

Book Reviews

Women in Anthropology: Autobiographical Narratives and Social History. *Maria G. Cattell and Marjorie M. Schweitzer*, eds. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2006. 259 pp., photographs, endnotes, references, index.

NANCY J. PAREZO

University of Arizona

In 1985 Barbara Babcock and I mounted an exhibition at the Arizona State Museum called *Daughters of the Desert*, which honored the many female Southwestern anthropologists who had paved the way for our own participation in anthropology. This exhibit traveled for four years under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Program. In 1989 I went to the University of New Mexico to give a series of gallery talks and lectures about the exhibition. One day I was sitting in the gallery, mourning the passing of one of my mentors, Kate Peck Kent, who had died unexpectedly that morning. She would not be joining me for the afternoon panel we had arranged with women anthropologists to talk about their different experiences from the 1930s through the 1980s. As I sat in the gallery, weighed down by grief (for it was Kate who had talked me out of quitting anthropology), I watched the visitors. I saw two women in their late forties stand in front of the panel honoring Mary Shepardson. As they stared at Shepardson's smiling photo, taken on her first field trip to the Navajo Nation, I heard one say, "Look. She was 50 years old when she started. She was our age. I'm definitely going to go back to school. If she can do it and smile about it, so can I."

Becoming an anthropologist in middle age is the topic of Maria Cattell and Marjorie Schweitzer's edited volume, *Women in Anthropology*. Starting graduate school at 40 or 50 rather than at 22 is a daunting as well as exhilarating task. Being in graduate school at any age is difficult. It involves a life course choice that resembles participating in a marathon while undergoing severe poverty; it takes a long time, resilience, fortitude, and just plain stubbornness because graduate school is partly (and often intentionally) designed to make people feel stupid as well as to challenge and broaden students' intellects. *Women in Anthropology* talks about the process when an individual starts in midlife. It presents the narrative stories of 17 women who made the

choice to follow their dreams and return to graduate school after living lives as mothers, wives, bankers, teachers, and social workers.

The book provides narrative space for these women (Judy Rosenthal, Eunice Felter Boyer, Marilyn Preheim Rose, Cath Oberholtzer, Dorothy M. Castille, Louana M. Lackey, Molly G. Schuchat, Ellen C. Rhoads Holmes, Ester Skirboll, Ruby Rohrllich, Elizabeth Dressel Hoobler, M. Jean Harris, Barbara Olsen, Jacqueline Walden, Jane Stevenson Day, Schweitzer, and Cattell) to discuss their life and career paths, to use their training in participant-observation to reflect on what being an anthropologist means, and why one would want to become one. The book contains fascinating stories about life experiences, how these women made passionate choices about their life goals, and the steps they took to gain the skills and knowledge needed to fulfill their dreams. Paralleling many other fine books in this genre, the narratives provide further evidence of the obstacles women older than 30 have faced in gaining professional credentials and finding employment; the discouragement that comes from confining gender roles, sexism, ageism, and in a few cases racism; as well as the courage, steadfastness, resolve, and perseverance it takes to start one's life anew, with or without the support of family and friends.

As the editors note, *Women in Anthropology* should be seen as an intellectual outgrowth of the rich literature on women in academia. In many ways the volume confirms what other scholars have recorded about the values and behaviors of academia toward women. What is new, insightful, and extremely significant about this compilation of well written and edited reflexive essays is the wealth of information it brings to the anthropology and sociology of aging and late adulthood literature. This is an area that has hitherto received little attention from scholars of the history of anthropology or women in science. The volume provides one of the first systematic studies of aging as a variable. Theoretical issues are discussed in excellent introductions about autobiography, social history, narrativity, and marginality in anthropology as well as gender roles in a broader social context, especially the breaking away from the cult of domesticity. Many of the stories will ring true to readers, as they did for me, for they will stir memories of academic experiences, common to both young and old, because of the gender role expectations in America. I highly recommend this book to

anyone who wants to understand our profession and why age and gender matter.

Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany. Ruth Mandel. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 400 pp.

ESRA ÖZYÜREK

University of California, San Diego

Cosmopolitan Anxieties explores how Germany struggles with issues relating to identity and national belonging under the weight of its Nazi past and the challenge of its multicultural present. Based on two decades of research among diasporic Turkish communities in Germany, Ruth Mandel shows how the Turkish identity poses a major challenge to Germany in its desire to define itself as a global actor oriented toward the future. She argues that although many Germans would like to imagine themselves as cosmopolitans open to world cultures and, hence, distanced from the homogenizing and xenophobic national socialism of the 1930s, they have difficulty in accepting a truly cosmopolitan element in their society, namely German Turks. Despite their success in connecting different nodes of the globe, Germans imagine this group as too simple to be cosmopolitans and, thus, challenge the new worldly, open, and future-oriented image Germany is trying to embrace. As Mandel puts it, although many Germans feel perfectly at home with French wine or Chinese cuisine, they have difficulty being tolerant of the dress their Turkish neighbors favor. She points out that Germans belittle Turks' competence in negotiating in the world, unlike an assumed German openness to the world in the way of a bourgeois traveler.

Mandel shows that the "foreigner problem" that occupied an inordinate space and sharply divided the public sphere in Germany in the last few decades is not only about "foreigners" but also, centrally, about what it means to be a German. This has been especially important because these debates took place under the guise of two major events. First, because the initial Turkish immigrants were invited to Germany to rebuild the economy after the World War II, their presence in Germany is inherently connected to the memory work that needs to be done in relation to the darkest moment in German history. Second, two decades after Turkish immigrants had arrived and become an integral part of society, the two Germanies were united, and ancestors of German immigrants to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were invited to Germany. Suddenly, in the presence of East Germans and West Germans who proved to have more differences than imagined, non-German speaking and Russified "German" newcomers, and Turks who

have been major contributors to the German economy for a couple of decades, Germans had to face the question of what constitutes a German.

In her book Mandel does not stop at scrutinizing how the presence of the "Turkish" community in Germany unsettles what being a German is. She also looks at how being projected as a homogenous and degraded group in Germany challenges what it means to be a Turk. She shows that even though this projection does injustice and violence to a community consisting of a multiplicity of experiences, life in Germany also leads to new and alternative creations of Turkish identity. She demonstrates how marginalized groups such as the Alevis and Kurds are both excluded by Sunni Turks in Germany yet, at the same time, find a new context to revive and politicize themselves. In that sense *Cosmopolitan Anxieties* shows again what a complex process the formation of ethnic identities and belongings is.

Because she had a chance to observe immigrant families for decades, Mandel shows how German Turks adapted to, resisted, and negotiated with the quickly changing conditions in Germany. She observed that, as years passed, immigrants developed a different sense of belonging in relation to Turkey. Even though the first generation had a strong desire to return, the second and third generations embraced Germany as their home, yet still kept a strong sentimental attachment to Turkey. Structural transformations such as the possibility of obtaining German citizenship played a role in this change.

One of the most unique contributions of *Cosmopolitan Anxieties* to German studies is its author's ability to connect the Turkish question to the Jewish question, bringing together the two most significant Others in German national consciousness. Mandel's position as an American Jew with German background and her linguistic and personal ease with the Turkish community since she first came to Germany put her in a unique place to experience these links in a mundane and practical level. Because of the extreme yet mostly justified reluctance both Jews and Germans show in comparing Jews with any other group, such links established often either end up being purposely provocative or too tentative to take intellectually seriously. Through personal experience and careful attention to details as well as historical differences Mandel shows discursive parallels between the idea of the nonconvertible Jew and the inassimilable Turk. She also points out the striking difference in terms of the visibility and the protection the mostly vanished Jewish presence in Germany receives while the Turkish presence becomes invisible and remains highly unprotected and, hence, open to nationalist attacks from time to time.

Cosmopolitan Anxieties is a most welcome addition to our understanding of contemporary Europe in general and Germany in particular in which the weight of history is crucial to understand anxieties about Muslim minorities in the

new Europe. Only through such nuanced and careful studies that show how social memory and social structure and ideology constantly form and inform each other, will we be able to better understand the aspects of a new European identity in the making and hopefully suggest alternative modes of belonging that are inclusive and democratic.

Needles, Herbs, Gods, and Ghosts: China, Healing, and the West to 1848. Linda L. Barnes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005. xiii + 458 pp.

C. PIERCE SALGUERO

Johns Hopkins University Institute of the History of Medicine

Linda Barnes is a medical anthropologist who has published widely on the intersections between religion and healing, particularly in the practice of Chinese medicine in America. Her latest book, a history of the reception of Chinese medicine in the West from the 13th to the mid-19th century, is a well-researched and detailed compendium of historical examples of cross-cultural medical exchange. Short, readable sections—focusing, for example, on a particular technology, practice, idea, or group of practitioners—are presented over five chronological chapters. The book begins with the positive impressions Europeans gained of Chinese pulse taking and herbal therapy in the 13th century, and ends with the contempt and frustration of mid-19th-century missionaries at China's "superstitious" religious healing practices. Along the way, Barnes cites, quotes, and discusses a spate of firsthand observations and secondhand reactions to Chinese medical knowledge recorded by Westerners in a wide range of (mostly English and French) medical journals, travelogues, and other sources. Throughout, Barnes draws attention to the perpetual misunderstanding and mischaracterization of Chinese knowledge by Western observers and practitioners who, whether romanticizing or demonizing it, could only understand Chinese medicine through Western religious, medical, and cultural frameworks.

A particular strength of this book that leaps out from the very title and continues to inform the work to its last pages is Barnes's willingness to define *Chinese medicine* in the broadest possible terms. While by no means ignoring texts by elite physicians on acupuncture, moxibustion, and pharmacology, Barnes consistently also draws our attention to a range of less well-known magical, religious, and popular healing practices that played a major role in shaping Western attitudes (see particularly pp. 62–70, 120–224, 197–211, and 336–347). Of course, skeptical accounts of such practices by Western doctors and missionaries cannot pro-

vide a reliable history of such practices. However, by including these within her purview, Barnes provides us with a window onto many types of healing that have been largely neglected in English-language histories of early modern Chinese medicine.

Another strength of Barnes's book is that she situates Western reactions to Chinese healing within the wider context of cross-cultural contact. Arguing that the reception of medical ideas was inseparable from Western perceptions of China and the Chinese more generally, the author intersperses the book with discussions (typically coming in the opening 10–20 pages of each chapter) of Western views of foreignness, race, and religion, as well as brief sketches of important historical encounters. While some readers will skim these sections, those unfamiliar with the general outlines of East–West cross-cultural exchange will find these summaries valuable. Likewise, Barnes provides overviews of Chinese and European medical doctrines that will be of service in orienting readers who are new to these topics.

It is easy to criticize a book of this breadth and historical scope (as has one other reviewer) for too neatly generalizing complicated historical developments and for moving too quickly from topic to topic. It does, after all, in approximately 350 pages cover over 600 years of history of medicine, religion, commerce, and cultural shifts on two continents. A more notable omission, in the opinion of this reviewer, is the lack of Chinese sources, which will strike those who purchase the book based on its title alone as one-sided. Likewise, scholars of cross-cultural contact and exchange will be disappointed that the important theoretical points raised in the short conclusion (i.e., on the impact of cross-cultural contact on categories that formerly were seen as being "natural," and on the six forms of hybridity found in Western accounts of Chinese therapies) are not more explicitly interwoven throughout the preceding chapters to give more structure to the quotes and historical episodes Barnes delights in detailing.

However, dwelling on what the book lacks is uncharitable given the sheer quantity of sources and amount of ground that is actually covered. Other studies on the reception of Chinese medicine in the West with a more limited geographic or temporal scope may provide more detail and nuance about a specific time or place (see, e.g., Bivins 2000 on acupuncture in England). By contrast, this book provides an almost encyclopedic summary of the primary sources available on the topic. It is therefore an invaluable entry point for any scholar interested in further research. It is also a gold mine for preparing lectures. One can pick up this book and easily find an early modern Western observer's opinion on virtually anything related to Chinese medicine. For this reason alone, this book demands a place on the shelf of every historian of medicine, Eastern or Western, and quite a few scholars of religion and anthropology as well.

Reference cited

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2000 *Acupuncture, Expertise, and Cross-Cultural Medicine*. New York: Palgrave.

Faithful to Fenway: Believing in Boston, Baseball, and America's Most Beloved Ballpark. *Michael Borer*. New York: New York University Press, 2008. 263 pp.

PETER BENSON

Washington University in St. Louis

What is it about Fenway Park and the Boston Red Sox that so powerfully fosters sentimentality and allegiance in fans? Where does the imagined community and sense of common purpose that extends from Provincetown to Pawtucket, Bangor to Bridgeport come from historically, and how are these structures of feeling sustained? This is surely one of the most important and enduring sagas in the history of sport and leisure in the United States. *Faithful to Fenway* is an enchanting book that provides compelling answers to these questions. It is a book that will no doubt be irresistible for many. It is accessible and will appeal to working-class fans in South Boston as much as the New England literati. If you have lived in New England for some time (like me) or if you reside in a city with similar sports histories and cultures—places like Chicago—then you will appreciate the passionate attachment described here.

Borer is a sociologist of ethnographic ilk. He brings Red Sox culture to life by being there and talking to the ordinary people who feel connected to Fenway Park in ways that are at once intimate and public. This book takes readers right into Boston and helps them understand how a major North American city could for over a century magnetically revolve around the most precious of ballparks and the lore that is spackled into the Fenway brick. It is a book about the micro-dynamics of urban rituals, the subway rides, and the rites of passage, the concrete doings that are what being a fan is all about and the narratives that extend outward from Fenway into city streets like so many monstrous homeruns breaching its walls. But this book is much more than a readerly account of Red Sox baseball. It is a work of scholarship that develops an interesting theoretical take on relationships between sports, cities, and civil society.

Borer is interested in how civic identities and social capital are produced. In the case of Boston, baseball has played a unique role in this process. Borer adopts the theoretical perspective he calls an “urban culturalist perspective” to describe these dynamics. This perspective emphasizes the cultural meanings and structured practices of space in cities. Borer is interested in how some spaces come

to be defined and experienced as deeply symbolic of a city itself. They seem to represent and embody the core civic virtues that a city is said to represent. These saturated spaces organize social relations and identities. They partially constitute the affective dimension of urban life, the very feel of being in or belonging to a city. Borer, of course, thus argues that understanding devotion to the Red Sox requires understanding the meanings invested in Fenway Park, one of the last remaining ballparks from baseball's early modern era and a kind of pilgrimage site for fans (and also tourists).

Borer presents “a narrative about Fenway Park that begins with the rise of urban ballparks as important places steeped with meaning and mythology and ends with the realization that reverence, which itself is not a matter of pure consensus, does not guarantee the survival of such places, though it certainly helps” (p. 11). He tells an effectively framed history of the paradoxical rise of “parks” or “fields” in the center of industrializing urban areas beginning in baseball's formative period in the 19th century. Ballparks became cultural symbols of the pastoral and the idyllic while also generating new forms of social and symbolic capital in cities. Then the story zooms into Boston. The meaning of the ballpark as a place is now configured against a backdrop of historical knowledge and lore. It is the antiquity of Fenway Park and the felt presence of things that have happened there that makes it special. Among Red Sox fans, Fenway Park is now spoken of as a sacred space. Plans have been proposed for remodeling and upgrading the stadium since the 1960s, and they repeatedly meet with resistance from fans. The concern is about the “authenticity” of the existing stadium, Borer argues (p. 26). Hence, this book is as much about the politics and meaning of historical conservation in cities as it is about baseball.

It is notable that Borer's study is critical of how notions of authenticity are readily commercialized in baseball. He does not overlook the political economy of fandom that abuts the cultural system of meanings and lore. While fans regard Fenway Park as sacred space, they also interact with it and the team on commercial terms. Borer finds that what fans know about Red Sox history is often very generalized, a stock set of names and events, a mixture of fact and folklore. The commercial aspects of the field and baseball in general have tended to be overlooked in favor of viewing “Fenway Park as a place for communal interaction, civic engagement, and urban respite” (p. 49). Drawing on Durkheim, Borer describes Fenway Park as sacred and profane space. It has symbolic meaning, but it is also a place of business. Borer uses the term *devotional consumerism* to describe the acquisition of Fenway memorabilia, particularly replicas.

This book's readerly prose and engagement with social theories of culture, history, and place means that it will be of interest to scholars working on issues of the storied and social lives of physical spaces in other parts of the world.

This book is appropriate for classes in anthropology and sociology and seems indispensable for scholars working on social dimensions of sports and cultural dimensions of how identities are promulgated through the sporting life. This book is also accessible to a general audience and will appeal to readers interested broadly in the history of baseball and sports. Any baseball-loving household in New England should have this book on the coffee table or bookshelf. Where this book shines is the flipside of some important shortcomings.

The book is perhaps not critical enough of the commercial aspects of history and heritage in the United States; the tourist dimensions of contemporary baseball fan devotion, even among locals or diehards; or the extent to which models of shared civic identity and virtue work to conceal inequalities that traverse nearly every imaginable social location in cities. This shortcoming is part of a larger problem related to the concept of “community.” Presumably not all people who go to Fenway Park are from Boston. Some may be tourists. Some may be people who self-identify as people who live in “Boston” but, actually, reside in suburbs. A repeated sentiment among fans is that they enjoy watching games at the same place their parents and grandparents did. To attend, Borer writes, is to “experience the history of baseball and the history of Boston” (p. 181). But what image of Boston is being promoted and consumed, and exactly to which populations and audiences? Even though Borer is aware of the commercial aspects of baseball and the quick ways that imagined community gets appropriated by political or economic power, some readers may find the book a tad nostalgic. Readers might want to learn more about the politics of history and nostalgia in Boston. Knowing something about the city’s broader culture of real estate development, neighborhoods, and historical conservation, for example, might yield critical perspectives on baseball fandom. Complimenting a focus on the stadium itself with a broader analysis of meanings and practices of space and place might widen the scope of the urban culturalist perspective. Anthropologists working on similar issues have framed “community” as a discourse that is deployed in multiple contexts to mark insiders and make potent moral claims about how the present got made and who belongs where. This critical, even cynical view is a useful counterpoint to the tinge of romance found in the sociology of social capital. And, yet, anthropologists would do well to more effectively link the social construction of community in discourse to a materialist account of community as a cultural system. Borer is surely right that much of what is meant by community has to do with felt senses of place and the practical social networks that structure people’s lives, lending to life the sense that it is genuine.

The proverbial Curse of the Red Sox has ended. The team’s century-long dearth of championship glory, beginning with the awful trade of Babe Ruth to the rival New

York Yankees, recently came to an end when the Red Sox won the coveted World Series. What makes Borer’s story provocative is that once you get through the book you realize that this Curse does not really matter in historical and sociological perspective. It is not a magical Curse that has been the foundation for Red Sox devotees. It is a set of interlocking social factors. The irrational depths of Red Sox fandom make sense when understood in the context of how place and civic virtue have historically been defined, produced, and consumed in and through baseball in Boston.

Surrounded: Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military. Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. 213 pp.

LORI ALLEN

University of Cambridge

As Israeli anthropologist Danny Rabinowitz has phrased it, the Palestinian citizens of Israel are a “trapped minority”: a segment of a larger group spread across at least two states, alienated from political power, unable to influence the government that rules them, its members marginalized where they reside and marginal within their “mother nation” abroad. Israeli social geographer Oren Yiftachel has identified the inherent contradiction between Israel’s pretence to be a Western-style, liberal democracy and its practices toward the Palestinian citizens. In his analysis, Israel cannot qualify as a democracy but is rather an “ethnocracy,” where ethnicity and not citizenship is the main key to the distribution of power and resources. And according to Israeli security analyst Zeev Maoz, Israel has always been a “Sparta state,” which continues to try to convince the Arabs through military force to accept the Jewish state.

And in her book *Surrounded*, a recent attempt to understand just what kind of state Israel is, anthropologist Rhoda Kanaaneh writes that “Israel is a military democracy at best” (p. 7) marked by “martial citizenship” (p. 27) that is necessarily conditional, an aspect that fundamentally shapes the place of its Arab citizens—including Palestinian Muslims and Christians, Druze, and Bedouin—just as much as its Jewish citizens. The military has been a core institution in the creation of the state and society, and service in it is at the heart of what being an Israeli citizen means. Serving in the military is a “rite of passage” that contributes to the formation of hegemonic notions of masculinity, of Zionist subjectivity, and of relations between the Jewish majority and Arab minority. Just as significantly, completion of this rite of passage is a primary condition for receiving many state resources and for qualifying for many jobs.

But because Palestinian citizens of Israel, some 20 percent of the population, are exempt from the so-called

universal conscription of Israeli Jews into the military, they are also exempted from equal citizenship and state resources. Discrimination against them is “hence justified by linking it to their non-service in the military” (p. 7). (It is a so-called universal conscription, because many Israeli Jewish women, members of the ultra-Orthodox community, and others are granted exemptions but are not similarly discriminated against.)

But what of the approximately 3,000 Palestinian citizens currently serving in the military and the thousands more employed as Israeli police? Do these relatively few nonconformists manage to elicit from the Israeli state a fulfillment of its democratic promises? In a word, the answer from Kanaaneh’s analysis is “No.” The testimonies and data in *Surrounded* indicate that, while they gain a salary and sometimes access to state benefits like leasing state land at huge discounts (p. 41), no matter what these Palestinians offer in the way of military service and sacrifice, they remain second-class citizens, subject to the generalized suspicion that all Palestinian citizens face as “suspect Arabs” (p. 63), who are considered to be a fifth column in a Jewish state. Chapter 7 details many of the “broken promises” experienced by Arab soldiers, who, for example, have a harder time getting promoted and receiving the benefits owed to them and their families.

As the author herself describes it, “this book offers a unique perspective on citizenship in Israel” (p. 8) and the contradictions of a self-declared “Jewish state” that claims the mantle of “democracy.” In this accessible, relatively brief and teachable book, Kanaaneh presents the institutional systems and cultural biases that prevent Palestinian military from accessing resources equal to those of their Jewish cocitizens (much of the detail of which is unfortunately consigned to lengthy endnotes).

Based on tens of interviews with Palestinian military, police, and members of their surrounding communities, as well as press reports, Kanaaneh also gives the reader a sense of the difficult economic and social binds in which the Palestinian minority finds itself as citizens of a state defined by an ethnicity and religion that is not their own. What motivates these people to go against the Palestinian national(ist) grain and risk their lives and their reputations in service of a Zionist cause that is, by definition, opposed to their equal rights to the land? For most of the people Kanaaneh spoke with, economic considerations were paramount. Jobs in the military and police are solid, stable, and provide a steady income for a minority sector that is vastly underemployed and disproportionately suffers from poverty and undereducation, as a direct result of the state’s discriminatory allocation of resources. While these material rather than political or ideological considerations and goals of improved status are overriding, many Palestinians consider these servicemen and women to be traitors. But some also recognize the importance of being able to protect and

provide for a family to Palestinian notions of proper masculinity (p. 80), which makes it more difficult to blame them for choosing to serve as a way of securing an income.

The book offers a sense of how truly fundamental the Israeli military has been to the shaping of Israeli society, and to creating the categories of identity and their conflicts within it through a process of “subdivision” and rule (p. 10). In chapters 2 and 5, the author describes how the Arab Druze, for example, have been singled out as a “warrior race” and are automatically drafted into the military. The Bedouin have also been characterized as “natural trackers,” recruited into more military units that are situated in dangerous areas and consigned to high-risk duties.

It is important to note that immigrants who “self-identify as Jews but are not recognized as such . . . were granted citizenship if they served” in the military, as have children of non-Arab, non-Jewish immigrants (p. 29). This should raise questions not only about the nature of a democracy in which full citizenship and rights are dependent on military service but also about what notion of the “Arab other” is truly at the core of discrimination against the Palestinian minority.

Some may contend that, given the rise of right-wing politician Avigdor Lieberman to the post of Israeli Foreign Minister, someone who has advocated the “transfer” of Palestinians out of the Israeli state, that a focus on such a relatively insignificant phenomenon as Palestinian soldiers is not appropriate or relevant. Or that, given the growing divide among Palestinians between the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with a peace settlement and state development pushed back even farther by the Israeli attacks on Gaza in winter of 2008, social analysis might be better directed at more pressing political disasters. I would disagree with these opinions. The contradictions that Palestinians in Israel must live with, the economic strictures that keep them ranking extremely low on UN Human Development ratings and push some of them into feeling that military service is their only option for survival, are underpinned by the very same Zionist ideology and system of settler occupation that continues to prevent all Palestinians, whether citizens or occupied subjects, from achieving full equality in their homeland.

High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty.
Jessica Cattellino. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
295 pp.

LARRY NESPER

University of Wisconsin, Madison

In *High Stakes*, “the first published ethnography of tribal gaming” (p. 209), Jessica Cattellino details how the tribe deploys money’s fungibility to reproduce and transform

Seminole culture and society. In doing so, she makes important theoretical contributions to our understanding of contemporary indigeneity and tribal sovereignty in this well-written and sophisticated ethnography. The book reveals how the Seminoles are redefining the place of indigeneity in American sociopolitical and historical collective consciousness in analyzing how the Seminoles are authoring new relationships among culture, politics, and economy.

It was the Seminoles of Florida—one of the most traditional of American Indian tribes, and proud that they have never signed a treaty with the United States—who began the indigenous gaming revolution in the United States, now three decades old. Attention to this historical fact and condition works to set up a profound critique and exploration of the presumptive antithetical relationship between authentic indigeneity and capitalist modernity as Cattellino first outlines the pregaming history of Seminole economic articulation with the settler society: Seminoles have ranched, sold their labor, wrestled alligators and made crafts for tourists, sometimes identifying the articulation with the dominant society as distinctly cultural and sometimes not. In the case of gaming they have not. But the benefits delivered by tribal gaming such as guaranteed employment; universal health care; lifelong educational access; extensive services for elders; the development of reservation infrastructure in the form of sewers, roads, housing, schools, and so forth; a tribal museum; as well as bimonthly per capita payments have variously become symbols of their sovereignty.

Cattellino reveals how sovereignty and economic success interact in realizing the reproduction of a traditional order of cultural value and sociality. The reality of tribal gaming at the individual and family level affords more money and time for cultural activities even as casino wealth has encouraged a “bureaucratization of culture,” with the locus of cultural reproduction also migrating from the domestic to the tribal governmental sphere with the tribe sponsoring more cultural programming. The change has entailed vigorous internal debates about what kind of society and culture Seminoles want to have. But even the affluence that gaming has brought, realized in the circulation and consumption of new objects and experiences, has been indirectly productive of “Seminole sociality, governance and cultural distinctiveness” (p. 80) according to Cattellino. The overall effect has been that reservation sociality has intensified.

Indigenous sociological analysis is striking: money and wealth are not opposed to culture and tradition from a Seminole perspective. They facilitate its reproduction. Seminoles do, in fact, debate the impact of money because, as Cattellino points out, both social and temporal boundaries are affected by gaining money and wealth. So, for example, there are internal concerns about exogamy, disen-

rollment, and clanless tribal members. There is also anxiety about children internalizing the Seminole work ethic and technology threatening the intergenerational transmission of culture, as well as the future of the Seminole language. Nonetheless, reflecting on their historical experience, Seminoles regard the poverty and powerlessness they endured for decades as far more likely to “undermine tradition and nationalism” than wealth (p. 60).

The general lesson here for ethnographers working with indigenous communities is that the presumed antithesis between money and capitalism, and modernity and authentic indigeneity needs to be interrogated in light of the Seminole experience because the fungibility of money turns out to also be amenable to the realization of collective political goals indigenously determined and the good life as indigenously imagined, at least under some circumstances.

Cattellino shows how sovereignty is materialized and realized in “shared assertions, everyday processes, intellectual projects, lived experience of political distinctiveness” (p. 129) such as the widely shared understanding that gaming is instrumental and not essential to Seminole cultural identity, in the possibility of driving a new car and being able to afford some of the amenities of middle-class life, in the development of the tribal museum, and in the receipt of a monthly dividend from the tribal business that evokes traditional conceptions of moral leadership’s responsibility to redistribute goods and services.

The chapters on the dynamics of indigenizing money’s fungibility and realizing an indigenous sovereign modern indigeneity in tribal housing policy are provocative and represent solid contributions to our theories about the relationship between money, indigeneity, and the kinds of overlapping sovereignty and belonging that characterize contemporary nation-state citizenship.

Perhaps the most stimulating theme in *High Stakes* is the author’s argument criticizing the received wisdom that sovereignty is best analyzed in terms of degrees of autonomy instead of the breadth of interdependencies between the different sovereign polities. This has widespread application. In this case, gaming has facilitated new official relationships including government-to-government relations in multiple registers even as the effects within the tribes themselves have taken “material form in people’s bodies, houses and lands” (p. 200) as she shows throughout the book. It is as if Indian gaming has augmented the political landscape of the nation adding a new dimension creating a de facto trifederality with indigenous politically and culturally distinct entities standing in the kinds of reciprocal relations with federal, state, county, and municipal governments, as well as large private entities that obtain between the homologous units of societies organized under Durkheim’s mechanical solidarity. These polities gift each other in ongoing relations of exchange wherein “power relations are articulated, established or challenged” (p. 174),

thus constituting “new relationships of obligation, reciprocity and non-domination” (p. 178) between them. This insight into the significance of interdependency is most emblematically revealed in Seminoles authorizing a new place for tribal sovereignty within the American political imagination by the 2006 purchase of Hard Rock International for \$965 million dollars, announcing the deal in New York City (the nation’s financial capital), and signing the deal under their own Council Oak tree, a symbol of the tribe’s historical political distinctiveness.

As *High Stakes* engages the most current scholarship on sovereignty, indigeneity, and money in an ethnography of contemporary Florida Seminole Indian life, it deserves to be widely read by scholars interested in the dynamics of indigeneity, globalization, citizenship, and money. It is most suitable for use in graduate and upper undergraduate courses as well.

Poetics of Conduct: Oral Narrative and Moral Being in a South Indian Town. *Leela Prasad.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. ix–xv + 291 pp.

NICOLA TANNENBAUM

Lehigh University

In *Poetics of Conduct*, Leela Prasad focuses on how people in the southern Indian community of Sringeri construct notions of proper behavior through everyday conversations and stories. She draws attention to the textual traditions but does not focus on them as the sole source for the normative tradition. Instead, Prasad shows how local interpretations of texts and practices play out to construct normative behavior in lived-in everyday contexts. This is particularly interesting because Sringeri is the home of the Sharada temple and an important source for the textual tradition. Nonetheless, there is considerable flexibility in the ways in which priests and local people understand what it is to be a good person. Prasad gives us an engaging account of people’s conversations and their stories about Sringeri’s past and their relationships with the temple. This is a welcome addition to the analysis of moral being as a lived tradition.

Sringeri is a small community centered around the Sharada temple complex; the temple was established sometime in the ninth century. It is a pilgrimage site, and Prasad first got to know the community when she was a child making pilgrimages to the temple with her family. Although the political regimes have changed, the temple’s religious leaders were and are political religious authorities within the region. It is in the context of the temple and its religious authority that Prasad explores the normative worldview of the residents. She identifies three key questions that she seeks to answer: “how do people living in the vicinity of a power-

ful institution with a local and panregional reach . . . imagine and express their moral worlds? What indeed is normative for whom and when, and what vocabulary defines it? How do individuals make connections between ‘knowing’ and ‘doing’ the right thing when sources of the normative are many?” (p. 12).

The introduction situates Prasad’s personal and theoretical relationships with both the study of moral discourses and the people in Sringeri. We get the first biographical vignette of one of her key informants as well as a discussion of Euro-American and Hindu ethical texts. And it is here that she sketches the approach she will take to oral narratives as sources for ethical inquiry. While her focus is on local oral narratives, she is well aware that they emerge in the context of Hindu texts and these texts or ideas about these texts inform the oral narratives.

Prasad first provides us with the basic understanding of concepts that people in Sringeri take for granted. Proper conduct entails the practice of hospitality (*upachara*). Ideas about hospitality are embedded in relationships based on debt (*rina*) and gifting (*dana*). Gifting and the debt it entails establishes and maintains relationships among people and religious and political authorities, and they persist through time and over lifetimes. These concepts are situated within the broader history of the region, particularly the history of the relationship between the temple and local authorities from its founding through the British colonial period to post-Independence.

Hindu texts, particularly the Dharmashastras and Dharmasutras, form part of the cultural presuppositions that underlie local interpretations of proper behavior. Prasad gives a brief overview of these texts and the ways in which scholars have analyzed them. She pays particular attention to how the British colonizers tried to codify these texts to use them as traditional law. In contrast, the temple, its priests, and locally knowledgeable Brahmans continued to see these as more fluid and situated ways to guide and interpret behavior.

Having provided us with some sense of the Sringerians taken for granted understandings of the social and moral universe, Prasad turns to discussing what people do and say and how they interpret the behavior of others. One chapter is devoted to blessings (*auchirvada*) and how they encapsulate Sringeri ideas of hospitality. Here Prasad describes a blessing ceremony and discusses who can give blessings, their structures, and the purpose they serve. She connects this oral tradition to ideas of dramaturgical propriety showing the continuing relationship between morality and aesthetics. The next chapter is devoted to conversational stories as sources of information to show “the multifarious ways in which the ‘moral life’ is experienced, imaged, and constituted” (p. 183). Here conversations illustrate the ways in which notions of proper behavior, ethical issues, and interpretations of events emerge in everyday discourse.

While Prasad provides answers to her initial questions, they are derived from the ways in which a small, educated group of mostly male *smarta* Brahmans construct normative behavior. These Brahmans are her main sources of information, and she is very careful to have them check her manuscript to insure what she says represents their views on the matters at hand (pp. 125, 152, 250–251 note 11). Sringeri is religiously diverse (pp. 33–43, 202–208) and there are differences in economic wealth and political power (pp. 47–49, 73, 80, 86–89). Yet Prasad presents a single normative voice, that of the Brahmans, and it is not clear that their vision of moral being is widely shared. Prasad does a fine job of providing us with a sense of her relationship with and admiration for many of the people she interviews. Ultimately, however, she sidesteps her responsibility to analyze the information she receives and she simply reports in a somewhat hagiographic way what she was told.

While I recognize that using indigenous language terms is important, especially when dealing with local understandings of morality and ethics, I am not a South Asian specialist and most of these terms were new to me. There is no glossary and the index is not detailed enough to provide easy access to definitions. As a consequence, the audience for this book is limited to courses taught by people with South Asian expertise or to courses about South Asia. This is unfortunate because there is considerable interest in local understandings of what it is to be a good person and the way this connects to religious traditions.

Religion and the Politics of Ethnic Identity. *Stephen Selka.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007. x + 175 pp.

REBECCA SELIGMAN
Northwestern University

Studies of race in Brazil by American anthropologists have a long history, dating back to work by Melville Herskovits and Marvin Harris. Such studies have often focused on either documentation of African cultural forms in the Brazilian context or on the almost irresistible comparison of race in Brazil to the United States. Such approaches have been variously illuminating, constraining, and ideologically loaded. More recently, anthropologists have painstakingly worked to debunk the myth of racial democracy in Brazil and to prove that racism exists there. Stephen Selka's *Religion and the Politics of Ethnic Identity* moves well beyond such explorations, taking the issue of racism in Brazil as a given and treating the factors that contribute to and stem from understanding of race in Brazil, and more specifically Bahia, on their own complex terms. By illustrating the intimate and often contradictory relationships among blackness and Brazilian religions, Selka explores the implications of the fact that racial identities in Bahia have historically been

constituted and understood in cultural, rather than explicitly political, terms. Selka's text works not only as an exploration of race in Bahia but also as an equally revealing study of contemporary Brazilian religion and the place of race, politics, and racial identities within religious movements and practices at both the individual and institutional levels. Moreover, Selka makes a compelling theoretical argument that the examination of identity struggles in the context of religion is of particular importance because religious practice is by its very nature suited to the creation, internalization, and reinforcement of deeply embodied identities.

Through historical analysis and careful ethnography, Selka explores in-depth the roots and implications of many of the contradictions inherent in Brazilian racial ideologies. He shows readers how these contradictions are variously contested, revised, or reinscribed through religious discourses, practices, and policies, in the context of the competition for adherents and ideological dominance among the three biggest players on the Brazilian religious scene: Catholicism, Candomblé, and Evangelical Protestantism. For instance, he demonstrates beautifully how deep-seated negative understandings of blackness in Brazil, alongside political and popular appropriations of Afro-Brazilian culture, affect discourses of racial identity within Candomblé. Similarly, Selka explores the contentious links drawn by many Afro-Brazilians between racism and religious intolerance against Candomblé on the part of Evangelicals. He demonstrates how such discourses, combined with the logic that Candomblé is Afro-Brazilian culture is blackness, have created a paradox for black Evangelicals, who actively reject Candomblé. Yet Selka argues that the relationship between black identity and religion is not so straightforward, carefully illustrating new discursive and political practices and emerging alternative ways of being black that have been, and continue to be, forged within segments of the Catholic and Evangelical religions.

Selka does an admirable job of trying to follow the threads of religious discourse and participation through the complex tangles of meaning and structures of power that create powerful paradoxes and contradictions in Brazil, between the polar racial discourses of *mestiçagem* (hybridity) and essentialism. But his effort left me feeling a bit confused at times—or at least slightly dissatisfied. Although Selka does his best to represent the relationships among racial and religious discourses, group and individual identities, group and individual religious and cultural practices, and political action, a more explicit analytical distinction between ideology and practice, or between group and individual levels, where they meet and where they diverge, might have created additional conceptual clarity.

On a related note, I could not help wishing at times for less emphasis on the group-level, ideological implications of these discursive struggles and more exploration of how

these complex, ambiguous, and contradictory discourses are manifested in the lives of particular individuals. How do individuals experience and negotiate different meanings of blackness or of religious affiliation? How, for instance, do individuals who identify as *“moreno”* but who are Candomblé practitioners think about or experience their racial identities? How does an individual who converts from Candomblé to Pentecostalism experience his or her relationship to blackness, or to African culture? How do black participants in Candomblé in places like Rio and São Paulo, where it is practiced by increasing numbers of participants who do not identify as black, experience the connections among Afro-Brazilian religion, black identity, and struggles against racial inequality? Of course, such explorations were likely beyond the scope of this book, or maybe even beyond the scope of Selka's data, and, hence, may need to be engaged in his future work, or by future researchers working in this area. Ultimately, the issues raised here are less criticism than they are a statement about the way that the careful archeology of meaning that Selka performs, as he sifts through layers of race, culture, and religion and pieces together a tantalizing, if partial, image of how religious and black identities are constructed and employed in Brazil, leaves the reader wanting to know more.

I would recommend this book for graduate courses in religious studies, the anthropology of religion, the anthropology of race, and Latin American studies.

Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television. *John Thornton Caldwell.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 464 pp.

SASHA DAVID

UCLA David Geffen School of Medicine

Despite the fact that it manufactures one extraordinarily influential and omnipresent visual representation of American culture, the Los Angeles film and television industry, also known as Hollywood, has been largely left alone by sociocultural anthropologists. In 1951, Hortense Powdermaker published *Hollywood: The Dream Factory*. The first anthropologist to take up the study of the Los Angeles movie studios, Powdermaker argues that the dramatically dismal quality of Hollywood films at midcentury came about because of the blanket of anxiety that overhung the studio lots, which led the movie makers to favor formulaic storylines rather than take risks on creative innovations. Later on, Powdermaker reveals the frustration she experienced while conducting this fieldwork. The sprawling spatial organization of Los Angeles, she felt, precluded “constant and seemingly casual observation” (1996:13). Thus, she deemed her

Hollywood study the weakest of her anthropological undertakings. Perhaps future generations of anthropologists were put off by similar “situational” difficulties (1996:213); no follow-up ethnography of Hollywood was produced during the decades following Powdermaker's initial foray into the field.

At the turn of the 21st century, however, inquiry into media production and reception flourished as a burgeoning analytic orientation in the discipline. Accordingly, anthropologists once again took up the task of charting out the social and cultural context in which Hollywood's commodities come into being. Independent cinema in Hollywood has begun to be investigated by Sherry B. Ortner, while the author of this review has analyzed aspiring Hollywood actors' practices of marketing their often slickly packaged, commodified selves (David 2009).

Picking up on a familiar theme that Powdermaker pursued, John Thornton Caldwell's *Production Culture* (2008) also seeks to understand the social and cultural processes that surround the construction of Hollywood's media products. While attending to the labor practices of Hollywood's behind-the-scenes workers, Caldwell inadvertently yet effectively calls into question the hallowed division of labor that presumes ethnography to be the sole methodological property of sociocultural anthropologists. (In terms of his own professional identity, Caldwell can be identified as a scholar of media studies, as well as a widely acclaimed documentary filmmaker.)

In fact, it is a central aim of Caldwell's work to break down preconceived notions about who “does ethnography,” so to speak: according to the author, a simultaneously etic and emic self-awareness and “self-analysis” pervades the production practices of many workers in the Los Angeles entertainment industry. Caldwell advances the thesis that film and television professionals widely engage in what he calls “critical industrial practices” that should be recognized as “self-ethnographic”: “This three-part concept signifies trade methods and conventions involving interpretive schemes (the ‘critical’ dimension) that are deployed within specific institutional contexts and relationships (the ‘industrial’ environment) when such activities are manifest during technical production tasks or professional interactions (labor and ‘practice’)” (p. 7). Such a claim undermines yet another academic sacred cow: the traditional assumption that film “theory” and film “work” should be held as separate entities in analysis and film school instructional curricula (p. 7).

These claims pivot on the assumption that “film/TV production communities themselves are cultural expressions and entities involving all of the symbolic processes and collective practices that other cultures use: to gain and reinforce identity, to forge consensus and order, to perpetuate themselves and their interests, and to interpret the media as audience members” (p. 2). In his work

with these communities, Caldwell employed a fourfold research technique that involved “textual analysis of trade and worker artifacts; interviews with film/television workers; ethnographic field observation of production spaces and professional gatherings; and economic/industrial analysis” (p. 4). In collecting this data, Caldwell encountered differing degrees of “disclosure” at varying professional echelons in the entertainment industry. Thus, he offers the following, provocative caveat that could serve as sage counsel for any anthropologist studying “up” (Nader 1972), whether or not industrial or economic practice is a central research aim: According to the “inverse credibility law” (a term that Caldwell formulates), “the higher one travels up the industrial food chain for insights, the more suspect and spin-driven the personal disclosures tend to become” (p. 3).

Ethnographic purists could identify a few shortcomings in Caldwell’s technique: *Production Culture* does not offer readers textured depictions of a typical day on the job for a camera operator or television show director, or other entertainment professional. Caldwell does not engage in a sustained attempt at deciphering any typical subjectivity—in terms of socioeconomic status, regional identity, or career path—that may exist among the individuals who take on the differing occupations offered by film and television show sets. *Production Culture* also falls short of assessing the representativeness of the data collected by Caldwell, relative to so-called American culture, if there is such a thing. Caldwell’s arguments could be developed to respond to the possibility of the increasing practice and valuation of voyeurism and panopticism in the United States and elsewhere.

Yet, given the challenging practical and intellectual demands that fieldworkers must face, one researcher can take up only so many tasks. Thus, a different type of imponderabilia of everyday life, to paraphrase Malinowski (1932), is in plentiful supply in this book. Caldwell proficiently and thoroughly integrates a critical analysis of finished Hollywood media products with his descriptions of the practical ethos held by the workers responsible for their production. To accomplish this, Caldwell was able to gain access to a notoriously exclusive industry and gain an impressive degree of rapport with its low- and high-status workers.

For this reason, *Production Culture* should be viewed as a successful ethnography, even though Caldwell himself does not “consider this book necessarily anthropological” (p. 11). Its conclusions and methodological approach would be of interest to any anthropologist concerned with the study of the cultures of postcapitalist industry. Caldwell has produced a multitasking ethnography that makes an outstanding contribution to cultural studies, critical film analysis, and the anthropology of late capitalism: *Production Culture* offers a unified and thought-provoking interpretation of Hollywood’s cultural residues while also interfacing with the discourses reproduced by its workers and

the processes of production in which these workers engage. What is more, this work calls attention to the fact that one need not be an anthropologist, or even an academic, to “do ethnography.” Caldwell’s findings endorse the arguments of Paul Willis on the matter (p. 5), thereby suggesting that the intellectual commodities produced by anthropologists, and the aesthetic products manufactured by Hollywood’s dream factory, come into being in a surprisingly similar manner.

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Wannabes, Goths and Christians: The Boundaries of Sex, Style and Status. Amy C. Wilkins. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 281 pp., notes, index.

PARDIS MAHDAVI

Pomona College

Ethnographic studies of present-day youth subcultures around the world face similar challenges of gathering rich, ethnographic data and presenting the data in compelling and complex ways that do not overly romanticize or reify the “youth experience.” In *Wannabes, Goths and Christians: The Boundaries of Sex, Style and Status*, Amy Wilkins has embarked on an important project that explores the making of American youth subcultures, focusing on the three different subcultural identity groups the title suggests, which have gained popularity in a particular northeastern town, and arguably in towns across the United States, Wilkins’s book gives us great detail about these three subcultural projects that are all aimed at providing different resolutions to the same questions that she poses in the conclusion of her book: “How do I reconcile my short term desire to be cool with my long term desire to be successful? How do I establish a meaningful cultural identity, when whiteness seems to have no culture?” (p. 249).

The writing flows smoothly and is theoretically engaged. Wilkins weaves intricate theories about race, class,

gender, and sexuality with quotes from her informants while occasionally nodding to the creation of new theories that are generated from the large amount of data she has amassed in this project. Based on seven years of in-depth ethnographic fieldwork with three very different subcultural groups of young people, Wilkins draws on her many conversations with these young people to ask us to look more critically at theories that discuss race, class, and gender as independent of one another without recognizing their interconnected nature. The three subcultures chosen by Wilkins “illustrate the centrality of sexuality to the process of identity construction and making” (p. 243) while illuminating the inextricable link between race, class, and gender and how they are mutually reinforcing systems.

Throughout the book she introduces us to ways in which these identities are cultural projects that are simultaneously strategies of self-exploration and self-expression. Chapter 2, cleverly entitled “From Geek to Freak,” details the boundaries of Goth culture through exploring the transformation of youth who find themselves as outsiders or “geeks,” into Goths (who enjoy being thought of as “freaks”), whose centrality of identity is about resisting the mainstream, and making members of the mainstream feel intimidated, awkward, and not sophisticated or progressive. Chapter 4 is entitled “Just Good People” and introduces the reader to a group of Christian youth who are involved in a group called “University Unity.” The young people presented in this group, like the Goths presented earlier, are also young people who find that they do not fit in and are looking for “something else.” For them, University Unity provides not only acceptance but also a group identity and moral guidelines. Chapter 6, “Why Don’t They Act Like Who They Really Are?” explores Wannabe subculture, called as such because the young people who are white literally “want to be” seen as racialized and, thus, comport the dress, speech affect, and overall “style” of the Latino and black subcultural groups that they “wannabe.”

While it seems that the Goths are pushing the boundaries of gender, the Wannabes questioning racial hierarchies, and the Christians displaying class bias, they are in fact simultaneously interrogating race, class, and gender, most vividly through the selective use and operationalization of sexuality. Chapters 3, 5, and 7 focus on the strategic deployment of sexuality to navigate the transgression of race, class, and gender. As she details in these chapters, Goths turn to “freaky” sex such as bondage, non-monogamy, sadomasochism, and group sex while installing intricate rules for engaging in sexual relationships with multiple partners; Christians find strength and agency in choosing abstinence (as opposed to being forced into abstinence because of being “undesirable” or “uncool”) and channeling all sexual and romantic energy toward God. Wannabes demonstrate their commitment to a lifestyle of

racialized marginality through their heterosexual commitment to poor or working-class black and Puerto Rican men, and often have children with them to further demonstrate this commitment.

Highlights of the book are the details of the fashion choices of these young people. As Dick Hebdige has noted, the body is the canvas on which young people publicly paint their identities and communicate these identities with the outside world. In this regard, it is no surprise that fashion plays a central role both in Wilkins’s book, as well as in the lives of her informants. She does a good job of detailing the fashion choices enacted by each of the three groups she focuses on and vividly paints a picture of the public appearance of her informants. Each of the three groups presented articulate strategic fashion choices as means of communicating their identities to one another, as well as to the mainstream world that they are resisting.

Wilkins’s honest ethnographic style is perhaps what draws the reader in most. She invites the reader into her life and her journey through this ethnographic endeavor with refreshing openness and self-reflexivity. In the introduction of the book, Wilkins chronicles her own past as a single mother who has now constructed a biracial family. Additionally, Wilkins is exceptionally honest in stating her ethnographic challenges with her populations of interest who often rejected, intimidated, or attempted to ostracize her. With enduring commitment to these groups, she eventually not only gained access to the groups but was also brought into their inner circles and trusted with their secrets. The result is a heartfelt and engaging ethnography that provides insights into the many challenges of youth trying to negotiate their own identities as raced, classed, and sexualized through creative and complex subcultures.

This ethnography will no doubt be of interest to scholars and students of gender and women’s studies, anthropology, sociology, media studies, critical theory and cultural studies, while also maintaining an audience of nonacademics interested in subcultures and youth culture in the United States from the perspective of an ethnographer who is more interested in detailing their daily lives and struggles than in fueling the moral panic around youth going astray.

Coming of Age in Second Life: An Anthropologist Explores the Virtually Human. Tom Boellstorff. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. 316 pp.

DEBBORA BATTAGLIA
Mount Holyoke

One of anthropology’s enduring questions concerns what it means to be a person. This is the question to which Margaret Mead (whose ghost, of course, haunts the title

under review) dedicated her professional life, seeking to shift public consciousness of outlying human practice from remote irrelevance into the light of critical contemporary social thought. *Coming of Age in Second Life* takes this project—and the ethnographic project—farther out along these lines as it moves into and out of a virtual world where distant realities and ways of being a person are taken to be only a mouse click away. Calling attention to the gap between subjectivities and image-artifacts in a media age of offline-online community “bleed through,” Boellstorff locates his fieldworking actor-avatars within emergent worlds every bit as real in material terms as in imaginations. The result is to repurpose the contemporary anthropological project to these entities’ hyphenated terms of self-reference, which Boellstorff does as naturally as if he were writing from Indonesian field sites past. Seen thus in the light of our computer screens, the result is an often moving study of posteugenic identity fashioning that on another level interrogates “dividual” selves in fresh terms, and the parameters of their contingent worlds, likewise.

The book does this as a kind of mission to heighten awareness of the publics Boellstorff addresses vis-à-vis practices they might take to be culturally weird (e.g., shape-shifting avatars) but also culturally natural (e.g., online intersubjective exchange). As Mead sought to expose cross-cultural differences regarding sexuality and “stages” of life to the critical light of her day’s notions of universal adolescent angst, Boellstorff exposes parallel worlds to the light of computer screen interfaces that are anything but global, and that run contrary to ideologies of individualism in which North American public culture is steeped. By thus focusing on diverse uses of emergent technologies, *Coming of Age in Second Life* inscribes the kind of anthropology of the future that Mead, who actually identified and wrote about anthropology as futurology (Mead 2005), engaged and promoted.

While the irony of an egocentric form of self-representation combining with a highly “dividual” process of “self-fashioning” in virtual worlds under contemporary capitalism may be obvious enough to anthropology, “the illusion of wholeness” (as Catherine Ewing [1990] writes of this for Fijians with whom she worked) is unmasked by Second Life users in no uncertain terms: their “second” life depends on this fact of separateness.

To reiterate, the point of ethnographic innovation here is Boellstorff’s commitment to taking on the avatar’s point of view and further, explicitly engaging in the “worlding” that other actor-avatars are committed to, transforming the social entities and terrain he studies for his own purposes as a kind of parallel play of theirs. No standardized “model of and model for” social action can survive this contingency-driven worlding, nor deny its open-ended mode of serious play. The point is made theoretically in later chapters, where Boellstorff describes themes of self-enhancement, online

species hybridity, the politics of corporate and individual coauthorship of the self, and social acts of memory and purposeful forgetting, as demonstrations of the mechanism he calls “consumptive production,” relating this technology to the “creationist capitalism” to which Second Life gives expression.

Not least among these practices is political action and “immersion” in local activist projects, which can entail organizing for actual world elections and local causes, and the production of counternarratives to dominant culture orthodoxies, opening users to debates surrounding such deeply felt topics as physical and psychological disabilities, gender and sexuality, and cross-species relations. For example, online tools allow users to block nonanthropomorphic “fuzzies” and plant-thing avatars from entering their neighborhoods and Second Life “real estate” in respect of the value of what is human and “real.” Further discussing affect as an expression of the humanism of virtual artisanal “connection zones,” Boellstorff moves into matters of the carnality of online exchanges such as the feelings of grief elicited by the loss of those who depart from Second Life’s artisanal “connection zones” in consequence of mortal illnesses or physical passing, or who perhaps just vanish from them. Afresh, we come to understand how gaps as much as “positive spaces” can be purposefully crafted.

Coming of Age in Second Life is already prompting critical review by “new Luddites” and by those who feel that the writing excludes nonacademic readers. My senior undergraduate majors would beg to differ, perhaps prompted a little by me to ask how any novel venture, discussed in any degree of depth, could be anything but challenging. This is an edifying study of a realm that is, perhaps as I write this, no longer even exotic. Margaret Mead would be more than pleased.

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Economy, Culture, and Civil War in Sri Lanka. *Deborah Winslow and Michael D. Woost*, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004. xiv + 242 pp., map, tables, references, index.

ALEX ARGENTI-PILLEN

University College London

This is an exceptional collection of chapters, which makes a major contribution to the anthropology of war and conflict.

The volume emerged from a multidisciplinary workshop held at the New England Center, University of New Hampshire in 2000 where the links between developments in the post-1977 Sri Lankan economy and the interethnic conflict were explored. The debate is articulated around Newton Gunasinghe's seminal article "The Open Economy and Its Impact on Ethnic Relations in Sri Lanka" (1984, reprinted in the reviewed text). Gunasinghe's piece, published in the aftermath of the anti-Tamil riots of 1983, maps the complex connections between open economic policies and the increase in interethnic violence. Multiple perspectives on the economy are the entry point for this study, which the editors define as a postethnicity argument. The originality of this study lies in its lack of dependence on discourses about ethnicity and nationalism, and its focus on the new socioeconomic formation that developed under conditions of liberalization and chronic civil war.

Winslow and Woost clearly mark this move toward an economic analysis of Sri Lanka's civil war as differing from the stereotypical focus on conflict entrepreneurs and greed as a sustaining principle of civil war. In fact they denounce the policy recommendations of Paul Collier—director of the Development Research Group at the World Bank—as "dangerous, possibly leading to more conflict rather than less" (p. 16). Such recommendations fail to take political grievances or human rights into account and, instead, focus on economic liberalization and growth to reduce poverty and placate greedy rebels without a cause. Contributors to this volume provide a nuanced antidote to such discourses, which circulate within a World Bank and IMF keen to reintegrate war-ravaged economies into the global market.

What is most striking about this volume is its predictive value, a rare commodity within social science research. Contributors define the new socioeconomic formation of violence that emerged during three decades of civil war in terms of people's everyday survival strategies. The debate on economics and interethnic warfare thereby becomes triangulated and developed as a tension between adaptation to open economic policies, wartime economic survival strategies, and participation in civil warfare itself. Violence continues to emerge at this articulation between a further developing open economy and a war economy on the ground. The chilling predictive quality of this work is based on a comparison of the economic direction taken since 1977 and its role in fuelling ethnic violence, on the one hand, and current planning documents by the government of Sri Lanka and the World Bank (the Country Assistance Strategy), on the other. As liberalization and privatization played a crucial role in the articulation of spaces of death and atrocity in Sri Lanka, a social formation of *No War–No Peace* emerged (a term the editors borrow from Dr. Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu). However, the aid packages used to

lubricate current peace negotiations reveal striking similarities precisely with the post-1977 economic policies linked to the emergence of ethnic warfare in Sri Lanka. The editors conclude: "A peace pact and concomitant influx of aid may make the formations of violence invisible but not inactive" (p. 202). They thereby challenge a key cornerstone of World Bank and IMF views on the role of development and opening up markets in war-torn societies: "Peace is not a matter of promoting forgiveness or reconciliation and then making it possible to get on with economic growth" (p. 204).

Contributors collaborated to highlight that economic growth and the format in which it is prescribed by global institutions was not only a root cause of interethnic war in Sri Lanka but also continues to fuel violence in its current format of postwar international development initiatives. Moreover the authors make the reader engage in a serious consideration of the fact that the situation of No War–No Peace might have no end in sight. Such work challenges the current optimism that many social scientists project into texts about resistance, experiences of violence, suffering and coping, reconciliation, and conflict resolution. Such a critical stance is made possible on the basis of this volume's exceptional multidisciplinary grounding: a macroview of the relationship between policy and conflict (by political scientists John M. Richardson and Amita Shastri), a consideration of the class and ethnicity based experience of open economic policies (by sociologists Newton Gunasinghe and Siri T. Hettige), and finally an extremely engaging view from below (by anthropologists Francesca Bremner, Michele R. Gamburd and Caitrin Lynch).

Anglican Communion in Crisis: How Episcopal Dissidents and Their African Allies Are Reshaping Anglicanism. *Miranda K. Hassett*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. 295 pp.

PAUL GIFFORD

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

For more than a decade, the worldwide Anglican communion has been convulsed by a struggle over the morality of homosexuality. This book treats this struggle by analyzing the dynamics in North American Episcopalianism and the Anglican Church of Uganda. Besides reports, newspaper coverage, and journal articles, the book is based on fieldwork in a conservative parish in the United States and several months in Uganda. It began life as an anthropology thesis at the University of North Carolina.

Miranda Hassett begins with struggles within the Episcopalian church, in which the liberal wing achieved increasing dominance. The conservatives, disgruntled at their waning influence over such issues as reform of the *Prayer Book*, ordination of women, divorce, and tolerance for gay clergy and same-sex relationships, came to realize in the mid-1990s that a large majority of Anglicans worldwide would join them in fighting for the traditional view of homosexuality. Thus, northern conservatives mobilized to take back their church, forging a new politics with the churches of the "Global South." With the important decennial Lambeth Conference of 1998 looming, the conservatives prepared their campaign through conferences in places like Kuala Lumpur and Kampala. The 1998 Lambeth Conference, attended by 750 bishops (including 224 from Africa and 177 from North America), passed a vote "rejecting homosexual practice as incompatible with Scripture" with 526 votes in favor, 70 opposed, and 45 abstentions. This issue came to define Lambeth 1998, totally eclipsing more liberal concerns like debt relief and development. Hassett well reveals the dynamics at play at Lambeth and then equally enlighteningly traces how this vote was understood and presented. Of course matters have moved on since (essentially the vote did not make much change to the power relations within the Episcopalian church), and Hassett brings the story up to about 2005.

Some factors are covered particularly well. One is the new forms of linkage developing within Anglicanism (and, she notes, other denominations). There is a shift away from traditional and formal church-to-church links between North American and African Anglican Provinces, to more informal, individual, almost privatized relationships and alliances, often on an ad hoc basis. Some conservative American parishes have tried to opt out of Episcopalian structures to become part of an African diocese, but increasingly American conservatives may simply bypass their own liberal bishop and invite an African bishop to perform, say, confirmations, and build on such personal ties.

This issue is closely linked to disparity of resources. Hassett shows that the Ugandan church is very dependent on resources from outside to function as it does. This has led to the accusation of northern liberals that the South's championing of the homosexuality issue does not arise from any deep theological conviction but, rather, from the need for the resources of wealthy northerners to whose blandishments southerners are very susceptible. Hassett argues that although it would distort things to make this the central issue, money is never irrelevant. The economics of global denominations is an issue studiously avoided by most students of Christianity and deliberately obscured by vogue words like *partnership*, *twinning*, *interdependence*, and *reciprocity*. Hassett well shows that the issue is unavoidable

and pervasive in inter-Anglican relationships. This does not prove the liberals' accusations that the southern churches are in it for the money, but to ignore the issue is certainly to misunderstand the dynamics.

Hassett sets up her debate in terms of globalization. The received wisdom is that conservative movements are reactions against globalization; in this Anglican case, however, it was the conservatives who championed globalization. She claims that it was only in the 1960s and 1970s that Anglican leaders pushed for a postcolonial, multicultural communion; the ideal of becoming a global communion, with a high degree of interconnectedness and mutual awareness, dates only to the mid-1990s and this debate. She attributes to the northern moderate-liberal wing what she calls "diversity globalism," which understands globalness as diversity in unity, each partner bringing to the global sharing its culture, experience, and perspectives. (Thus, northerners bring their tolerance of gay relationships, while southerners bring their rather different perspective.) By contrast, the conservatives exhibit an "accountability globalism," in which interdependence and mutual accountability lead to an orthodoxy normative for all. She argues that globalization is not simply Westernization; in this case of the Anglican homosexuality debate, influence has flowed both ways, and the southern partners have acquired new networks, new tools, and a new enthusiasm for bringing their perspectives and concerns onto the global stage. However, this reader at least came away with the feeling that the dynamics are principally driven by northern preoccupations. Admittedly the churches of the global South have flexed their muscles, spoken up, and drawn attention to themselves, but the campaign appears predominantly northern.

Her approach enables her to challenge the common view that Christianity has shifted its center of gravity to the South, a view that North American conservatives trumpet to show that theologically and ethically orthodox Christianity will triumph. She argues that this received wisdom ignores the degree to which this "southern Christianity" has been created in partnership with (might one say in the interests of?) the North. Also, to contrast like this the liberal North in opposition to the conservative South is actually to replicate northern cultural divisions that may not have much relevance to the South. The South is to be taken on its own merits, and studied on its own terms. However, she laments that endlessly portraying North-South diversity in these terms may well bring about what it describes.

The treatment is exhaustive and generally convincing. My only criticism is that the book is too close to the thesis that gave rise to it. It would have benefited from transcending the conventions of a thesis (like telling us when she is dependent on some theoretician) and rigorous pruning of footnotes.

Masquerades of Modernity: Power and Secrecy in Casamance, Senegal. Ferdinand de Jong. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2007. vi + 228 pp.

LILITH MAHMUD

University of California, Irvine

Studies of rituals and secret societies have long been a trope of anthropological inquiry, and especially of ethnographic research in Africa. In his recent book, *Masquerades of Modernity*, Ferdinand de Jong attempts to bring postcolonial and transnational concerns to bear on this classic field of study and, thus, to theorize novel relations between secrecy, forms of modernity, and public spheres.

From the first pages of his ethnography, de Jong shows a deep awareness of the problematic politics of representation of African subjects that have made studies of rituals increasingly unpopular. He offers instead a compelling argument for why such “an old-fashioned topic” (p. 4) should continue to be studied, arguing that it is through their very practices of secrecy that locals articulate their own claims to tradition and modernity, and through their rituals that one can better understand various negotiations of public spheres. The setting for such discursive and ritual productions is not the confined space of a Casamance village but, rather, the national, transnational, and diasporic networks from which youths born in Paris or Dakar, for instance, might travel to a sacred forest to reinvent a cultural “tradition” whose authenticity and significance are contested by all social actors involved in its performance.

The book is laid out as a series of essays, with each chapter exploring various practices of secrecy in relation to a key analytical theme. Secrecy and initiation rituals are thus astutely examined within studies of gender relations, diasporas and migration, local and national politics, urbanization, market economies, state formation, and cultural and artistic productions. The structure of the book makes explicit in its very form the overall book project to revive an unpopular topic—one uncomfortably close to a long history of colonial and epistemological racism—and to show its contemporary relevance in light of postmodern and postcolonial critiques. It is this very compelling framework that makes the book so promising.

Despite these exciting engagements with contemporary theoretical concerns, however, the ethnographic writing itself shares some of the unfortunate drawbacks of earlier literature on rituals. In the beginning of the book, de Jong admits with regret that his own subject position as a male researcher in the field made it virtually impossible for him to observe women’s practices of secrecy and women’s ritual performances. In light of this disclaimer, the large absence of women’s experiences from the book is perfectly understandable, especially when one considers that field-

work research is necessarily the result of a particular encounter among differently situated subjects. The book itself, however, does not consistently anchor its analyses in a discussion of masculinities, and masculinities only. At times, it seems to slip into an unmarked account of rituals and modernity in Casamance, Senegal, in a way eerily reminiscent of some earlier ethnographies that took the experiences of men to be representative of larger social groups. Perhaps an even more unexpected reminder of the anthropological literature of the past is the frequent use of the “ethnographic present” found throughout the book, which at times runs counter to the author’s own claims about the dynamics of history and the transnational reinvention of secret traditions. Writing most of the ethnographic descriptions in the present tense and including very few quotes from his informants that would serve as a counterpoint to his single authorial voice, de Jong inadvertently reproduces the essentialist style of representation for which the literature had been so criticized, and that, in his own words, “allegedly portrays Africans as being stuck in tradition” (p. 4).

Masquerades of Modernity thus appears to struggle with some of the very contradictions that it proposes to analyze. The overall framework of the book and the reflexive conclusions of each chapter show a profound engagement with the epistemological transformations of anthropology as a discipline. The literary turn, its demystification of fieldwork research and authorship, as well as postcolonial critiques of representation, all figure prominently in de Jong’s analyses. At the same time, the ethnography itself relies on some exoticizing tropes of the genre that, by subsuming women’s experiences and often slipping into the present tense, hinder what might otherwise be an impeccable line of inquiry. Nonetheless, *Masquerades of Modernity* is an important study of men’s initiation and masquerade rituals, whose implications have the potential to reach far beyond Casamance. It shows that certain performances of secrecy can conjure various forms of modernities and localities, and that male practitioners can use secrecy to mediate economic relations with state and global markets.

Latinos and the U.S. South. José María Montero. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008. xxvi + 283 pp.

DONNA F. MURDOCK

Sewanee: The University of the South

One of the most interesting immigration phenomena in recent years is the enormous growth of Latino populations in the southeastern United States (in some places up by

more than 300 percent since the early 1990s). A small body of scholarship exists on the employment, community, education, and religious experiences of Latino immigrants who will no doubt contribute to a dramatic transformation of the South. However, there is much more to learn, and this book will provide a welcome introduction to the topic for both scholarly and popular audiences alike. Writing in an accessible style, Montero uses a wide range of sources including historical documents, legislation, statistics, literature, interviews, and personal experience as a citizen of both Spain and the United States who was raised in Athens, Georgia. He takes up the question of how the growing Latino presence will affect both immigrants and natives alike in places such as Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, and Georgia. Topics covered range from the fact that you can get a Cuban sandwich at McDonald's in South Florida to the literature of Flannery O'Connor and Carlos Fuentes, to music, peasant insurrections, and religion.

The author's point of departure is a broad comparison between the history and literature of Latin America and the southern United States. In the process of drawing this comparison, he provides a good introduction to the history of the South in the periods prior to, during, and just after the era of Reconstruction. In particular, his discussion of the literature written about the South is compelling and not at all surprising as Montero has published widely on the intersections between literature and cultural identity. The best passages show the popular deprecation of the South as culturally, economically, and politically "backward" and the simultaneous mythologizing of the South as the home of naïve gentility, Spanish moss, and white-columned plantations.

Less compelling is the discussion of parallels between the U.S. South and Latin America. This approach is not without precedent and is part of the growing scholarly field of inter-American studies that looks to treat the Western Hemisphere as a single world region. The chapter on early Spanish colonization in the U.S. South joins this trend and provides a provocative reminder that Spanish influence is not new in this region. However, the idea that the southeastern United States was—is an internal colony of the North in a way that parallels or approximates the contemporary experience of U.S. intervention in Latin American countries is not as convincing, nor is the chapter comparing southern "old-boy" politics to the Latin American dictatorships of Pinochet and Ríos Montt. Not only did these parallels seem not to hold, but the purpose of drawing them also remains unclear. What are we supposed to conclude about the potential effects of Latino immigration to the Deep South from the discussion of parallels? I think the author would like to suggest some kind of affinity between the two regions, and, thus, between their inhabitants. But it is unclear whether this affinity is actually experienced by those

Montero interviewed, or if it is, what we should expect as a result.

From my perspective as a cultural anthropologist taking up new research on Latinos in the South, and given the relative lack of ethnographic research on the subject, the interview data was potentially the most interesting aspect of the book. And, indeed, the few short discussions of Montero's interview data are tantalizing. We learn about the effects of Hurricane Katrina on Latinos in the New Orleans area; the size of Latino populations and the kinds of resources available to them in several cities such as Atlanta, Dalton, and Nashville; and the Opryland recruitment drives in Puerto Rico between 1995 and 1997. Especially evocative were the descriptions of Nolensville Pike, Murfreesboro Road, and the numerous community centers, chambers of commerce, and businesses all catering to the Latino communities of Nashville. Unfortunately, there is not enough of this kind of material in the book, and we learn little about the perspectives of Anglo and African American natives who we are told express racist or anti-immigrant sentiment, or the perspectives of immigrants who must navigate these kinds of reactions.

Despite the lack of ethnographic data, the book provides a good introduction to the issues at hand and will be especially useful to those unfamiliar with the southeastern United States as a culturally constituted regional identity, or with the basic facts of Latino immigration in the United States. The questions framed here are provocative, but much more needs to be done to understand whether affinities between Latinos, Anglos, and African American southerners exist, and what we might expect if they do.

Being Góral: Identity Politics and Globalization in Post-socialist Poland. *Deborah Cahalen Schneider.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006. vii + 211 pp., references, index.

KONRAD SADKOWSKI

University of Northern Iowa

Deborah Cahalen Schneider seeks to show "how class conflicts [can] shape claims to group identity" (p. 4) in borderland areas experiencing globalization pressures. Her specific focus is postsocialist identity formation among the Góral (highlanders) of the Żywiec region in southern Poland. After 1989 the Żywiec region Góral experienced a rapid decline in central state influence (political and economic control and social programs), yet an equally important need to develop new economic development strategies for the region. The character of what it meant to be a Żywiec

region Góral, and the character of the Żywiec Góral community itself, became part of the politics of defining the new economic development strategies. In the mid-1990s, the period of her research, the struggle over the economic direction of the Żywiec region (and politics of the Góral identity) was being waged in particular by a “pre-[World] war [II] elite” and a newly emergent “neocapitalist” class, the former preferring to base economic development on regional ties—including with highlanders in Slovakia—and a traditionalist Góralism, the latter preferring to seek foreign capital to fuel regional development and claiming that the traditional “Góral identity was a thing of the past” (p. 5). By 1997 the neocapitalist elite was getting the upper hand in defining the economic strategies of the region, now employing Góral traditionalism only for instrumentalist purposes to bolster their proglobalist regional economic strategies.

Being Góral is based in large measure on interviews Cahalen Schneider conducted in the Żywiec region in 1994–95. Methodologically, the author also relies on historical analysis, which she couples with a rejection of the post-Cold War transition as a “gatekeeping” concept, in the development of her overall analytical framework. Finally, Cahalen Schneider places her analysis within the broader problematic of globalization: “What happened in Żywiec is a concrete example of a general trend: the contemporary spread of transnational capital and a growing, global cultural system of symbols and meaning pull in two directions, toward global (suprastate) systems of meaning, politics, and economics, and toward particularist (intrastate) backlashes” (p. 5). Ultimately, she claims, as the role of the state in the development of the Żywiec region has diminished, Żywiecers have been forced to redefine both what being Góral as well as what the (Polish) *national* means to them.

Cahalen Schneider put a good deal of work into this study; however, it suffers from a number of shortcomings. First, the author conducted her research in the mid-1990s, and it was published in 2006, yet the author takes no account of Poland joining the European Union in 2004, speaking of membership as something that will happen only in the future. This raises some key questions: Did EU membership alter the struggle between the traditionalists and neocapitalists and allow the traditionalists to reassert themselves in some manner and enhance their claims to a particular Góral identity? Did EU membership affect the Żywiec Góral’s relationship to the Polish nation-state, and vice versa? Without dealing with such questions, this study cannot fully speak on behalf of its subtitle, “Identity Politics and Globalization in *Postsocialist Poland*” (emphasis added). In the least, the author should have delineated a particular period of concern in the postsocialist transition in her subtitle, such as 1989–99.

Equally, Cahalen Schneider employs historical analysis as a key methodology to explicate identity politics in the postsocialist Żywiec region; unfortunately, she makes

weak use of this methodology. She states that she will draw on original historical manuscripts, but she undercuts her declaration of the importance of these documents by using only several. She draws heavily on one historian, Norman Davies, for her historical background, presenting extended quotes often. She refers to the Habsburg era as lasting to World War II, a very confusing claim. In historical analysis the Habsburg era is synonymous with the Austrian Empire (post-1867 Austro-Hungarian), and this empire’s control of the Żywiec region ended in 1918, if not 1916. The influence of the Habsburg family in the region is a different story, but the author does not distinguish the two well. Furthermore, while eventually it becomes apparent that she knows the difference between a nation and a state, at the outset this does not seem so. Cahalen Schneider refers to the Polish state as the “nation” a number of times. Likewise, she misapplies the term *nationalist*, intending the word to mean *national*. For a study that deals with regional and national identity, these are serious oversights. Moreover, the author never really tells us how many prewar elites there are. In the mid-1990s they were increasingly dying off, and there are far fewer now. And, finally, she calls the First Secretary of the Communist Party in Poland an “important communist politician” (p. 16); he was far more than this.

Ultimately, looking past these problems and the very large number of typographical errors, Cahalen Schneider’s analysis is insightful and contributes to a deeper understanding of the class-based politics of identity formation in Poland’s peripheral Góral borderland region in the first decade after the collapse of the communist system.

A Place at the Multicultural Table: The Development of an American Hinduism. Prema A. Kurien. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007. 248 pp.

MEENA KHANDELWAL

University of Iowa

A Place at the Multicultural Table by Prema Kurien makes an important contribution to multiple areas of scholarship by exploring how the American context has shaped the way Hinduism has developed in the United States. The fact that this Hinduism is American as much as it is Indian is hardly surprising, but Kurien’s monograph offers a comprehensive and historically grounded transnational analysis that gives equal attention to the experience of migrants in the United States, the political and historical situation in India, and transnational linkages between these two contexts. Her success in this difficult task means that the book will be of interest to scholars working in the areas of South

Asian politics, Hinduism (particularly Hindu nationalism), ethnicity, American multiculturalism, and diaspora. Many threads of this dynamic have been discussed by other scholars, but Kurien connects the dots in impressive detail to yield new insights into American Hinduism. She shows, for example, how and why American Hindus draw so heavily from the Jewish American model (pp. 161–162, 241). The book's evidentiary strength is based on (1) ethnographic research conducted in southern California over a period of eight years, (2) five case studies, (3) analysis of Indian American newspapers, and (4) participation in internet discussion groups for several years.

Scholars studying immigrant religion have tended to focus either on its role in creating ethnicity or on its transnational dimensions; Kurien not only examines each aspect in depth but also explores the relationship between the two. She thereby demonstrates the importance of examining religion in multicultural societies. Indeed, undertheorization of the role of religion is particularly problematic given evidence that immigrants are in general more religious than when they left home.

Along these lines, Kurien shows that while the Hindu nationalist (Hindutva) movement emerged in reaction to British colonialism its message of Hindu pride and assertiveness is also suited to the U.S. context, which encourages a dual strategy of "ethnic pride" and "ethnic victimization" (p. 241). She argues that Hindutva ideas have emerged as hegemonic in American Hinduism; they are accepted by even apolitical Hindu Indian Americans who do not actively support the Hindutva movement. Moreover, this acceptance is a direct response to the diasporic experience in the United States: the demands of multiculturalism, the psychosocial consequences of migration, and the experience of racism and marginality (p. 143). In other words, the rise of Hindu nationalism in the United States is deeply intertwined with multiculturalism.

Kurien explains two paradoxes that shape American Hinduism. First, she argues that the institutionalization of Hinduism is a way to express an ethnic American identity and obtain recognition in the multicultural state, but this institutionalization has also led to politicization of the religion. Second, she suggests that ethnic formation of Hindu Indians in the United States has strengthened emotional, religious, economic, and social ties with India. American multiculturalism is at the core of these contradictions, and Kurien usefully outlines its requirements, including the need for ethnic spokespersons and the need to construct a public ethnic identity.

The book is organized around a distinction between popular and official Hinduism, taken from Vertovec (2000). Popular Hinduism refers to the beliefs and practices of most Hindus in India and the United States. Here, Kurien highlights *bala vihars*, *satsangs*, temples, and Hindu student organizations. Official Hinduism is articulated by leaders of

umbrella organizations that claim to speak for all Hindus and that act as defenders of Hinduism. While the distinction does not strike me as necessarily problematic, I would have appreciated a fuller explanation of why the author chose this framework of popular and official Hinduism.

Part 1 of the monograph focuses on Popular Hinduism. This section includes a chapter on Hinduism in India that the author suggests can be skipped by specialist readers. It is a daunting task to create a brief introduction to Hinduism in India, but Kurien succeeds very well. It is the inclusion of this chapter and appropriate background information throughout that makes *A Place at the Multicultural Table* accessible to scholars who do not have background knowledge of India or Hinduism. This is followed by a chapter on Hinduism in the United States, which provides a foundation for the case studies presented in the following two chapters. One deals with *bala vihars* and *satsangs* as exemplary of the first stage of Hinduism's institutionalization in the United States. Another examines ecumenical temples that Kurien identifies as the next level of institutionalization in the United States. These case studies also reveal the ways that migration shapes gender dynamics and results in the development of congregationalism.

Part 2 focuses on popular Hinduism. Chapter 6 offers an overview of official Hinduism in India, and chapter 7 examines several American Hindu umbrella groups that have become the watchdogs of Hinduism in the United States. Chapter 8 focuses on debates that have divided mainstream historians and Hinducentric scholars. Hinducentric scholars (although most are not professional scholars) have attacked academic authors and textbooks they view as "anti-Hindu" and have focused on two primary issues. They argue that Hinduism is the indigenous religion of India and several thousand years older than most historians acknowledge. They also claim that the period of Muslim domination was more brutal than usually depicted and that many negative features of Hinduism are the result of Muslim invasions. Because these debates have been acrimonious, I appreciated Kurien's serious engagement with the arguments of both sides without polemic. This chapter will be of particular interest to scholars who have followed these debates via media and listservs. When discussing the hot issues in these debates—textbook controversies, Aryan Migration Theory, the caste system, the position of women—Kurien provides sufficient background so that non-specialists can follow the debates and understand what is at stake. Chapter 9 examines the way that activities of umbrella organizations have been shaped by multiculturalism and how strategies of many Hindu groups have shifted after September 11.

Part 3 examines the relationship between popular and official Hinduism. One chapter focuses on a local Hindu Student Council organization consisting almost entirely of second-generation Hindu Americans; Hindutva ideology has penetrated the group and results in tensions between

supporters and more moderate members. The author offers insight into the struggles of second generation members with identity and race and how they reformulate Hinduism. Another chapter provides an overview of the relationship between popular and official Hinduism in the United States, the contradictions embedded in American Hinduism, and connections among multiculturalism, ethnic mobilization, and ethnic nationalism.

While the book may be too dense for easy use in introductory courses (although Kurien's articles are ideal), the prose and organization are clear. It is a great resource for advanced undergraduate and graduate courses and for researchers in a range of disciplines. Kurien also offers a model of how a transnational analysis can be done and what insights it might reveal.

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Contesting the Commons: Privatizing Pastoral Lands in Kenya. *Carolyn K. Lesorogol*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008. 250 pp.

ELLIOT FRATKIN

Smith College

Ethnographic studies of conflict over land, in Africa and elsewhere, have focused mainly on agricultural communities; one reads less of disputes over land involving livestock keeping pastoralists with the exception of ethnic conflicts as in Darfur. Nevertheless, most pastoral societies have historically favored common property regimes where grazing resources are shared and regulated by local and kinship groups. In the past half-century, their communal rights to land have been sharply restricted by the impact of population growth, the expansion of cities and farms, increased political conflict, and, not the least, by the neoliberal policies of privatization and individual land titling.

Carolyn Lesorogol has written a clear and detailed monograph examining the difficult and often contentious transition to land privatization among Samburu of Kenya. Like the Maasai, Samburu underwent a transition from communally shared land resources to "group ranch" formation in the 1960s and 1970s, followed by land titling, adjudication, and subdivision encouraged by World Bank privatization policies of the 1980s and 1990s. Challenging what she considers untested assumptions that privatization leads to

decline in "moral economy" of sharing and cooperation, Lesorogol asks a series of questions: Are people better off when they own land? Are individuals altered through the process of privatization? Do they cooperate less? Do social values of age and authority decline?

What is innovative about Lesorogol's research is her skillful integration of ethnographic methods with experimental economics, specifically the use of game strategies to understand how Samburu, both traditionalists and modernists, make decisions reflecting concepts of sharing, fairness, and cooperation.

The book compares behavior in two Samburu communities, Mbaringon and Siambu, which underwent different paths during the land adjudication process that occurred in Kenya in the 1980s. In both communities, younger, better educated, and more powerful members of the community understood the changes that were occurring and moved quickly to gain land titles. In Mbaringon, traditional cattle keeping households as well as poorer families were excluded from the process by their lack of knowledge and power. In Siambu, however, members of the community, led by traditional minded elders, contested with threats of violence the adjudications. It was only through the intervention of an influential Samburu military figure that the community agreed to divide the land in a more equitable and informed process, resulting in a larger number of households gaining title to individual land plots.

Today, many households have title to small plots in Siambu. Lesorogol hypothesized that change in property rights might contribute to different levels of trust and predicted that titled householders would display less cooperative behavior than traditional cattle keeping households. The author had individuals engage in role-playing games including "dictator," "punishment," and "public goods," to see to what degree people play more selfishly or display lower levels of trust. Her results were surprising, revealing that residents who favored land titling were more cooperative, trusting, and fair-minded than those who did not. She attributed this behavior to higher levels of market integration that, she argues, results in higher degrees of trust and cooperation rather than less. She notes, however, that privatization has made conditions for social cooperation more difficult than in traditional herding communities, and also that the traditional authority of male elders was in decline. Lesorogol concludes that the effects of land titling are complicated, and that privatization in itself is not a simple solution to problems of rural economic development.

The book is detailed, historical, and analytic. But one issue not discussed is that of out migration of poor households, a feature associated with land adjudication among similarly organized Maasai of Kenya. The author does point to the existence of poor households that depend on wage labor, but one wonders about the fate of these families who do not succeed in either livestock husbandry or farming.

Other studies in Kenya point to poorer nutritional outcomes of families who transit from livestock keeping to agriculture. Nor does Lesorogol predict long-term outcomes of the privatization that may lead to increasing poverty and polarization within the communities. An important feature Lesorogol did find, however, is that households with private title were more likely to invest in the formal education for their children, a “diversification strategy” that has been shown to have positive consequences for household economies in Africa and elsewhere.

Contesting the Commons makes a valuable contribution to both economic anthropology and African ethnography, offering a detailed and focused analysis of a society undergoing transition from a communal to private property regime. It would be an excellent choice in both undergraduate and graduate classrooms.

Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe: Maltese Settlers in Algeria and France. *Andrea L. Smith.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006. ix + 269 pp.

MARA A. LEICHTMAN

Michigan State University

Andrea Smith concludes *Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe* with a description of the heritage tour of Malta she experienced along with members of the Amicale France-Malte organization she had been researching in Aix-en-Provence in southeastern France. In an important twist, Malta served not as an ancestral homeland for these elderly tourists but, rather, as a substitute for their “real” homeland Algeria. The sites, tastes, and sounds of Malta vividly recalled the Algerian childhood of these *pieds-noirs* (settlers), and the island served as a “place, replaced” for the “doubly displaced.”

Maltese began migrating to Algeria after the first French military victories in Algiers in 1830 with the promise of a better future overseas. They resettled in France as a result of the notorious French–Algerian War (1954–62), which marked the demise of empire. Fascinating is Smith’s suggestion that *pieds-noirs* may never be able to acknowledge their sense of loss for Algeria. To take a position on the war would call into question their role in colonialism. They were also marginalized by French national memory, which not only neglects to address its colonial legacy but also disregards the role of non-French settlers. Thus, Maltese social clubs in France (whose self-representation interestingly ignores the North African heritage of its members) create a place for those who strive to gain acceptance from wider French society.

Part history, part ethnography, part linguistic anthropology, the book is about “diaspora and home-loss, rejection and redemption” (p. 2). Smith skillfully depicts the postcolonial identity politics of a liminal group through narrating captivating life histories of charming characters. These stories are not limited to this small population of Maltese-origin former settlers but ring true for other immigrant groups caught betwixt and between past and present. Reading her beautifully written account brought me back to the interviews I had conducted of Egyptian Jews in Israel nostalgic for pre-Nasser Egypt and Lebanese longing wistfully for Dakar *à l’époque*, during French colonial times when the city was “more beautiful” and devoid of mass immigrants from the Senegalese countryside. The Maltese of Algeria sing a familiar tune in their self-portrayal as “pioneers” of the land and their recounting of early hardships and struggles against discrimination.

Although Smith claims in the introduction that she will avoid the French–Algerian War, one of her more intriguing chapters depicts settler reactions to *les événements* (the events) and is central to her analysis. Her informants skipped over the war years in their oral histories and those who got trapped into telling stories about that period were “rescued” by others to avoid “falling into the abyss.” The abrupt rupture with Algeria and inability to return from exile prevented those who lost loved ones and valued possessions to undergo a normal grieving process. Collective repression of the war years and everyday silencing of memory explained the Maltese-origin settlers’ extraordinary nostalgia for Algeria and interest in Malta. Smith argues that people never forget experiences of liminality.

Smith cleverly highlights the inconsistencies of studying a migrant group continuously searching for their identity and place in society. She breaks down the “standard immigrant narrative,” which was “optimistic, uncontroversial, and . . . somewhat uninteresting” (p. 122). How could club leaders insist that their knowledge of Malta had vanished while their offices were decorated with images of the islands they were planning to visit? How could former settlers claim there is no racism in France while interviews provided evidence to the contrary? How could they maintain that ethnic distinctions in Algeria had been erased, while labeling those in their stories of Spanish or Italian origin? How could they adamantly self-identify as French when their activities suggested otherwise?

The French discriminated against the upwardly mobile non-French settlers, both in Algeria and France, where ethnicity, occupation, and class were grounds for power differentiation. Smith evaluates French and Algerian discourses of the “melting pot” (*creuset*), suggesting that the very existence of Maltese pied-noir social clubs challenges this dominant view through celebrating cultural distinctions. She illustrates how ethnic identity among an immigrant population depends on the forces encouraging integration

and assimilation to the dominant population's ideologies and prevailing socioeconomic structures. Algeria became the reference point against which troubles in France were judged, and nostalgia could be understood as disenchantment with France. "Repatriates" experienced great discrepancy between what they had imagined France to be, the "France" they did know (i.e., Algeria), and the France they encountered. Maltese social clubs (in which ethnic identity was rooted in an Algerian colony-based "Maltese" identity and not in Malta) were thus a product of adapting to France and did not exist to the same extent in North Africa. Both the association and the "postcolonial Maltese vacations" became places where former "subaltern settlers" felt they could belong.

Smith smartly and systematically presents her material. Yet this "ethnography of social practices engaged in in rented halls, during day- and weekend-long trips, and in other temporary spaces" (p. 14) does not effectively depict the day-to-day activities of this group in France. What role does religion play in the community? We know only that they are Christians, which the Maltese (but not the French) considered as proof of their "Europeanness." They lived in "secular" Algeria and France yet contacted priests in Malta to track down their ancestors. The book lacks sufficient discussion of French politics, such as the institutionalization of racism through Le Pen's Front National party, in addition to an examination of the politics of immigrant associations. While I was appreciative of Smith's comparison of the Maltese in colonial Algeria to indigenous Jews, a similar contemporary account of interactions between Maltese-origin settlers in France and the (Muslim and Jewish) North African community is surprisingly absent.

Nevertheless, *Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe* is a valuable contribution to recent attempts to merge the anthropology of colonialism and that of Europe. Smith superbly explores the fine lines between colonizer and colonized and adds to our understanding of space and place, memory and nostalgia. This book will be of interest to anthropologists; historians; scholars of migration, European, and Middle East Studies; and students of oral history methods.

Practicing Ethnography in a Globalizing World: An Anthropological Odyssey. June C. Nash. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007. 292 pp.

KAREN BRODKIN

University of California, Los Angeles

June Nash has been doing ethnography in the anthropological trenches for more than half a century—mainly

Latin America, but with stints in Burma and New England. She is also one of the pioneers of anthropology of social movements. Although its core is a selection of articles and lectures spanning almost 50 years, the heart of the book is its personal reflection on the discipline's theoretical shifts and its changing relationship to the state of global capitalism and the people with whom we work.

Nash serves as our guide to the history of anthropological theories and their critiques, calling it as she sees it, but with a remarkable generosity of spirit about the past and sense of possibility for the future. In the course of her career, Nash has made important ethnographic and theoretical contributions to both Marxist and feminist thinking in anthropology and is perhaps best known for these contributions. Although she acknowledges these labels, Nash herself claims a more eclectic approach. She argues that although what anthropologists do and how they relate to those they study has changed greatly, each of the major paradigms has had the capacity to support ethnographic analyses that are of enduring value. The arc of the book is her reflections on the ways that theories of the time shaped her own work at different stages of her career, especially in the ways she defined an issue or problem, framed the social context, and saw her role as ethnographer.

Trained at the University of Chicago in the 1950s when Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski were the exciting new ideas replacing Tylor's and Morgan's stages of cultural evolution, Nash describes the important theoretical influences on her work, from structural functionalism, to its anticolonial and Marxist critiques, feminism (both indigenous and academic), postmodernism and interpretive anthropology, and, finally, activist anthropology. For Nash, this last includes collaborative relationships with those with whom anthropologists work, and more important, it shifts the core questions of the discipline to put inquiries about the ways popular resistance movements' challenges to the economic and moral assumptions of global capitalism offer valuable alternatives for organizing society and culture locally and globally.

Chapters in the first two parts of the book, "Paradigms and Postures," and "Reflections in the Ethnographic Mirror," begin by contextualizing the particular article and its theoretical frame and conclude with critical reflections and reinterpretations. The articles themselves are products of the theoretical landscape of their times; what makes the exercise especially valuable for students of the history of anthropological theory is that Nash's reinterpretations throw some interesting curveballs that challenge at least my generation's facile conflation about the politics of particular theories and the anthropologists who created them. For example, when I was in graduate school, Redfield's folk-urban continuum along with structural functionalism were castigated as both ahistorical and politically retrograde. Nash

points out the liabilities and limitations of these theories and ethnographies based on them. She also talks to politics of some of the people who created them. Reminding us of the fear generated by McCarthy's anticommunist witch hunt in the 1950s, she talks about Robert Redfield standing up to McCarthy and "turning the tables" on him. The story makes one think again about linking theory and personal politics uncritically. Likewise, her chapter that reexamines George Foster's notion of "limited good" among peasants. Noting the richness of ethnographic descriptions on which it was based, Nash asks in the chapter "The Notion of Limited Good and the Specter of the Unlimited Good" how the construct plays against prevailing ideologies of consumer capitalism. Nash also rethinks her early ethnography in Burma, Mexico, and Guatemala in light of Marxist, feminist, and more global political perspectives of the 1960s that have shaped her subsequent work there. Likewise, she explores the multiple marginalities, especially of indigenous women and the nature of the progressive egalitarian politics they began to generate. For this reader, the first two parts of the book would be excellent reading for classes in the history of anthropological theory because Nash demonstrates the power of good ethnography and the value of revisiting it from different theoretical perspectives. She also shows us how theories shape what we ask and what we see.

In part because the book is a collection of articles written over a long period, there is a feel of repetition as one moves from earlier to later chapters. Points that appear as reflections on earlier works become core arguments in later chapters, especially in Parts 3 and 4, "Engagements in Social Movements Today," and "The Hobbesian World of Terror and Violence," which contain more recent writings that reflect Nash's current perspectives. Here, the book has a very contemporary impact. Postmodern perspectives come under the now common critiques, but Nash also acknowledges their value in legitimating interpretive perspectives—which she puts to excellent use in her "Interpreting Social Movements: Bolivian Resistance to Economic Conditions Imposed by the IMF." Here, too, she shows what doing ethnography in a collaborative manner can look like.

For me the import of the second half of the book is its focus on emergent social movements in response to neoliberal capitalism globally. Rather than focus only on the all-too-common atrocities, Nash moves through them to focus on the new cultural values and political moralities that are being developed especially in Latin America by movements like the Zapatistas, indigenous women, and a mix of antiglobal and antimilitarism activists, both in parallel and in concert. This, she argues, is where the future for a more humanely organized world is likely to originate—and it is what anthropologists ought to be helping to figure out.

Varieties of Muslim Experience: Encounters with Arab Political and Cultural Life. *Lawrence Rosen.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 268 pp.

ANOUAR MAJID

University of New England

This is one of those rare books that, by force of repetition and multiple examples taken from various aspects of social life, make a reader reassess and, indeed, develop a new appreciation of a cultural tradition, particularly if that tradition is the one that has constituted the reader, as is the case of this reviewer. The only other time I felt the power of recognition as strongly as I did when reading Rosen's book is when, in the late 1980s, I read John Waterbury's *The Commander of the Faithful* (1970), which, using the lenses of political culture, was able to untie the mesmerizing, complex behavior of political actors in Morocco.

Rosen's book, a collection of essays and articles divided into three main parts, shows the many ways in which the nature of relationships, mostly in the Arab world, explain much of what has eluded a good number of social analysts, particularly those who rely on common sociological formulae to explain the lack of democracy or even suicide killings. If, say, democracy, in its Western conception, is premised on the rule of law, then this kind of political system is unlikely to work in a world where people simply do not recognize realities outside the web of relationships grounded on an elaborate system of obligations whose goal is to ensure the safety of the family, tribe, or clan. The courts, in such milieu, are for the faint of heart, the social losers who cannot take care of themselves, those who sheepishly rely on the false arbitration of legal bodies.

If the Arab self is "fundamentally relational"—that is to say, defined by its place in the web of human relationships—then academic abstractions of the Western variety do little, if anything at all, to illuminate the Arab mind. Americans, one might say, believe in the myth of the rugged, autonomous self-made individual, but Arabs make it on the strength of their ability to make social connections. Law and politics are the mere expressions of people, which is as it should be, for it is people who make and execute laws. Justice, therefore, consists of the freedom to negotiate a web of reciprocal obligations and protections, not in the reliance on abstract notions like "freedom."

One might argue that this situation is not entirely unfamiliar in many so-called law-and-order Western democracies, but Arabs rarely uphold the fiction of the law's neutrality. Nor, if one follows Rosen's reading of the Arab scene, do Arabs see Western-style democracy as desirable or legitimate. "It is, therefore, a grave error of Western commentators to assert that the regimes of the Arab world are not legitimate in the eyes of their citizenry," notes Rosen

in a brilliant insight, one of many scattered throughout the book. "To the contrary, they may be highly legitimate—in the sense that the leaders have arranged dependencies in culturally recognized ways" (p. 33).

Fitna, or chaos, is the ultimate scourge of this elaborately maintained but resilient social order; to disrupt Arab societies militarily in the name of an abstract notion of freedom means the dissolution of the Arab self because self, society, and culture are practically indivisible. Indeed, Arab suicide bombers (if one may use this shorthand expression) are sacrificial bodies that help keep the system of social obligations and mutual indebtedness stable and permanent. They are, in this narrowly understood sense, life giving. If Western strategists were to grasp this mindset, they might approach the war on terror from a different perspective.

Property, too, is the expression of social networks developed and maintained through the control of language. Modern administration systems may be making a dent in this age-old habit, but if the government itself is ruled by such ethos, then the system will remain valid, even if deeds and registration documents may create the hard sense of inalienable ownership.

Having identified personalism, cultivated through wordplay, as a major leitmotif of Arab culture and that *fitna* is the absolute evil to be avoided at all costs, Rosen widens his scope to make sense of a number of issues in Arab intellectual life, both past and present. The fear of chaos explains why Muslims are reluctant to examine the Qur'an critically or even allow the prophet Muhammad to be presented as less than the perfect master. In fact, the culture of personalism may even explain the "modern" theories of the Arab historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) and the decline of scientific study in the late Middle Ages, when science made the turn to experimentation and seemed to sever any obvious ties to social realities (pp. 141–142).

Arabs, in the end, are governed by a "tribal ethic" (p. 157) of "reciprocal obligations, and the constant quest for information about others' networks of obligation" (p. 158). In such a world, virtue means "having word"; to be corrupt is simply not to share with one's own. And, yet, for all the Arab world's particularities, its difference from the West is only a matter of degree. "We are Arabs," concludes Rosen lyrically, "and they are us. Almost. We may be just a metaphor away" (p. 186).

As reader starting out culturally from the other side, I, too, see that the hard sense of property in the West and the solidity of the law are mere discursive games endlessly played and replayed for social advantage. Capitalism itself, Karl Marx once suggested, is, fundamentally, a system of social relations. Further probing the various effects of social relations in the Arab world and the West would be a welcome sequel to this exciting volume. With the studied and abundant insights he has on the Arab world, Rosen is in an

almost unmatched position to help the two peoples close their metaphorical gap a bit.

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Everyday Arias: An Operatic Ethnography. *Paul Atkinson.* Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2006. 225 pp.

MARCIA S. CALKOWSKI

University of Regina

This book's arresting cover, featuring a photograph of tenor Vitali Taraschenko lying in bed in pajamas as well as in the horrific embrace of a gigantic and slightly feminized skeleton during the Welsh National Opera's production of Tchaikovsky's *The Queen of Spades*, may initially appear to belie the designation "everyday" in this book's title. However, the depiction of this grisly scene effectively draws readers' attention to the main thrust of this rich ethnography—that the production of an opera entails many layers of performance, and that these layers must be engaged in the "everyday" practices of rehearsal, dramaturgy, and production, as well as in the self-representation of the Welsh National Opera Company (WNO), its members, and its supporters.

Atkinson begins by introducing readers to the WNO with several diverse vignettes that contrast front stage and backstage activities—rehearsal, Atkinson's own experiences as a WNO Partner (sponsor) on the opening night of a production, and the work of unloading stage sets and costumes from trailers and assembling them in theaters lacking storage facilities. Atkinson utilizes these vignettes to underscore his point that opera performances entail complex divisions of labor and how this labor is accomplished should be the question an ethnographer should pursue. He further sets his stage by distinguishing theory from practice in the performance of opera. On the one hand, cultural and historical studies approaches to opera are taken to task for ignoring the consideration of opera as, quintessentially, a performative art, and the consideration of the everyday practices that result in a theatrical performance of opera. "Opera" is to be found as much in wigs and lighting design as in the libretto and score and "the ethnographer of performance must be sensitive to the delicacies of competing and complementary modes of performance" (p. 33). On the other hand,

despite widespread appreciation in anthropology and sociology of Erving Goffman's dramaturgical perspective and the burgeoning ethnographic emphasis on performance, Atkinson observes that very little ethnographic research has centered on the practices of those who are actually "performing" the arts, as opposed to those who "consume" them. He thus declares his intent to reverse the trend in ethnography to adopt Goffman's dramaturgical perspective to interpret everyday life by utilizing "the sociology of everyday life to make sense of the work of music-theater" (p. 52).

This work is accomplished by a performance community including, among others, actors, producer-directors, critics, and audience members who share a cultural code and a collective memory. Codes of cultural significance, for example, are produced and reproduced by those engaging in interpretive work that frames a performance and are rendered textually through such devices as program notes and critical reviews. Past performances shape the collective memory of this community and, thus, the evaluation of new performances. However, because the cultural capital generated from these codes is "differentially distributed" and valued (p. 53), Atkinson notes that the anthropology of performance must recognize, as does the anthropology of taste, that aesthetic judgments are socially grounded preferences and that "taste is enacted through the embodied accomplishment of the performer" (p. 55). Moreover, this embodiment is not restricted to the performers, but is also enacted by producer-directors and audience members themselves. In opera, performers' embodiments are framed both musically and dramaturgically. Music rigidly determines the temporal frame of dramaturgy, but dramaturgical work is open to a far greater degree of negotiation than is music. Dramaturgical flexibility, in turn, results in each production generating "its own problematics" (p. 60) that must be resolved in the work of rehearsal. These problems range from how to overcome the impediments of impractical set designs to the identification of character motivations that make dramatic actions plausible.

Atkinson investigates the work of dramaturgy by identifying what practices create an opera in its particular production. Producer-directors engage in cultural production, melding text and the conceptualization of a character with physical actions such as singing, movement, and gestures, and negotiating a singer's dramaturgical commitment to the producer's interpretation of that character. Singers must transcend the physical challenges of acting while singing and "aligning" their characters with those of other singers. Set designers must appreciate the fact that Vitali Taraschenko and the amorous skeleton must occupy a vertical bed if they are to be visible to the audience. Because the dramaturgical work of understudies and producers attempting revivals of particular productions is essentially mimetic, it is far less negotiable. Atkinson's concern,

however, with performance is not limited to the work of an opera production. He also attends to the ways the WNO sustains itself by "performing the company" for sponsors and patrons at charitable events. Through such performances, the WNO can effectively exchange cultural capital for revenue. Opera singers, equally cognizant of the importance of self-performance, may simultaneously perform themselves and their characters. Because some singers, in their autobiographical narratives, referred to their voices as if they were autonomous entities, further possibilities of simultaneous performances are suggested.

This highly nuanced and immanently readable ethnography is an important addition to the field of performance studies and should prove revelatory for many readers. It also interweaves parallel reflections on the work of ethnography and that of the performance of opera. This book should be of considerable value for undergraduate courses on performance studies, theater, ethnographic methods, and the body.

The Anthropology of Childhood: Cherubs, Chattel, Changelings. *David E Lancy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 466 pp.

HEATHER MONTGOMERY

The Open University

David Lancy's new book is a welcome addition to the fast-growing literature on children's lives, bringing together ethnographic accounts of childhood from every region of the world, both past and present. It is a finely nuanced, beautifully written, and comprehensive account of children's lives, the meanings that adults give to childhood, the reasons why childhoods are so varied, and why the duties and expectations placed on children are so different.

Lancy starts with an analysis of why parents have children, and the different meanings with which childhood is imbued. He examines the value of children, from the unwanted newborn who may be abandoned or exposed, through to more positive valuations in which children are actively desired, although variously conceptualized as "cherubs," "chattel," or "changelings." He then goes on to look at the effects of family structure on the different, and sometimes contradictory and inconsistent, strategies that parents use when raising their children. Combining ethnographic detail and evolutionary theory, Lancy focuses on the differences between fathers and mothers and the various conscious and unconscious decisions that are made about infant care. In doing this he cleverly debunks the myth that childrearing outside the West is more relaxed, less anxiety inducing, and more charmingly communal—that it

“takes a village” to raise a child. Instead, he shows how, in the majority of settings, children are not raised by the village but by whoever can be spared from productive work, sometimes the mother, but much more likely the child’s siblings.

The central chapters of this book are concerned with learning, what and how children should learn and who should teach them. While acknowledging children’s competence and agency, Lancy recognizes that childhood is a time of preparation for the adult world and that language, gender, kinship, social norms, or economic activities must be actively acquired so that children grow up to be socially competent adults capable of cultural, economic, and, indeed, physical reproduction.

The final three chapters turn to the impact of change as children grow older. Starting with adolescence, Lancy examines the ways in which rites of passage around puberty are marked and understood in different contexts. He shows convincingly how such rites are changing in response to globalization and the increasing acceptance of the idea that school is the universal right of all children. Such reasoning has a profound effect on contemporary transitions to adulthood, and the importance of schooling in shaping modern childhoods is incisively analyzed. The final chapter looks at children on the margins of the new globalized ideal of childhood, those who work as prostitutes, soldiers, or in factories, for whom universal protection is an impossible and inconceivable dream. These children’s lives are not simply the product of culture and biology but also of socioeconomic and political inequalities. While there is great adaptation in childrearing by parents and the possibility of agency on the part of children, there is little defense against extreme poverty that can overwhelm these children despite their best efforts and those of their parents.

There are several overarching themes that run through this book: the importance of understanding the interplay between biology and culture, the variations in parental childrearing strategies and the necessity of analyzing learning as a central way of looking at children’s lives. Each theme is teased out through a wealth of ethnographic detail and careful commentary. Most striking of all is the skill with which this book reveals the abnormality of modern, Westernized childhoods. Lancy coins the term *neontocracy* to describe the situation in the contemporary West where “kids rule” and where children are worshipped, venerated, and society is ordered around them. From conception onward, Western children are fussed over, shaped, and molded into acceptable forms by parents who believe that their input is central to their child’s later behavior, temperament, life chances, and psychological makeup. Children are expected to grow up in a safe environment, ideally with two related parents, before entering the school system and emerging at 18, having been largely sheltered and segre-

gated from the adult world. This “neontocracy” brings with it, however, a strong sense that parents (and mothers in particular) are not getting it right when it comes to children and need help from experts who must step in and stipulate the correct way to raise a child. It is this model of childhood that is becoming globalized, and yet it is one that remains deeply peculiar and, in the context of all the other childrearing practices in the world, an aberration.

Lancy wears his erudition very lightly, but the scope of this book is vast, bringing in findings from primatology, as well as ideas from evolutionary and biological anthropology, to give a well rounded and comprehensive guide to children’s lives in many parts of the world. In doing so Lancy challenges many taken for granted assumptions about childhood, breathes new life into the stale nature–nurture debate, and reminds us of the many different ways of raising children while also suggesting reasons for these differences. In doing so he refutes the accusation, once leveled by Lawrence Hirschfeld, that “anthropologists don’t like children.” In this warm and witty book, Lancy shows that not only does this particular anthropologist like children, but that he also likes writing about them, conveying an infectious enthusiasm for a subject that fascinates him.

Struggling for Recognition: The Alevi Movement in Germany and in Transnational Space. *Martin Sokefeld.* New York: Berghahn, 2008. 304 pp.

AHMET YUKLEYEN

University of Mississippi

Martin Sokefeld provides us with a detailed ethnography of the transnational Alevi movement, which seeks the recognition of Alevi identity, a non-Sunni Islamic or non-Islamic religiocultural identity of a minority community, comprising arguably 15 to 20 percent of the immigrants and their offspring from Turkey living in Germany. He carefully avoids conditioning the reader from the beginning by not defining a monolithic or even a dominant form of Alevi identity. The whole book is based on showing how various actors and networks within the movement compete in defining Alevi identity as religious versus cultural or Islamic versus non-Islamic, among others. The Alevi movement is comprised of these competing actors, which share the only commonality, non-Sunni self-identification.

He employs two large analytical frameworks, identity politics, and transnationalism, migration, and diaspora studies. He is searching for a middle ground between taking identity as an emic concept seriously without becoming an analytical essentialist. On the one hand, he aims to

use the concept of identity to disclose the essentialist constructions of identity. On the other hand, he does not deny the reality of essentializing identity used by actors “as both strategy and framework of experiences” (p. 35). Toward the end of the book, he includes the transnationalism, migration, and diaspora framework to create transnational identity politics to illustrate how the Alevi movement’s local and transnational dimensions shape one another.

Sokefeld argues that the Alevi struggle for public recognition is similar to idealized German identity, with emphasis on gender equality, democracy, tolerance, and humanism and is a result of the multiculturalism debate in Germany rather than the transplantation of public debates on the recognition of Alevi identity as equal to Sunni Islam in publicly funded religious services. This is a significant argument that shows that for non-Sunni “Muslims,” as it is for Sunnis I would argue, the sociopolitical landscape of Europe is shaping the development of religiocultural minorities, their identity politics, and their beliefs. He illustrates with ethnographic data how communal rituals are adapted and traditional Alevi authorities have been replaced by associational leaders. Despite the continuation of transnational ties in the collective memory of Alevis, the Alevi movement is focusing on the local priority of getting the Alevi identity recognized as a “religious community” in the German public sphere. The Alevi movement’s desire for acceptance seems to overcome the groups within the Alevi movement who define themselves as non-religious and Alevis as a way of life rather than a religious community.

This tension between “community” and “movement” is reflected throughout the book. Sokefeld recognizes that his book is limited to the Alevi movement and not all Alevis in Germany. This creates a question on the naming of the movement as the Alevi movement and not, for instance, as the Alevist movement; which captures the dominance of Alevi identity among the activists. The book focuses on activists of the Alevi movement; however, the significance of the movement could have been further underlined if Alevi activists of the movement and nonparticipating Alevis were compared. Why do not all Alevis participate in the Alevi movement? Moreover, because the ethnography focuses on the organizational aspects and actors of the movement, the data is largely based on discourse and leadership rather than how being an Alevi is negotiated by the followers and nonfollowers in their daily lives.

Nevertheless, this book is based on rich data that is not easily accessible. It is also theoretically well-grounded and the author successfully brings his data in conversation with the theories on the anthropology of identity, transnationalism, and migration. This is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on immigrants from Muslim-majority countries and their changing identities in Europe.

Anthropological Knowledge, Secrecy and Bolivip, Papua New Guinea: Exchanging Skin. Tony Crook. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 230 pp.

STUART KIRSCH

University of Michigan

The original title for this ethnography of the Angkaiyakmin people of the Star Mountains of Papua New Guinea was *kim kurukuru taratara*, a Faiwol phrase meaning “to gather pieces together, straightening them into one story” (p. 1). *Exchanging Skin* is a study of knowledge practices, especially how the people of Bolivip make and use analogies. For many of the Min peoples of the Star Mountains, coming to know something means “making it skin” (Eggertsson 2003:11). Tony Crook’s informants describe this process as inserting knowledge from one person into another person’s thigh, making them the “same skin.” Indeed, in many Mt. Ok languages, the word for *knowledge* and *skin* are the same.

Fredrik Barth (1975) wrote the original ethnographic account of these societies, which he describes as being organized by hierarchical men’s cults rather than kinship. As participants move from one stage of the cult to the next, they discover that sacred knowledge acquired during the previous stage was false. Ritual knowledge is vulnerable to loss as only a few senior men are eligible to participate in the highest level of the cult at any given time. The long time period between the staging of each initiation grade ceremony also makes knowledge precarious, requiring innovation and borrowing from neighboring groups. As Barth learned, and other ethnographers have subsequently elaborated on, Baktaman and Bolivip are two nodes of a regional cult complex, the center of which is located in the village of Telefolip. Although communities like these are physically small and isolated from one another, they are also integrated into a complex regional system, the members of which share histories, myths, ritual practices, material culture, and, today, collective identities as Min.

The crux of Crook’s argument is his critique of Barth’s model of secrecy in which the pursuit of knowledge is compared to peeling an onion or opening a set of Chinese boxes. Instead of focusing on ritual content or symbolism, Crook describes how people communicate through analogies that change each other’s thoughts and, consequently, change them as persons as the knowledge becomes part of their skin or inner thigh. For example, knowledge is compared to a tree, which must have a strong trunk, but then branches out in different directions. In the rain forest, the tree tops meet to form a canopy, which is helpful in thinking about how different kinds of knowledge are connected. In learning about a particular topic, one must move from the bottom of the tree, which is its foundation, to the top of the tree. But up high in the tree, it is easy to get lost among the branches. You

need guidance to find your way back to the base. Similarly, people also describe their own lives as journeys downward from the canopy of the tree to its trunk.

Another set of analogies involve taro plants, which are considered persons. You must care for taro plants as you care for people, and caring for people requires that you feed them taro. Taro is also food for thought. Breaking a taro in half to share the corm is a key metaphor for how people share knowledge. Taro plants reproduce rhizomatically and the mother taro plant is seen to nourish her taro plant children. People's taro talk often refers to kinship relations. And the relationship between the mother cult house in Telefolip and the cult houses of Bolivip is akin to the relationship between the mother taro plant and her children.

Knowledge, like the taro corm broken in half, often comes in two parts. When someone tells you a myth or shares important knowledge (*weng awem*, which Barth translates as "secret knowledge"), they only provide part or half of the story. You must find the missing piece and straighten the parts into one story. But there are always other parts that might also be juxtaposed to the original. In contrast to Barth's notion of "secrecy," the key to ritual knowledge is not in finding the kernel of the onion or what is concealed in the smallest box. Rather, the most important thing is learning how to juxtapose different analogies and gain insight by playing one analogy against another.

Exchanging Skin is not an easy read. It was conceived as an "experiment with what Anthropology might look like if it were modeled on Bolivip knowledge-practices" (p. 29). The author wants to disorient the reader, much like young initiates report their heads spinning until they become dizzy. Most of the text mimics the aesthetics of Bolivip conversations about important knowledge, in which one analogy follows another. Crook's agenda is to make the reader follow along by constantly supplying the "other half" of the discussion, which in this case means trying to discern the author's main points, which are often left unvoiced.

The text is deliberately Baroque in structure, including 27 interconnected vignettes that progressively increase in complexity and clarity, again echoing the learning process in Bolivip. These passages are interspersed among three separate chapters that focus on anthropologists whose work has been shaped by Melanesian knowledge practices. The first example describes the work of James F. Weiner and Marilyn Strathern, who have influenced Crook's thinking about Melanesian analogies. The second example discusses the interactions of Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, and Reo Fortune on the Sepik River, which emphasizes how anthropologists and their categories are influenced by the people they study. The final example is the critique of Barth's work on secrecy. The book also opens and closes with a discussion of how texts are extensions of their authors, and therefore kinds of persons, a provocative insight indebted to Alfred Gell's work on art and the extended mind.

Exchanging Skin makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the paradigmatic Mt. Ok ritual cult system and to the study of knowledge practices more generally.

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JANE I. GUYER

Johns Hopkins University

In 2006, the Society for Economic Anthropology organized its conference around the prescient theme of morality in economic life. Since 1980, monetarist policies have stressed personal rather than public and collective responsibility, while the same policies have resulted in new levels of inequality and vulnerability in the world. "Whatever happened to morality?" became an increasingly pressing question. In what guises, what domains, what new discourses, and what areas of neglect were moral standards and judgmental processes being instantiated? Amongst market enthusiasts, moral claims about individuals were implied by rational choice theory; context, culture, and experience faded. After 1989, collective ideology seemed even less convincing and political dynamics more fragmented. By the 21st century, a sense of runaway diffuseness set in. One might regret that as a result political economy was temporarily put on "hold," as evidenced here by the rare mention of Marx. But it made sense for anthropologists to join ranks across subfields to take a long empirical look at the practices, discourses, and arenas where "morality" in one form or another was being forged. The resulting studies, now published as a collection, offer emerging intellectual landmarks, as well as difficulties, both of which Bill Maurer points out in his epilogue. So the book offers an important opportunity to take stock.

Katherine Browne's introduction locates ancestral inspiration about the mutual imbrications of economic and moral life in Mauss's *Essay on the Gift* (1923–24) and in the E. P. Thompson's and James Scott's concept of "moral economy," both of which orient to community rather than national and international arenas. The *Essay on the Gift* is also referred to in six of the ten papers and Scott and Thompson in four, indicating the compelling nature these

formulations offer for the present. Her brief intellectual genealogy critiques previous lines of derivation from Mauss, including overdrawn contrasts between gift and commodity economies, a tendency amongst analysts to favor reciprocity over markets, and a continuing difficulty in seeing moral aspects within markets. She also draws attention to conflicts of principle, asking: “How does any economic system with a true morality allow . . . moral collapses” (p. 26), such as betrayal of public trust for profit. She suggests the ethnographic case method as the most powerful way of overcoming facile dichotomous thinking and overdrawn distinctions, in favor of attention to “fluidity” and “moral latitude.” Part 1, “Stakes of Morality, Reciprocity and Change,” is comprised of cases where markets and preexisting moral and economic orders face one another. Part 2, “Moral Agency inside Market Logic,” addresses moral claims as made by various mid- and lower-level actors within capitalist contexts. Part 3, “Frontiers of Social Responsibility,” examines the rhetoric of current corporate practices that are explicitly crafted to add moral value and to qualify in controlled ways the “hegemonic myth that business is politically and morally neutral.”

In Part 1, the authors call for close attention to micro-processes and multiple instances, to look beyond the confrontation of “systems.” Robbins draws on Melanesian fieldwork to argue for a return to Mauss’s focus on the terms of mutual recognition in transactions rather than going immediately to “exchange.” Walsh points out the regularity of breach of trust in the Malagasy gem trade, and turns to a classic social anthropological topic, namely reflection about sanctions. Little shows how Maya “daykeepers” (spiritual guides) have worked out quite different blends of gift and market in their relationships with their Maya clients, Ladinos, New Age spiritualists, and academics, all based around the inappropriateness of “profiteering” on ancestral knowledge within their community and an only partially articulated concept of “fairness” outside it. Part 2 takes capitalist systems as given and looks closely at: the terms of “doing what it takes” in a Cincinnati working-class community (Halperin); “thieving a chance” in a textile factory in Trinidad (Prentice); injecting the moral value of patriotism into the discussion of toxic waste disposal in Texas (Werner); and associating “fair trade” with “redemption” in the Kenyan flower export business (Dolan). Part 3 takes on the corporate world: moral commitments to consumers in the Norwegian dairy industry (Garsten and Hernes); corporate social responsibility to producers in the South African mining industry (Rajak); and Islamic finance (Pitluck). In his epilogue, Maurer adds a cautionary note about being aware of our own situatedness, as scholars, in the essentially critical process of judgment, while encouraging boldness in working on the frontiers of today’s moral and economic issues. So the structure of the collection is elegant and balanced; the case studies are apposite and revealing;

and the overall view the book gives of various disjunctures, struggles, and frank incoherences offers much challenge for thought.

Thought about what? As my reading advanced, I became aware of the hydralike quality of “morality” itself. Overall, it comes across primarily here as an emic concept, referring to propositions and expectations that Browne, in her introduction, argues are still culture or situation specific, recognizably “multiple” in many contexts, and to be contrasted with exchange of money for services. But even to recognize the “moral domain” one needs more self-conscious guiding criteria, and one rarely sees a detour into how a close examination of literatures on ethics and philosophical foundations might help analysis. In my own reading of the collection, the concept of “fairness” seems ripe for a long contemplative pause. Fairness is that surprising “throwaway” concept that emerges in many places in the book: to judge forms of “mutuality” (Robbins) and collective commitment (mentioned several times). Little refers to “fair price” (p. 78). Fairness is implicit in “moral economy,” where it applies to monetary as well as nonmonetary phenomena. While clearly a moral-ethical concept however, it is not central to *The Gift*, especially in the agonistic form foregrounded by Mauss. When concepts such as this can emerge—through case studies—from the shadow of defined *systems* (as Browne hopes), studies such as these can show directions along which to “keep trying” (as Maurer advocates) on the crucial current issues raised in *Economics and Morality*. Others are doing so. This book could very profitably be read alongside another new collection on morality: Karen Sykes’s edited volume *Ethnographies of Moral Reasoning* (2008).

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Alien Ocean: Anthropological Voyages in Microbial Seas. *Stephan Helmreich*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. 464 pp.

JOSEPH MASCO

University of Chicago

The implicit project and promise of an “anthropology of science” is to ethnographically document that the production of new knowledge is not simply of technical concern

to experts but is rather a literal act of world making. New scientific “facts” are a powerful means of crafting new visions of the universe as well as enabling new collective futures. Stephan Helmreich’s latest book, *Alien Ocean: Anthropological Voyages in Microbial Seas*, offers a tour de force demonstration of the world making power of scientific inquiry. Its focus is on the recent evolution of a “microbial ocean”—a sea envisioned as teeming with microbial life forms that both challenge long-standing definitions of life and are highly valued as genetic information. Tracking the implications of this research across marine biology, genomics, speculative forms of capital, race and nation, and even extraterrestrial investigations, Helmreich provides a powerful illustration of how contemporary scientific discovery is mobilized to produce new universes of possibility.

Drawing on five years of multisited research among marine biologists at the Monterey Bay Aquarium Research Institute, at the Woods Hole Oceanography Institute, and at the University of Hawai‘i, Helmreich approaches the ocean as mysterious space, charged with cultural projections about forms of value, life, and death. From a human perspective, the total inhospitality of deep-sea research makes this vast part of the planet a literally “alien” zone, inaccessible and dangerous. It is thus loaded with cultural projections as well as forms of nature that both evoke and reorder scientific understandings about natural order. Focusing on American scientists as they create a new vision of a microbial oceanography, *Alien Ocean* maps the particular contours of contemporary bioscience as it merges basic scientific exploration with the highly speculative logics of genomic sequencing and intellectual property rights to construct new forms of nature–culture.

A central concern in Helmreich’s study are the microbial life forms that thrive in deep sea volcanic vents, a recent discovery of life where (according to long-standing scientific definitions) there should be none. These “hyperthermophiles”—methane eating microbes that thrive under the most extreme temperatures and pressures—provide the exemplary charter for a new microbial oceanography as they redefine the conditions of possibility for life itself, offering new insights into a vast range of issues from global climate change to treating toxic spills to exploring life on other planets. Invisible to the eye, these microbes require the deployment of vast prosthetic senses and research environments to plumb the deep-sea depths. Helmreich attends in detail to the mediation of human perception via robots, submersibles, and remote view technologies. He writes with delight and humor as participant-observer on missions to deploy robots to the ocean floor and also takes readers on a detailed sensory ethnography of the three-person research vehicle *Alvin* as it descends 7,000 feet into the Pacific Ocean to map the Mothra Hydrothermal Vent Field located some 200 miles off the Pacific Northwest coast.

An important contribution of this book is a subtle exploration of how knowledge travels as it moves from experimental data to public knowledge, and how the concept of the “alien” proliferates and shifts as one tracks the long networks connecting researchers to publics to financiers to multidisciplinary experts.

Alien Ocean begins with an introduction into the contours of a microbial oceanography via the work of Monterey Bay research teams, tracking not only their specific research efforts but also the real time transmission of their discoveries to public audiences at the Monterey Aquarium. Chapter 2 assesses how the most extreme microbial life forms redefine the “tree of life,” recasting both nature and culture in profound ways. Helmreich then explores the development of gene data banks of microbial species and examines the rise and fall of a public-private partnership at the University of Hawai‘i intended to capitalize on the new microbial genetics as intellectual property. Chapter 4 examines how the global transplantation of certain plankton species (carried over long distances via ships) is challenging notions of the “native,” creating tensions over race and nation among biologists and Hawaiian islanders over defining ocean “nature.” This exploration of dislocation and fixity in nature continues in the next chapter devoted to Celera Genomics Founder Craig Venter’s efforts to map the “ocean genome.” Helmreich challenges here the idea of a singular genomic map of the ocean as well as the underlying commercial logics of the project via an analysis of microbial collection techniques. Chapter 6 then takes readers into the deep ocean within *Alvin*, the deep-sea submersible research laboratory and interrogates the (legal, scientific, and practical) logics of bioprospecting in international waters. The final chapter then explores how the extreme microbial life forms found in the ocean depths are being mobilized by scientists to imagine life on other planets, a project that formally collapses the deep ocean and outer space as zones of alien biology. Thus, Helmreich literally takes readers from the microscopic to the cosmic, tracking the social and intellectual logics that make the “alien” both intimate and foreign, the origin of life and a new kind of life, both of this world and otherworldly.

Bronislaw Malinowski articulated a powerful vision of ethnography as field science with *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* in 1922 (republished, cited here in 2008), foreshadowing a future anthropology of science with his focus on the technology, knowledge systems, concepts of nature, and the politics of exchange of the Trobriand Islanders. Helmreich offers us here nothing less than a vision of 21st-century Argonauts, tracking in similar fashion the multiple registers that are revolutionized when scientists discover life where there should be none. These modern sea goers—armed with prosthetic senses, genome sequencers, and specific theories of intellectual property—mobilize remote and rare life forms to redefine nature, race, finance,

and even our understandings of outer space. Written with a relentlessly perceptive critical vision, a wide ranging set of philosophical concerns, and a sense of humor, *Alien Ocean* is a powerful illustration of how a focus on knowledge in the making is also a means of mapping the day-to-day techno-scientific revolutions in our world.

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Beyond Bodies, Rainmaking and Sense Making in Tanzania. *Todd Sanders*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008. 261 pp.

PETER GESCHIERE

University of Amsterdam

The author opens his book on rainmaking and gendering among the Ihanzu in North–Central Tanzania by stating that it “has been written with the student reader in mind” (p. ix). There is a risk of being overly modest here. The book is indeed very accessible—clearly structured and well-written—but it is also quite ambitious in theoretical respect. The author’s starting point is the emphatic gendering of rainmaking among the Ihanzu: collaboration between two royal rainmakers, one male and the other female, is absolutely necessary; also in other respects there is a strong emphasis on gender complementarity as an indispensable condition for the success of the rainmaking rituals. Such complementarity is very marked in the field of rainmaking because this is of crucial importance to Ihanzu livelihood, but it pervades everyday life in all respects.

However, Sanders finds that familiar approaches among social scientists to understand such gendering do not work in the Ihanzu context. Strikingly, this gendering of rainmaking (and other fields) is not necessarily related to the body—that is, to the male–female opposition as expressed in the body. The gendering of rains (it is vital that a male rain will be followed by a female rain) or agricultural tools is a given in itself without any direct reference to bodily differences as some sort of primal given. This makes Sanders launch into an interesting discussion with current theories on gendering. He distinguishes two main lines: one starts from the primacy of the body, which therefore can serve as a metaphor or symbol for mapping other domains; the other denies any primacy of the body, but focuses on gender parallels between bodies and other fields. Both have in common that they try to explain gendering by reference to the body. The Ihanzu view is clearly different: they under-

stand rainmaking and other aspects of life as gendered but their interpretation lies “beyond bodies” (p. 10). The gendering of male and female rains is not just “a pale imitation” of the difference between male and female bodies, it is a fact by itself. Thus, Ihanzu “do not find homology, metaphor or symbolism adequate ‘explanation’ for why rainmaking rites are gendered through and through” (p. 13). This confrontation with the Ihanzu view made Sanders realize how deeply gender studies are pervaded by a Euro-American episteme centered on ‘body-reasoning’—either by taking bodily differences as starting point or, reversing the link between gender and body, by focusing on the construction of bodies through gendering (pp. 9, 161). His book is an effort to do justice to an alternative view that goes beyond the “Euro-American fixation” with the body (p. 199). For the Ihanzu, “gender complementarity” is vital in every walk of life: the gendered opposition of male and female rain, or of different agricultural tools is necessary to produce life. But the gendering of these oppositions has a materiality of their own. They do not need the body as a referent, it is, rather, “their very materiality that enables them to combine and make things happen” (p. 21).

Sanders’s relativizing of metaphor and symbolism, which all too often creep into anthropological interpretations without further justification, is most welcome. Kwame Anthony Appiah most graphically expressed how irritating it can be for the people concerned when anthropologists use metaphor or symbolism to explain to them that their rituals and statements are “really” about something else than they think themselves (1992:178–179). But it is striking that Sanders formulates his project of getting beyond a conception of gender as centralized on the body in ever more audacious terms. In one of the later chapters he even insists on the need for “severing the link between sex and gender entirely” (p. 161). I can not help wondering whether such complete severing is necessary to do justice to the Ihanzu view of gender—in the African settings I know this would be a somewhat Don Quixotic project. Yet especially his later chapters show that his problematizing of the implicit link between gender, on the one hand, and body and sex, on the other hand, is productive.

Most convincing is his chapter on the women’s rain dance with all the lewd aspects (attacking men, undressing them and mocking their physique) that seem to be sure signs of a “ritual of rebellion” à la Gluckman—that is, a canalized form of protest that paradoxically confirms patriarchal authority. Sanders shows, however, that a careful analysis starting from Ihanzu conceptions of gender can expose a deeper explanation in which gender and body do not coincide or correspond. The force of the rain dance is that the women with their exaggerated performance of male behavior “succeed ritually in productively combining two genders into single-sexed bodies to bring rain” (p. 159). Their dance is not so much a ritual rebellion within

the parameters of patriarchy as a realization of gendered complementarity—Sanders's key notion—that will produce rain. Ancestral rain offerings serve similarly “to act out and conjoin masculine and feminine elements . . . independent of their own sexed bodies” (p. 181). Another chapter, on the worrying suspicion of rain witches being active when the rains fail to come, offers a very interesting analysis of witchcraft as markedly plural (even though one can wonder whether the contrast between male and female witchcraft exhausts this plurality). In his Conclusions, Sanders relates his project—notably his effort to go beyond a Euro-American episteme of gender—to the broader necessity, emphasized by Strathern and others, for rethinking the relation between “theory,” mostly pervaded by Euro-American viewpoints, and “Other knowledges,” which are all too easily seen as subordinated and, thus, “relegated to ‘the local’ ” (p. 200).

My too short and, therefore, simplistic summary of Sanders's complex argument may still show the value of his undertaking. Its merits come across all the more lively because of his vivid ethnography of Ihanzu rainmaking and the original ways in which it is gendered. Of course, there remain questions also. A central one for me was whether all the emphasis on Ihanzu “epistemology” as inherently different from a Euro-American “episteme” does not imply also a radical and even unbridgeable discontinuity. Are borrowings and hybridization still possible and how do they affect people's views? In a footnote to chapter 6 (note 7) Sanders signals that sacrificial animals used to be suffocated to death; when Islam reached the Ihanzu (in the 1930s) it became, however, common practice to slit their throats. He hastens to emphasize that everyone he spoke with “claimed that Islam and their ‘traditional’ religious practices are perfectly compatible” (p. 224). Yet could such ritual innovation also mean that elements from different epistemologies can be combined? And would this be a way to introduce change into epistemologies that risk to appear as timeless?

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MARTIN KLEIN

University of Toronto

In Cape Coast and Elmina, within sight of two castles, which are among the most imposing monuments of the slave trade

in Africa, local people often refuse to discuss either the slave trade or domestic slavery. Cape Coast was a British castle. Elmina was built by the Portuguese, but became the most important Dutch base in West Africa. The reluctance to recognize involvement in the slave trade is the point of departure for a very nuanced study of memory in Cape Coast and Elmina by Bayo Holsey, an anthropologist from Duke University. The memories were there; Holsey accessed them by exploring family histories. Holsey refers to the process by which memories are removed from public discussion as “sequestering slavery.”

There are several processes at work here. One is that Akan society is matrilineal and has always absorbed domestic slaves. They became members of the family and often founded junior branches of free lineages. This contrasts to patrilineal savannah societies, where slaves formed distinct and separate families, who are seen as inferior and whose low status has often persisted even though former slaves are legally free and often as well off economically as their former masters. In such societies, involvement with the slave trade is usually openly discussed. Among the Akan, it was forbidden to discuss a person's origins, but it was generally known. The only significant restriction on persons of slave origin today is that they cannot become chiefs. Open discussion of origins, however, threatens the family's coherence. Another process shapes a reluctance to talk about the Atlantic trade. The slaves were seen as northerners, who passed quickly through the castle towns. People in the town have little memory of the trade, which they see as having been the affair of others. The towns, along with other European castle communities like the Danish Christiansborg, experienced closer relations with Europe and a more constant influence over several centuries. Although they are often poorer today, especially in Elmina, the castle towns were for centuries where the most significant interaction with the West took place. There was intermarriage and the development of schools contributed to the emergence of an educated elite. The two towns see themselves as more Western, more modern, and more “civilized” compared to the more “barbaric” North. Holsey has an excellent chapter on images of the North. Because slavery is seen as part of this barbarism, coastal memories distance themselves from the trade in spite of the visible physical imprint of the castles on their communities.

This comfortable set of memories has been disturbed by the development of diaspora tourism. No country in Africa is better equipped than Ghana to respond to the desire of many African Americans to explore their African roots and to profit from it. Ghana is stable, has a good infrastructure, and has those imposing monuments. African American memories, however, are of violence and degradation. The struggle for equality, which has marked much of their modern history, involves for many confrontation with what happened to their ancestors in Africa. Since the 1970s,

a tourist industry has developed and has brought with it the restoration of the castles and the development of rituals like the visit to the River of Slaves, where slaves being marched from the North washed themselves before the final march to the Coast. Holsey contrasts the memories of the two groups. The African Americans are often deeply emotional at the sight of the dungeons and the Door of No Return and sometimes angry at those who perpetuated their victimization. The restoration of the castles means that Ghanaians, mostly school groups and visitors from elsewhere in Ghana, also visit. Local adults rarely visit. Ghanaians are often stunned by the sight of the dungeons and the tales told by the guides, but they can also be casual and quite flip in their comments. In some cases, Holsey is offended by their comments. The confrontation of young Ghanaians with the castles is, however, important to her account.

In all this, Holsey has a number of strengths. One is that she is persistent, digging into the substructure of memory, going after different sources. She interviews ordinary people, goes along with tour guides, and attends classes dealing with the slave trade. This enables her to look at their variant traditions. A second is that she sets memory against the historiography of the slave trade. She has a clear picture of what the trade was, which she lays out lucidly and

tersely. This enables her to transcend some of the simplistic generalizations about why African elites participate and to link past and present. The final chapter deals with the responses of students, both those who continue to sequester and a small but interesting minority that develops a counterargument linking past and present, with which Holsey is clearly sympathetic. Both groups reject the textbook view of Ghanaian history, which focuses on the rise of nationalism.

The strengths and weaknesses of the book are that it is concerned with two communities, which are in some ways unique. This enables Holsey to explore the substructure of memory more profoundly, but it leaves us with questions about other areas. Almost totally absent are the slavers. She does have a very brief discussion of northern memories, but these are memories of resistance. She also looks at the images of northern ritual power in the Tchamba cults of the Ewe, but once again, this is brief. She has no discussion of memories of slavery among the Asante, or among the Ga or the other Fante. The focus on Elmina and Cape Coast allows her to probe deeply but leaves us with questions about other parts of Ghana, and also, other parts of Africa.

This is, however, a fine, well-crafted work of research, which can and should be a model for other studies of memory.