

Book Reviews

**Patterns Through Time: An
Ethnographer's Quest and Journey.**

Norman E. Whitten, Jr. Sean Kingston
Publishing, 2017. ix+124 pp.

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In his memoir of a rich life devoted to ethnography and theory construction, Norman Whitten tacks from the classroom and academy to the worlds of Afro-Caribbean peoples on the Pacific coast of South America and indigenous peoples in the Ecuadorian Amazon. The book is full of events, observations, and opinions related to each realm in almost equal measure.

When Whitten started his studies in anthropology in the late-1950s, he was presented with two fundamental styles or tendencies. One was the materialist, neo-evolutionary, political-economy, and "cultural-ecological" approaches of Julian Steward and his followers (and Leslie White), paralleled to some extent by the interests of British social anthropology. The other major perspective was the psychologically oriented personality and culture approach. Advanced thinkers of the time were entranced with the structuralism of Levi-Strauss, and symbolic anthropology was on the horizon, but Whitten made the decision to stress social organization, ecology, economic change, power, and class

(more Weber than Marx). Above all he laid emphasis on "ethnography of real people in real places," quoting his advisor John Gulick, "Forget Levi-Strauss" (10). (Gulick also said, "forget this evolutionary stuff"—and he did [15].) In his early years, he did not really "get" the emphasis on "culture" and he therefore "decided to eschew all concepts of 'culture'" (19). This, however, was a failing he later remedied.

In the first chapter, Whitten weaves discussions of his varied early ethnographic research into narratives of his training and subsequent experiences in publishing, early employment, and the general and personal vicissitudes of academic life of the 1970s. His early fieldwork with various African-American communities (in North Carolina, Nova Scotia, and, above all, on the Pacific coasts of Ecuador and Columbia) culminated in his first two books, *Class, Kinship, and Power in an Ecuadorian Town: The Negroes of San Lorenzo* (1965) and *Black Frontiersmen: Afro-Hispanic Culture of Ecuador and Colombia* (1974). The latter drew upon "cultural ecology" for an understanding of cultural dynamics in the context of a regional economy.

In those years, he and John Szwed produced the pioneering edited volume, *Afro-American Anthropology*. Their work on Afro-American culture ("restructuring of Afro-American anthropology" [29])

was done in the shadow of Melville J. Herskovits' firm opinions about the "New World Negro" and Whitten finds a number of opportunities to present both his grievances and his triumphs. Much of Norman Whitten's research was done together with his (late) wife of forty-nine years, Dorothea (Sibby) Scott Whitten, and he regularly credits her many contributions, as he generously does for many others.

The next two chapters are devoted to the longitudinal research with the Canelos Quichua of the Upper Amazonian region of Ecuador that Whitten and his wife began in the 1970s. These chapters, too, are intercut by discussions of developments in the discipline of anthropology as well as vagaries in the course of their research and publication. He writes of two "transformative moments." One of these moments was the growing schism in anthropology between the "scientists" and those who espoused "an equally fervent, subjective, argumentative humanism, with those professing 'postmodernism' leading the way into greater and greater obfuscation" (32–33). The other was the *Levantamiento Indígena* (indigenous uprising) of 1992: the "awakening" and growth of assertiveness and self-confidence on the part of the indigenous peoples of Ecuador. I particularly appreciate his discussion of "interculturality and transculturation" versus the concepts of "hybridity and pluralism" (40–41).

Chapter 4: "a detour into strangeness and dysfunctionality" takes place in the jungles of academe as Whitten left the friendly shamanic universe of Amazonia and had to cope with "the mental and emotional clashes that occurred" when he was head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Illinois

at Urbana-Champaign. Despite the many difficulties with colleagues that he reports, discussing certain pseudonymous individuals in considerable detail, he was able to continue a full and creative career of publishing, editing, and participation on committees and programs. And he still had time to create and curate, with Dorothea, the South American Gallery of the Spurlock Museum.

The last chapter, "Patterns Through Time," offers parting thoughts about "editing and mentoring," the importance of "extended, longitudinal first-hand participant-observation research with extant and dynamic peoples" (106), and, in conclusion, "perspectives on the 'end of days' in ethnography as theory constructive" (106). Whitten ends his memoir with a hopeful and emphatic endorsement of ethnography as a "theory-constructive endeavor," but to do this he must sweep away two apocalyptic "end of days" visions. He does a nice job dismissing one of these eschaton, the ontological turn (107–109), but I was concerned about his other dismissal.

I discovered with mixed emotions that the author of the second dark vision is—me! Whitten incorrectly conflated my opposition to much of "the critique of anthropology" (see *In Defense of Anthropology: An Investigation of the Critique of Anthropology*)—which I see as unscholarly, unjust, and largely motivated by the "rage of Paris-Berkeley-Madison 1968"—with what he calls "critical anthropology" (111). But in the end Whitten writes, "... later, in concert with Lewis, I had to drop the concept of 'critical anthropology' because of the way it was being used by many postmodernists to undermine all that others of us had been developing over a long period of time" (111).

At the end of this work Norman Whitten presents several principles that underlie a book series that he edits, “Interpretations of Culture in the New Millennium”:

1. *Ethnography* is fundamental to anthropology . . .
2. *Fieldwork*, the subject of innumerable discourses is fundamental to ethnographic scholarship . . .
3. *Culture*, problematic though it may be, is a key to ethnographies resulting from field research . . .
4. *Locality and place* will be critically important in each of the books. People do live somewhere . . .
5. *Globalization* is another component important to the series. (112–113)

I could not agree more, and I just hope Norman Whitten’s optimism is warranted.

**Domesticating Organ Transplant:
Familial Sacrifice and National**

Aspiration in Mexico. Megan Crowley-Matoka. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. 316 pp.

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Megan Crowley-Matoka’s *Domesticating Organ Transplant* is a compelling ethnographic account of the cultural and biopolitical nature of kidney donation and transplantation in Mexico. Based on over a decade of research in state-supported hospitals in Guadalajara, the site of Mexico’s most active kidney transplant programs, this book asks a seemingly simple yet in-

credibly complex question: What makes organ donation and transplantation in Mexico unique? Crowley-Matoka artfully answers this question by conducting research with several groups, including organ donors, recipients, and medical professionals. What her analysis reveals is that organ transplantation in Mexico is not merely a surgical procedure, but rather a type of icon that tells us something about life in Mexico today. In her own words, transplantation is “a site where many different—and sometimes conflicting—commitments, claims, and anxieties are condensed and instrumentalized” (28). Crowley-Matoka’s choice to use icons as the analytic lens for understanding transplantation seemed unusual at first. However, with each passing chapter, it became increasingly clear that this choice was an appropriate if not novel one. Crowley-Matoka draws on her ethnographically rich stories and examples, in addition to historical and cultural references, to support this approach and demonstrate how attending to icons—and their power—can enrich our understanding of the distinct corporeal *and* symbolic importance of transplantation in Mexico.

This book starts from an important critical and political position. Namely, it challenges the assumption that research on kidney transplantation in Mexico must involve illegal dealings and shady players. This belief is not altogether surprising given the prevalence of research on the illegal global organ trade and media reports portraying Mexico as a lawless land ruled by gangs, vigilantes, and narcotraffickers. Crowley-Matoka shows instead that this enterprise in Mexico is tied up more with questions of gender, nationalism, religion, and biomedicine. It is in Crowley-Matoka’s analysis of these topics as they

intersect and inform transplantation where her clever engagement of iconicity comes into play.

Crowley-Matoka begins her analysis by focusing on kidney donors, illustrating how iconography of bodily sacrifice is crucial to understanding how kidneys are procured for transplantation. The scarcity of cadaveric (brain-dead) donors in Mexico means that transplantation is reliant on living donors, the majority of whom are family members. The central role that kin relations play in this process shows how transplantation is shaped by and contingent on an important iconic figure of Mexican culture and identity—*la familia mexicana* (the Mexican family). Idealized views of responsibility, obligation, and love are associated with the Mexican family, which have implications for kidney donation. Nowhere is this more evident than the image of the self-sacrificial Mexican mother. Crowley-Matoka explains that this iconic persona, which is linked to gendered notions of kinship and national identity and pride through such images as the Virgen de Guadalupe, contributes to what she identifies as the feminization of organ donation. While siblings and other kin may refuse to donate a kidney to a family member, the Mexican mother is upheld as the one who will risk her own health to save her child.

The book's focus then turns to those individuals who receive—and supposedly benefit from—these donations. Crowley-Matoka shows not only how recipients must traverse the multiple bureaucracies associated with transplantation, but also how potential patients are deemed “worthy” of receiving a donated kidney. This section of the book is particularly engaging given the numerous ethnographic examples of patients who are evaluated and considered to be either *productos valiosos*

(valuable products) of transplantation or not. It highlights quite poignantly the ways in which determinations are made around “what constitutes a life worth transplanting” (144). In this section, she also explores what posttransplant life is like for these patients. Her analysis challenges the iconic salvation or overly simplistic “happily ever after” story of transplantation, the idea that life with a new kidney will automatically be one of peace and restored health. Instead, it is characterized by stigma, structural obstacles, and what she describes as “persistent patienthood.” Crowley-Matoka shows that the dream of living a “normal” life posttransplant does not always pan out; it requires access to resources and networks of support, such as health insurance and employment, which can be difficult to obtain or maintain. For many patients, this modality of living also becomes one of perpetual or “lingering liminality” between health and illness (164). The stories that Crowley-Matoka presents highlight the difficulties of existing in such a space as well as the disheartening effects that this surgery can have on the lived realities of those who invest such hope in its success.

The final section of the book considers the iconography surrounding the kidney itself and transplantation professionals. One of the most compelling discussions revolves around the gift/commodity framework that is so often employed to understand organ transfer. Crowley-Matoka argues that the dyad between the iconic “gift of life” and the commodification of the human body is too crude to recognize and appreciate the complexity of what occurs in Mexico around kidney transplantation. As Crowley-Matoka makes convincingly clear, the practices and attitudes of donors, recipients, and those who remove

and relocate kidneys from one body to another require a far more nuanced analytic structure, which, once again, she offers through her critical engagement with multiple icons that have purchase in Mexico.

Ultimately, what Crowley-Matoka delivers in *Domesticating Organ Transplant* are new insights into how organ transplant looks and is experienced in a particular political, social, and institutional milieu. She demonstrates that transplantation is a product of specific situated histories, entanglements, and values rather than a dislocated, purely medical procedure with predictable outcomes. Indeed, as she notes, unique characteristics of the Mexican setting have “shaped how transplantation there has taken clinical shape and produced meaning” (15). Given its ethnographic richness and depth of analysis, this book will appeal to multiple audiences, especially those interested in anthropological studies of health and biomedical practices in Latin America and the growing literature on organ transplant and its corporeal and cultural implications. This book is a robust, yet refined addition, to both these areas of inquiry.

**The Chicken and the Quetzal:
Incommensurate Ontologies and
Portable Values in Guatemala’s Cloud
Forest.** Paul Kockelman. Durham, NC:
Duke University Press, 2016. 190 pp.

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Paul Kockelman takes us to the chilly hamlet of Chicacnab, perched high, even for a highland Maya community, in one of Guatemala’s few remaining cloud forests.

It is a hamlet founded fairly recently by former peons. Chicacnab is a tough place to make a life. It is also the site of the ecotourism alternative income project set up by the German ecologists of Proyecto Eco-Quetzal (PEQ) to halt desperately poor Q’eqchi’-Maya subsistence farmers from carving out more of the shrinking cloud forest biome that is home to the charismatic species, the resplendent quetzal, and to raise broader awareness of the ecological crisis facing this national symbol of Guatemala. PEQ’s efforts were critical in the rebranding of Alta Verapaz as the “Green Heart of Guatemala,” now a major tourism destination.

Kockelman works on an ensemble of issues in this book, such as the unintended consequences of ecotourism/NGO/native people encounters, a further exploration of nineteenth-century political economic binaries (status/contract, capitalist/noncapitalist, exchange value/use value, quantification, and qualification), and the act of ethnography. Rather like the fanciful flight of the title’s resplendent quetzal, Kockelman soars into abstraction, dives through delightful tours of linguistic untangling, then cruises close to the ground, providing detailed ethnography of Maya women caring for their chickens and fending off chicken hawks, twenty-something foreign ecotourists struggling up slick trails to spare accommodations provided by Chicacnab hosts, and Maya agriculturalists haggling over how old a boy has to be to “replace” his father in work parties.

What ties together these shifts in level is the crux of Kockelman’s project in *The Chicken and the Quetzal*, which is to think through how different peoples, including ethnographers, make incommensurate value portable, in fact “four distinct values—use (function), exchange

(price), semantic (meaning) and deontic (morality)” (3). He draws on political economy, ontology, linguistics, ethnography, the anthropological fascination with animal categories, and the methodology modeled by Marx’s commodity and Evans-Pritchard’s Nuer cattle—“objects to be interpreted and methods of interpretation in one entangled instance” (4). In this book, one object/method of interpretation is the charismatic bird species, the quetzal, but Kockelman closely explores other objects, such as chickens and houses, to unpack carefully all the levels of what he calls the “quetzalification” (the quetzal is the name of Guatemala’s currency) of the Chicacnab economy, the movement away from Q’eqchi’ practices of grading, pricing, reciprocating and replacing value towards monetization.

The book’s six chapters include an introduction and a conclusion of his themes of portability, transformation, enclosure/disclosure and the relationship between meaning, measurement, materiality, and money. Chapter One presents the history of PEQ’s interventions in Chicacnab’s region, including its founders’ initial blaming of Q’eqchi’-Maya for cloud forest destruction, its development of the ecotours, and an account of a PEQ tour as a complicated, scripted, and of course, off-scripted adventure with plenty of slippages in meaning, experience, and intent.

Chapter Two sets aside quetzals and ecotourism for chickens, but first he opens with a charming linguistic exploration of the Spanish and Q’eqchi’ terms for “rooster,” “chicken,” and “quetzal” that weaves together German-founded department stores, penises, beer, currency, and actual birds, all interlinked different scales of value. The core of the chapter is close ethnography of the relationships between

one of the world’s most portable domesticated species, the chicken, and Q’eqchi’ women’s lives, exchanges, and status vis-à-vis local men. The chicken is an ensemble as animal, affective being, subsistence, and exchange object. “Chicken” in Maya is *kaxlan*, a word derived from the Spanish word *castilla* and also an adjective meaning “foreign,” as well as a factor that Kockelman does not explore, “inferior,” an angle that shores up his larger demonstration. In Kockelman’s treatment, the chicken reveals a twist on Marx’s formula, “C-M-C,” for woman-chicken-woman’-chicken’, a highly gendered Q’eqchi’ system of value that is both postcolonial, deeply indigenous, marginal, and like those chickens, vulnerable.

His next two chapters, “From Reciprocation to Replacement” and “From Measurement to Meaning,” dive back into those ensembles of value most affected by ecotourism. The third chapter focuses on a core Q’eqchi’ principle, *eeqaj*, or replacement, the commensurability of use values rather than exchange values. How do different entities stand in for others—a child for their namesake, a boy for another man’s obligation in a work party, vengeful acts for past wrongs? In Chapter Four, he follows how new (formerly work-party-built) houses are now constructed with paid labor and imported materials in the post-PEQ ecotourism quetzalization of value. Since ecotourism brings in that alternative income to certain families and ecotourists require higher standards of housing, the thatch-roofed, work-party replacement homes go by the wayside, as does the Q’eqchi’ system of value, obligation, reciprocity, equivalence, and morality. In conclusion, he points out that many paths of commensuration can connect highly disparate origins and destinations,

lead anywhere and go awry (another interesting miss for Kockelman is how the Q'eqchi' term for path, *b'e*, is a major metaphor for them as well!).

Kockelman identifies some Q'eqchi' community institutions as postcolonial creations, such as work parties, and the case study would have benefited from more historical framing of the region's previous value transformations, such as Catholic and Protestant evangelization, coffee, and other introduced cash cropping, the opening of northern Guatemala's land frontier, even more on the residents' previous status as peons.

But this slim book is a big project, with a lot packed in—even Francis Bacon makes an appearance in it. It succeeds because of Kockelman's careful attention and close reasoning sustained at every step in untangling the ensembles of value in objects and social relations.

Care Across Generations: Solidarity and Sacrifice in Transnational Families.

Kristin E. Yarris. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017. 190 pp.

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Care Across Generations is a rich ethnographic study of the care that Nicaraguan grandmothers provide for their grandchildren when mothers migrate to the United States, Costa Rica, or Panama. By considering the daily material and emotional work that grandmothers perform, the book expands our analytic horizons beyond the impact of irregular migration on nuclear families. The author demonstrates how the cultural ideals of solidarity—support of others'

well-being—and sacrifice—practical action of caring for others—motivate grandmothers, and how these ideals have resonance in twentieth-century democratic and anti-imperialist movements in Nicaragua. Given meaning through solidarity and sacrifice, Yarris convincingly argues that grandmother care is not only the social reproductive labor that sustains the well-being of children, but also a moral practice, one that culturally regenerates transnational families through time and ameliorates the social disruptions that result from international migration.

Viewing grandmother care as a resource for transnational families challenges important premises underpinning the notion of global care chains. In conventional thought, the international migration of women from the Global South to the Global North and the transfer of their social reproductive labor to destination countries are usually viewed as leaving a care deficit in their countries of origin. According to this view, the caregiving provided by grandmothers and other family members is inadequate and, in popular opinion, generally motivated by the economic benefits of receiving remittances. The stigma from these stereotypes has harmful effects for those who provide care after mothers migrate and for the children in their care.

Instead of selfish economic interests, Yarris shows how grandmothers' care work embodies commitment and responsibility toward their transnational families, in an effort to strengthen social ties and solidarity among family members. In fact, grandmothers complain that remittances *no se ajusten* (do not measure up) because love cannot buy money and only grandmothers' agency through care work builds and maintains meaningful

relationships. The interlocutors of *Care Across Generations* are not passive, dependent individuals simply surviving from monthly remittances. Rather, grandmothers have found purpose and meaning fostering unity through dedicated attention to their grandchildren. Love and warmth are folded into the administration of remittances to create emotional and physical well-being in the extended family. The overall positive evaluation of household self-provisioning may strike some as unnecessarily exonerating the neoliberal state from its responsibility to support the well-being of the population. However, the argument focuses on how cultural values salient during the Sandinista period continue to be significant to counter the negative effects of the lack of strong social protection policies in a migrant origin country.

Engaging in long-standing feminist debates about the impact of migration on gender relations, Yarris concludes that gender roles and expectations are not “radically transformed or completely reinforced” in grandmother care work. The cultural expectations that women assume primary caregiving roles in the family are temporally and spatially displaced: children are taken care of by grandmothers, and adult daughters—whose presence and emotional support are highly valued by grandmothers—are absent, yet contribute important economic resources to the household from abroad. The shifting generational burden of care is further complicated by the uncertainty of the continuity of transnational life. On the one hand, most of the migrant mothers in Yarris’ study are undocumented and could be deported back to Nicaragua. On the other hand, many give birth to children in destination countries signaling a change

in orientation of life projects away from Nicaragua.

These temporal and spatial disruptions and contradictions are experienced by grandmothers as “thinking too much” (*pensando mucho*). While worrying (*preocupación*) denotes fretting over daily problems that can generally be solved, “thinking too much” is more of a debilitating rumination of contradictions that are not easily resolved or cannot be resolved given the structural conditions of undocumented migration that threaten the physical and moral unity of the family. Grandmothers’ distress is at once a critique of the political economic conditions that create separation and an affirmation of the importance of their care to construct solidarity and unity. Yarris documents how this distress is partially alleviated through the daily care practices that grandmothers perform.

Through careful and vivid ethnography, *Care Across Generations* moves beyond the remittances-for-care discourse to argue convincingly for the need to value the importance of grandmother care in maintaining the well-being of family members in sending countries. There is no celebration of migration in the argument, nor are there passive, dependent remittance recipients. Instead, the book carefully demonstrates the moral agency of grandmothers who shore up essential family bonds through sacrifice and solidarity despite the structural forces that threaten to dismantle the family. Yarris clearly describes how her position contributes in innovative ways to several key theoretical debates that are succinctly summarized in each chapter. An extensive discussion of fieldwork methods is included in the book’s appendix. These features make the book an excellent choice

for advanced undergraduate and graduate courses on globalization, migration, or gender.

Black Autonomy: Race, Gender, and Afro-Nicaraguan Activism.

Jennifer Goett. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017. 222 pp.

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“What happens to multicultural activism under conditions of prolonged violence?” Jennifer Goett’s monograph, *Black Autonomy: Race, Gender, and Afro-Nicaraguan Activism*, attempts to answer this question. Set in the semirural coastal community of Monkey Point, located within the South Caribbean Coast Autonomous Region (RACCS), the book provides an in-depth study of gendered activism within this region. As in many Central American countries, the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua is often perceived by the *mestizo* majority as racially and culturally distinct from the rest of the country, largely because of who lives on the coast. Joining indigenous groups such as the Miskitu, the Rama, and the Sumo, black residents of the West Indies migrated en masse to the coastal regions in the late nineteenth century to work on the American-owned banana plantations and railroads. Long-standing ties to the Anglophone world have engendered a separatist streak among the coastal population that has often put the Atlantic coast at odds with the rest of the country. While the Nicaraguan government was loath to grant the indigenous groups on the coast land rights, it was even more opposed to ceding rights to the Afro-descendant

population on the grounds that they were not autochthonous to the region.

Goett has helped black and indigenous populations secure land rights since the late 1990s. Writing reports and creating maps, she has worked for various nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that aid groups with documenting land claims. In some ways, this ethnography is the corollary to her NGO work, providing a picture of the daily life that formed the backdrop of this activism. Based on four years of research conducted between 1998 and 2013, this ethnography utilizes a feminist approach to examine the impact of gender, race, and class in the social context out of which this activism arises. As is customary of contemporary ethnographies, Goett locates herself in the study, acknowledging not only her stakes in the research, but also her debt to the community.

Chapter 1 introduces Pearl Marie Watson, Helen Presida, and Bernicia Duncan Presida, the family matriarchs, who helped the author gain acceptance into the community. Together, the women recount their family’s history going back five generations. Goett uses this chapter to talk about the area’s deep-rooted ties to the British, the American companies that once dominated the region, the Zendaya government that first dispossessed Creoles of their land, and the brutal civil war that forced Creole men to either pick up arms and fight or to flee to Costa Rica for refuge. It is also in this chapter that Goett notes how the family matriarchs stake a claim on the land and pass down resistance strategies through oral history. Chapter 2, entitled “Bad Boys and Resistance,” depicts how men are pulled into direct resistance, taking up arms against their oppressors, usually after strategies pursued

by the women, such as protesting, have failed. Chapter 3 looks at Monkey Point within the larger global context. Here, the author points to global changes that have forced many men to leave Monkey Point. In the wake of their absence, female relatives developed very strong interconnected networks solidifying the means through which they lent money to each other, took care of each other's children, and provided emotional support to one another. Chapter 4 looks at how drugs entered the region as a result of the civil war. In the popular imagination, black citizens and the coast are associated with drugs and lawlessness, and the state is justified in increasing its presence in black communities for security purposes.

Chapter 5 is the most powerful chapter. Goett discusses the state-sanctioned sexual violence toward young Creole girls in Monkey Point. The increased state presence in the region led to an increase in the number of Creole girls who were sexually assaulted by the mestizo soldiers. Moreover, the soldiers, backed by the power of the state, forced Creole men to carry out their wishes, which metaphorically neutered them. Although Goett vividly depicts the victimization of the Creole girls at the hands of the soldiers, she also makes clear that Creole men also play a part in the sexual abuse of the Creole women. At the end of the chapter, Goett endorses an intersectional approach, which uses both race and sex to frame the particular oppression that Creole women face.

Although the book is informative, there are a few things that would have made it stronger. The author uses terms such as "neoliberalism" and "Creole," without first defining them. Although the reader can infer what Goett means when she employs terms, her work would have

benefited from definitions of these key words. At times it was easy to forget that this book was a feminist ethnography because it was not evident how it differed from a nonfeminist one. Finally, Goett skirts around the fact that sometimes the parents and guardians of the young girls who end up in relationships with the mestizo soldiers are complicit in pushing these girls to the soldiers.

Nevertheless, this book has numerous strengths. Goett painstakingly outlines her goals for the book and the theories that she uses, and she fulfills them. She gives a brief, but thorough, summary of the historical and political events that have created the context in which she did her work. Additionally, she engages with the research done by other scholars who had previously worked in the region. In fact, Goett's findings regarding Creoles and their acceptance of blackness seem to show a diachronic change from when anthropologist Edmund Gordon (1995) conducted his research from the late 1970s to 1980s. While Goett found that Creoles acknowledged their blackness, Gordon found that many denied their blackness, instead choosing to highlight their European or indigenous ancestry. *Black Autonomy* highlights activism in a community that would have otherwise been overlooked. Anyone interested in the African diaspora, particularly in Latin America, land rights, and activism, would do well to pick up *Black Autonomy*.

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Thunder Shaman: Making History with Mapuche Spirits in Chile and Patagonia.

Ana Mariella Bacigalupo, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2016. 288 pp.

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Thunder Shamans is a fascinating book on the embodiments of Mapuche history, shamanism, and continuity in changing contexts. Conceived as “a collaborative, personal, spiritual and academic project,” the book offers a “trans-epistemic anthropology . . . that approaches indigenous . . . systems of knowledge in their own intellectual terms” (227). It draws on a long-lasting relationship between the author and thunder *machi* (shaman) Francisca Kolipi. Written on her behalf, it intends to be her “bible,” aimed at carrying her power and distinct knowledge and experiences on the visible and invisible worlds to different locations (208). As such, it is infused with both the weight and permanence of authoritative text of the church and the power of a Mapuche prophetic account, to perpetuate the late Francisca’s ability to transform the world and the future (153).

The book takes on the challenge to be Francisca’s voice while serving as a “real” scholarly contribution. Beyond a mere specific testimony, it offers valuable insights into native notions of personhood, time, and the production of a unique and complex cultural identity. It acutely renders the core of Mapuche shamanism, an embodied experience that links personal testimonies to historical processes such as change and continuity, conflict and harmony, sorcery and healing, disremembering and remembering, death and rebirth.

After the introduction, the reader’s journey goes on through seven chapters that describe how “shamanic histories reconcile the tension between (. . .) the otherness of natives’ history and a recognition of indigenous people’s historical agency” (64). Chapter Two relates how powerful beings merge individual identities beyond time boundaries, linking primordial past with present and future. Francisca’s personality and body have merged with the identity of Rosa Kurin, a previous thunder *machi*. As expressions of one powerful spirit, the common ability of these two *machi* is the capacity to mediate between *wingka*—the non-Mapuche settlers—and Mapuche. Both *champurria* (*mestizas*), Rosa and Francisca can mobilize the powers and understandings of both worlds to fight sorcery attempts within and outside Mapuche community. Being part of two worlds has given these two *machi* the power to offer shamanic readings of the conflictive history between settlers and Mapuche.

In Chapter Three, the author considers the multitemporality of shamans’ experiences (dreams, visions, and ecstatic states) as sensory practices linked to “alternative modes of historicization” (100). Bacigalupo analyses these modes of historicization as a forms of mediation between past and present: going beyond discourses that reduce possession to social affliction (100), she argues that the body of the possessed mediate the past to let it come into the present. *Machi* serve as “counter-memory” (93). They live in this world but are not of this world: their shamanic actions embody cultural memories to restore fullness, to make sense of history by obliterating and rearticulating the acquisition of information about past that challenges linear temporalities and

historicizations. Ritually reshaping the past and the future (Chapter Four), Francisca's physical body reflects and is constitutive of the Millali's social body. Machi's sacrifice for the good of the community fuses past suffering and expropriation with contemporary realities and concerns.

Chapter Five questions the shamanization of documents and bibles drawing on the concept of indigenous *grafismo*—the ability to understand and interpret visual data and alphabetic script as a technology that inscribes meanings on a physical object. Shamans manipulate the power that resides in the materiality of legal documents for the benefits of the community. They reshape rhetoric of savagery and civilization to fit their struggles for alliance, resistance, and realpolitik (Chapter Six). Addressing the savagery of the state (158), they oppose it to moral indigeneity based on reciprocal relationships. The author especially underlines the significations of warfare in these realpolitik narratives: the belief that Mapuche gain opportunities and benefits through association with political power allows the reader to understand strategic alliances that go beyond the dichotomy between left wing and right wing, underscoring romantic idealizations of Mapuche being “naturally” socialist. The author also discusses notions of tradition, sociality and morality showing that Francisca's shamanism challenges Mapuche gender hierarchies. Some members of her community have read her transgressions—promiscuity, manly behavior, and swearwords—as sorcery, but they were also resignified as spiritual warfare against the evil spirits of neoliberalism and a revitalized sense of ethnic belongings and identity that challenges authoritative transnational corporations (187).

After her death, the community has first obliterated Francisca's memory: fearing accusation of sorcery from other factions of the community, her family was reluctant to have her bible written. Machi Francisca, her memory, needed to be disremembered and cleansed of antisocial qualities by processes of forgetting, moving the house, changing the paths to be reborn and remembered through the merging of her individual identity with the collective *machi pullü*, the shamanic spirit of Millali (Chapter Seven). After this process, and in a context of new unity and the overcoming of previous factionalism, the anthropologist was asked to write the bible after all. Transformed into the collective ancestral spirit of all machi (*alwe*), her force can no longer be manipulated by sorcerers to become an evil spirit that would harass the community. The past is not forgotten but controlled, pulled aside and reshaped, allowing for the possibility of rebirth in a new body (225).

Francisca's bible reveals a captivating testimony of great anthropological relevance, notwithstanding some minor shortcomings. One can only lament the lack of precision of terms such as “Global South” as opposed to “Global North”: do wingka Chileans really belong to this “global North”? Or does “Global North” mean anthropological knowledge or scholarly knowledge? If so, from which perspective, under which criteria? Similarly, “Global South” seems to work as a synonym for “post-colonial,” another expression that might encompass several meanings, apparently equivalent to the concern of giving an accurate account of emic perspectives. Such generalizations do not match the fine accounts of the heterogeneity of Mapuche culture. One of the book's main strengths is the light it sheds

on shamanism as active indigenous and gendered politics, rejecting the notion of machi as ahistorical and apolitical figures of a reified tradition.

Deference Revisited: Andean Ritual in the Plurinational State. *Into A.*

Goudsmit. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2016. 333 pp.

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Reading scholarly texts dealing with the rural Bolivian Andes during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, one could easily get the impression that the exploitation of Andean *campesinos* by local landlords ended with the agrarian reform of 1953 and that, if any structural inequalities remained after that, they are currently about to evaporate as a consequence of the implementation of the “decolonizing politics” of the Evo Morales administration. In beautiful ethnographic prose and with a keen analytical eye to the intricacies of the local power relations in an *ayllu* in Norte Potosí, *Into A.* Goudsmit tells a very different story. On the one hand, *Deference Revisited* sheds new light on the reproduction of power inequalities in the rural Andes, explaining how local landlords navigate successfully through changing political settings and how *campesinos* (insisting on being *campesinos* they dissociate themselves from the pre-1950 *indio* as well as from the *indígena* or *originario* of the Plurinational State), through ritual practice, are key actors in the reproduction and naturalization of their own subalternization. On the other hand, the respective scopes of twentieth and twenty-first centuries state reforms are reassessed and the current

contradictions and ambiguities of the “refounded” Bolivian Plurinational State are critically reviewed from its relative periphery.

The value of Goudsmit’s work is thus manifold: First, it brings new valuable insights into Andean ethnography and history, not least into the unintended (and sometimes not-so-unintended) consequences of ritual practice. His meticulous accounts of complex ritual procedures and the minutiae of Andean community life are a delight to read for an aficionado of detailed ethnographic descriptions of ritual practice and social interaction. Second, it is a valuable contribution to ongoing debates in ritual theory, not least to the contentions concerning the subversive versus conservative nature of rituals. While other recent anthropological studies of the Andes have underscored the antisystemic nature of ritual practice and the creative ways in which “Andean culture” is used by certain actors as a tool for subverting colonial relations of power, Goudsmit makes a convincing case arguing for the conservative nature of culture and the role played by ritual practice in the reproduction of power asymmetries. Interestingly, Goudsmit’s concern for rituals grew from the passionate, almost obsessive, concern for ritual technicalities manifested by the people with and among whom he worked: “My interest developed from theirs” (10). Indeed, good anthropology stems from taking seriously what is serious to the people with and among whom one works. Third, by carving out a space for fruitful conversation between cognitive anthropology and symbolic anthropology, Goudsmit moves beyond the stalemate between reductionist cognitive stances in which “meaning” and “culture” tend to be reducible to the individual mind and (neo-) Geertzian

approaches in which the individual mind tends to play a quite marginal role.

Combining the notion of “cultural models” from cognitive anthropology and the thick ethnographic description of symbolic anthropology, Goudsmit achieves the enviable goal of identifying the mechanisms by which local continuity is secured in times of national change and by which the contradictions of material conditions and mental constructs are rendered meaningful as lived experience. Crucial to Goudsmit’s persuasive argument are the analogous relations he cautiously identifies between campesino and landlord and between campesino and mountain god (immanent command) on the one hand, and the relation between campesino and God and between campesino and national government (distant command) on the other. Campesinos’ relations to local landlords are thus intricately molded by their understanding of mountain gods—powerful and potentially dangerous, but also essential for campesino existence and central elements in ritual practice. Campesinos defer to the mountain gods as they defer to the local landlords and vice versa. Thus, relative durable cultural dispositions are generated and local power asymmetries are reproduced in spite of state reforms designed to transform them. Moreover, in a tentative but indeed interesting and ethnographically well-informed manner, Goudsmit projects this discussion on to the new “indigenous” ceremonial protocol of the Plurinational State and cautions that it might end up turning “indigeneity into an authoritative means of reproducing the social relations it professes to transform” (13).

I would have valued, though, a more thorough probe into the gendered dimensions of ritual practice and the re-

production of social relations. I might be asking for too much from one single book, but the seemingly solid and all-encompassing category “campesino” is used on 250 pages before it is explicated that the concept as used by Goudsmit to a large extent excludes women. That is, the campesinos discussed by Goudsmit are adult men. I mention this because I believe Goudsmit’s thorough ethnographic comprehension and analytical skills would be well suited for delving into the uneven distribution in the ayllu of formal ritual, social and political agency and power and the spaces and social practices in and by which other-than-male agents relate, in deference or not, to power.

Nevertheless, Goudsmit’s eloquently written book is an excellent piece of ethnography and contemporary history that clearly deepens our understanding of the conflicting and paradoxical processes at work in current Andean Bolivia. Probing into the power dynamics of a specific locale, Goudsmit not only sheds new light on mechanisms of social and political life far beyond the site of his fieldwork, but also invites us to rethink our analytical frameworks and to combine them in novel ways. This book is ethnography at its best.

The Mark of Rebels: Indios Fronterizos and Mexican Independence. *Barry M. Robinson.* Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2016. 191 pp.

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In this deeply researched study, Robinson delves into the late colonial conflicts that roiled the “Colotlán region,” a term he uses to cover a broadly defined area encompassing the intersection between the modern

states of Zacatecas and Jalisco. This region on the northern border of Mesoamerica was occupied in the early conquest era by “sedentary agricultural settlements” of Cazcanes while “others like the Huicholes inhabited smaller family-based rancherías spread through the mountains” (13), while the *altiplano* east and north of it belonged to nomadic Zacateco bands. Untouched by the fall of the Aztecs in 1521, Colotlán remained outside the first configuration of New Spain. Only in the 1530s was a brutal late conquest undertaken to impose an *encomienda* system thoroughly unsuited to a region that never knew imperial rule. The result was the Mixtón war of 1541, suppressed by Spanish and Mesoamerican warriors who destroyed resistance along with the Cazcan people themselves and any possibility of imposing a colonial tribute system on them.

If not for the silver deposits found here, this northern region would have attracted little further attention from the colonizers. But silver was found, the Spanish did come, and the so-called Chichimecas turned from hunting rabbits and deer to hunting cows and silver trains. The Spanish response—decades of bloody war—ended only in 1590 with an offer of regular gifts of food and trade goods in exchange for an end to raiding. The following year, 1591, the Spanish induced their Tlaxcalan allies from central Mexico to cement the peace by settling in agricultural pueblos in the north, among them two on the Colotlán frontier: San Luis Colotlán and San Andrés del Teúl.

The town of Mexquitic, San Luis Potosí, where I did research in the 1980s, was a Tlaxcalan sister settlement of Colotlán and Teúl. The stories Robinson tells about those two pueblos resonate strongly with the history of Mexquitic. One key to this

history is the disparity that grew over the long course of colonial rule between the privileges granted in 1591 to the Tlaxcalan settlers, as allies and partners of the Spanish, and the entrenched racial and labor hierarchy that came to define the society of New Spain. The descendants of the settlers continued to insist on the privileges granted them as allies of the Spanish settled on the frontier (exemption from tribute and labor requisitions, the right to be armed with swords or arrows, recognition as the status equivalents of *hidalgos*, and a degree of political autonomy and territorial integrity). But by the late eighteenth century, Spanish settler elites were dismissive of such claims and of the notion that Tlaxcalans were anything but *indios*.

Robinson details two stories that illustrate these growing tensions. First, after an introduction and a chapter on the complex regional history of conquest, he details a conflict in San Luis Colotlán in the early 1780s between a corrupt, high-handed Spanish official and a faction of the Tlaxcalan elite styling themselves the “Señores Colotecos” who enlisted popular support to oppose the official’s “abuses” while “defending the rights and privileges” of the Tlaxcalans (53). Here, Robinson draws out the nuances of competing self-images and identities in the communities of the Colotlán frontier, the ambivalent moral status of self-declared defenders of the people who at the same time aimed at self-aggrandizement and enrichment, and the competing agendas of *vecino* elites, all within an overall context that determined the limited, racially based range of possibilities open to those identified as *indios*.

The second story, in Chapter Three, which begins in 1795 in San Andrés del Teúl some two hundred kilometers north

of Colotlán, illustrates another late colonial conflict with a Tlaxcalan twist: a new landowner attempts to exert full property control of her inherited real estate while ignoring the layers of customary rights, privileges, and accommodations that have accrued over the centuries among the many regional players with some various, interrelated claims to use of the land. The actors include owners, managers, herders, farm laborers working for the haciendas, and the small farmers from Teúl and the other “Indian” settlements interspersed with the estates. The issues that move the descendants of Tlaxcalan settlers include both economic claims to the land (key in a time of increasing land hunger) and status claims to respect and self-government.

The unsatisfactory resolutions to these two cases (for those pushing to have the old Tlaxcalan privileges recognized) feed into the inevitable third case, told extensively in Chapters Four and Five: the broad support among the “Señores Colotecos” and their counterparts in Teúl and elsewhere across this entire region for the Hidalgo revolt. What makes Robinson’s account uniquely valuable is his extensive documentation of the revolt not only among the Tlaxcalans and other “Indians” of the region, but also among a significant faction of the regional *vecino* elite; and, in Chapter Five, an analysis of the royal pardon process by which most of the *vecinos* who joined the revolt—but, significantly, not the Tlaxcalans who did the same—were reincorporated into the ruling regional elite just in time to resume leadership positions when Iturbide’s cooptation of the independence movement brought creole leadership to national rule in the newly independent Mexico of 1821. You will have to read the account to get all the nuances; the upshot was that the former Tlaxcalan elites were no longer

able to call on the rights and privileges embedded in their colonial identities, and what was once an important center of indigenous culture was reduced to the status of an agricultural periphery. *The Mark of Rebels* is a well-written, intensively researched account that presents a theoretically important view of local variation in the conflicts of late colonial New Spain and the origins of independent Mexico. It belongs on the must-read shelf of anyone interested in those topics or in the historical development of race/class relations in Mexico generally.

Sacrifice, Violence, and Ideology Among the Moche: The Rise of Social Complexity in Ancient Peru.

Steve Bourget. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2016. 463 pp.

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This book contains important contributions to our understanding of the Moche culture, which thrived on the north coast of Peru from approximately 200–900 CE. The first portion of the book outlines Bourget’s general thoughts about Moche archaeology and culture and introduces a broad view of the field. This section is followed by two chapters that discuss his work in a section of Huaca de la Luna, a complex of platforms and plazas which is part of the Huacas de Moche site in the Moche Valley. These excavations revealed an important site of human sacrifice, and this section provides excellent photographs and illustrations of skeletal and material remains from the excavations. The remaining chapters synthesize archaeology and Moche visual culture to elucidate a view of Moche rulership and

ideology. Bourget proposes a ritual ecology based on the cyclical occurrence of ENSO (El Niño/Southern Oscillation) events, and how these disruptions formed the basis for Moche ideology, ritual, and rulership. While Bourget brings a considerable amount of expertise to the topic, it is important to point out some areas where his conclusions are affected by challenges facing Moche studies.

Bourget's ritual ecology model is laid out beginning with the effects of ENSO events on particular species of animals, fish, and insects, correlated with examples of their representation in Moche art. It is here that one problem with this work is evident. While Bourget does use excavated works of art to illustrate his analysis, he also uses pieces from museums and private collections, most of which do not have any provenience. This approach is a concern, because if Bourget is trying to form a coherent system for Moche ideology, one that he proposes was ordained by a state structure, then it would be essential to know what pieces were produced at the Huacas de Moche and which were created elsewhere.

This issue is part of a broader one in Moche studies, where a few canonical works, dense in visual information, have become ubiquitous in publications on the culture. The discoveries of these works all predate scientific archaeology in the area and are therefore unassociated with any particular site. This phenomenon has led to a sense of universality, as archaeologists have transformed these works into "Rosetta Stones" of Moche iconography, downplaying heterogeneity and emphasizing a conformity that is not necessarily applicable to all areas and periods. The differences in artistic styles that Bourget does acknowledge are interpreted as regional expressions of the state ideology,

and the possibility of site independence is dismissed.

Use of canonical images comes up again when Bourget creates a chronology of sacrificial practices. He contends that ceremonies involving coca chewing and mountain sacrifices predominated in the time associated with Phase III style ceramics at Huacas de Moche (c. 250–450), and that the Sacrifice Ceremony rose to prominence in Phase IV (c. 400–700), and this transition was the result of political changes. What kind of political changes, however, is not addressed. The images Bourget uses to illustrate the Sacrifice Ceremony are from three vessels, all unprovenienced, which have over time become the go-to representations of the ceremony, despite any foundation for this status other than their dense, clear iconography. These vessels are analyzed at the expense of others, which show differing versions of the ceremony that omit or add figures relative to the canonical works. Bourget assumes the authority of the canonical images, as have many before him, without establishing an archaeological reason for that authority, and in so doing ignores variations in the iconography that could indicate individual site identity and sovereignty. This is especially true of the northern Moche regions and the Jequetepeque Valley in particular, which has a distinct art style. Bourget, however, insists that the elements in the iconography that are held in common are indicative of homogeneity and does not accept divergent elements (of style or iconography) as signs of independence, a position similar to one developed by Donnan (2010), whom Bourget cites, and at odds with the work of Castillo (2010), among others.

Another problem is the apparent assumption of homogeneity of time,

anchored to the ceramic phases established by Rafael Larco Hoyle in the early twentieth century. Recent analysis (Koons and Alex 2014) reveals a complex temporal landscape, where, for example, Phase III ceramics can be found at different timescales in different locales. Greater homogeneity is seen after Phase III (c. 600–650). If the imagery on Phase III ceramics was tied to political considerations at the center of the Moche state, there needs to be clearer proof of the dissemination of imagery in a timescale that indicates a central authority. In his discussion of political structures, Bourget refers to “northern rulers”; phrasing seemingly at odds with the “political and structural stability and homogeneity” (380) he proposes shortly before, but which would be more consistent with political heterogeneity. In all, the assertion of a state structure is neither clearly defined nor consistently handled, and the use of visual culture to assert Bourget’s theory does not engage with foundational art historical theories. Kubler’s *The Shape of Time* (1962), for example, specifically deals with the change of artistic expression through time and place, but there are considerations of visual rhetoric as well, including how literally images can be read as fact. Taking Moche art as ethnographic texts that objectively reproduced reality assumes that the Moche were not sophisticated users of visual media as rhetorical forms—an assumption contradicted by Bourget’s claim of a pervasive state ideology.

The arguments and information Bourget presents are well worth reading, but it is also imperative that his hypotheses not be taken as established fact. There is not enough data in the field of Moche archaeology to confirm either a state structure or the homogeneity of praxis proposed in this book.

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Getting Respect: Responding to Stigma and Discrimination in the United States, Brazil, and Israel. *Michèle Lamont, Graziella Moraes Silva, Jessica Welburn, Joshua Guetzkow, Nissim Mizrahi, Hanna Herzog, and Elisa Reis.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016. 377 pp.

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This ambitious and intriguing book extends a longstanding tradition in

comparative studies of racial formations. It takes a classic pairing—the United States and Brazil—and adds a third, and unusual case, in the form of Israel. It also takes a specific approach, using about 450 in-depth interviews conducted in 2007 and 2008 to explore how people belonging to subordinated groups experience stigmatization and discrimination, and how they respond to these. The focus is on racism, but encompasses the experiences of Arab Israelis and Mizrahi Jews, which are not simply about racialized differences. People's experiences are located in the context of the history and the institutional structures of their nation, and are related to "cultural repertoires," which are the conceptual frames and narratives available to them to make sense of their experiences (e.g., the American Dream, Civil Rights, ideas of racial democracy, Zionism), and to the "groupness" of the category of people (defined mainly in terms of processes of self-identification and the patterns of social relations involved in boundary-making). The chapters on the United States, Brazil, and Israel are each divided into sections on context, groupness, experiences, and responses; there are no separate sections on cultural repertoires, but they emerge as each chapter proceeds.

The detail is rich and fascinating and the interview data are very compelling. The qualitative picture is complemented by quantitative data generated by the coding and analysis of the interviews, giving a sense of the relative frequency of particular experiences within the overall diversity. The reader comes away with a comprehensive overview of racial formation and racism in each country, from the point of view of African Americans, black Brazilians, Arab Israelis,

Mizrahi Jews, and Ethiopian Israeli Jews. Usefully, for the United States and Brazil considerable attention is paid to the different experiences of working-class and middle-class people (smaller subsamples did not permit this for Israel). Some attention is also paid to gender and age differences.

The findings of this book are mainly descriptive. For readers of this journal, I will focus on Brazil. We learn that these black Brazilians from Rio (those who identify with the census categories of *preto* and *pardo*) identified strongly as *negros*—50 percent of working class and 65 percent of middle-class people. But the meanings attached to this identification were uncertain—25 percent said being "negro" had little significance; another 30 percent said it was mainly a skin color, and for 30 percent it invoked a sense of pride. Being negro did not imply significant cultural or moral differences from other Brazilians, and national identity trumped racial identification. The boundaries of the black "group" were porous because most people said they had nonblack friends and half the married individuals had white spouses; also, while wealthy spaces were strongly associated with whiteness, and blackness was strongly associated with low status, the poorer spaces of the city had significant numbers of poor whites. The interviewees saw whiteness as a privileged status—80 percent of them saw no drawbacks to being white—but they also defended the idea of a conviviality that crossed racial difference. Although 70 percent of them contested the idea that Brazil was a racial democracy and were aware of racial inequality, and about two-thirds of them reported having experienced racism, they also valued the idea of Brazil as a mixed nation. The correlation between race and

class made racism “veiled” and often hard to identify as such: confrontation was a very common response to stigmatization and discrimination, albeit done politely to avoid causing racial divisiveness or appearing paranoid; middle-class black people stereotyped as low status often strove to signal their real economic status; but not responding was also a common reaction (50 percent of cases). Approval of affirmative action and black organizations split the sample in half. For scholars of Brazil, especially anthropologists, this picture is familiar, although the data are very valuable for being systematic and having both qualitative and quantitative elements.

The other findings are comparative in a substantive and a theoretical sense. Substantively, we find that the United States is both similar to and different from Brazil—as are the Israeli cases, in more diverse ways. As before, scholars who know the United States—Brazil comparative literature will perhaps not be surprised by the findings: for example, African Americans more readily say that race affects choices of friend and partners; they are less tolerant of racist jokes and make more recourse to formal and legal complaints about racist incidents.

The theoretical conclusions are various. The authors emphasize the importance of national contexts in creating cultural repertoires (although some of these are recognized to be transnational, such as human rights, anti-racism, and the African diaspora), and in shaping

experiences and responses to racism. They emphasize the importance of these repertoires in creating meaning and shaping boundary work, and suggest they are an important resource for social change. The authors also distinguish systematically between stigmatization and discrimination, with the former being “assaults on worth” (insults, jokes, being given poor service, being negatively stereotyped, being ignored, etc.) and the latter being the denial of access to resources (jobs, promotions, housing, etc.). They highlight that many experiences in all the cases studied are of stigmatization, whereas in the United States at least (but not, say, in France) most policies address discrimination. This distinction is useful, although it is not always clear: being denied a job can also be a stigmatizing experience. The distinction relates to debates about recognition versus redistribution as broad approaches to unfairness and helps to underline that recognition is a vital—but not autonomous—dimension. The book usefully unpacks “groupness,” showing that it can be strong in one sense and weak in another (e.g., the strong black self-identification vs. the porous group boundaries of black Brazilians). These are useful conclusions, although some are not unfamiliar.

Overall, I enjoyed the read—and learned a lot about Israel. I think this book is likely to be widely used for the combination of qualitative and quantitative data that it presents and the emphasis on narratives of everyday experience.