

BOOK REVIEWS

Single Reviews

Social Anthropology and Human Origins

Alan Barnard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 182 pp.

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Anthropology's four fields are in constant fission and fusion, with departmental "divorces" (à la Stanford, Harvard) and renewed efforts to remain integrative (Emory, Arizona State). Alan Barnard's latest book is a contribution to the latter. At a time in which publication and funding pressures can encourage hyperspecialization, this is a refreshing and readable synthesis of the methods, data, and theoretical perspectives of social and biological anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology as applied to human evolution. It is reminiscent, as Barnard acknowledges, of a simpler time in which early anthropologists were jointly interested in the essential questions of being human, regardless of methodology. Barnard's goal is ambitious—"to help establish a social anthropology of human origins" (p. xii)—and, perhaps inevitably, it is not quite realized.

Barnard's starting point is that biological anthropologists and archaeologists, on the one hand, and social anthropologists, on the other hand, fail to engage with one another, partly because of a lack of relevant knowledge and partly out of mutual neglect (or disdain). The book concludes with suggestions as to how a new subdiscipline on human origins might be created within social anthropology. In between, Barnard highlights well-developed bodies of data and theory—regarding group dynamics and mobility, sharing and exchange, language and symbolism, and kinship—that he believes can offer insight to those who study primatological, genetic, fossil, and archaeological data.

Barnard is at his best when drawing on his expertise in hunter-gatherer language, kinship, and modes of thought—for example, distinguishing between basic communication, with hypothesized origins in sharing and kinship, and "full language" with possible origins in myth telling. He draws unusual cross-disciplinary comparisons, for example, between the hypothesized role of grandmothing in early *Homo* and the joking-friendly relationships between alternating generations among hunter-gatherers. Toward the end of the

volume he reintroduces his theory to explain the coevolution of kinship structures, symbolic thought, and language in tandem with increasing group size and brain size.

The book is also thought provoking when upending common assumptions: for example, considering alternatives to simple forager–producer dichotomies or reversing ethnographic analogy to consider how early humans were more like hunter-gatherers than, say, farmers or office workers. Finally, he offers a critique of sociobiology basics such as kin selection, citing the well-established principle that kinship distances, particularly among hunter-gatherers, are not necessarily based on biological distances.

However, most of Barnard's insights are only relevant to the latest stages of the evolutionary process: the Middle Stone Age "symbolic revolution"; the dispersal of our species and implied social, linguistic, and artistic developments; and the eve of the Neolithic transition. These are Barnard's foci, despite a rather uneven review of 6 million years of paleoanthropological data and the implication that such a chronological sweep will be covered. Archaeologists studying the above are already well aware of the works cited by Barnard: for example, *hxaro* and potlatch exchange systems, and immediate- and delayed-return schemes, have a long history of consideration in the Late Pleistocene archaeological literature. This begs the question: What can researchers studying the first 5.8 million years of human origins take from Barnard's book, other than the accusation that they need social anthropology? Some interesting comparisons are made between ethnography and primatology, and research apparently bridging the gap (chimpanzee reciprocity) is cited. But the book will be dismissed by many biological anthropologists for errors or uncritical citations, for example, regarding dates and paleoecological reconstructions for some early hominids, as well as highly debatable or outdated suggestions, such as that *Sahelanthropus*, *Orrorin*, and *Ardipithecus* might be australopithecines, that australopithecines were hunters, or that they had near-human manual dexterity.

Archaeologists, too, will quibble with many of the details. For one, Barnard's repeated mentions of ethnographic

analogy lack depth and appropriate references, for example, to the work of Alison Wylie (1985) or the many archaeologists who base their work on her philosophy. As another example, Barnard states that there is “a lack of archaeological evidence one way or another” in the early *Homo* hunting versus scavenging debate, a claim that will surprise all those involved (p. 135).

Barnard aims to explain how social anthropologists can help human origins researchers, but this leaves open the question of whether the book is aimed at the former or the latter and at what level of expertise. The prose is accessible but also disjointed: some aspects of the reviews of fossils or kinship systems are so basic that one assumes a student audience, an idea reinforced by the glossary; other discussions of anthropological theory seem to presume prior knowledge and at the same time cry out for deeper treatment and stronger linkage to questions of human origins. The book

would have benefitted from an editor with a clear vision of the intended audience. The subject chapters discuss social theory and primatological, fossil, genetic, or archaeological data in separate threads, without making the meaningful ties that are obviously Barnard’s goal. Instead, we hear exhortations to, for example, “share our conjectures and rekindle our dying flame of interest in the grander issues of animal and human relations,” with few concrete suggestions as to how one might do so (p. 30). One hopes that Barnard intended to first make a case for the existence of a “social anthropology of human origins” and that we can await a more rigorous, in-depth study down the line.

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Neoliberal Frontiers: An Ethnography of Sovereignty in West Africa

Brenda Chalfin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010. 297 pp.

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In *Neoliberal Frontiers*, Brenda Chalfin sheds light on the complex, and often unexpected, relationship between neoliberal reform and state authority. Drawing on a year of fieldwork in Ghana’s Customs Service and archival and policy research, Chalfin challenges claims that neoliberal restructuring is characterized by “diminution of the state’s sovereign authority at the territorial frontier” (p. 237). Rather, state power is both augmented and segmented by neoliberal reform; what constitutes “state presence” shifts over time and place and is linked to dense, multilayered, and shifting networks of power. Drawing inspiration from medical anthropology insights on “bioavailability” and “experimentality,” Chalfin also argues that Ghana’s amenability to neoliberal reform, or “sovereign availability,” is rooted in the “longstanding strength of the country’s bureaucratic apparatus, the fragile nature of political accountability, and the increasing impossibility of economic autonomy” (p. 15).

Chalfin identifies four prevailing themes emerging from a study of neoliberal restructuring and sovereignty vis-à-vis Customs Service, which I modify slightly here: the historical emergence of indirect and evidence-based modes of governance in Ghana and the place of the customs authority in that history; the contradictory effects of neoliberal principles like transparency, efficiency, and accountability on modes of governance and state sovereignty; spatial configurations,

real and imagined, of state bureaucratic influence; and personal, affective, and embodied dimensions of state authority as negotiated at crucial sites of mobility, trade, and reform (cf. p. 11).

These four themes roughly map onto the book’s organization. Chapter 1 provides a historical account of how Ghana’s customs authority has long been central to reformist agendas. Concerned with the ways “the state is configured as a field of power in its own right, as much as a force operating on others” (p. 43), chapter 2 outlines theoretical and methodological tools available for investigating and understanding the “sociality of the state” (p. 51) and the “day-to-day techniques of rule” (p. 45).

Chalfin provides vivid descriptions of customs and border control at Aflao, a town situated at the Ghana–Togo border, in chapters 3 and 4. She shows that, rather than being a site of breakdown of or resistance to state authority, the border illuminates “the character and constitution of state power within Ghana as a whole” (p. 85). In addition to being “incomplete, both unfinished and unstable” (p. 87), the border is also palimpsest, where past attempts at bureaucratic reform shape contemporary negotiations related to what—from the minutiae of customs officers’ uniforms to the spatial orientation of office buildings—should be subject to state regulation in these sites and who can claim authority to oversee the sundries of border movements.

In chapters 5 through 7, Chalfin describes the means through which state authority is constituted, compromised,

and experienced through technological and evidence-based forms of governance, and through the regulation, surveillance, and valuation of mobile property and individual bodies. In chapter 5, public moral discourse and debates about the changing protocols for clearing and acquiring automobiles—long culturally significant commodities in Ghana with tremendous implications for social, class, and physical mobility—instantiate a new, distinctly neoliberal social contract between the public and the state, where state protection of private property and moral order is of paramount importance. In chapter 6, the introduction of a state-of-the-art cargo X-ray scanner and data management system at the increasingly privatized customs operations at Tema Harbor simultaneously “compromises and shores up state power” (p. 170) as operations move away from national oversight and physical inspection to multinational governance and technologically mediated inspection. In the Kotoka International Airport (KIA) passenger-clearance area, perceived global racial and national hierarchies and personal reckonings about

(African) national character shape surveillance and control modalities at the border. Rather than demonstrating how the “gatekeeping operations of the state come to center . . . on the discipline of aliens or the categorization of outsiders,” chapter 7 instead shows how the exercise of state power at the KIA passenger clearance area is primarily concerned with “persons considered natives” (p. 210).

The book is of interest to scholars seeking fine-grained ethnographic analysis of the postcolonial state as an object of inquiry and analysis and of the stakes of neoliberal reform for articulations of state sovereignty. Ethnographic chapters tend to foreground theoretical claims rather than the fine-grained details that make the theory comprehensible. This, as well as the relatively dense language in the theoretical chapters, may limit the accessibility to undergraduates without previous exposure to the sovereignty literature. Otherwise, this is an engaging, creative book offering compelling insights about the content and effects of neoliberal restructuring in a postcolonial state.

Pushing for Midwives: Homebirth Mothers and the Reproductive Rights Movement

Crista Craven. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010. 208 pp.

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Christa Craven's *Pushing for Midwives: Homebirth Mothers and the Reproductive Rights Movement* is an ethnography of political agitation that occurred in Virginia around the legal status of certified professional midwives (CPMs), healthcare providers who work without physician supervision and who are the primary attendants of homebirths in the United States. The political movement—whose participants included the birthcare practitioners who sought legal recognition, as well as women who had homebirths in the past or may have desired them in the future—was successful insofar as Virginia lawmakers voted to recognize CPMs, thus freeing them from the possibility of criminal prosecution.

Craven embeds her fieldwork with the movement in a long history of activism around reproductive healthcare—a history of agitation around issues including access to contraception and abortion that continues to the present; reform efforts to improve maternal and infant healthcare in the 1900s; and the substitution of midwives, who had been the primary providers of obstetrical care, with (usually male) medical doctors in the 1800s. Craven observes that race and class complicate these histories. Poor women and women of color have experienced efforts to legalize contraception and abortion, improve maternal and infant healthcare, and

eliminate midwifery much differently than women with race and class privilege (also see Ginsburg and Rapp 1995; Fraser 1998). The specific case of the legal status of CPMs in Virginia is consistent with this history: there is the threat of poor women and women of color being excluded from the gains achieved by the movement that is the focus of the ethnography.

As Craven points out, the activists with whom she worked advocated in the language of “consumer rights.” They argued that women, as consumers, should have the right to purchase the goods and services, including midwifery services for homebirth, that they want from the market. The discourse of “consumer rights” is desirable, in some respects; Craven notes that constructing women as “consumers,” as opposed to “patients,” suggests subjects that are empowered, competent, and perhaps equivalent to the persons who provide the services rendered. Moreover, in an era of neoliberalism, in which unfettered access to an unregulated market is understood as “freedom,” advocating in the language of “consumer rights” may be most effective. However, access to midwifery services as a “consumer right” may mean that those who do not have the economic wherewithal to consume—that is, poor women—cannot enjoy the right. This unfortunate story has played out in the context of abortion rights, which have been framed in terms of “choice.” Although *Roe v. Wade* constitutionalized that freedom of choice, the Supreme Court's subsequent

decisions in *Maher v. Roe* and *Harris v. McRae*, which held that states have no obligation to provide funding for abortions in their Medicaid programs, have meant that indigent women who cannot independently purchase their “choice” from the market of reproductive goods and services effectively have no abortion rights. The idea of “consumer rights” possesses a similar potential to exclude poor women from access to midwifery services.

Also noteworthy is that the ethnography is refreshingly self-reflexive. Craven explicitly situates herself—and the privileges that she has as a result of her class, race, and education—with respect to the women whom she interviewed and interacted. The self-reflection is partly a result of Craven’s commitment to what can be called feminist-activist scholarship. As a writer of feminist scholarship, she envisioned herself as a collaborator with her interlocutors; as a writer of activist scholarship, she endeavored to produce a work that could be useful to them as well. She succeeds at both, and *Pushing for Midwives* might be used as a template of

feminist-activist scholarship for those desiring to produce it in the future.

Craven’s book is a taut, accessibly written, close study of a movement. It does not attempt to make any grand, general pronouncements about the nature of capitalism, neoliberalism, biomedicine, or race in the 21st century—which may be a criticism of the work. But, to be sure, this is a minor criticism. Craven accomplishes what she set out to do, which was to write a nuanced, historically informed, possibly prescriptive ethnography of a complex social and political movement.

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Masquerade and Postsocialism: Rituals and Cultural Dispossession in Bulgaria

Gerald W. Creed. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011. 254 pp.

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After being long neglected by American anthropology, Bulgaria has provided ethnographic material for several recent monographs by Barbara Cellarius, Donna Buchanan, Kristen Ghodsee, Mary Neuburger, and Yuson Jung. Gerald Creed engages a dialogue with them on postsocialist changes in Bulgaria and Eastern Europe, identifying alternative modernities that are original to the local society. He bases his argument on detailed fieldwork on two Bulgarian rituals: *kukeri* and *survakari*. In the rituals, groups of male performers, often masked in giant masks and animal skins, engage in competitive dancing and drinking visits to village houses. The rituals feature transvestism and mock weddings, sexual assaults, and burlesque presentations. Both rituals are extensively studied by Bulgarian ethnologists, who are involved in their transformations through several channels, from the system of state sponsorship to competitions where each group hopes to have an ethnographer who studied their village sitting in the jury. Bulgarian ethnologists could have profited much from a dialogue with Creed, even if their investigations, focused mostly on traditional symbolism and historical origins of *kukeri*, are of little use for his argument. The second chapter, perhaps the most stimulating one, deals with gender, and the hypermasculine imagery of *kukeri* certainly invites such reflection. Ghodsee (2010) has already

brilliantly analyzed the challenges to Bulgarian men when unemployment and loss of political power, combined with new job opportunities for women, bring about a gender crisis. Creed adds new dimension to this argument, investigating the way in which gender identities were conceived. He claims that *kukeri* reveals an older concept of masculinity, which was fixed, absolute, and allowed men a variety of behaviors without questioning their gender identity. Everything men did was manly, and they could dress as women and imitate sexual intercourse in the ritual in the past. They are reluctant to do this now because of the new conceptualization of gender identities as a continuum, with delicate degrees between maleness and femaleness and the constant danger for the marginalized rural men to fall from the grace of perfect manhood. Further, Creed claims that this transformation from absolute gender identities to a continuum occurred under the impact of global circuits, which brought to Bulgaria concepts like global gay culture. Paradoxically, and this is the final part of Creed’s argument, the global circuits helped creating the very evils they were supposed to amend. From a vehicle for discreet homoerotic desire, the ritual was reformulated according to newly dominant interpretations and transformed to a tool for propagating homophobic attitudes.

Creed uses a similar argument while investigating the changing nature of social relation in Bulgaria. Chapter 3 deals with local forms of civic activity obliterated by the

Western-sponsored NGOs; chapter 4 investigates a local notion of community where conflict and competition between individuals, households, and kinship groups is constitutive of the local order, instead of disrupting it; while chapter 5 argues that ethnic minorities, notably Roma, used to be incorporated in the local society on a similar principle of “agonistic tolerance.” This social relation recalls Michael Herzfeld’s (2005) account of the competitive, mistrusting, sheep-stealing Cretan shepherds, who acknowledge the impossibility of an ideal reciprocal community and found their relations on an acceptance of the imperfect human nature. Unlike Greece, Creed argues that in the Bulgarian case the local forms are irretrievably displaced by global ones, originating from a Euro-American West, which creates new, rigid, antagonistic identities and relations, sometimes through the very instruments intended to fight them. The social relation described by Creed evokes also his first book on Bulgaria (1998), in which the concept of “conflicting complementarity” is a central one. However, the mood has changed. In 1998, Creed argued that Bulgarian peasants had managed, against all the odds, to transform the communist

system and to use strategically its internal contradictions, while in 2011 he speaks of closed doors, lost opportunities, and local forms obliterated beyond repair by a presumably monolithic West. This change parallels the initial hopes of Bulgarian society in early 1990s and its current disillusionment. But I still prefer to read Creed 1998 and 2011 concurrently, as two competitive, conflicting, and mutually complementing parts of a brilliant scholar’s masterpiece.

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Maya Nationalisms and Postcolonial Challenges in Guatemala: Coloniality, Modernity, and Identity Politics

Emilio del Valle Escalante. *Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2009. 210 pp.*

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This book provides one more reading of key texts and authors involved in the debates surrounding the 1996 signing of Guatemala’s Peace Accords, particularly the Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Author Emilio del Valle Escalante’s second dedication of the 2009 book, in fact, is to those who died in the “recently ended civil war . . . so we, Mayas, would have a voice.” The author argues that “contemporary Maya narratives promote nationalisms based on the reaffirmation of Maya ethnicity and language that constitutes what it means to be Maya in the present-day society, as well as political–cultural projects for the future” (p. 2). After the introduction, the author provides four chapters of content; in the first two chapters (covering de Lion, Asturias, and Menchu) he addresses to the “category: revolution” and the second two chapters (Morales, Zapeta, and the 1998 Educational Reform) are devoted to discussions of modernity, identity, and politics.

The book would be of interest to anthropologists for many reasons, given that the Maya movement is important in the work of most Guatemalanist anthropologists, that the writers highlighted in this book have close intellectual relationships with anthropologists and anthropology (including

academic degrees), that the author cites several anthropologists, and that the author is writing from his position as an academic and a Maya-K’iche’ raised in the United States.

He mentions anthropology or ethnography directly when he refers to a “tradition that takes the Indian as its object of study without taking into account and with respecting the self-definition of culture and the identity of this object of study” (p. 93). He does not address the interpretive or advocacy work that has characterized ethnography in Guatemala since the late 1980s, and was written by many of the interlocutors of his book, including Maya and U.S. scholars. He would have done well to include them.

The best of the book are the parts that focus on the member of the Committed Generation, Kaqchikel writer Luis de Lion, whose novel *El tiempo principia en Xibalba* was published in 1985, a year after his disappearance by the Guatemalan military. De Lion has received considerable attention in literary criticism more recently because his novel was reissued in 1996 after his daughter uncovered a more complete and polished draft.

The book would benefit from better background for the texts and the debates. For example, the author misses the role of the Catholic Church as an incubator for major Maya actors and groups and reifies the existence of a misleading popular–culturalist dichotomy in the movements. He chose to use the nationalisms and indigenous movements of Mexico

and Ecuador as sources for his contextual and comparative material rather than building the Guatemalan context for the debates. The author describes Guatemala's nation builders as embracing a mestizo-centered assimilationist ideology, such as those deployed by other indigenous-majority Latin American countries. Guatemala's elite, however, focused on a Europe-oriented "homogeneous" nationalism; the use

of the term *mestizo* for even self-identification is fairly recent in Guatemala.

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Saigon's Edge: On the Margins of Ho Chi Minh City

Erik Harms. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. 294 pp.

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Over the past several decades, Asia has emerged at the center of scholarship on emerging global cities and rapidly expanding centers of international trade and investment. From the frenzied construction of new cities across market-socialist China to the capitalist metropolises that dot Southeast Asia, scholars have pointed to a diversity in form and experimentation with urban expansion (Roy and Ong 2011). Between lies Ho Chi Minh City—not fully socialist and not wholly capitalist—yet one of the fastest-growing “emerging cities” in the region. Regrettably, Vietnam tends to fall off the radar in scholarly examinations of Asian urbanisms. Erik Harms's pioneering book has the potential to change the tenor of such academic debates. His wonderfully rich ethnography of life in Hoc Mon district on the edge of the city radically shifts the focus of these debates to the distinctive forms of “modernization” and accelerated urbanization that are currently taking place in postreform Vietnam.

Saigon's Edge is not urban anthropology in the conventional sense of a rigorous study of a neatly bounded social space in and of the city. Rather, Harms brings an ethnographic lens to the dynamic processes of urban change—its disruptions and contradictions, and the shifting boundaries and relations between country and city, rural and urban, inner and outer areas of the city. Harms does not concede to the binary frames that give profound meaning to the social worlds that he inhabited during the course of his research but works to destabilize them by inserting himself into the interstices of the quasi-urban fringe, into the gaps and overlaps that have come to signify the edge.

With engaging and witty prose that captures the sundry jokes, myths, metaphors, and proverbs that peppered his respondents' stories, Harms shows how Hoc Mon residents negotiate living, working, and moving across time and space between the “civilized” city center and the “backward” periphery of Ho Chi Minh City. Over the course of the book, Harms follows residents as they move rather seamlessly across socially meaningful boundaries that are unsettled and yet discursively reproduced by their everyday practices that

defy entrenched binaries. To live in Hoc Mon, Harms argues, is to embody deeply felt sentiments of ambivalence and ambiguity, evoking optimism in some and despair in others (p. 67).

Saigon's Edge is divided into three sections, each with two chapters. In the first section, Harms develops the idea of “social edginess” as emerging from the symbolic ambiguity of life on the urban margins. As a form of social practice, “social edginess” transgresses the purity of ideal cultural categories (p. 35). Categorical binaries, particularly the relationship between “inside and “outside,” are deeply rooted in cultural practice;—for example, they shape Vietnamese kinship relations and underlie kinship terminology.

Part 2 of the book develops the spatial and temporal dimensions of “social edginess.” Harms's research respondents embrace and enable urbanization; not surprisingly, they accept it as a viable path to economic development. More interestingly, they see it as a long-awaited fulfillment of the socialist state's promise of progress. Hoc Mon residents reconfigure idealized relations of time and space in their everyday practices, however. They blend work time with leisure (pp. 130–131), and they refuse to subject themselves unconditionally to “commodified labor time” in new factories (p. 139).

The last section is the tour de force of the book with two compelling case studies that could be read as stand-alone essays. The first examines the Trans-Asia Highway project that cut through the center of Hoc Mon and radically altered how people use, organize, move through, and identify with public space. Harms documents the symbolic meanings attached to roads,—the new possibilities and new forms of invisibility they created. The second chapter compares the discourses and practices of urban civilization in French colonial Saigon and contemporary Ho Chi Minh City. Here, ideas of “civilized” urban spaces serve to reinforce stereotypes about Hoc Mon's lingering rural character, considered not yet urbane or fully modern.

In *Saigon's Edge*, one gets a clear sense of the chaos and growing pains that have accompanied frenetic urban change in Vietnam. Readers who have studied urbanization elsewhere will find much in common with Harms's compelling

arguments and with the laments of his respondents. Harms positions his work largely in dialogue with scholars of Southeast Asian cities. It is not until the conclusion, however, that the political, economic, and cultural forces of urbanization in a “late”-socialist context are addressed. A deeper discussion of the particularities that distinguishes Ho Chi Minh City from other regional cities would have been a welcome addition here. I would have also enjoyed more engagement with ethnographic research on Ho Chi Minh City itself—for example: work on markets, traffic, public space, and com-

modities that intersect with Harms’s interests. *Saigon’s Edge* makes an innovative contribution to urban anthropology and to the study of Vietnam. It is a must-read for scholars interested in rural–urban social change and capitalism’s remaking of urban industrial landscapes.

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Holy Harlots: Femininity, Sexuality, and Black Magic in Brazil

Kelly Hayes. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. 293 pp.

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Anyone who has spent much time in Brazil’s cities undoubtedly has noticed religious objects shops lined with statues of Catholic saints and African *orixás* and the ubiquitous advertisements for divination by tarot or *búzios*. Alert passersby may have noted also the occasional ritual offering left at the beach or crossroads. Such is the significance of Afro-Brazilian spirit-possession religions despite historical efforts to suppress their practice.

Beyond the major traditions of Candomblé and Umbanda, there exist a wide range of Afro-Brazilian religious modalities and regional variations. Adepts creatively take from a rich complex of shared religious symbolism and practice, including humans’ ability to incorporate and to cultivate relationships with a variety of hierarchically ordered spirit entities. Also shared is the potential for humans to manipulate the spirit forces to further their own sometimes-nefarious intentions in the morally ambiguous practice of black magic.

Kelley Hayes’s book, *Holy Harlots: Femininity, Sexuality, and black magic in Brazil*, explores a class of lowly female spirits known as Pomba Gira. Although pomba giras manifest themselves as specific personages by those who incorporate them, all are seductresses, courtesans, or “women of ill repute.” Much like a trickster–devil, the pomba gira is a polyvalent figure with wide recognition in Brazil’s cultural imaginary; she is the embodiment of the dangerous potential of feminine sexuality outside patriarchal control.

For Hayes, “religion is best approached . . . as a set of discursive and practical claims about the superhuman that are deeply embedded within the circumstances of human lives” (p. 36). As such, Hayes explores how the pomba gira operates in the particular life of Nazaré, a working-class housewife who lives on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, although the book is ostensibly about pomba gira,

“the book’s real subject is the myriad ways that individuals endeavor to transform both themselves and the world around them through the stories and ritual practices invoking this spirit entity and how they are transformed in the process” (p. 8). Indeed, Hayes examines the complex and strategic ways pomba gira allows Nazaré, and disfranchised women like her, to negotiate and critique unrealistic social norms and expectations and a whole constellation of social inequities.

In part 1, Hayes introduces the folklore of pomba gira and her place within the larger religious and social context of urban Brazil. Part 2 depicts low-income neighborhoods on the periphery of Rio de Janeiro and the sexual and moral schemas by which the behaviors of working-class men and women are judged. Of particular importance to this book is the sexual double standard that restricts female sexuality while allowing men ample license.

Hayes highlights Nazaré’s struggle under these gender strictures in part 3, which relays Nazaré’s life story and life-long bouts of rebellious outbursts. As a young wife and mother, Nazaré aspires to (and for a time achieves) the working-class ideal of *dona-de-casa*, wife and stay-at-home mother, but she finds her status diminished by her husband’s philandering. Plagued by her increasingly startling behaviors, her husband takes her to consult a ritual specialist, who helps her domesticate and cultivate her spirits. Nazaré eventually becomes a *zelador* (devotee) with her own ritual center.

The final section of the book follows Nazaré at the height of her influence and prestige as ritual leader as she struggles to balance the role of wife with that of *zelador* and to manage her relationships with clients and followers. Although Hayes emphasizes the gendered nature of pomba gira’s appeal and sphere of influence, one wishes more attention was given to the economic dimensions of Nazaré’s marital distress and recourse to spirit possession.

Hayes compellingly argues that pomba gira provides the marginalized with a discursive framework to address conflicts and pursue their own interests. She also provides

an outlet for desires and needs that could not otherwise be expressed without social sanction—even if, ultimately, pomba gira does not disrupt the authority of dominant values or structure of gender inequality.

Written in a lively and engaging fashion, *Holy Harlots* is accessible to a broad audience from advanced undergraduates

to specialists. The book comes with the DVD, *Slaves of the Spirits*, which includes interviews with Nazaré and other zeladores, footage of rituals and ceremonies, and a general depiction to the neighborhood context of the book. The video is a welcome supplement that provides the reader access to the visually rich world of Brazil's Afro-Brazilian religions.

Networking Futures: The Movements against Corporate Globalization

Jeffery J. Juris. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 378 pp.

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I suspect I was asked to review *Networking Futures*—though it was published nearly four years ago—because the recent uprisings across the Middle East, Europe, and North America have given it new political relevancy, even urgency. Indeed, the book provides both an essential history of the social movement struggles that preceded the 2011 global cycle of protest and a superb ethnographically grounded analysis of the central organizational dilemmas that activists face, then as now, when they embrace directly democratic and decentralized organizational practices and forms. Jeffery Juris chronicles the previous global cycle of protest from the late 1990s to the mid-2000s around what he chooses to call, perhaps a bit parochially, “anticorporate globalization activism.” There could be no better period in which to conduct such research, and Juris was able to participate in and observe many of the most important mobilizations, countersummits, and gatherings, including Seattle (WTO 1999), Prague (World Bank–IMF 2000), Barcelona (EU 2002; World Bank 2001), Genoa (G8 2001), Porto Alegre (World Social Forum 2002), and Strasbourg (No Border Camp 2002). This list indicates the methodological challenges that such geographically dispersed, dynamic, and decentralized “networks of networks” and “movements of movements” present to the ethnographer.

Juris wisely decides to approach this self-consciously globalizing movement from the locally grounded perspective of the activist networks within which he conducted fieldwork in Barcelona—then, as now, a key node in global networks. His approach mirrors the multiscalar innovation of activists themselves and provides a crucial methodological limit to what would otherwise be a nearly boundless web of interconnections. Resisting the tendency to fetishize the network as essentially positive or reify it as an already existing object to be described, Juris's ethnography is a careful and rich description of the concrete practices “through which decentered networking logics are produced, reproduced,

and transformed within particular social, cultural and political contexts” (p. 11). The book's central argument is that this period of protest was animated by a confluence of three aspects of the network: networks as computer-supported infrastructure (technology), networks as organizational structure (form), and networks as nonhierarchical political model (norm).

Networking futures is at once remarkably ambitious in the range of locations, events, and networks it engages and ethnographically grounded in describing the practices that make them possible. Chapter 1 provides a thorough genealogy of the movements that converged to burst onto the international stage with the Global Day of Action against the 1999 meeting of the WTO in Seattle, including grassroots organizing in the Global South, student-based anticorporate activism, campaigns against structural adjustment, anarchist-inspired direct action, and global Zapatista solidarity networks. Chapters 2 and 3 examine local dynamics, including the ways that the strong anarchist, anti-Franco, and nationalist traditions in Catalonia inflected contemporary movements. More centrally for his argument, the author carefully describes the struggles between, on the one hand, more traditionally organized and hierarchical leftist organizations and, on the other hand, activists that have embraced direct participation in decentralized networks. Although many might write off such conflicts over decision-making processes as mere sectarianism, Juris does a remarkable job of making clear the distinct social imaginaries and very real political stakes implicit in these debates.

Turning from this discussion of “submerged spheres” to the most public and spectacular initiatives of these networks—large confrontational protest mobilizations—the following two chapters chronicle how these networks come to be embodied, both in terms of their physical manifestation in the urban landscape and affectively in the bodily experience of participating activists. Chapter 5, on activists' symbolic violence as well as their direct encounters with state terror during the Genoa G8 protests, is especially compelling. Chapters 6 and 7 examine efforts to institutionalize

and coordinate these movements in larger networks, including the more radical Peoples' Global Action and the more moderate but nonetheless heterodox World Social Forum. The final chapter turns to "informational utopias" as expressed in a range of activist-initiated technological experiments, many of which prefigure forms of self-managed collective life based on a horizontal network ideal.

While reviewers elsewhere have been preoccupied with the methodological, ethical, and political implications of Juris's embrace of "militant ethnography"—which strives at once to participate in, learn from, and contribute to the

grassroots social movements he is studying—I would instead focus here on the scholarly and political fruits of this approach. Militant ethnography, it is clear, especially within a movement that is decentralized, heterogeneous, rich in internal debate, and uncommitted to ideological unity, does not inhibit asking critical questions. Juris's probing analysis of both the great vibrancy and the intense volatility of complex webs of antiauthoritarian political activism makes *Networking Futures* required reading for scholars and activists alike as they struggle to understand the limitations and possibilities of the uprisings of 2011, including the Occupy Movement.

Spirits of Protestantism: Medicine, Healing, and Liberal Christianity

Pamela E. Klassen. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. 316 pp.

Ellen Badone

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As a graduate student at the University of California in the early 1980s, I recall one of my professors joking about the staid, rather boring, and definitely "unexotic" character of Anglophone Canada, where I originated. Reading Pamela Klassen's *Spirits of Protestantism* provided me with a sense of vindication: at last, "my people" have been deemed sufficiently interesting to be the subject of a book published by the University of California Press.

Klassen's book is concerned with the intersection between healing and religion among liberal Protestants in North America over the course of the 20th century. She explores the involvement of liberal Protestants in the developing field of biomedicine and their preoccupation with spiritual healing of various types. Although the canvas on which Klassen paints her portrait of liberal Protestantism extends beyond Canada to the United States and Britain, her main focus is on the United and Anglican churches in Canada. While some historians and anthropologists have considered such "mainstream" Protestants "ordinary" or "bland" (pp. 17, 228 n. 44), Klassen provides ample evidence that beneath their veneer of quiet, British-inflected respectability, these Protestants were interested and involved in spiritual healing to a surprising degree. Klassen's rich historical documentation reveals that from New Brunswick to Toronto to northern British Columbia, Anglicans and United Church members were experimenting with ideas and practices relating to healing that were influenced by missionary encounters with Asian religions and First Nations spirituality as well as new scientific discoveries about energy fields and radio waves, and the nascent science of psychology. Liberal Canadian Protestants were situated at the intersection of international currents of theological, biomedical, and psy-

choanalytic theory. Klassen shows how the writings of Paul Tillich, the pioneering work in Christian psychotherapy of the Boston-based Emmanuel Movement, and sacramentalist approaches to healing developed by the Oxford Movement in the United Kingdom all played a role in shaping the liberal Protestant ethos in Canada and throughout North America.

One of the most important contributions of this book is its exploration of the relationship between liberal Protestantism and anthropology. As Klassen argues, "the same cultural and historical forces that have constituted liberal Protestantism's traditions of social critique" underlie the discipline of anthropology (pp. xx–xxi). She points out that Margaret Mead, a member of the Episcopalian Church (the U.S. branch of Anglicanism), published pieces in liberal Protestant journals. Klassen also discusses the two senses of the term *anthropology*: its social scientific usage as the study of humanity and its usage in theology to refer to inquiry into human nature and its relationship to God (pp. 34–38). Klassen traces the development of a liberal Protestant theological anthropology that posits a tripartite division of body, mind, and soul. This trinity seems, in my view, to have generated an ongoing tension among liberal Protestants between a desire for holistic healing that speaks to all three aspects of the self and a desire to compartmentalize so that biomedicine is directed toward the body, psychology and psychiatry toward the mind, and spiritual healing toward the soul. Liberal Protestant attitudes toward spiritual healing were further complicated by the fact that, for much of the 20th century, liberal Protestants identified themselves as "scientific." They therefore sought a path that would unite science and religion, and were enthusiastic about biomedicine, often seeing spiritual healing as complementary.

In many cases, the liberal Protestant view of healing encompassed a mission to improve all aspects of life in the

temporal world, especially for the underprivileged. Thus, spiritual healing went hand in hand with a commitment to the social gospel as well as the promotion of biomedical research and hospitals. Members of the United and Anglican churches were in the vanguard of those lobbying for public health care in Canada in 1960s. This emphasis on social justice also inspired the liberal Protestant missionaries whom Klassen profiles. In the early 20th century, medical missionaries brought both the gospel and biomedicine to the “heathen” in remote areas of Canada and elsewhere in the colonies of the British Empire. Yet experience with other cultures and religions changed the missionaries’ perspectives in many cases, making them open to alternative worldviews, religious ideas, and healing modalities. Klassen shows how, as the century moved toward its end, these influences were incorporated into the Anglican and United churches themselves as clerics

and laypeople alike experimented with techniques such as yoga, Reiki, meditation, and therapeutic touch. Moreover, by the 1990s, both churches had apologized for and repudiated their earlier attempts to convert and assimilate First Nations peoples and had called for “healing” of the social problems resulting from the residential school system.

In the final part of the book, Klassen writes about her ethnographic work with contemporary liberal Protestants in Toronto. Although one Anglican cleric she interviews describes himself as a product of the Enlightenment, liberal Protestants now seem less wedded to science and its concomitant optimistic vision of progress than were their parents’ and grandparents’ generations. Klassen’s book is a valuable contribution to the study of the relationships between Protestantism and healing—both biomedical and spiritual—and, more generally, to the anthropology of Christianity.

Apprenticeship in Critical Ethnographic Practice

Jean Lave. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011. 198 pp.

Michael Herzfeld

Harvard University

This complex but lucid decoction of the study of learning is an ethnographic Bildungsroman. Jean Lave, in what she experienced as a decidedly halting process of enlightenment, came to find positivistic experimental methods empirically unsustainable and their intellectual roots stubbornly persistent. Her progressive rejection of the key dichotomy between formal and informal systems resonates with current anthropological research in arenas as diverse as settlement types, economic systems, and religious practices. Her early attempts to examine prevailing views of “informal” apprenticeship as context dependent, and therefore as unable to generate abstract conceptualization, initiate a long struggle to escape the conceptual weaknesses that her early approach partially shared with the position it was intended to test. Much of her lurching illumination came from the Liberian tailors’ apprentices with whom she conducted the research and who, she discovered, learned as much in their workshops as at school. With telling irreverence, she notes (p. 144) that “there are interesting consequences of turning an ethnographically informed theoretical stance upside down (like a pair of trousers) and shaking it to see what falls out.”

It is this commitment to discommoding positivistic social-science assumptions that leads her ultimately to subvert the most pernicious antinomy of all: the assumption that academic teachers are necessarily wiser and more capable of abstract thought than artisans. The core of her argument is that theory is itself a form of practice and must be understood contextually through its embodiment in ethnographic practice, much as we should also view contextually such ap-

parently ratiocinative and abstract activities as mathematical calculation. Although the mutual entailment of theory and practice is unsurprising today, Lave’s narrative of struggling to escape the trammels of older modalities will surely aid in scraping away the corrosive residue of positivistic assumptions. Learning, she argues, is not a matter of “knowledge transfer” but, rather, of “doing”—of practice, including the practice of reasoning—and schooling does not necessarily enable it more effectively than hands-on apprenticeship. Beyond strictly educational questions, Lave’s argument implicitly militates against the political malaise of audit culture and the attendant proliferation of so-called knowledge centers as well as the mindless deskilling of factory workers, although she does not explore these larger implications here.

She acknowledges (p. 89) her own long initial resistance to recognizing the extensive political implications of her work. While she does now clearly engage questions of power in the workplace, her ethnography is arguably less explicitly critical with respect to the larger arenas in which the workplace is embedded. Her approach successfully broaches the intimacy of tailors’ shops (although less so, as she concedes, of their lives beyond the workplace), but it rarely addresses the enveloping and concentric sociopolitical formations that infuse the relationships between masters and apprentices with implications for the management of power elsewhere in Liberian society. She does provide some historical information about the Liberian nation-state and about the tribal identities that affect the tailors’ work, but the dynamics through which such arenas inform each other remain shadowy. Nonetheless, her approach opens up possibilities in these directions as well; her account of her gradually dawning realization that the politics of knowledge writ large

are played out in such spaces as tailors' shops and in the tussle between formal school learning and the situated practical learning of the apprentices invites further reflection on how, for example, recent civil strife and reconciliation might condition and reflect the authority structures of the workplace.

Breaking free of binary positivism, Lave shows, reveals the contextual and artisanal nature of what are ostensibly the most formal kinds of social and even intellectual activity. Her exercise in theoretical self-liberation documents an apprenticeship through which she learned from her discomfort with the inadequacies of experimental methods to appreciate

the more nuanced possibilities offered by ethnography. She charts a distinctive trajectory, early in the book, through the shoals of the so-called crisis of representation that convulsed anthropology in the 1980s but that also decisively moved it away from the structural-functionalism of such historic figures as Meyer Fortes. Lave, their radical differences notwithstanding, generously recognizes in Fortes a precursor in his self-presentation as a journeyman—an artisan, learning on the job. Her own book, long in the writing but pleasurable concise in the reading, represents a new high point in the long and distinguished history of the Morgan Lecture series in which Fortes originally offered that telling insight.

Weaponizing Anthropology: Social Science in Service of the Militarized State

David H. Price. Petrolia, CA: CounterPunch, 2011. 219 pp.

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In the post-9/11 frenzy, the Pentagon and U.S. security agencies suddenly saw anthropology once again as a useful tool—a weapon, as Price puts it—for gaining an edge in a globalized “War on Terror.” The ways in which anthropology has been so conceived is the theme of this important book.

David H. Price is one of the most outspoken anthropologists to examine the interface of anthropology and the militarized security sphere. He previously studied anthropologists in the McCarthy period who were both targeted by, and informants about, domestic communism and he has written books and blogs on the production of anthropological output for the benefit of domestic intelligence and foreign interventions. He was one of the founders of the Committee of Concerned Anthropologists and helped to draft the AAA ethics statement urging restraint in the involvement of anthropologists in the Human Terrain Team initiative.

In *Weaponizing Anthropology*, Price reviews programs that the military-intelligence-security complex has developed to enhance the use of anthropology in domestic and foreign intelligence gathering. For most in our profession, the full range of these programs has been outside our purview. Yet in our academic and nonacademic roles, such information is vital.

Weaponizing Anthropology encompasses three sections. The first lays out the ethical and political problems that arise when anthropologists engage in the militarized industrial state. The second section speaks to the problems that arise when military and intelligence planners seek “to harness social science for their own ends in current and future military missions.” The third section presents an in-depth review of

the “training and policies of Human Terrain Teams (HTT) for use in Iraq and Afghanistan” (pp. 5–6).

The counterinsurgency efforts of the U.S. government began, according to Price, in the 19th century. Early anthropologists helped to maintain colonialism and the existent power structures, contributing to both the conquest and administrative maintenance of subordinated groups in many parts of the world. From World War II to today's counterinsurgency operations, anthropologists continue to contribute to military-intelligence operations, often paid covertly through money transfers from undisclosed sources. Price posits that these practices, despite codes of anthropological ethics, continue to this day. They are so ingrained that we hardly think about them, thus they offer the internalized acceptance of cooperation with national security initiatives that might otherwise be seriously questioned.

Of the current programs that Price reviews are the CIA's “Minerva” initiative, in which students are funded to conduct research on topics of interest to the military, many of which Prices identifies explicitly. Other CIA and FBI programs also provide links with academia that persist beyond the campus. In all, Price's extensive listing of such military-intelligence-academic funding offers his readers the opportunity to examine their own institutions' involvements with such agencies.

In 2007, the HTT efforts in which anthropologists are recruited to work in theaters of war in Iraq and Afghanistan were brought into public view. The great objection to the program by AAA members was based on the lack of voluntary and informed consent of the subjects, the manipulation of studied population, and “the likelihood of harm befalling those researched” (p. 179). This led to a cautionary statement by the AAA.

Recently, a notice appeared in the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists' (WAPA) jobs listing for an anthropologist to serve on a HTT at an annual wage of \$192,000. Subsequently, some WAPA members asked that the HTT position not be listed, while others objected to its proposed omission. They pointed out that an extraordinary wage was available in a highly restricted job market and that many are not opposed to working in national security. Some members said that they do not even identify with all of the AAA ethical guidelines. The result of the debate was a general statement recommending that appli-

cants consider anthropological ethics codes when applying for any "WAPA job," for such jobs are merely listed, not endorsed.

And that defines perhaps the only substantial criticism of *Weaponizing Anthropology*. Price may be preaching to the choir. Although the exposition of anthropology as a militarized weapon is invaluable to those ready to listen, too many will turn aside. This could have devastating consequences, for professional denial has long led other nationalistic anthropological collaborators to ignore the human costs of using their skills as an asset for aggressive domination.

Gray Panthers

Roger Sanjek. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 320 pp.

Laura Nader

University of California, Berkeley

In a society that values youth over all others in the life cycle, the public image of "senior citizens" or the "elderly" has serious negative effects. As the United States industrialized, the country changed from a nation of self-employed farmers, merchants, and craftpersons to a country of employees and the growth of mill-town factories. With the transition from a preindustrial agrarian republic in the 19th century to a 20th-century corporate state, the changes affected both young and old, with exacerbated inequalities by sex, age, and race. In turn, there were social movements. *Gray Panthers* is an important contribution in the documentation of one of these social movements.

Roger Sanjek examines Gray Panther activism for over four decades:—their leadership, purpose, organizing, and networking. The injustice of mandatory retirement in the early 1970s forced 4 million people to retire at a time when 86 percent of all Americans thought that nobody should be forced to retire because of age. Maggie Kuhn was one of the forced retirees. The term *ageism* was coined, and Gray Panthers were galvanized around founder and charismatic leader Maggie Kuhn, whose motto was "translate personal troubles into public issues."

In the mid-1970s, Sanjek went to Berkeley from New York on a postdoctoral fellowship in quantitative anthropology and public policy at the University of California. He and his wife began volunteering at the Over 60 clinic founded there by Gray Panthers. His postdoc was followed by a fellowship in the University of California at San Francisco medical anthropology program where he studied the anthropology of aging with Margaret Clark. Before returning to Queens in New York, Sanjek, still in his early thirties, had met Maggie Kuhn and Lillian Rabinowitz, convener of the Berkeley network. He is still affiliated

with the Gray Panthers, by now a very long participant-observer.

As the movement developed, the Gray Panther network had a multi-issue focus—war, disarmament, nuclear freeze, antiapartheid in South Africa, national health care, nursing homes, rent protection, public transportation, hearing aids, social security, and Medicare among the many issues. They linked with the student movement of the 1960s—they were intergenerational, in some ways as is the Occupy Movement of our day—and as well with Ralph Nader and the consumer movement. They worked collectively, getting media attention as they evolved. The majority of Gray Panthers were women, some men, mostly white, some black, middle and working class, an organization comprising local and national groups. Although Maggie Kuhn died in 1995, a national celebrity, the Gray Panthers survive working for universal health care and trying to reign in the pharmaceutical industry. Sanjek tells us that at their peak there were between 6,000 and 7,000 members and 60,000 donors. Their success was out of proportion to their numbers.

Gray Panthers tactics were pretty obvious except they were not: being where older people were not supposed to be—disrupting meetings such as the American Medical Association; doing what older people were not expected to do—demonstrating in front of the World Bank; including young Gray Panthers in causes affecting the elderly like nursing homes; taking issues on that affect the young such as their actions against military recruitment. Their values were "human based" rather than "thing based."

Given their numbers, their successes were amazing for those who don't believe Margaret Mead's most quoted phrase—"It only takes a few people to change the world, in fact it's the only thing that ever has." They ended mandatory retirement, helped end the Vietnam War, opposed intervention in Central America, improved hearing aid as well as nursing home awareness, elected members to Congress and

the Berkeley City Council, and worked on national health insurance or Medicare for all. Most importantly, according to Sanjek, they offered a vision of old age counter to prevailing advertising and media representation and defied the “generation gap.”

Although Sanjek put this book together in spurts, it is good that he did. The Gray Panther movement inspires theoretical comparison with other social movements—Who practices “translating personal troubles into public issues” today and with what success?

Islam and Modernity in Turkey

Brian Silverstein. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2010. 269 pp.

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In the post-9/11 world, when mass media are “covering Islam” just as Edward Said (1981) had criticized them for doing, it is refreshing to see scholarly attempts that show what may seem rather obvious to some people: Islam should not be essentialized as a monolithic entity; it is composed of different religious orders and practices, existing in various social, cultural, and political contexts.

In their task to undermine the reified image of cultures in popular rhetoric (see Herzfeld 2007), many anthropologists have taken issue with the homogenous and exotic notion of Islam. Despite the fact that Muslims themselves contributed to the “objectification” of their own religion (Eickelman and Piscatori 2004), a more nuanced discussion on Islam’s relation to questions of modernity, democracy, and secularism was enabled through anthropological critique and ethnographic intervention, about the Muslim world in general and, in more limited fashion, for Turkey in particular, by a generation of scholars including native anthropologists (Navaro-Yashin 2002; Özyürek 2006; White 2002; Yükleven 2011).

It is to this body of literature that Brian Silverstein seeks to belong with his *Islam and Modernity in Turkey*. Silverstein chose the right time and place for inquiring into the multiple processes of how Islam and modernity interact: as a nation of 70 million Muslims, he underlines, Turkey stands out in its region with its noncolonial imperial legacy, long-standing engagement with democracy, and Western orientation, especially against the background of developments in recent decades in other parts of the Muslim world, with which what is taking place in Turkey forms a dramatical contrast.

Yet a focus on the immediate Turkish present is not what Silverstein seeks to establish. Presenting some material from his fieldwork among the Naqshbandi Sufis, he searches the past for answers to two core questions: How has Islam been transformed into a religion on the liberal model in Turkey—that is, as a phenomenon having primarily to do with personal choice and private belief? Why do most observant Muslims in Turkey not see this as illegitimate?

Islam and Modernity in Turkey is an exercise in adopting an etic perspective mainly informed by political theory (ranging from Asad, Foucault, and McIntyre to Bourdieu and Aristotle) to frame Islam in Turkey as a set of discursive and disciplinary devotional practices whose genealogy can be traced back to late Ottoman and early Republican periods of modernization. Casting light on specific subjectivities (*sheikh*), rituals (*sohbet*), and institutions (*vakif*) of a religious order that along with other *tarikats* has been officially banned for almost 90 years, Silverstein undertakes a welcome contribution to the conceptualization of a historical turning point as Islamic practices in Turkey undergo a slow yet steady shift from privacy, if not secrecy, of personal experiences to a Habermasian *Öffentlichkeit*, an openness and visibility of the social public sphere.

Although it could have been more effectively supported through ethnographic evidence and analysis, the book presents an immense array of information about religious structures, practices, and experiences in Turkish society, and as such, it is most recommended as a valuable reference for students of Islam in Turkey. *Modernity in Turkey*, however, is the less privileged half of the title, as it does not enjoy the same minute attention to detail by the author, who reverts to lengthy quotations from informants or secondary resources, leaving the task of ungrounding emic meanings of secular, modern, or civilized to another occasion.

To come back to the main argument, the fact that most Turks are content with considering Islam to be primarily a personal matter is, as the author himself suggests, a fait accompli in Turkey. Explaining, as he does, the historical origins of this situation is certainly a task worth undertaking, yet one cannot help wonder if it would come out stronger by being further contextualized in the ethnographic and political present and by being coupled with another question: How are the Turks, who have been experiencing Islam in private, dealing with the recent developments under the reign of a conservative Muslim party that brings religious practices in the public eye? Silverstein would do service to readership on Islam and Turkey if he would expand his discussion of *vakif* as the institutionalization of privatized Sufi orders within a globalized public sphere, to include

party politics, the Internet, and other realms where such processes are currently taking place.

This is a good book for those who wish to develop an understanding of Islam in Turkey beyond superficial preconceptions—with some depth that social anthropology offers. With it, Silverstein lives up to his invitation to have “social researchers address and reflect on the various and diverse articulations of Islam and modernity, such that the Turkish experience gets no longer overlooked or addressed so simplistically.” (p. 25)

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Dangerous or Endangered: Race and the Politics of Youth in Urban American

Jennifer Tilton. New York: New York University Press, 2010. 296 pp.

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In *Dangerous or Endangered?: Race and the Politics of Youth in Urban America*, Jennifer Tilton considers how youth become central to the political landscape of Oakland, California. Why focus on youth in urban politics? Tilton effectively argues that the politics of youth is critical to consider precisely because these individuals are often placed outside of consideration when it comes to the domain of the political (e.g., they cannot vote; they are not regarded as citizens in the sense that adults are). Yet it is youth who comprise a—and some would say “the”—critical topic of concern in much of U.S. municipal politics. Indeed, since the late 20th century, they have been central to discussions of urban affairs, whether the issue at hand is crime and delinquency, funding for public institutions such as schools, or debates about healthy family functioning and the roles that the state should play in providing resources and support for urban families. Furthermore, as Tilton asserts, since the 1980s a strong public perception of racialized urban youth as physically threatening, social uncontrollable, and incorrigible has emerged (a lens that has been a by product of the so-called rise of the underclass). Accordingly, Tilton uses this enduring public reading of youth to explore how they have been considered, discussed, and acted on by politicians and residents in Oakland at the dawn of the 21st century.

More particularly, Tilton examines how race, space (as lower-income and largely racial minority families live in the flatland section of the city, whereas the most economically privileged live in the hills), and economic differences shape how families and adults in different neighborhoods consider the politics of youth. Most of the book focuses on a few local civic organizations that aim to strengthen or preserve the quality of family life in selected residential communities. In each case, these organizations debate and put forth ideas about how youth should be regulated or controlled. Unsurprisingly, the more economically privileged families, which are located in the Oakland Hills region of the city, can substitute their own resources for those no longer provided by municipal and state government. Yet residents of that more privileged community also have a heightened anxiety about youth from lower-income backgrounds accessing both the public streets of their community and the local public schools. Hence, as the politics of youth seemingly is always about the politics of race, Tilton effectively shows how in a modern municipality claims about race can be subsumed into claims about the immorality of youth, the failures of families to inculcate the proper norms and values, and the contested views about the role of government in assisting families and communities, or imposing sanctions on them, depending on how the youth problem is read in each community.

The theoretical pitch of Tilton’s work is her demonstrating how some dimensions of neoliberalism—particularly

those asserting that individuals must more directly enforce a higher quality of community and family life (by engaging civic organizations and becoming involved in schooling and other community issues)—pose or exacerbate problems for families that do not have the economic or social means to take such control. Consequently, youth can be targeted as the source of community problems when it is the absence of government funding for community growth and development that is the most vital transformation affecting modern urban-community life.

Tilton makes her case in her book by including a nearly exhaustive set of references to scholars and literature pertaining to the changing public identity of youth throughout the late 20th century, to community politics and social organizing, to the politics of public schooling, to theories of race and racism, and to family formation and functioning in modern America, among other areas. This prevents her work

from standing far from the dissertation that was its foundation. Consequently, her analytical voice often appears to surrender to the ideas of so many other scholars. What is most clear, however, is her polemical voice, especially at the end of the book. Here she effectively makes the case that the politics of urban youth is important to attend to not only because it becomes a problematic trope to discuss so many issues (like crime, the challenges of urban family living, race relations, and social justice) but also, and most importantly, because a more responsible approach to the politics of youth involves accepting that they have their own voices, that public space should be accessed and utilized by them, and that the long-term well-being of communities (urban or otherwise) is contingent on youth being reared in ways that reflect appropriate consideration of their needs and their interests, and not simply through their regulation and containment.