an age of blurred boundaries between history, anthropology, Native American studies, and other fields (as well as between fiction, nonfiction, music, and film), *American Indians and the American Imaginary* displays considerable virtuosity in the sheer number of topics it covers. The controversy over the Columbian quincentenary, the National Museum of the American Indian, the casino economy, and the politics of

tribal sovereignty—these matters and many more receive serious attention in Strong's book.

The study of Native America will never regain the central place it occupied in American anthropology a century ago (and, in fact, it's hard to imagine the emergence of any single fulcrum to what has become such a ramified, peripatetic field). But Strong's book testifies to the energy and value of new efforts to reinvigorate and reimagine the enterprise. It does not appear likely that the anthropology of Native America, any more than Native Americans themselves, will be riding off into the sunset any time soon.

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In the Smaller Scope of Conscience: The Struggle for National Repatriation Legislation, 1986–1990. C. Timothy McKeown. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012. 270 pp.

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The passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 fundamentally changed the ways in which Native communities in the United States interact with museums, archaeologists, and anthropologists by giving tribes the ability to reclaim the remains of their ancestors and culturally important objects curated in museums. In this work, Tim McKeown traces the history of legislative bills proposed between 1986 and 1990 that laid the foundation for NAGPRA and the act that created the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). An important contribution of this book is the discussion of how the section of the NMAI act that created repatriation procedures for the Smithsonian Institution influenced the dialogue and debates about national repatriation policy and procedures in NAGPRA. The research for this book was based on McKeown's own experience at the National Park Service where he was hired to help implement NAGPRA shortly after it became law. He also drew on conversations with legislators and staff members, plus an extensive review of the congressional hearings, revisions to numerous repatriation bills, and the paper trail of negotiations between various stakeholders.

McKeown opens the book by recounting the experience of a Cheyenne elder who visited the Smithsonian's anthropology collections to look for a ceremonial pipe that had been taken by a U.S. Army official in 1869 during a raid on a Cheyenne camp in Colorado. While looking for the pipe in the collections, the elder realized that thousands of

human remains were stored nearby. The elder's experience in the Smithsonian collections prompted his senator to introduce the first bill addressing the questions about ownership and control of Native American remains and sacred objects in 1986. In chapters that alternate between the development of the NMAI act and NAGPRA, McKeown describes the negotiations and revisions to the sequence of congressional bills that were eventually merged into these two laws. The progression of bills is nicely illustrated in a figure at the beginning of the book that was extremely helpful while reading these detailed descriptions. McKeown also identifies key turning points in this legislative process and circumstances that brought members of the scientific and Native communities to the negotiating table. In the final chapter of the book, McKeown uses this history to examine how these two laws have been implemented by examining a series of essential questions in the repatriation process: who must comply with the laws, what actions are required by various stakeholders, who can make a request for repatriation, and what items can be requested? Using several controversial repatriation cases, including Kennewick Man and the recent debates about the final resting place of Jim Thorpe's remains, McKeown states that interpretation of these laws, especially NAGPRA, needs to be based on a thorough understanding of the history of the legislative process. He argues that documents crafted by various groups during the legislative negotiations are essential for looking beyond the letter of the law to its intent.

The book also provides fascinating glimpses into the assumptions held by members of congress about the process and purpose of repatriation. Quotes from hearing transcripts and related correspondences illustrate that many congressmen involved in crafting repatriation legislation questioned the ethics of museums and archaeologists. From the beginning of the discussions about the need for legislation on repatriation, they viewed the storage of human remains in museum collections as disrespectful and questioned what could be learned from these remains. Repatriation was seen as another way of rectifying past treatment of Native peoples by the U.S. Government, while also providing equal treatment of the dead. Many in congress also thought that the process of returning remains would be fairly simple and occur rapidly. Interestingly, only after representatives from individual tribes and museums were called to testify did the discussions turn to the need for requests to be considered on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the tribal beliefs and needs through consultation—an important hallmark of NAGPRA. The book also documents how many of the issues regarding the treatment of unaffiliated remains that are now part of the 2010 NAGPRA regulations on the disposition of culturally unidentifiable human remains were proposed as part of the original legislative negotiations.

In his analysis of the legislative process, McKeown makes only passing reference to the debates about Native American remains that occurred outside of the halls of Congress and the examples in which museums returned remains to tribes prior to the passage of NAGPRA. As a result, the book does not provide an in-depth analysis of the political and social landscape into which these pieces of legislation were proposed or how factors in society at large ultimately influenced the passage of the bills. Because the goal of the book is to provide museums, federal agencies, and Native descendant communities with a history of key issues and concepts involved in the creation of these two laws, this book will be especially valuable to individuals and institutions who are involved in repatriation decisions in the United States or individuals in other countries who are working to create repatriation policies. This book is also an informative read for anyone interested in the complex process of creating a piece of legislation that requires parties with disparate perspectives to work together and compromise on important issues.

The Perils of Joy: Contesting *Mulid* Festivals in Contemporary Egypt. Samuli Schielke. New York: Syracuse University Press, 2012. 269 pp.

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Joy is a serious matter. It upsets modernist visions of order. It is dangerously utopian. And it runs counter to the insistence of Salafists that “God opened the Revelation with the word ‘Read!’ He did not say ‘Dance!’” (p. 95). In *The Perils of Joy*, Samuli Schielke traces the subversive potentials of lived joy along with multiple attempts to contain it. The book's ethnographic focus is the *mulid* (*mawlid* in classical Arabic), colorful, lively, and sometimes-excessive celebrations of saints' birth or death dates in Egypt. *Mulids*, for Schielke, offer “a utopian exception to the order of the everyday where everybody is welcome and many things are possible that otherwise would be deemed out of place” (p. 7). The book draws on in-depth, long-term, multisited fieldwork, historical research, and diverse literary sources, ranging from Orientalist writings to ethnographies of carnivals, from Foucault and Bakhtin to Arabic texts, classical and contemporary, popular and academic.

How, then, to write a book about joy in its own right and as an object of contestation? Schielke does both while expressing doubt “whether these two objectives can really be reconciled” (p. 202). In the introduction he describes his intellectual journey from being “proudly Foucauldian” to wanting to capture the *mulid* as “something that by virtue of its material and sensual shape does something to the world

and our ways of being in it” (pp. xi–xii). The book maintains the tension between Foucauldian and phenomenological approaches while reversing the order: Chapters 2 and 3 focus on experiences; chapters 4 to 8 trace contestations.

The phenomenological chapters show that a mulid is not only a spiritual occasion but also a place for entertainment, harassment, trade, and other economic exchanges. Schielke’s attention to the cacophonous sounds and sights of the festival offers a refreshing change from the focus on pious self-cultivation in the anthropology of Islam. In my favorite (and probably the longest) sentence of the book, he lists the multiple ways in which people engage with mulids: “The choices are many: read the Fatiha at the shrine, take a ride on a swing boat ... hang around on the streets ... eat for free ... have a good look at the members of the opposite sex, study the saint’s biography ... sleep, cook, get high ... pick a fight, buy snacks and souvenirs” (pp. 56f.). This is ethnography at its best—the kind that, as Schielke (2010) has argued elsewhere, attends to the messiness of everyday life and its multiple, concurrent desires.

And yet, while Schielke beautifully captures the “habitus of celebration” (p. 35), we learn little about individual people at the mulid. His interlocutors figure mostly in interview excerpts (in which, surprisingly, Schielke undoes the festival’s equalizing force by using his last name and his interlocutors’ first names). Little is included on the interviewees’ lives outside the festival, and although we encounter compelling categories of people—such as “fun-making young men” (p. 73) and “Sufi-minded individuals” (p. 178)—these categories remain largely unpeopled. We get the sense of a crowd but not of who makes up the crowd.

Along with the visitors, the invisible is backgrounded. To a large extent, mulids are Sufi affairs, and one of the book’s key insights concerns an important difference between reformists and Sufis: For reformists outer performances are expected to constitute inner states; Sufis divorce the visible (*zāhir*) from an inner truth (*bātin*) and ascribe less importance to outward appearances (e.g., p. 63). Despite this provocative argument, Schielke largely prioritizes the visible in his “dialogically and visually oriented ethnography” (p. 15). Little attention is given to the mulid’s invisible dimensions—miracles, dreams, visions, and the presence of the saint’s spirit—or the question of how the invisible might disrupt a conventional phenomenological approach.

The more Foucauldian chapters describe how and why mulids are contested, tamed, monitored, policed, and disciplined. Highlighting colonial legacies, class aspirations, and a Salafist dislike for ambiguity, Schielke shows how mulids unsettle ideas about the modern city, order, hygiene, progress, and rationality. While the book offers compelling examples of state intervention, I found less convincing the state’s collapse into society—as “not an agent or an institution in its own right” but entwined with “wider societal

common senses” (p. 196). Still, the accounts of reform, discipline, and an ongoing folklorization of the mulid are nuanced and critical. Despite these many interventions, the festival persists, and Schielke predicts that “the attempts to overcome ambivalence will more likely produce different moments of ambivalence, different expressions and experiences of the extraordinary” (p. 206). This prediction is all the more compelling given the current historical moment—a time of revolution and upheaval.

Readers will inevitably wonder what this book can tell us about post-Mubarak Egypt. Especially those familiar with Schielke’s insightful blog on the uprising will be intrigued by the observation, made by one of his interlocutors and many others in Egypt, that Tahrir itself was like a mulid (p. 200). Is revolution the ultimate peril of joy? Schielke touches on post-2011 Egypt but largely confines himself to acknowledging that “much of what appears in this book in present tense may already belong to the past” (p. 8) and suggesting that the Muslim Brotherhood rule will temporarily put a damper on mulids. I (and, I imagine, other readers) would have liked to hear more about how he is making sense of the revolution in light of the mulid and rethinking the mulid in light of the revolution.

Regardless, this provocative and comprehensive study of mulids will be of great interest to scholars who want to think beyond the religious–secular dichotomy, those studying the postcolonial state and its disciplinary mechanisms, as well as those looking for new directions in the anthropology of Islam. It is refreshing and exciting to see a work on Sufism that is analytically engaged, innovatively written, evocative—and a joy to read.

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The Pastoral Clinic: Addiction and Dispossession along the Rio Grande. *Angela Garcia.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010. x + 248 pp.

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Reflecting on the majestic region encompassing the Española Valley and the Sangre de Cristo mountain range of north–central New Mexico, Robert J. Oppenheimer, known as the “father” of the atomic bomb, confessed, “I am responsible for ruining a beautiful place” (Bird and Sherwin 2006:207). Yet one could argue that this region and the

people living there had already been multiple times “ruined,” especially in the colonial era. An important ritual that marked 16th-century Spanish colonialism was that of reading out loud to the native peoples a document known as the *Requerimiento*, or the Requirement. The Requirement referred to the divine rights of the conquistadors to subjugate, exploit, and even to declare war on native inhabitants. This ceremonial reveals something different about the Spanish conquest; here was tyranny without any irony, a document stating that if the native peoples did not comply with their own subjugation, then whatever tragedy and violence would unfold would be of their own making. This is consonant with the historical backdrop to the heroin detoxification clinic called *Nuevo Día*, where the ethnographer Angela Garcia worked and from which so much of the rich human drama of *The Pastoral Clinic* is drawn.

The Pastoral Clinic is a lyrical and haunting ethnography of heroin addiction in north-central New Mexico, and it both assumes and builds on the history of recurring dispossession of land and identity that began with the conquest, extends through the Mexican War of Independence (1821), the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), the establishment of Los Alamos National Laboratory (1943), and then becomes increasingly consolidated under more recent neoliberal visions of government retreat from public social service programs. This has led to the perverse instantiation of corporate, profit-making interventions into the intimate spaces of drug addiction. As the author so beautifully muses, “this particular geography of addiction encloses multiple forms of spatial and existential ruin, sedimented and entangled through time” (p. 7). In drawing this picture, Garcia argues that ethnography can be constitutive of theory and knowledge production. She is extraordinarily convincing. This book breathes new life into the entire ethnographic project, even as it describes a people who have been continually suffocated.

The Pastoral Clinic takes place in the Española Valley, New Mexico, a rural area enveloped by sacred landscapes shared by Native Americans, Hispanos, whites, and Mexican Americans: Los Alamos, Taos, and Santa Fe are the well-known cities, but there are other important pueblos that constitute this region: Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Ohkay Owingeh. The reader enters a fraught present temporality marked by heroin addiction rates that are among the highest in the country and that are so embedded in everyday lives and communities that they are now fully intergenerational. The book is personal and is filled with people in struggle: included are intimate life portraits of parent-child duos who came to addiction together.

Consider Bernadette and Eugenia, a daughter and mother who struggle with heroin addiction. Eugenia, the mother, started smoking heroin when Bernadette was 12. They began using it together when Bernadette was just 16 years old and then continued for 13 years, living to-

gether in a small adobe house in Chamayó. Mother and daughter are implicated in one another's lives: we learn that Bernadette takes a five-year prison rap for her mother. Bernadette is serving her sentence in a newly privatized prison where inmates are given incentives to convert to Evangelical Christianity—its unfunded substitute for counseling or other assistance. In spite of everything that seems to remain unforgiving in this deeply problematic prison-clinic system, mother and child still care for one another and are motivated by strong bonds of loyalty and love.

One of the alternative concepts of how to care for these individuals and communities explored in the book is that of “social commensurability.” Social commensurability provides a glimmer of hope in this environment. “In the midst of loss, insecurity, and abandonment, the healing potential of social commensurability, of keeping watch with one another remains vital” (p. 182). This, in fact, is all that remains when the managed care model fails, when public institutions divest, and when corporate managerial care ends up being sterile and ineffective. At one point in the book, somebody asks the author what the biggest problem of the detoxification clinic *Nuevo Día* is, and she replies, “life outside it” (p. 190). The prisons and clinics are holding grounds for individuals struggling with recurring relapse, failed treatments, and a sort of long-term cultural collapse.

Here in this landscape of “loss and mourning,” the reader gains an understanding of the interconnections between individual and communal subjectivities as they are affected by dispossession, boredom, dust, and addiction. These sensibilities are treated by heroin, a drug that works well to take “all the feelings away” and relieve the pain of living. In the tentative vision of relief forged by Garcia, heroin addicts are freed from punishing discourses, deceptive calls for personal responsibility, and the implicit expectation of chronicity and failure. Families living here try to provide care for one another in the ways they know how. Sometimes that care will seem pathological or ineffective. But this is also a portrait of resilience. Toward the end of the book, Garcia provides a glimpse of an “experiment with care” that stands as an epiphany about the generosity of spirit that is embedded in this region and that stands in contradistinction to the characteristic abandonment and cynicism of state and corporate entities. Here at the end of a dirt road is the last detoxification program standing: 67-year-old Adela Campos, mother of five, grandmother of seven, and great-grandmother of two provides “home detox” and attends to the body “in times of crisis” in her old bedroom (p. 194).

This sensitive book manages to tell the addiction stories of the people of Española Valley without judgment or blame, and miraculously without pathologizing them. Instead, what emerges is an authentic and soulful ethnography that narrates individual stories of life, loss, and addiction. This is a collective portrait of melancholic subjects and their loss of rootedness, their struggles with multiple forms

of addiction, and their heroic attempts at detoxification in a climate of public abandonment. The lives portrayed in this ethnography are filled with grief and devastation. Garcia's beautiful and evocative writing transforms the reader. I read this book together with a talented group of undergraduate students who bonded with this very personalized rendering of addiction and who were left open to thinking through in new and deeply thoughtful ways the subtle politics of neoliberal abandonment and what visions might remain that could reveal a better future.

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Bad Souls: Madness and Responsibility in Modern Greece.
Elisabeth Anne Davis. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 331 pp.

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Bad Souls is a nuanced and compelling ethnography of responsibility and psychiatric reform in Thrace, a rural area between the Bulgarian and Turkish borders of northeastern Greece. It focuses on the multiple ways in which responsibility is framed, enacted, performed, and disputed in the context of a reform that started in the early 1980s, and still presents "grave uncertainty" (p. 4) in the ways in which it is implemented and experienced by patients and those who care for them. Elisabeth Davis conducted her field work in two main psychiatric settings: (1) the General Regional University Hospital of Alexandroupolis with its public inpatient clinic and outpatient clinic; and (2) the Association for Social Psychiatry and Mental Health, a branch of the semiprivate national organization founded in the early 1980s as part of the democratization of psychiatry, which provided free psychiatric and psychological care to patients in the community. While the association adopted a more psychoanalytic approach to patients' symptoms and to the dynamics of therapeutic encounters, the hospital clinic applied a largely biopharmaceutical orientation (along with group therapy, family counseling, and cognitive-behavioral therapy). Readers follow mobile psychiatric units as they travel different prefectures of Thrace to provide care in the communities, therapy sessions, case conferences, group therapy for psychotics, immigration detention centers, patients' homes and neighborhoods, as well as formal and informal interviews with doctors, residents, and nurses. As the reader moves through this multiplicity of sites, she is also drawn

into the multiple diagnoses used to account for the relationship between self and self, and self and other. In this way we learn about psychosis, bipolar disorder, obsessive compulsive disorder, and paranoid schizophrenia, as categories assigned to and taken up by patients in ways that tell stories about different and discrepant strategies of truth (p. 55). Diagnosis—a central theme of Davis's work—is here seen as a "truth game," an arbitrary social construct that simultaneously requires that the players remain unaware of its constructed nature. Ultimately, this book itself offers a diagnosis aimed at shifting "the context of interpretation away from psychiatry's truth claims and towards the moral responsibilities it produces" (p. 245).

Davis does not approach psychiatry reform in Greece as a story of governmentality (of how the neoliberal subject is called to cultivate autonomy and responsibility), nor does she see it as a mere example of "consumption and risk management in healthcare" (p. 15). For her, the reform can only be understood from within the set of relationships and collaborations between patients and doctors that emerge within clinical and community-based contexts made possible by the reform itself, and where the issues of responsibility and therapeutics are negotiated outside of the confinement and constraints of the old asylum. This book, thus, is about these relationships, both when they work and when they don't, when they yield health and when they produce moralism, when they reduce patients' resistance to treatment and when they instead motivate them to remain ill. The psychiatry reform opens up an ambiguous zone of responsibility wherein we can listen beyond the dichotomy between the coercion represented by custodial psychiatry, and the agency advocated by democratic psychiatry. The zones in between are those that present the most compelling ethnographic accounts of what happens when psychiatry is turned inside-out and moral responsibility figures as yet another ambiguous modality of care.

Both therapists and patients are central characters in this text; their voices populate Davis's ethnography in various registers and modes. Symptoms and diagnoses are among the languages therapists and patients use to communicate and account for each other's understandings of suffering and treatment. Patients figure as "theorists of the psyche, and theorists of relations" (p. 16). It is through their words, silences, resistances, and repetitions that we learn how to map the ethical and moral relationships (and patients' countermoralism) enabled by the reform.

Based on long-term fieldwork (between 2001 and 2004), *Bad Souls* is divided into three parts and contains three body chapters, an introduction, and five smaller sections that function as a prelude, two interludes, one reprise, and a postlude. This book is elegantly organized and punctuated by several intermediate spaces that allow the readers to rest, ponder, and prepare themselves to enter the next chapter. There is room to think in Davis's narrative style.

Each of the three main parts is rich both in ethnographic material and theoretical reflections.

Part 1 follows the theme of truth as a site and instrument of responsibility in Greek psychiatry. The author focuses on patient–doctor interactions and the ways in which lying on the part of patients becomes a site for a different truth to emerge and therapeutic relationships to form. Paradoxically, deception and “suspicions of lying” fortify therapeutic relationships while at times inhibiting patients’ ability to care for themselves and become autonomous.

In part 2, Davis broaches the issue of culture as a cipher for difference, and she very subtly documents the interactions between psychiatrists and those “cultural minorities” that populate this borderland. Largely separated from Greek society, the “minorities” we encounter are Muslim communities of Gypsies, Turks, Pomaks, and a growing group of Pontii, immigrants of Greek ancestry from the former Soviet states. In clinical contexts, cultural difference is mostly perceived and understood as a cause of pathologies—tied to “tradition”—rather than a resource for treatment. For example, in the case of Gypsy patients, behaviors such as stealing, lying, or violence are often understood as symptoms of a pathogenic cultural background. Thus, depoliticized and turned into cultural pathologies, these same behaviors and symptoms were consciously or unconsciously used by patients to make political claims on their therapists and the state that could

not be heard otherwise. Here readers have a glimpse of how symptoms and diagnoses can be used as a substitute for political speech when the language of pathologies maps too precisely onto that of cultural difference.

Part 3 is about freedom. It explores the process of “democratization” of psychiatry and of liberalization of patient care. The freedom thus made available to patients, Davis argues, often eludes their ability to be autonomous subjects and to hold the responsibility assigned to them by the reform. The discrepancies between legal freedom of patients as citizens and patients’ actual faculties to enjoy this right become crucial ethnographic moments to make sense of the “intractability of severe pathology” (p. 18).

For me, this is also and, perhaps, foremost a book about borders. I see Davis reflecting on crossing borders between self and self; self and other; autonomy and dependency; the inside and the outside of the asylum; institutions and communities; borders within the community; between Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece; minority groups, doctors, and patients; madness and law; and truth and lying. It is these layers of borders and thresholds that thread together this brilliant book. Because of its analytical clarity, poetic tone, and ethnographic breadth, *Bad Souls* is an excellent reading for upper-division courses and graduate seminars on medical anthropology, human rights, Europe, migration, humanitarianism, and theories of subjectivity.