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Book Reviews

The Professional Guinea Pig: Big Pharma and the Risky World of Human Subjects. *Roberto Abadie.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. x + 184 pp.

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The Spanish conquistadors had their "first contact" with guinea pigs *(Cavia porcellus)* over 400 years ago in Peru (Morales 1995). The Incas bred them for food; the conquistadors took them back to Europe, where they became exotic pets among the upper classes and royalty. The first biological experimentation with these animals occurred in the 17th century, and at least 23 Nobel Prizes have used guinea pigs in their medical experiments. Their "docile nature" made them a popular pet as well as a "model organism" for experimentation. So it is that *guinea pig,* as a term for the test subjects of scientific experimentation, has become a widely cited, powerful, and deeply descriptive metaphor.

Roberto Abadie's illuminating ethnography *The Professional Guinea Pig: Big Pharma and the Risky World of Human Subjects* transports its readers to the city of Philadelphia and into the complex world of human experimentation that, despite its proximity, is invisible to most of us. Philadelphia is a city well known for its hospitals and medical research facilities, and for its difficult-to-fix, neoliberally enhanced poverty problems. Home to some of the most prominent pharmaceutical testing sites in the nation, Philadelphia is the first stop in the arduous process of drug approval required by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA).

Abadie introduces the reader to two distinct "populations" that are deeply embedded in forms of human experimentation connected to the pharmaceutical industry: the first is a freethinking and highly self-aware anarchist community, many of whose white male members have chosen to become regular paid volunteers in phase 1 clinical trials (experiments that are testing a drug's safety in its move from animals to humans), as well as phase 2 and phase 3 pharmaceutical trials (experiments for safety and efficacy of a drug). The second population is made up of people who are HIV-positive and who are connected to a Community Based Trial Organization (CBTO) that cooperates with sympathetic and expert doctors to take advantage of innovations in HIV/AIDS treatment. In this environment, clinical trials can offer an expanded package of health care assistance as well as the opportunity to observe new and improved drug performance (including new combinations) on the human body among willing participants.

These two populations thus offer us a broad set of experiences through which we can evaluate this "risky world of human subjects." The anarchist volunteers are highly conscious guinea pigs who are sought after for their healthy bodies and their willingness to allow pharmaceuticals to flow through their veins in return for payment and the freedom gained from earnings acquired in a relatively short timeframe. They are also deeply reflexive, and some of them have contributed to an entertaining and informative zine, *Guinea Pig Zero* (later published as an edited volume, Helms 2002). The zine offers advice and solidarity to fellow guinea pigs, explaining how to maneuver and procure better wages within the system and, even more importantly, how to avoid potentially dangerous or uncomfortable experiments. In addition to conducting fieldwork among these professional healthy guinea pigs of the anarchist bent, Abadie provides the life histories of those who participate in clinical trials in the context of the CBTO. These patients embody a completely different mindset from the healthy anarchist volunteers we meet in the first half of the book: they are the generation that saw HIV/AIDS become a chronic survivable illness and are the beneficiaries of the potent activism that demanded cooperation from a number of actors in the health sector, including doctors, institutional review boards (IRBs), and Big Pharma. In spite of this legacy, however, as Abadie makes clear, even an institution of this kind exactly depends on thoughtful medical practitioners, conscientious leadership, and trustworthy review boards that can make clear-eyed decisions about potential benefits and risks to patients without succumbing to the wanton influence of Big Pharma.

Abadie's absorbing ethnography takes us into the broader lives and artful subjectivities of these diverse professional guinea pigs. The ethnography also delivers the reader into the somewhat antiseptic world of clinical trials and pharmaceutical testing, laying out the terrain and the sore points of this strangely evolving relationship. As Abadie explains, it was not too long ago that this sort of human experimentation for the advancement of

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scientific knowledge was effectively carried out on prison populations (up until 1980), a fact that clarifies why prison populations now receive "special" protection in the context of IRBs. Abadie sketches the history of the development of informed consent in the context of clinical trials, hitting the landmarks—Tuskegee, Belmont, and the evolution of protocol within contemporary IRBs—but his goal is to bring us closer to the participants of these experiments in the present. Abadie shows us their distinct subjectivities, rationales, and approaches to navigating their bodies and informing themselves, to varying degrees, about the risks of becoming professional guinea pigs. He thus brings his readers to the thorny issues surrounding the notion of "informed consent." This all occurs in a society in which "being paid to test drug safety has become an essential part of the clinical drug trial enterprise" a place where we have created "a mild torture economy in which bodily pain, boredom, and compliance are exchanged for money" (p. 2).

Abadie's critique of these forms of guinea pig subjectivity in relation to Big Pharma is different for each of his case studies. He recommends a more rigorous form of informed consent: for instance, he suggests that the participation of paid, healthy volunteers should be placed in a centralized registry so that subjects can be tracked for effects and protected from their own desires to expose their bodies repeatedly to medical experimentation. This would prevent potentially dangerous short- and long-term drug interactions and other long-term toxicity and synergistic effects, as well as restrict the overall number of trials any one individual could join. He also advocates for the elimination of industry-hired and industry-skewed IRBs with the ideal of more accurately evaluating the participation of particular individuals in industry trials. Abadie thus draws our attention to the structurally violent aspects of guinea pig participation, noting that "pharmaceutical research feeds on a mass of destitute citizens who realized that clinical trials offered a better opportunity than jobs at McDonald's and similar dead-end options at the bottom of the new, service-oriented economy" (p. 161). Further, he points out that even in the very patient-friendly arms of the CBTO, much of the ability of those institutions to refuse trials from Big Pharma has to do with the composition of a politically insightful IRB composed of individuals sympathetic to the dilemmas of experimentation for human subjects.

In offering us yet another case where bodies are commodified before the promise of biomedical research and ethics, Abadie introduces us to the structural issues and lack of regulation that promotes this form of contemporary volunteerism, as well as to the strides made by Big Pharma's collaboration with the highly conscious descendants of HIV/AIDS activism. This eloquent and insightful ethnography motivates the reader to think deeply about human guinea pigs in the context of late capitalism and promises to inspire a great deal more inquiry into the ethics of pharmaceutical capitalism, the commodification of bodies, and informed consent.

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Cultivating Global Citizens: Population in the Rise of China. *Susan Greenhalgh.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010. 156 pp.

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This latest book by distinguished anthropologist Susan Greenhalgh, which consists of three lectures originally presented in 2008 at Harvard University's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, is a welcome addition to scholarship on modern China. The concise and tightly organized volume distills Greenhalgh's extensive research—spanning three decades—on China's "one-child policy" to situate the controversial and complex policy within a broader context of "population politics," which she argues has been central to the construction of the post-Mao Chinese state and to securing China's place in the globalizing world. Population politics involves more than just population statistics. It encompasses a range of health, population, and social policies; bureaucracy and institutions to support the policy; science and technology; as well as discourses, norms, and values. Viewing the Chinese state since 1949 through the optic of population politics challenges the narrow "master narrative," pervasive in U.S. and Western discourse on China since the Cold War, of a coercive totalitarian state. True, in the early 1980s, and again in the early 1990s, the "one-child policy" was especially draconian in its aims and effects, but forceful campaigns were never the whole story and have since been succeeded by more humane methods. Significantly, throughout the post-Mao period, population politics has been a most fecund arena for expanding governing capacity, shoring up the party's legitimacy, and innovating techniques of social governance. Greenhalgh emphasizes that the United States and other nations must have an accurate understanding of China's population politics and its centrality to China's national objectives to adequately respond to China's rise as a new global power. Focusing on population politics also contributes to anthropological study of modern Chinese society and individuals, suggesting that the recent emergence of "the self-optimizing, self-governing subject is rooted not only in

the expansion of the market, but also in deliberate policy choices by the state" (p. xiii).

In the first chapter, "From Population to Human Governance," Greenhalgh presents and then debunks the coercion story of China's population policy still dominant in the United States. She then sketches the historical evolution of China's "vital politics" or "biogovernance," terms akin to Foucault's biopolitics that Greenhalgh uses to refer to the complex of policies, institutions, discourses, and so forth, involved in China's project to produce new subjects for a modern state. Greenhalgh explores how the post-Mao leaders framed the "problem" of population; how it figured into the larger agenda of modernization and global rise; and, finally, how population science guides the formulation of population strategy. Deng Xiaoping viewed China's population through the Malthusian lens of "too many people of too backward a type" (pp. 16–17), as an impediment to achieving the Four Modernizations. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, economic development was the primary means for achieving population goals. In the 2000s, under the leadership of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao, the state responded to the demands of an increasingly competitive global economy for an educated workforce (i.e., human capital) and growing social inequality and unrest within China by focusing on the human and social development of its population. From its inception, the "one-child policy" linked population quantity to quality. The latter was initially targeted by eugenics (under the rubric of "superior births," *yousheng*) but eventually grew to encompass more positive health, education, and child-rearing measures, as population quality became linked with the concept of "human capital" *(suzhi)*. Indeed, in China population politics has always involved much more than just family planning. Engaging multiple domains of governance, from economics to systems engineering to social policy, it is "the most state-centric and techno-scientific in the world" (p. 34). Despite China's plummeting fertility rate and concern with the ill effects of rapid population change (i.e., the imbalanced sex ratio and an accelerated aging population), Greenhalgh predicts the continued adherence to the strict "one-child policy" because of its underlying "systems logic" of population science, a trademark of the defense industry engineers who were its main architects and are still at the helm of the government's population policy today.

In the chapter "Creating Global Persons and a Global Society," Greenhalgh further unsettles the coercion story by demonstrating that population governance worked most effectively by establishing new scientific norms for social behavior and incentives for individuals to adapt them. Greenhalgh explains how, over three decades, the state has variously molded the subjects of its birth program through brute force, through Maoist volunteerism, through marketization and human-centered regulations, and through appeals to globalization. The state's vast control of information and media, as well as its capacity to render rewards and punishments, ensured the success of these different methods. Along the way, birth politics constructed new social categories of compliance and deviance (e.g., "the quality child" and the out-of-plan "black children") and also new social inequalities—between rural and urban families and between the sexes. This chapter is an exceptionally informative summary of the many twists and turns in China's one-child policy and its implementation over the years, and its far-reaching outcomes for individuals and society, which could be assigned as a stand-alone reading to introduce students to the issue. More humane techniques of population governance in recent years have dovetailed with, and contributed to, the popular embrace of a small family norm concomitant with the growing marketization of society. Interestingly, Greenhalgh counters the conclusions of some anthropologists that the market drives neoliberal self-governance. She argues that in the realm of reproduction, at least, the state has initiated the move toward neoliberalism "by actively promoting instruments that shift from direct to indirect state regulation, devolve functions to local society, and instill attitudes of personal responsibility" (p. 39), as a strategy to retain its authority. In today's China, population is a key arena for government experimentation with neoliberal governance strategies such as strengthening the "rule of law" and forging social policy, including universal health care and social security. China's population politics has created new problems to resolve, but it has also allowed China to elevate its social and human development indicators, achieving global parity with more developed nations.

In the chapter "Strengthening China's Party-State and Place in the World," Greenhalgh continues the anthropological analysis of the post-Mao party–state and concludes that its power has not declined, as some predicted would result from marketization and privatization. Indeed, in the interest of population control, the state has expanded or fortified its governing institutions, personnel, laws, and rhetoric, showing flexibility and, hence, resiliency over time. Its exercise of biopower has deepened its influence on society and citizens while shoring up its legitimacy as the arbiter of human and social development in the face of an always impending population crisis. However, China's population policies are not uniform and are increasingly debated by diverse players. Among the leadership, political struggles over the direction of the birth program pit the technocrats, designers and administrators of the policy who emphasize demographic control, against the social scientists, who tend to emphasize reproductive health and human development. Yet in China's quest to be regarded as a global stakeholder, it has complied with global population program protocols and standards, and its achievements in population have in turn improved the nation's international standing—for the most part. On this score, Greenhalgh insightfully explains

China's failure to anticipate the United States' negative reaction to the "one-child policy" while providing thoughtful advice on how China could still improve its birth program and its international image by applying "soft power."

This short volume belies its breadth of scholarship, yet its brevity and accessibility will appeal to students, policy makers, and scholars alike. Her message is clearly and forcefully presented. Population politics is central to China's global political–economic power. The birth program helped depress fertility, which was a positive factor in China's remarkable economic growth. But, more significantly, population politics has been central to constructing a more modern citizen, society, government, and nation.

Localizing the Internet: An Anthropological Account. *John Postill.* Oxford: Berghahn, 2011. xxv + 150 pp., figures, photographs, FAQs, index.

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This richly theorized book, which focuses on Subang Jaya, a middle-class suburb of Kuala Lumpur, examines ways Internet technologies and practices are increasingly implicated in the production of locality. Postill's account, part of a larger comparative study on the extent to which the Internet has altered relations between local authorities and residents, is distinguished by imaginative and careful conceptualization of his object of study. Eschewing *community* or *network* (dominant terms and approaches he critiques in the book), Postill draws deftly from the field theories of Manchester School anthropologists (A. L. Epstein, Victor Turner) and Bourdieu to introduce a conceptual tool kit and lexicon that are valuable, not only to the description and analysis of Internet social worlds but more generally to scholars who aim to understand the mutual articulation of small- and large-scale social structures.

Postill conceives his object as Subang Jaya's "field of residential affairs," which he defines as "a domain of practical endeavor and struggle in which local agents . . . compete and cooperate over matters of concern to local residents," often by means of the Internet (p. 4). The local agents he follows are "leading practitioners" in the field (p. 115). Net-savvy, ethnic Chinese, middle aged, and middle class, they include founder of the e-Community portal USJ.com.my, blogger–activist Jeff Ooi (elected to Malaysia's parliament in 2008), Subang Jaya's state assemblyman (1995–2008) Lee Hwa Beng, and Raymond Tan, the organizer of a Neighborhood Watch initiative. Postill tracks these men across two kinds of sites: regular "stations" (online forums, mailing lists, committee meetings, night patrols) in which agents engage in the recursive practices that reproduce the field and irregular "arenas," sites of field change, where conflict and "social dramas" break out.

Like the Manchester School anthropologists who turned away from structural–functional models toward historical–processual explanation, Postill's focus is social dynamics. He takes a diachronic view, looking for continuity and change in Subang Jaya's field of residential affairs from 1992 to 2009. Postill's fieldwork was conducted in 2003 and 2004, yet he extends his analysis across 17 years through archival research. *Localizing the Internet* opens with a chronology of events, actors, and technologies that shaped the field over this time and concludes by looking back at this microhistory for defining events and social dramas that reveal the dynamics of structure and agency.

While social fields are conceived as being in continuous flux, field theorists argue that they have structure—formal dimensions whose "very stasis is the effect of social dynamics" (Turner 1974:37). Postill represents Subang Jaya's field of residential affairs as an inverted "T." The vertical axis represents Malaysian government with federal, state, and local tiers positioned from top to bottom. The horizontal axis represents residential governance at the local level, with the voluntary sector to the left of the vertical axis, the municipal council at the intersection, and the private sector to the right. This structural model is theorized in the book's first two chapters, which shape the account of empirical findings that follows in four thematic chapters demonstrating Postill's overarching argument for the value of a field-theoretical perspective.

"Smarting Partners" (ch. 4) tells the overlapping stories of top-down government initiatives to transform Malaysia into a "Knowledge Society" and ground-up initiatives of "a local brand of Internet activism" that emerged in the late 1990s, which Postill dubs "banal activism" for its focus on issues such as taxation, traffic, garbage, schools, and local crime (p. 51).

"Personal Media" (ch. 5) tracks the personal media use of the three local leaders across social fields. Arguing against the view that these media globally reconfigure social relations in a dominant pattern of networked individualism, Postill shows how they are recruited into older patron–client relations and often put to communitarian, rather than individual, ends. For example, he shows personal media put in service of *turun padang*, a Malay phrase meaning "to go down to the ground," the fundamental law of Subang Jaya's governmental subfield by which local leaders are expected to have a regular presence "on the ground" (pp. 8–9).

"Internet Dramas" (ch. 6) builds on Turner's key concept of "social drama," a political process that originates around a crisis and highlights structural contradictions of the field. Calling them "Internet dramas" to "stress the increasingly complex . . . mediations at work" (p. 89), Postill recounts two that played out in Subang Jaya's field of residential affairs: one contained within the e-Community

forum; the second, a successful mobilization against building a food court on land reserved for a police station, which spread rapidly beyond the local field to federal government and national media. These Internet dramas, he argues, show local agents appropriating the Net to their own ends. He also proposes that, with its focus on political process, the work of the Manchester School field theorists illuminates a "black box" in Bourdieu's field theory (p. 99).

"Residential Socialities" (ch. 7) argues against a homogenous, network sociality, demonstrating instead a plurality of socialities differentiated by the nature of interaction, discourses, and field articulation. Postill identifies committee, patrol, and thread sociality (web forum) as three distinct forms that emerged in Subang Jaya's field of residential affairs during his study.

The book's conclusion recapitulates Postill's overarching argument for field theory as a way around the community–network stalemate that has dominated research and discussion of Internet localization. There is no "local community" impacted by the "network of networks," he argues, nor a homogenous network sociality displacing place-based social action. The flattened hierarchies of Internet theorists and activists have no effect on the hierarchical structure of the modern state captured in the inverted "T" of Subang Jaya's field of residential affairs. If I am left wanting more insight into the messiness and role of rank-and-file residents in this porous, conflict-prone field, that speaks more to the different traditions of American cultural and British social anthropology than to any deficit in this compelling work.

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Performing Piety: Making Space Sacred with the Virgin of Guadalupe. *Elaine A. Peña.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. 157 pp., notes.

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Elaine Peña's first book, *Performing Piety,* takes the reader to three locations, in Illinois and in Mexico, where devotees of the Virgin of Guadalupe perform "devotional labor": shrine construction and maintenance, as well as grueling multiday pilgrimages. For Peña, devotional labor also encompasses much more than religious practices and prayers; it includes cooking, cleaning, decorating, organizing, bickering, and offering legal advice in and around the places where Guadalupe's followers gather.

Performing Piety is organized into three distinct sections. It begins with a church-authorized Guadalupe shrine in Des Plaines, then describes two pilgrimages to the original Tepeyec shrine in Mexico, and ends with a description of the construction (and dissolution) of a sidewalk shrine in Chicago. Peña's approach is interdisciplinary: she was trained in performance studies, works in an American studies department, and draws heavily on anthropology. She calls her methodology "co-performative witnessing," which she distinguishes from traditional ethnography through its focus on participants and scholars as interlocutors, as well as its emphasis on how "bodied exchange" produces knowledge, information, and traditions (p. 3). There is also a clear political orientation; Peña advocated and translated for the (often) undocumented people with whom she worked.

Peña's attention to embodiment—the "co-performative" aspect of her methodology—is the book's great strength. Especially in her section on pilgrimage, she vividly documents her own aches and pains, as well as the journey's emotional and literal *subidas y bajadas* (ups and downs). One of her most interesting points in this regard builds on the work of performance scholar Diana Taylor, whom she cites (p. 60). Peña argues that historical knowledge and identity are perpetuated through "sensual communication." This is illustrated in her description of an unofficial all-female pilgrimage in which the women's repeated yearly performances, incorporating new generations each time, embody historical memory.

While I liked her overall approach, I never fully understood how "co-performative witnessing" differs in practical terms from ethnography, particularly given the turn toward embodied and activist anthropologies. As an aside, I found the word *witnessing* jarring as it retains a very precise meaning—evangelization—for many Christians. Throughout I also felt a disjuncture between the book's subtitle—"Making Space Sacred"—and where Peña's real interest seems to lie: the embodied performance of faith and its impact on economic, social, and political ties. Especially compared to her descriptions of walking a pilgrimage or making tortillas, Peña says little about the material culture onsite. For example, she offers tantalizing mentions (and even photos) of how the women construct roadside shrines on the way to Tepeyec but then never fully describes them (pp. 77, 103). Relatedly, although the book has a transnational focus and Peña offers helpful descriptions of the history of Mexican migrations, there are few tangible links between the U.S. and Mexican places under study. Only briefly does the reader hear of a person or thing crossing the border, although it is clear that Peña herself must have been doing so regularly. As a result, the three case studies in *Performing Piety* "exist in a realm of simultaneity" (p. 13) but, for the reader, feel oddly separate.

I found Peña's section on a sidewalk shrine in Chicago the most fascinating part of the book. Here the

relationships between people come alive, as do the socioeconomic realities of the neighborhood. She notes that "pious exchanges can shape intracommunity power circuits and status positions" (p. 146) and shows how publicly performed devotional labor for Guadalupe result in an expanded social circle and potential economic ties. These are especially crucial in the undocumented community where opportunities come via informal networks. At the same time, these power circuits result in devotee infighting that ultimately dooms the shrine. Peña describes her role with particular clarity: as mediator with Anglo outsiders, a buffer between bickering devotees, and as a participant in fiestas. She offers rich descriptions of the devotional labor at the shrine, such as cooking meals or holding evening prayers. Here, as elsewhere, Peña—though clearly not a believer—carefully employs language that gives the possibility of agency to Guadalupe herself, mirroring how her interlocutors frame it. She opens the book thusly: "I first met la Virgen de Guadalupe in Laredo, Texas.... Although she was always near, la Virgen de Guadalupe's presence became pivotal when I moved to Chicago" (pp. 1–2).

Having read Peña's 2006 dissertation, I was eager for this volume to come out. Despite my critique above, *Performing Piety* is certainly worth picking up and will appeal especially to scholars interested in religious performance or Latin American, Chicano, and Latino studies. Peña offers engaging descriptions and her notion of "devotional labor" is compelling. As an interdisciplinary scholar—and, thus, a quasi-outsider to anthropology—she also offers useful interventions, especially in the ways that she draws on her own embodied experience to illuminate how her interlocutors "feel history" and events (p. 151).

Anthropological Intelligence: The Deployment and Neglect of American Anthropology in the Second World War. *David H. Price.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 370 pp.

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If one were going to make the case that anthropologists should lend their expertise to the U.S. military in its current wars, the role of a prior generation of anthropologists during World War II would be an obvious prototype. In that war's struggle against totalitarian racism, anthropologists were unconflicted about serving their country. Soon after Pearl Harbor, the American Anthropological Association passed a resolution to serve the war effort by placing "the specialized skills of its members at the disposal of the country" (p. 23). By the war's end, it was estimated that three-quarters of American anthropologists had taken part, with most taking furloughs from their university and museum positions and going to work full-time in the war agencies. Never before or since has there been such an extensive mobilization of the anthropological profession for a nonacademic purpose.

What was the actual outcome of this unprecedented service to government? In disciplinary lore, World War II is generally remembered as an exciting time when anthropology's value became widely known to the public, and when individual scholars visited new world areas and became aware of new fields of knowledge. With U.S. forces needing to operate in hitherto little known parts of the world—including the Island Pacific, East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe—the knowledge anthropologists had about diverse peoples and places was suddenly relevant, and their help was welcomed by the war agencies. The war was for a just cause, and when it was won all shared in the triumph. But what, specifically, had all those anthropologists done? Long after the war was over, their activities remained shrouded in secrecy or were condensed into a few uplifting archetypes like the legend of Ruth Benedict's advocacy for retaining the Japanese emperor under the terms of surrender, a measure of restraint that saved lives and facilitated postwar cooperation between Japan and the United States. Paradoxically, World War II's reputation as an enabling environment for anthropology was consolidated by the subsequent disaffection of the Vietnam era, when the discipline became divided between senior figures like Margaret Mead who had gone to Washington during World War II and believed it was right for anthropologists to serve our government, and younger anthropologists for whom the Vietnam war itself made trust in the government impossible. This structure of contrast preserved the aura of World War II as the "good war" in which anthropologists had shared common cause with their government's forces and served their country with honor.

In the book *Anthropological Intelligence,* David Price peers behind the curtain of myth that surrounds this important episode in the history of anthropology. Drawing on archival research, interviews, and Freedom of Information Act requests to government agencies, he surveys the length and breadth of anthropologists' war contributions. It is hard not to be impressed by the diversity of anthropologist roles. While many anthropologists contributed by teaching foreign languages and training troops, others compiled knowledge about particular world areas into reports and handbooks. Still others helped design psychological warfare campaigns for the war front, and morale building for the home front. A few anthropologists contributed to the war effort as spies.

But Price does more than merely describe anthropologists' wartime activities. The most difficult and important part of his research was tracking down what actually became of their work: what was its impact; how was it

used. The conclusion he arrives at is sobering: for all their effort, anthropologists were mostly neglected. Their reports were circulated upward only when they ratified views that officials already held. When their findings went beyond or questioned the prevailing wisdom, they were ignored. The anthropologist Alexander Leighton, after working in two war agencies, put it memorably: "the administrator uses social science the way a drunk uses a lamppost, for support rather than illumination" (p. 197).

Ruth Benedict's recommendation to retain the Japanese emperor is a case in point. In one of the book's strongest chapters, Price shows that several months before the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Benedict, along with Clyde Kluckhohn, Charles Taylor, and other scholars at the Office of War Information (OWI), tried to convince their superiors in the command structure that the Japanese government was prepared to surrender if it were privately assured that the emperor would not be humiliated—the very conditions it was in fact granted at the war's end—but high U.S. officials believed that Japan's home population would have to be decimated before it would capitulate, and they dismissed the OWI anthropologists' arguments along with their supporting evidence (which included Japanese diplomatic and military intercepts), because they accepted Japan's own homeland propaganda at face value and were convinced that the Japanese would fight to the death or commit suicide rather than surrender. Price's account thus adds to other historical research in showing that, contrary to public belief, the atomic bombs were not actually necessary to obtain Japan's surrender without an invasion of the Japanese home islands. (Indeed, we now know that President Truman and his top advisers had become aware of this before deciding to use the bomb.) Even once the bombs had been dropped, the anthropologists' views were apparently not considered by those who negotiated the terms of surrender. By that time "it did not take a team of PhDs to see that . . . the postwar occupation would go more smoothly if the emperor were retained" (p. 197). Thus, Benedict's recommendation had been prescient, but it played no role in the country's strategic decision making, with catastrophic, tragic effects. It came to be appreciated only after the views of top policymakers had shifted for other reasons, that is, at a point when it could serve as window dressing for decisions that had already been made.

There are no inspiring stories here to suggest that good can come from anthropologists lending their expertise to the government during the time of war. The OWI anthropologists were unable to disabuse U.S. policymakers of the unwarranted stereotypes that guided their strategy in Japan. The efforts of anthropologists elsewhere in the war apparatus likewise did nothing to lessen wartime atrocities, reduce casualties, or hasten the peace. They did not improve the U.S. Army's treatment of the 110,000 Japanese Americans they rounded up and held for three years in internment camps. They did not bring a much-needed humanism to U.S. planning for the war refugees.

What we do find, however, are many instances in which anthropologists' wartime involvement compromised their own integrity. Ordinarily we are quick to justify such compromises by the higher purpose of defeating the enemy but, as Price points out, accepting the higher justification need not prevent us from evaluating the consequences, since they remain for us to live with notwithstanding the sweetness of victory. "The war's needs shone so brightly that they seemed to blind anthropologists to the possibility that America's interests and those of the cultures they were studying might diverge" (p. 89). But over and over in these pages we see anthropologists drawn into work on dubious large projects that used the war as an opportunity to advance other powerful interests. When the geographer Isaiah Bowman was appointed by President Roosevelt to devise unconventional schemes for double purposing the resettlement of European war refugees to spread capitalist development to "interstitial" regions of Africa, South America, the Middle East, and Australia, anthropologists were brought in to secretly appraise the economic and geopolitical situations of the proposed settlement areas, as well as to assess the skills and "adaptability" of potential national and racial populations of emigrants (pp. 140, 126). Similarly, when Nelson Rockefeller set up the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, it was not only to look after U.S. wartime strategic interests in Latin America but also to begin maneuvering to take over product markets and dominate resource extraction during the postwar era; for this purpose anthropologists were enlisted to digest previous studies and compile data on native labor, politics, and natural resources. Perhaps the anthropologists were overly credulous and easily manipulated. But, as Price argues, such problems are in the nature of all work within large bureaucracies. Those at low levels have little or no control over the uses to which their work is put, and they may have only a narrow, instrumental view of the goals of their own organization. In this light, the lesson to be learned from Price's careful analysis of anthropologists' service in the "good war" is that, even in the best of times, there will be pitfalls to placing one's expertise at the disposal of military and government organizations; and no good may come of it.

The larger question this study raises is whether anthropology can be ethically applied in the service of *any* powerful organization, military or otherwise. If the answer—as Price implies—is no, then what is anthropological knowledge good for? For a discipline striving to refashion itself as relevant for solving practical problems, and not just for creating humanistic understanding or advocating for the interests of marginalized communities, this question is a challenging one indeed.

Not Just a Victim: The Child as Catalyst and Witness in Contemporary Africa. *Sandra Evers, Catrien Notermans,* and *Erik van Ommering,* eds. Leiden: Brill, 2011. 275 pp.

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The present collection results from papers presented at the 2008 conference "African Children in Focus: A Paradigm Shift in Methodology and Theory?" organized by the Netherlands African Studies Association. Six of the 12 authors and co-authors affiliate as primarily anthropologists and the volume editors are anthropologists. There is an overview and ten substantive chapters reporting ethnographic materials from Ethiopia, Mauritius, Cape Verde, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Africa, Kenya, Morocco, Namibia, and England.

The rationale for the collection is to "deliberately focus on Africa and on children living in difficult circumstances to counterbalance stereotypical images of the suffering African child needing help from adults" (p. 3). So as to set the record straight, the chapters, unfortunately, overemphasize childhood agency and adjustment with minimal attention to structural constraints. Surprisingly, no other rationale is provided for considering Africa as a regional unit, for example, a strong pronatal orientation, demographic transitions to strikingly youthful populations, extended family orientations including plural marriage, and spiritualized worldviews. Nevertheless, emphasis of stressful circumstances (or structure) is found in some specific chapters concerning marginalized street children in Cape Verde and ethnic minority children in Mauritius. Gender is considered occasionally and is the focus in one chapter on Ethiopia. There is broad, topical coverage of children including caregiving, child-headed households, refugees, asylum seekers, abandonment, orphans, and child soldiers. Theoretical and methodological focus is heavily psychological, and although ethnography is often mentioned, what this primarily means is the interview with infrequent participatory ethnography, although well done in places. A combined methodological individualism and theoretical individual agency focus privileges essays, sentence completion tasks, life stories, diaries, and visual techniques. Minimal theoretical work interrogating group social categories, such as gender, ethnic communities, and class inequality allows an overemphasis on individual agency. These and other social categories are where sensitivity to social constraints is usually lodged. A theoretical exception is a strong anthropology chapter concerning "kinning the imagination" among children in Mauritius where B. Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" is applied. Western psychological techniques, such as pictures and drawings, are well developed and do provide interesting data. Nevertheless, there is little awareness of cross-cultural studies of a previous generation of European and British cross-cultural psychologists in Africa. These investigations documented that perceptual skills, such as pictorial depth perception, are often not available to communities without exposure to Western art forms, as such, perceiving visual materials in the second dimension. Anthropologists will be aware of the need to consider validity and reliability of Western research instruments applied cross-culturally without comment.

The collection is, in fact, overall ahistorical with little attention given for ideas to a potentially rich past psychological theoretical tradition, such as Piaget applied in Africa, among many others. A total abandonment of universalism and move in the direction of cultural relativism in theory is curiously matched with a methodological, Western-based universalism and a move away from cultural relativism mentioned above. Theoretical work, I believe, should consider structure and agency simultaneously or "a co-existence of agency and vulnerability," the position advocated by leading American scholars working in childhood studies (cf. Bluebond-Langner and Korbin 2007). While exciting work, in isolation, is being done in England, continental Europe, and America, for example, in childhood studies, this European collection gives little or no attention to rich studies of youth, often with Western theories and methods in many African nations by indigenous scholars, work rarely cited. In this collection, for example, a social–psychological chapter on childhood caregiving in Kenya is written against "a victimology focus" there. Not cited are superb studies available, for example, at the University of Nairobi African Studies and Population Studies Institutes concerning children and youth with a bearing on the chapter's content. That such work emphasizes "victimology" is hopefully not the only reason for its exclusion, a focus that shows how far apart various national perspectives are at the moment.

The present book provides a very valuable contribution for those interested specifically in childhood studies but, with exceptions noted here, would not be of great appeal to general anthropologists. Those having a particular interest in the geographic areas covered in the book might find individual chapters of interest. In the theoretical field of the psychological and anthropological study of children, leading scholars such as Allison James and Robert Levine, in the same collection cited above, call for an enhanced awareness of social science theory, including anthropological theory, by those who should be seeking a better interdisciplinary relevance while working with children, as attempted here with a primarily psychological methodology. Clifford Geertz's theoretical relativism has been monumental in its impact on childhood studies and fields within and related to anthropology. Culturally distinct and unique cultural worlds seem at play in this collection, in that the

child's world is assumed to be radically different from that of the adult, who as theorist promotes victimology or developmental psychological theories while "ignoring the voices of children." These childhood voices at the same time are unique and unless they themselves speak of victimhood, the scholar must remain silent, and so it goes. National schools of thought and previous generations of scholars are also "different" and, therefore, seemingly ignored. Classic childhood or adolescent anthropology studies of the past, such as the well-known work of Margaret Mead on childhood in New Guinea and elsewhere and that of Malinowski on the Trobriand Islands, were once standard within anthropology because they were well integrated into theoretical schools of thought known as "culture and personality" and "functionalism," respectively. A better theoretical integration with contemporary anthropology theory will be on the future cutting edge of childhood studies.

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Violence in a Time of Liberation: Murder and Ethnicity at a South African Gold Mine, 1994. *Donald L. Donham. Santu Mofokeng,* photographs. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. 237 pp.

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Donald Donham's *Violence in a Time of Liberation* has a deceptively simple premise, namely, the careful and exacting use of historical and ethnographic material for purposes of laying out the events leading up to and surrounding the murders of two Zulu miners (and the very serious injury of five others) at Cinderella—a gold mine on Johannesburg's East Rand—on Soweto Day, June 16, 1994. In other words, this is, plainly, an ethnography of an event. It follows that the first few chapters meticulously render the causes of the Soweto Day violence exposing a process of "ethnicization" that appears to have led to organized and violent attacks on "Zulus" by "Xhosas" on the mining compound and playing to older apartheid-era ethnic cleavages that informed and were informed by the creation of the Homelands, the system of migrant labor, and the explicit spatialization of ethnic differences on the mining compounds themselves. Indeed, Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu, and Shangaan were traditionally assigned to separate dormitory blocks while the division of labor within the mine—whether shaft steward, driller, or "boss boy"—mapped specific group identities essential to a very particular capitalist regime.

By chapter 3, entitled "Ways of Dying" (following Zakes Mda's novel of the same title), the messiness of actual events begins to emerge and the otherwise stark ethnic divisions seem to fall apart under closer scrutiny. Interviews with miners and management suggest many Zulu miners were hidden or secreted out of the mining compound to safety by Xhosa friends and fellow workers the night of the attacks. Other allegiances than ethnic ones must have informed the breakdown of order in the compound and the attacks that followed that were likely carried out by men belonging to the ANC-aligned National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) against Zulu workers whether or not these were in actuality members of the Inkatha-linked United People's Union of South Africa (UPUSA). The Soweto Day killings represented, on the one hand, claims to union control of the mine and, on the other hand, to the legitimation of an emergent postapartheid nationalism. In this narrative, Zulus might be aggregated and affiliated to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and as such deemed "unreliable and undeserving national subjects" (p. 175).

As Donham reasonably points out, the 2008 "pogroms" against black foreigners in the squatter area surrounding Cinderella must be seen as having continuity with the earlier mining compound attacks. Always, it would seem, national belonging and masculine honor underwrote the inclusion of some within the emerging body politic and the violent expulsion of others. Dense relations of sex and masculinity were necessarily constituted by violence both abstract (in the form of labor exploitation) and personal (as in the highly paternalistic relations of white boss and black "mine boy") even as the old forms of work were at risk of disappearing altogether with the closing of Cinderella and in the face of mass retrenchments. What Donham ultimately aims to portray is a much broader picture of the process of apartheid's collapse during the early 1990s and the brutal racial capitalism that supported it. Where the book concludes, on the other side of an extraordinary narrative arc, is in a devastating reckoning of the transition to democracy and the processes of relegitimation of capital necessary to the establishment of a distinct if similarly unjust era of profit seeking and labor exploitation. The politics and economy of the gold mines become indissociable to Donham's account in *Violence in a Time of Liberation* precisely because apartheid South Africa's extractive economy was organized in such a way as to concentrate financial power so completely in and through the management of ethnic politics.

What is most surprising about *Violence in a Time of Liberation* is the appearance the book gives of being a story of a single, albeit violent, event. For the book opens up onto a rich, varied, and deep history of violence that is

very particularly South African and to the history of capital that necessarily relied on it. It identifies a long history of ethnic gang affiliations on the Reef (Sotho Russians, Xhosa Amabutho, and so on) that were transformed in the wake of the transition period beginning in the early 1990s and came to accommodate the configuration of new political interests articulated by mining management and the trade unions. First, and perhaps most surprising, is that the mines, fearing black insurrection at a crucial moment in the transition, saw the black unions with political credibility as helping "management manage" (p. 132). Second, even with the entrenchment of the NUM at Cinderella, union officials were actually beholden to Amabutho members who controlled the compound—indeed, the "NUM depended for its power, at Cinderella in 1993 and 1994, on a Xhosa gang" (p. 149). Third, as a consequence, in targeting the Inkatha core of fighters at Cinderella, members of Amabutho "were motivated not by ethnicity . . . or solely by national politics. . . . They were concerned about their own ability to control the compound and its environs" (p. 157). Put differently, the Soweto Day attacks can be read as both microcosm and macrocosm, as a singular event informing the process by which the new nation was coming into being.

The conditions of ethnographic production of *Violence in a Time of Liberation* are genuinely quite extraordinary. Donham started his work at Cinderella in August of 1994, several months after the murders, and with a surprising degree of access to both workers and management in the face of new policies of so-called transparency and accountability. Working with an award-winning photographer Santu Mofokeng, Donham was able to capture in both word and image the grittiness and hardships of compound life. In truth, the use of image and text is powerful. Beyond that, what stands out for this reader, at least, is an early claim that Donham makes about the status of theory. He argues that the capacity of "theory" to explain violence is surely overestimated. Arguably, in its stead, Donham mobilizes the power of competing stories to uncover a particular version of the truth. For him "telling a story" becomes a "theoretical construction" (p. 194); it is also a way of relaying the "dialectic between intention and consequence in particular circumstances" (p. 188), and in this case, especially, the opacity of intention and consequence that must have informed the multiple motivations and calls to violence on the East Rand. Ultimately, the conclusions are counterintuitive—against the grain of official discourse—and honestly worked out. Donham opines that while the laying out of such a story may not in itself improve the world, doing so must be the "condition for hope" (p. 188). This is an exemplary piece of ethnography—of anthropology in action. This book represents a kind of "reckoning" with a world in transition, with violence, with capitalism that surely extends far beyond South African studies to entice readers concerned with such questions almost anywhere.

Modern Migrations: Gujarati Indian Networks in New York and London. *Maritsa Poros.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011. 248 pp.

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Neoclassical economic analyses position migrants as rational actors, motivated by poverty and irrational circumstances, whose calculated purposes for migration are to escape harsh circumstances and seek better lives. In *Modern Migrations: Gujarati Indian Networks in New York and London,* Maritsa Poros calls for better analytical tools for understanding who migrates across national borders and how their migratory patterns are forged and sustained.

Poros's text is timely because she highlights the social diversity of Gujarati immigrants and illustrates how structural and historical ties between institutions and states establish the foundation for migration toward particular geopolitical destinations. Incorporating the relationship between structure and agency, this text addresses two perennial questions in the literature on migration: (1) What factors motivate individuals and families to cross national borders? and (2) How newcomers navigate the process of incorporation in the receiving state. Poros argues that, in addition to the large role played by institutions and states in producing and framing migratory patterns, the types of social ties activated by individuals to enable their migration greatly shape their chances of social mobility and experiences in the new country. A number of migration scholars have persuasively argued that structural forces are important to the migratory process; therefore, Poros spends less time on this aspect of the argument. Basing her analysis on structured interviews with Gujarati migrants and using the "life history" method, she devotes most of the book to differentiating the types of social networks that individuals and families mobilize to enable and influence the process of migration.

In chapter 2, Poros provides an overview of the precolonial, colonial, and postpartition history of India, highlighting the importance of social location to mobility and describing a long history of travel traversing Gujarat. She illustrates how status, connections, and social location within a network were often influential factors in the determination of which residents would have the opportunity to migrate. In particular, in the initial waves, transnational travelers, most of whom were men, were socially or professionally linked to government institutions or individuals in other states. The poorest individuals, and most women, had neither access nor opportunity to effect transnational mobility in similar ways. Privileged social locations continue to be factors in contemporary patterns of migration.

One of Poros's explicit objectives is to reject economic models in which potential migrants are figured as rational

actors using a cost-benefit analysis to determine which countries might offer the greatest economic opportunity. To illuminate the roles of states and institutions in inciting and promoting migratory flows, Poros provides several examples from the history of India. She discusses how Jawaharlal Nehru's reform programs enticed U.S.-based philanthropic organizations and universities to invest in higher education in India. In turn, graduates were offered employment or scholarships for continued education in the United States. Subsequently, through favorable legislation, such as the Family Reunification Act (FRA), professional migrants invited family members to join them in the new country. Likewise, Poros discusses how emigration from India to the United Kingdom was inaugurated through institutional ties established during British colonialism, when subjects of the Crown were impelled to settle throughout the British Empire.

In chapters 3 and 4, Poros shifts attention to the thrust of her project: the promotion of a relational approach, emphasizing "processes and relations that are always changing rather than substances or entities that remain static and fixed" (p. 145). She advocates this approach by developing a typology of dynamic and overlapping social networks. Presenting cases for all but the "solitary" migrant, for which she could find none, her examples include interpersonal ties or "chains," organizational ties or "recruits," and composite ties or "trusties." According to Poros, the most commonly studied network in the migration literature is "chains." Chains comprise family and friends (and, sometimes, "co-ethnics") who sponsor the migration of particular individuals to particular locations. Poros argues that chains can aid entrepreneurs but are the least likely to enable the newcomer to maintain his or her economic status in the new country. Organizational ties are activated between individuals affiliated with the same university, professional organization, corporation, government agency, or other institution, in which individuals settled in the receiving society in effect "recruit" members of the same professional class. Poros observes that transnational migrants utilizing these ties are much more likely to maintain the social and professional status enjoyed in their country of origin. She uses "composite" ties to refer to a network in which family, community, and professional ties overlap. To illustrate this example, Poros presents a case study of wealthy diamond traders, whose lucrative business requires high levels of "trust" (hence the term *trusties*). Similar to migrants who activate organizational ties, these diamond traders were also able to maintain their social status on arrival to New York. Poros's examples of trusties and recruits help illustrate her point that not all immigrants are fleeing situations of poverty.

The power of *Modern Migrations* lies in Poros's ability to illuminate both the diversity of motivations and networks for transnational migration and the multiple social statuses of Indian emigrants. The detailed case studies that she presents starkly contrast pervasive images of migrants as victims in the story of globalizing capitalism. Poros also effectively illustrates that while acts of migration may appear to take place largely at the level of the individual or family, the "pull" to emigrate often originates in receiving societies and in institutional interactions between states. A few sections of the text could be further elaborated to illuminate the connections Poros makes in her analyses. For example, sprinkled throughout, Poros suggests that "racial discrimination does not seem to play a significant role in [migrants'] underemployment" (p. 94). Her case studies illustrate that social capital plays a large role in social mobility and that chains can be less useful than organizational ties when attempting to secure employment outside of one's social network. It does not necessarily follow, however, that inequality based on race no longer plays a role in the underemployment of immigrants.

Notwithstanding the occasional quibble, the framework and typology presented in *Modern Migrations* provide useful points of departure for analyzing the diversity within migrant groups and social networks. The paradigmatic shift encouraged by Poros makes elusive the boundary between "West" and "East" and spotlights a number of origins for stimulating migration. *Modern Migrations* will serve as a useful resource for introducing undergraduates to the topic of migration and to the types of reserves that individuals and families utilize to integrate themselves into new economies.

Beyond the Borderlands: Migration and Belonging in the United States and Mexico. *Debra Lattanzi Shutika.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. 299 pp.

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Lattanzi Shutika offers a clearly illustrated understanding of transnationalism that combines an historical context of cultural traditions, sociostructural elements of the contemporary economy and labor force, and an anthropology of belonging to create a unique analysis that demonstrates that emplacement is not static but dynamic, the product of ongoing power relations. Although the understanding that immigrants, especially transmigratory ones, are "neither here nor there," exactly how individuals maintain a place in the old while creating important local connections in a new place is still a little-understood aspect of immigration. What this author also does is show the ambiguity of place for immigrants—while they actually can be two places at once, their situation is no less precarious. Moreover, Lattanzi Shutika also shows how the native-born population uses a sense of place to adapt to the newcomers.

Hers is a multilayered analysis concerning both inhabitants of the industrial city of Textitlán, Guanajuanto (a pseudonym), including returned migrants, and people from Textitlán now living in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania ("The Mushroom Capital of the World"). In addition, Lattanzi Shutika examines the English-speaking majority's response to Mexican settlement in Kennett Square and its effect on the immigrant experience of both marginalization and acceptance. Her work includes extensive fieldwork from 1995 to 2005, living in both Mexico and Kennett Square. She conducted 55 interviews with Mexicans and 14 with natives in the former, gaining entry through a community organization vaccinating children, and 22 semistructured interviews and 12 oral histories in the latter. Her analysis in Mexico also includes ethnography and oral histories and statistical data gathered for the Mexican Migration Project.

The fight to establish collective identity operates on multiple levels, both for the transmigratory and for the English-speaking white majority, who fear that community would be transformed too rapidly. Belonging is associated with emotional attachments, memory, cultural beliefs and practices as well as residence and is produced through cultural and political practices as well as in a variety of physical spaces. The determination of who belongs in a public space is foregrounded when there are competing senses of how that physical space should be used—for example, in debates about overcrowding or "loitering" in a public square.

The author examines the placelessness of migrants but adds the intriguing possibility of living both here and there. In the most compelling (and poignant) third chapter, she examines the homes left behind in Textitlán *(casas vacías)*. Houses are left vacant for long stretches, but owners do not feel they can sell or rent. The role these homes play has been unexamined, but they are fundamental to understanding the dual nature of place and connection to community. "Casas vacías" hold a symbolic place, standing in for the social ties of the family. These homes, which allow people to continue to be Mexican while benefiting economically from life in the United States. Ironically, the author argues, serve as a "symbol of resistance to the economic imperative to move for viable employment" (p. 85). However, I am cautious about seeing mere transmigratory movement as a form of romantic resistance to El Norte without some show of agency from the respondents. I would like to see this idea more completely fleshed out: is this what residents of these communities said or is this merely the author's observation? Or does it develop from the author's observation? If the former, how many feel this way?

One way that living here and there is enacted is through ritual celebrations. Yet, according to Lattanzi Shutika, cultural events that ostensibly serve as an aspect of reincorporation into the former community (as in parade of the Feria de Esquipulitas in Mexico) or incorporate into the new community (Kennett Square's Cinco de May celebrations, sponsored by the English-speaking community) marginalize the transmigratory in both locations. Even though the Feria works to bring the community together, it also establishes a hierarchy between migrants and year-round residents. Meanwhile, the Cinco de Mayo festival turns immigrants into Others.

Lattanzi Shutika offers some fascinating on-the-ground illustrations of the politics of immigrant exclusion. Initially, the hidden nature of the immigrants' centrality to the local industry and labor force has astonishing, larger political implications. For example, the museum and other cultural celebrations of the mushroom industry include pictures devoid of workers and makes use of the passive voice: "mushrooms are harvested." As the Mexican settlers are transformed from an invisible community—one that is very important to the local mushroom industry but largely ignored by the dominant community—they become a critical mass in the region. However, their growing presence leads to great concern among whites over the role of immigrants in the community and a resurgence of nativist identity. A "yellow ribbon campaign" to protest Mexican encroachment in neighborhoods ultimately gives way to the creation of low income housing development for the new residents. A new movement called Bridging the Community—ostensibly aimed at supporting the new arrivals—was also a "reaffirmation of American political ideals" such as national unity, progressivism, and harmony. The community efforts "foster . . . ethic integration but minimize Mexican influence" by requiring high assimilation and minimizing Mexican involvement (p. 155).

Overall, the book can be read as a story of exclusion with a gradual shift to acceptance, which is in some ways a traditional tale of assimilation. (I wonder, in what other ways might this story end?) The migrants "form multifaceted connections that link them to Kennett Square and in distinct and complex ways and as a result generate a set of discursive and spatial practices that can reconfigure and transform the cultural landscape and power relations in both locales" (p. 19). However, the physical, political, and cultural practices revealed by the book show the ways in which migrants contest but also, ultimately, validate the social order. Finding a place but not being the individuals who get to constitute the group—being told, in part, that "your place is here"—is a move toward belonging that is not entirely one's own. Mexicans in Kennett Square made some inroads as they bought houses and began to develop an identity as "people who belong" but were also thwarted in their efforts at place making in several ways. In her afterword, Lattanzi Shutika alludes to a new kind of assimilation that depends on "mutual change" (p. 247). Although the existing community, and individuals in it, do adapt to the new immigrants, the evidence of the rest of the book calls into question whether or not those changes are equivalent.

Laibon: An Anthropologist's Journey with Samburu Diviners in Kenya. *Elliot Fratkin.* Lanham, MD: AltaMira, 2012. 179 pp.

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On the advice of his mother, Elliot Fratkin decided to publish a personal account of his fieldwork 35 years after first encountering the Ariaal (mixed Samburu–Rendille) pastoralists of Kenya. "My mother wanted me to communicate my empathy for and understanding of people living in a culture very different from our own" (p. xiii). Thank you, Millie Fratkin. This autoethnography is entertaining, provocative, and full of enduring truths about what fieldwork entails and offers. He sees his work as both an ethnography of the *laibons,* "a family of diviners, prophets, medicine men, and sorcerers among Samburu and Maasai people of East Africa" (p. xi), and a memoir—a lifelong search for belonging. The book's chapters are divided into revelatory scenes of Fratkin's experiences living among Ariaal with subtitles like "Sour Milk and a Christian Dinner," "I Am Adopted by the Laibon," and "Lion and Ostrich's Children."

Of particular interest to both the specialist and student is his methodology. Fratkin's inspiration was *In Cold Blood* by Truman Capote (1966). Like Capote, at the end of each day's interviews Fratkin typed out direct dialogue as clearly and accurately as possible, putting word-for-word conversations on record. Decades after these conversations took place, Fratkin was able to use direct dialogue to add nuanced voice to his descriptions of laibon religious specialists, in particular, the protagonist Lonyoki.

Research develops on the page chronologically, as lived experience. The reader moves alongside the author as he makes ethnographic discoveries. *Laibon* is a story of unfolding enculturation in which Fratkin learns as any newcomer might what it means to become a member of a community. For example, he explains, "one should take 'the long walk' away from the village to defecate" (p. 28). Or, "The flick at the neck, I soon realized, meant snack time, specifically blood tapped from a living cow" (p. 30).

Beyond the practice of everyday life, Fratkin also reveals the secret knowledge and techniques of laibon divination and healing rituals he learned from this initial 18-month friendship with Lonyoki and from living in the Ariaal community of Lukumai. Using this experience, he is able to depict how ethnography is engaged in ethics and power negotiations, language acquisition, rapport building, the ongoing quests for funding, gaining access to the "field" and site selection, longitudinal cross-cultural engagement, navigating hospitality and conflict, health and welfare, leaving the field, and iterative, systematic research. Along the way, he also addresses longstanding themes of interest to social researchers such as: the sedentism of a pastoral people; climate change and ecology; ethnic syncretism; rituals and rites of passage; shamanism; generational antagonisms; and cultural contact, history, and change.

Fratkin's initial research design is inductive—emergent out of circumstance and context. He locates his site and research theme without a proper research agenda or formal preparation. He reasons, "What I did have, however, was a deep desire to live with and learn about this community" (p. 32). This drove him to retrace his research protocol, gain the appropriate permits, and design a project that gained the attention and funding of the Smithsonian Institution. Most practitioners will glimpse their own fluid research protocol in Fratkin's style; he presents both the "real" and the "ideal" aspects of social field research. As such, advanced undergraduate and graduate anthropology students should read this book as part of their methodological training for the insights it offers into the practice of cultural investigation. Similarly, it will prove equally operative to the field practitioner.

In chapter 2, "Living with Nomads," Fratkin expands his methodological discussion. His data collection methods include a 250-resident census of Lukumai settlement. "The census was a good way to make myself known to each household, and facilitated the process by presenting tea and tobacco to each household I visited. . . . I began to focus my interviews on individuals who were specialists in particular types of knowledge. . . . More than a few people I interviewed thought that my foolish questions suggested that I was not very bright" (p. 42). He admits that his research, as with most cultural anthropology, was "opportunity driven." Simultaneously, he methodically collected valuable data in shreds and patches, eventually weaving together a coherent story.

By chapter 3, "The Dark Valley," Fratkin revisits his earlier work on witchcraft and sorcery. While his interpretations do not deviate from more traditional explanatory paradigms (p. 97), his experiential take is refreshing. I anticipate this chapter becoming an important case study for the religious scholars interested in sorcery and witchcraft. The reader gets the sense that Fratkin only recently began to understand the potentially dangerous situation his younger self inhabited; "The wood in the wood pile laughs at the one in the fire" (p. 104). For example, at one point Fratkin is cursed by Meron, a powerful *lais,* or blacksmith, with powerful spiritual powers. He soon forgot the incident only to later pull Meron's drowned daughter from the water, administering CPR for several minutes. He writes of the incident, "This seemed to me a terrible way to curse someone—why take the life of an innocent child? . . . I was also considered quite toxic after 'breathing in the death' of the girl. . . . The elders took me to a house and forced me to drink a very strong herbal emetic—a medicinal broth that immediately induced vomiting and diarrhea. . . . I did this until I passed out" (p. 106).

The final two chapters showcase the remaking of Elliot Fratkin, the socially conscious anthropologist with a family and profession at Smith College. As the story concludes with the research community and himself preparing for the future, Fratkin listens; in listening, he finally hears the answer he has been seeking all along, "'Homes are made from lungs,' so let us begin to speak" (p. 117). It is by giving voice to himself, his experiences, the laibon, the community of Lukumai, and the ethnographic approach that Fratkin reveals his honest journey home.

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Performing the Divine: Mediums, Markets and Modernity in Urban Vietnam. *Kirsten W. Endres.* Copenhagen: NIAS, 2011. 240 pp.

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Performing the Divine joins a growing body of anthropological literature that addresses cultural transformation in contemporary Vietnam, in particular the significant growth in ritual practice that has followed market reform. The book provides an ethnographic account of Four Palaces mediumship, or "*len dong,*" in contemporary urban Vietnam. Rich in ethnographic detail, the book brings alive the process of becoming a medium and how mediums negotiate, contest, and perform identity through their practice and participation in the community of mediums. If the reader is left wanting, it is for more analysis of the ethnographic data and research presented in the book.

Endres takes a performative approach to her subject, arguing that "urban spirit mediumship is one of the many multivocal arenas in contemporary Vietnam wherein the alternatively modern is articulated and negotiated" (p. 7). Drawing on theories of performance in anthropology, such as those of Victor Turner, Richard Schechner, and Bruce Kapferer, she problematizes scholarly efforts to describe mediumship as a coherent set of beliefs and practices. Instead, mediums negotiate meaning through embodied action and ritual practice in the absence of orthodox doctrine. Endres's use of performance theory is strongest in her analysis of the structure and performative dimensions of mediums' "pathway-to-mediumship" narratives. The narratives' basic pattern "includes mention of former religious ignorance, personal suffering and crisis, the quest for relief or cure, the diagnosis of a spirit root, the inner struggle over the decision of whether or not to become a medium, and, finally, the positive changes since the initiation" (p. 49). She demonstrates how the narratives, which she likens to religious conversion narratives, structure experience and memory and play a key role in a medium's experience of personal transformation that begins with acceptance of the spirits' call to serve them. Constructing and sharing these narratives is a process of "empowering the self" (p. 47), in which mediums may enact nonnormative gender identities (such as homosexuality for some male mediums) within a social and religious framework that carves out a socially accepted place for the medium in society. The narratives are also exchanged and discussed with other mediums, thus creating a sense of shared experience and community. By reaffirming and narrating belief in the power of the spirits to effect transformations in mediums' lives, these narratives play an important role in ritual efficacy.

The book brings alive, in vivid, nuanced detail, the practices, beliefs, and community of mediums. Endres provides case studies of several mediums including male and female mediums, masters and new initiates. She uses these to illustrate broader arguments throughout the book. The result is an account of mediumship that highlights its flexible and often contradictory set of practices and beliefs. The extended ethnographic quotes from mediums and anecdotes about their practices and beliefs makes it clear without comment how len dong is able to accommodate a wide variety of personal performance styles, ritual practices, and variations in the pantheon under the broad umbrella of the Four Palaces religion. What ties this often-inconsistent field of practice together is the mediums' performative expression of a "sincere heart" (pp. 81–83). Among urban mediums, the expression of what they call the "sincere heart" is closely tied to the aesthetics of performance. All mediums seem to agree that to attract the spirits and to perform a mediumship ritual beautifully, one must have a sincere heart, not just artistic and technical skill or spiritual knowledge.

Enders argues that contemporary urban mediums emphasize aesthetics over possession, a phenomenon that she links to the discourse on culture of the postmarket reform period. Since reform, Vietnamese cultural discourse has emphasized the idea of "beautiful traditions" to promote national development (p. 81). Mediums draw on these ideas at times to justify sumptuous costumes and ritual offerings but also to assert their identities as civilized and rational people in opposition to the postrevolutionary discourse that condemned spirit mediumship as backward and superstitious. After the revolution, the North Vietnamese government launched a campaign to eliminate what it identified as superstition and wasteful practices. Spirit mediumship was banned under this policy and, to this day, mediumship has an uncertain legal status. Thus, some mediums continue to distance themselves from the spiritual aspects of their practice.

Mediums have long had to balance their duty to repay the moral debt to the spirits to the best of their financial ability (as expressed in the Vietnamese saying "wealth gives birth to ritual form") with accusations that they are "trading in spirits." Accusations that the Four Palaces mediumship is being "commercialized" have intensified (or resurfaced, as they were also common in the colonial era) following market reform, as many mediums are better able to sponsor more expensive rituals. In this context, Endres argues that the emphasis on aesthetics and beauty in spirit mediumship are creative adaptations to "the circumstances and challenges of modernity" in which modernity and tradition are co-constructions (p. 80). Her argument that urban mediumship is a performance of modernity could stand further elaboration, as it is unclear the extent to which this is a category of reference for her informants. In addition, in light of the historical evidence Endres provides that mediumship practices have been contested and renegotiated since at least the colonial period, len dong's ability to adapt to the times seems be a reflection of continuity as much a response to modernity.

The book's focus on urban mediumship provides an important counterpoint to contemporary Vietnamese cultural discourses that frame the Vietnamese countryside as the seat of tradition and authenticity. The book deals with the urban–rural divide in passing, citing certain urban mediums' disdain for the poverty or lack of what they deem proper ritual knowledge of their rural counterparts. This raises interesting questions about what a study of urban mediumship can contribute to the wider cultural discourse on the relationship between urban, postreform Vietnam and what is often framed as its rural, traditional "past." Overall, the book is valuable reading for those interested in the finer points of ritual practice and belief and how they contribute to community and identity in the flexible and polysemic Four Palaces mediumship.

Native Acts: Indian Performance, 1603–1832. *Joshua David Bellin* and *Laura L. Mielke,* eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011. 333 pp.

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Joshua David Bellin and Laura L. Mielke's 2011 edited volume, *Native Acts: Indian Performance, 1603–1832,* is a diverse, insightful, and engaging work that accomplishes two disparate tasks. First, it demonstrates how historical Native performances were often elaborate, multivalent, and diachronic cultural phenomena; second, it substantiates how scholars in a variety of disciplines can use a performance paradigm to establish alternative historiographies that reveal agency and fluidity in past indigenous identities, worldviews, and political realities. Drawing heavily on insights from those researchers specializing in performance studies during the late 1980s, Bellin and Mielke assembled a series of articles that pinpoint performances of Indians and Indianness, emphasizing the cultural and historical contingencies of these public representations. As a result, various noteworthy Indian performances from the distant past are interpreted with strikingly different interpretations of Native intent. From strategic political deception to individual hierarchical opportunism to revisionist hegemonic manipulation, the authors in this volume excel in elucidating the complex interplay between power and cultural practice in their varied ethnographies of performance. Perhaps the greatest strength of the text is the way the contributors employ multiple perspectives of the Indian acts they analyze, carefully considering the actions and language of the actors and audience in the performances and then reconsidering the evolution of established interpretations. This analytical multiplicity and reflexivity enables the various historical moments in question to be discussed in frameworks that transcend singular and limited questions of authenticity.

Native Acts begins with Mielke's introduction, includes ten individual chapters that transcend two and half centuries of the Atlantic world, and concludes with an afterword by Philip J. Deloria. The case studies in this volume are self-contained, yet they also tie directly to the overriding theme of "performance as culture" established at the outset. Matt Cohen analyzes historical, cultural, and event-specific contexts for Indian lying and strategic dissimulation in Early Colonial New England, noting that these Native performances were "unrepeatable, unrecordable in [their] full sensory complexity, and spectacularly under the control of the performer" (p. 43). In her discussion of the staged dual identities of the Deer Island (Praying) Indians, Nan Goodman underscores successive ironies regarding the Native ability to gain common-law legitimacy from 17th-century New England colonists through banishment. John H. Pollack emphasizes Indian performance as an alliance-building tool in the context of diplomacy and religion in Early New France and examines how and why Native stories of these public displays changed over time. In drawing parallels between 17th-century Jesuit efforts at enlightening ceremonial Iroquoian and Algonquian song and dance at Canadian missions and reforming the contemporary European Carnival, Olivia Bloechl reveals how disorderly performances—New World Indian and Old World peasant alike—were perceived as threats to the clerics' established religious and political norms. Stephanie Fitzgerald's analysis of the specific language employed in 17th-century Anglo-Indian land deeds in New England combines a humanistic appreciation of strategic Indian performance with a rigorous linguistic study of legal-word

usage to track transformations in Native authority under the auspices of burgeoning colonial realities of "land, law, and literacy." Building on these notions of strengthening indigenous sovereignty through carefully choreographed public acts, Caroline Wigginton emphasizes the unique Native political realities of 18th-century Colonial Georgia that forced individual Indians to incorporate personal, tribal, and national factors into their performances. Jenny Hale Pulsipher spotlights the life of "John White, alias Wompas," a Nipmuc Indian from 17th-century Massachusetts who successfully negotiated identity politics of the Atlantic World and opportunistically claimed benefits of both cultures through his various racialized performances. This duality set the stage for a detailed examination of 18th-century Indian "royal" delegations to Britain—and various imposters as well—in Timothy J. Shannon's study of authenticity, status, and identity in a multicultural performance arena. Phillip Rond expands traditional investigations of Indian diplomacy with colonial governments by examining a broader time frame (1492–1865), greater breadth (much of North America), and innovative uses of rhetorical sovereignty (analysis of what was not said). Likewise, in her study of pioneering 19th-century Cherokee Indian newspaper editor Elias Boudinot, Theresa Strouth Gaul demonstrates how his refusal to "play Indian" and overt political agenda to benefit Native nations enabled Boudinot to reshape public perceptions of Indians in the national news media. Considering the profound impact that his 1998 book *Playing Indian* had on the contributors to this volume and on the field of American Indian Studies as well, Philip J. Deloria's afterword is both appropriate and insightful; Deloria self-effacingly uses this opportunity to critique limitations to the dualities he used in his oft-cited work and to celebrate how the contributors in *Native Acts* were able to use a performance paradigm to "explode such categories."

The many strengths of *Native Acts* are in its historical details, case-specific analyses, and use of the performance paradigm. Nevertheless, the volume would greatly benefit from broader anthropological, sociological, and philosophical examinations of the ritual process and linguistic performance. With symbolic insights into the human condition from Arnold van Gennep, Victor Turner, and Clifford Geertz and incorporation of the dramatism–dramaturgy and ethnopoetics of Kenneth Burke, Erving Goffman, and Dell Hymes, the editors and contributors of this volume could offer comparative insights with profound impacts for the study of identity, agency, and community in a diachronic perspective.

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Neurogenetic Diagnoses: The Power of Hope and the Limits of Today's Medicine. *Carole H. Browner* and *H. Mabel Preloran.* New York: Routledge, 2010. 137 pp.

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For decades now, medical anthropologists have been studying medical practices in complex societies and have considered biomedicine as a cultural system. Early on, scholars established the distinction between biomedical definitions of disease and a patient's experience of illness by focusing on the doctor–patient relationship in Western society and the meaning patients ascribe to symptoms, diagnosis, and treatment.

Neurogenetic Diagnoses participates in this longstanding agenda while attempting to move into an emerging interest in the discipline, the new genetics. The authors present two main goals: first, to describe how patients suffering from five different neurodegenerative, progressively disabling disorders cope with such diseases, showing how these diseases disrupt their lives and their identities; their quest for cures for which biomedicine lacks effective treatments, and how these patients' caregivers confront the afflicted; second, to demonstrate the ways in which patients' knowledge that their infirmities are of genetic origin impacts on their lives. Whereas the book succeeds admirably in its first goal by providing a fine ethnographic account of patients' experiences of these chronic impairments, it fails in its second objective, to integrate successfully the two aims.

Genetic diseases are in numerous ways exceptional, especially because they may bear profoundly on relations to family and kin; on ancestry, memory, concepts of "predestination" and "free will"; and they present various ethical dilemmas. All these and many other issues raised by genetic diseases, and genetic testing, are not usually associated with afflictions attributed to lifestyle, personal habits, or conditions that have not as yet been explicitly linked to genetic inheritance. Yet, as we follow the wrenching experiences of these patients' search for a cure, one persistently wonders in what ways their experiences differ from those suffering from nongenetic incurable disabilities. If this book is to deal with how patients manage and make sense of specific genetic conditions, it would need to demonstrate how these patients' management and experiences differ from those suffering from diseases of nongenetic origins.

The authors suggest that neurogenetic afflictions disrupt these patients' lives and affect their existence; but all chronic diseases of this magnitude of severity are disruptive and challenge the sufferer's integrity, identity of self, relations with caregivers, and have other myriad consequences. Are there any severe diseases that lack such effects? We need to learn the ways in which knowledge of diseases of

genetic etiology informs patients' responses and differ from those suffering from any other disabling condition, produced by known, or unknown, etiologies, or war injuries, for that matter. Does saying that a neurogenetic patient's identity is threatened, as the authors do, suggest that stage four cancers do not affect a person's identity? All the effects neurogenetic diseases produce, as presented in this book, can be said of all other life-threatening conditions.

The patients' narratives focus on their encounters and relationships with diverse physicians and the book repeatedly emphasizes the clashes between them, recurrently calling attention to the distinction between disease and illness, as if such clashes and distinctions have just now been discovered. (When defining *disease* and *illness,* reference is made to only one citation dated 2004.) The fact that doctors may fail to address patients' concerns, resulting potentially in a clash between physician and patient has been considered in the medical anthropological literature ad infinitum.

Rather than build their study and analysis on all that came before to enhance our understanding of these patients' quest for a cure of incurable maladies of genetic origin, readers get reiterations of what has been observed and analyzed long ago. To make a contribution to how patients cope with genetic diseases is to show in much greater depth than the book provides how the experience of neurodegenerative disorders differs from other genetic and nongenetic diseases.

There is an engrossing chapter on various physicians' verbatim responses to their patients' afflictions and their views on genetic maladies and genetic testing, although the typology offered of the doctors' responses tends to unnecessarily reduce the complexities of their reactions, as typologies often do.

The questions posed to patients to elicit their views on genetic testing seem as if they have been devised by market researchers: we learn that while some patients who received the genetic tests were relieved to learn that their disease was not "in their heads," as some of their physicians had claimed, and that they suffered from a "real" disease, for others such tests lacked similar effects. Did patients who received a genetic test have better treatment outcomes than those who have not?

One reads with compassion the narratives of these patients' plights seeking a diagnosis, and effective treatment for conditions biomedicine has no cures; but, in light of patients' high expectations of biomedicine, we need some new insights into the conundrums patients may confront when biomedicine fails to deliver actual remedies. There is a considerable literature suggesting that when doctors are unable to make a concrete diagnosis, they may conclude that the patient's—particularly a woman's—sickness is localized in "her head."

We learn that the genetic tests reduced uncertainty for patients, but in what ways did these tests lessened uncertainty when they are based on assessing risk in terms of percentages? At what percentage of certainty are patients assured? How is the uncertainty diminished when the patient is already experiencing the symptoms of the disease? In some instances, the test presumably gave the patient a sense of control—but what kind of control does one get in the face of reduced uncertainty?

While the book's aims are commendable, it is frustrating to read a scholarly work that asks few probing questions and shows modest scholarship, especially because the researchers are productive scholars. There are some misleading statements, as, for example, that most earlier studies of genetic diseases focused on people at risk rather than people actually having a genetic disease, and when the authors cite in the bibliography books that focus on patients who had suffered genetic afflictions, be it Huntington's or breast cancer (that are attributed to genetic inheritance), to note but two examples.

Most surprising, mention is made that the study subjects included a multicultural population, with a majority being persons of Latin American origin or foreign born, yet ethnicity seems to be ignored in the discussion of patients' interpretation of their conditions and treatment. They are referred to as "American." Is a person's ethnicity irrelevant to a person's interpretation of his or her illness experience; of response to physicians, and genetic testing? Significantly, one of the earliest studies in medical anthropology was concerned with how different ethnic groups react to illness and pain, which may now be dated, but there are copious amounts of literature on ethnic, if, alas, not class, differences in dealing with sickness. If ethnicity is not an issue, why raise it at all? Similarly, in the fine chapter on physicians, only 5 of the 12 interviewed were born in the United States. Does their ethnicity, and class origins, not inform their diverse clinical judgments, as has been found elsewhere, and assessment of genetic testing? Had they been all trained in the same country and school, arguably, one could expect less variation in their interpretations of their patients' disorders and genetic tests. These criticisms aside, the book makes an important contribution to the medical anthropological literature by offering an excellent ethnography of patients experiencing neurogenetic diseases.

Finding Grace in the Concert Hall: Community and Meaning among Springsteen Fans. *Linda K. Randall.* Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 2011. 123 pp.

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Finding Grace in the Concert Hall is an ethnographic examination of the Bruce Springsteen fan community, rooted in extensive participant-observation, fan comments on the Internet, and firsthand interviews. Linda K. Randall describes herself as having gone native, and she places fans' powerful

experience of the music at the center of her study. This intense, community-building, mystical experience of joy or grace inspires her to use a core metaphor for her study: that the Springsteen community is like a Billy Graham crusade: a powerful, shared conversion experience draws a listener into a new perspective on life, new hope, moral guidance, and a new community, as well as new musical tastes.

In the first two chapters, Randall introduces herself, her topic, and her approach. Her emphasis is not musicological or literary but, rather, ethnographic and rooted in an insider perspective. In these chapters and throughout, Randall quotes song lyrics, sometimes as thought-pieces at the head of a chapter and sometimes at length, and considers them in relation to fan perspectives. Her approach to studying lyrics is ethnographic, on what these words mean to fans.

Chapter 3 takes up Springsteen and his life. It conveys a sense of how episodes from Springsteen's life function in much the same way as lyrics: they inspire fans with moral lessons and hope. Randall includes an account of Springsteen's mother taking out a loan to purchase his first guitar; family problems in his Freehold, New Jersey, home; John Hammond signing Springsteen with Columbia Records; and Springsteen's shift from a supermodel wife to a backup singer and real "Jersey girl." Such biographical episodes are considered in relation to fan perspectives. She takes a similar approach in chapter 7, in which she examines charitable causes that Springsteen champions. Randall shows how the understated, charitable side of Springsteen develops and reinforces the persona his fans know through his songs. Taken together, the two chapters introduce Springsteen from a fan's perspective. Emphasis is not so much on ways in which Springsteen may have changed or evolved as a musician or as a builder of a fan community. Instead, Randall focuses on how fans gather up episodes in the life of their hero and make sense of them as part of their lived experience as fans.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 paint a portrait of Springsteen fans. Randall considers them as individuals (ch. 4) and as communities (chs. 5 and 6). Her analysis includes many fan comments from online message boards. Fans tend to be more white collar than blue, largely 40–50 years in age, largely although not exclusively white, and more men than women. Fans live Springsteen's message and model, and his songs become a soundtrack for their lives.

In chapters 8 and 9, she emphasizes that there is a shared, mystical, and even ecstatic experience of Springsteen's songs at the core of fandom, comparable to being born again at a Billy Graham crusade. Fans, regardless of their different life paths, have all somehow experienced more or less the same thing, and this single experience is the touchstone of true fandom. Her quotes reveal that many Springsteen fans perceive themselves, each other, and their fan community in this way. They feel that Springsteen truly understands them, and although they find it difficult to put some of the more powerful dimensions of their experience into words, many agree that it serves as a touchstone of community membership. Examining "conversion" stories, through which a listener becomes "one of the faithful" of the Bruce community, Randall writes "the stories all have a familiar ring and progression" (p. 89). She quotes a fan to assert that "any one Bruce-fan could somehow speak for *all* Bruce fans" (p. 42). And, further, in the words of another fan: "we all appreciate that Bruce has enriched our lives . . . to a point where people who have not yet 'got Bruce' will never understand" (p. 65). Perhaps to "get Bruce" is to experience a sameness and a unity in the mystery or ecstasy of listening, to believe in a powerful experience of grace that draws and binds a community together. This book, with its strong insider perspective, definitely seems to "get Bruce" in this sense.

But if Randall's deep, lived understanding of "getting Bruce" is her strength, it also eclipses other valuable perspectives that could be considered. She writes, "I did not seek out nonfans to see how Springsteen affected them emotionally, as their opinions would not serve my purpose. If you want to know how dog tastes, you don't look for ice cream to eat" (p. 5). In the absence of comparative perspectives, the book offers less of a sense of what is remarkable, unique, or exceptional about the Springsteen fan community, or how Springsteen could be understood in comparison to other iconic superstars with fan communities, such as the Grateful Dead or Jimmy Buffett. In this vein, as the book focuses on unifying aspects of fan experience, it does not also explore differences that might exist below the surface. There is little exploration of divisiveness, difference, or contradiction within the community. Another shortcoming is an almost complete absence of description or consideration of actual qualities of sound. She clarifies that she is not taking a musicological approach, and she foregrounds lyrics instead. But Springsteen concerts are not poetry jams, and it is problematic to study the Springsteen community with almost no consideration of ways in which musical qualities such as volume or vocal quality shape the meanings, impact, and experience of the words. Randall does quote one fan (p. 99), who brings up specific musical qualities that triggered a powerful experience. More perspectives like this would be helpful to present a well-rounded study of this significant music-based community.

So Much Wasted: Hunger, Performance, and the Morbidity of Resistance. *Patrick Anderson.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. xiv + 151 pp., notes and index.

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This is a book about self-starvation as a social representation. If hunger is a basic need, it can be the site in which

somatic, psychic, and social needs converge, thus a useful symbolic instrument. In three institutional contexts—the clinic, the gallery, and the prison—Anderson examines self-starvation as a means of creating dramatic social impressions. Each is staged as an event that "produces political subjectivity" (p. 2) in the sense that it exposes the way that the private imaginative worlds of individuals are under the "domination" of "institutional and ideological domains" (p. 2). These ostentatious presentations of self-depravation "reveal death to be at the core of what it means to forge subjectivity in the context of a specific political world" and embody "the tension between ontology and representation" (p. 3). Anderson calls this "the politics of morbidity," which he defines as "the embodied, interventional embrace of mortality and disappearance not as destructive, but as radically productive stagings of subject formations in which subjectivity and objecthood, presence and absence, life and death intertwine" (p. 3). So, self-starvation "performs subjectivations by portraying and sustaining the ultimate loss of the subject occasioned by death" (p. 3). The reader has to wade through this heavy jargon in the opening pages, struggling with an overwrought terminology and a contrived logic.

Yet Anderson writes unpretentiously when he examines his cases. The first of them arises from the short film *Tom's Flesh* (Wagner n.d.), which presents the human body as a form of symbolic representation as well as a living material being. Anorexia nervosa, for instance, is an object of medical science—which names it as a disease, describes it, and proposes treatments for it—and is also in the public imagination a disturbing image of self-destruction, horrifying, embarrassing, or otherwise unsettling to those who encounter it. The film provides the author an opportunity to note that anorexia works both to challenge medical science and to "crystallize" culture as a disturbing human condition (pp. 35, 34). Self-starvation "archives" what Anderson calls "the melancholy of commodity culture" (p. 53), referring, I think, to the (unstated) contradictions of capitalist society.

While Anderson's first example of the "politics of morbidity" is the clinic, the second is the gallery, where "hunger artists" perform before an audience, whose interested gaze validates their fasts as social projects. In the 19th century, a man trained in homeopathy fasted for 40 days in public to prove to physicians "that the 'vital chemistry' of the human body can be self-sustaining" (p. 61). The public display of his fast was crucial to the project. But although it was conceived as an experiment, it became, no surprise, a spectacle. As his body wasted away, an argument arose around him over whether a moral society could allow him to die. Would not those who stood by and watched be culpable? Wouldn't a medical practice that allowed him to die be tantamount to homicide? The effect, says Anderson, was a "fusion" of "the economy of the body and the economy of the spectacle" to become "a profoundly vibrant economy of becoming" (p. 72).

That was the 19th century. Other self-endangering spectacles have taken place more recently, and in these cases as well, a watching audience was necessary to the project. As before, they were displays of dissipating bodies that aimed to "craft" meaning so as to reveal "the profoundly social, intersubjective character of both the body's economy of consumption and the institutional economy of the spectacle" (p. 83). Self-starvation, that is, is being used as a means of bringing art out of the gallery; the designated spaces of aesthetic production and presentation are being drawn into a more generally accessible public sphere. Self-starvation is now art and, as Bourdieu points out, is deliberately posed to challenge the official, authoritative, normative world of ordinary social affairs. In the words of one of the fasters, "art as a commodity really isn't such a good idea after all" (p. 87), for it seems to turn the artist into a mere parasite, producing works as a commercial process, "to sell rather than to innovate" (p. 87). So authentic hunger artists, seeking to escape the mechanisms of "institutional oppression," deliberately try to "complicate the relationship between artist and audience" by inviting the audience to participate in the experience of fasting (p. 90). Two women, for example, presented their bodies as "both subject and object" in performances that brought the "gallery" into the "world" (p. 91). One woman performed by standing motionless in public without eating for extended periods: totally still, with minimal action to display "the threshold between form and formlessness, between knowing and unknowing, between life and death" (pp. 92–93). Another woman presented her body as a kind of canvas on which her audience could draw; some even used knives to mark her flesh, leaving her gashed and bleeding (p. 102). These spectacles of the body were, as these women conceived it, demonstrations of "responsible and morally committed action" (p. 108).

The last case Anderson examines is a joint project of self-starvation by a group of prisoners in Turkey objecting to their assignment to a particularly odious kind of prison. By collective agreement they shaped their project to embarrass the Turkish state at the very time when it was applying for admission into the European Union. Their refusal of food was presented as a united and voluntary strike, the voluntariness being crucial; if anyone died it must not be at the hand of the state but, instead, from their deliberate denial of sustenance. To Anderson the Turkish hunger strike "functions as performance to refigure the relationship between state and subject, to facilitate the deployment of new kinds of political subjectivity" (p. 112). Even though many died in this strike, it produced no change in the Turkish penal system, but it did have a powerful effect on the image of the Turkish state in the wider world.

There is much to commend in this work. The images of self-induced dissipation, described gracefully and vividly, draw the reader's interest. But the ways in which the author tries to explain the significance of these arresting symbolic

forms weakens his message by distracting the reader with stylistic contrivances. Anderson presents his material with an inflated language that intrudes on his story and bleeds the power out of an otherwise interesting and significant argument. My problem with elaborate and overwrought jargon of this sort—to complain about what has become commonplace in social science writing, for Anderson has learned to write this way from his colleagues—is that it can mask non sequiturs in the argument. If readers are to understand an argument, they must understand the conceptual scaffolding that informs the cases being presented to demonstrate it. When style of presentation begs the reader's indulgence, it impedes understanding at exactly the point where understanding is most critical.

One has the impression that for Anderson this text is itself a work of art. The reader is supposed somehow to appreciate the graceful style of the work as well as grasp its message. But as with many works of art, such as some of those he describes, the observer is sometimes left wondering what a particular art form is really saying—and whether it's worth the effort to figure it out.

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In Search of Paradise: Middle-Class Living in a Chinese Metropolis. *Li Zhang.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 272 pp.

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In Search of Paradise is a beautifully written ethnography that looks at how the privatization of housing has transformed spaces, relationships, and subjectivities in Kunming City, Yunnan Province. The remarkable breadth and depth of this ethnography result partly from Li Zhang's deep understanding of the people she studied. Although the book is based primarily on 15 months of participant-observation and interviews that Zhang conducted among a wide range of people, including homeowners, developers, real estate agents, property management staff, migrant home-remodeling workers, domestic workers, and security guards between 2000 and 2006, it also draws on the relationships and cultural understandings she developed as a resident of the city from birth to age 18, and from visiting her friends and family in the city every summer for the two decades prior to the writing of her book. Living in the city where she had grown up, as a resident of one of the housing complexes she writes about, Zhang is able to elicit from her fellow residents some remarkably candid discussions of their hopes, dreams, and fears. These ranged from those of her close family friends, who fought desperately at great personal cost against shadowy developers intent on demolishing the home their family had lived in for generations to those of her close friend from high school, whose yearning for an upscale home that would be her own "private paradise" was the inspiration for the book's title.

This book demonstrates the rich insights that can result when theoretically grounded arguments are interwoven with vivid ethnography. A hilarious description of how Zhang's neighbors in her upscale housing complex ranted about other neighbors who failed to clean up after their dogs or train them to be quiet is used to illustrate conflicts between different understandings of the rights and responsibilities of homeowners. A poignant description of how a woman discussed her relationship with her lover (who refused to marry her but demonstrated the strength of his love for her by buying her a villa) is used to illustrate how homeownership has become a cornerstone of transformations in how Chinese men and women think about love, marriage, and property. Stories like these help the reader understand the new subjectivities that have emerged as a result of China's economic transformation. In addition, Zhang's sophisticated theoretical arguments about (1) the relationship between desires for a home that could serve as a private sanctuary and the need to engage in social activism to defend that sanctuary; (2) the relationship between urban space and the creation and maintenance of class identities and boundaries; and (3) the relationship between postsocialist subjects and a mode of governmentality that enables the state to govern them from afar help readers understand the hidden behind layers of neoliberal discourses about the importance of self-governing and powerful companies that blur the distinction between the state and private businesses.

The first chapter explains the history of the socialist welfare housing system and how it abruptly transformed into a privatized market system. The second chapter describes the emergence of a powerful real estate industry. The third chapter discusses the images of affluence and modernity promoted by the emerging landscape of living. The fourth chapter explains how class has been spatialized, as homeownership produces and is produced by membership in an emerging middle class. The fifth chapter looks at how the real estate industry has devastating consequences for poorer residents and rural migrants who experience compulsory relocation and are often unable to get the compensation they feel they deserve, despite their painful struggles to get it. The sixth chapter reveals how homeownership has become an integral aspect of romance, marriage, and gender relations. The seventh chapter looks at changing formations of community governance as homeowners negotiate with each other, powerful developers, and the state.

In the epilogue, Zhang reflects on how the transformation of housing and urban space may transform Chinese cities, concluding that "the private paradise that the rising middle-class Chinese are pursuing and dreaming of may become a mirage, surrounded by emerging socioeconomic insecurities, anxieties, and class tensions" (p. 216). The book thus ends on a note that is sobering but well supported by the complex story Zhang has told about that transformation.

Zhang's perspective is remarkably balanced; even as she invites the reader to sympathize with poorer people who told her of the devastating effects of the displacements caused by the desires and maneuverings of middle-class homeowners and wealthy developers, she also invites the reader to sympathize with the homeowners' desire for upscale homes that could be their private paradise, with their fears of losing their rights to enjoyment of that paradise to rapacious developers who threatened to deprive them of the views and community spaces they had been promised, and cheer for their growing willingness to engage in civic activism to build and strengthen increasingly independent homeowners' associations. These homeowners are simultaneously villains and heroes in a complex process that has reshaped gender and class relations as well as relationships between the emerging middle class and the Chinese state. What comes across especially clearly is the insecurity of everyone's positions, as a middle-class homeowner who displaces a poor rural migrant may in turn be displaced by an even wealthier homeowner later on. By illustrating and explaining sophisticated theoretical arguments about the spatialization of class, with rich, vivid ethnographic details, this book reveals the perils and possibilities that have resulted from the transformation of China's urban homes from an integral part of China's welfare state to the subject of intense neoliberal market forces.

In Good Company: An Anatomy of Corporate Social Responsibility. *Dinah Rajak.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011. 296 pp.

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Dinah Rajak's *In Good Company* advances the anthropology of corporations and capitalism by tracing the concrete mechanisms through which corporate power is consolidated and remade in the face of increasingly strident critique. Her study of the mining giant Anglo American reveals that the growing corporate social responsibility (CSR) movement sustains capitalism by providing corporations with "a moral mechanism through which their authority is extended over the social order" (p. 13). This approach ethnographically demonstrates that transnational corporations must continually renew their power and legitimacy—a crucial insight given that all-too-common views of corporations as monolithic, omnipotent entities constitute a "tacit declaration of the immutable might of corporate capitalism, unwittingly reproducing the very power it attempts to critique" (p. 17). Furthermore, by analyzing CSR as a register of values, norms, and practices that transform corporations, communities, and the relationships among them, Rajak usefully shifts debates about CSR away from current polarized appraisals of the global practice as either a vast public relations sham or a hallowed solution for reconciling markets with morality.

To grapple with the tangible effects of CSR, Rajak takes an approach that is both multisited and multiscalar. Her analysis begins in London, where Anglo's headquarters is enmeshed in global networks of CSR conferences, awards, and oxymoronic voluntary regulatory schemes; traverses to Johannesburg, the historic and symbolic headquarters of the "Proudly South African" company; and ends in Rustenburg, the world capital of platinum production and home of Anglo's mines. Translating among these sites and scales illuminates the twinned processes of abstraction and recontextualization, as corporate actors appeal to the universal salience of moral and market values that must be embedded and engaged in resolutely national and local frameworks. For example, her textured account of the company's HIV management and workplace feeding programs unravels the implications of CSR for the intimate details of workers' nutritional, familial, and sexual practices. This careful attention to labor is refreshing and notable in the CSR literature, which otherwise focuses on corporate personnel, NGOs, and affected communities.

Through evocative ethnographic vignettes, Rajak fleshes out the contours, history, and personality of Anglo's corporate person—a social and legal construction that nevertheless attempts to mold state apparatuses, employees, and would-be stakeholders in its image. To secure funding, NGOs compete amongst each other to be Anglo's "partner of choice," but they must also deliver the right kind of products to company personnel who act like bosses. Community members seeking to access Anglo's resources must first position themselves as entrepreneurial subjects awaiting—but not demanding—empowerment. And the company's appeal to "patriotic capitalism," coupled with its economic might, shifts the postapartheid state's original redistributional goals of black economic empowerment into a vision of entrepreneurialism that ultimately makes Anglo more profitable. These cases and others illustrate Rajak's larger argument that "the power of CSR lies not simply in its capacity to sideline critical voices, but to colonize the discourse and, in some sense, the identities of its critics" (p. 59). The effect is that corporations offer themselves as the solution for social and economic problems they themselves help define. Criticism becomes another resource for corporations to utilize in their efforts to renew themselves.

Rajak points to the asymmetrical politics of gift exchange underlining CSR discourses and practices as the mechanism enabling this colonization. While corporate personnel speak about community partnerships and empowerment, they position themselves as missionary-like agents of moral uplift and frame their activities as benevolent gifts for which the targets of their programs should be grateful. This paradox is the heart of Rajak's critique of CSR: partnership and collaboration are not possible when social relations are framed by the ideology of gift exchange, as these are "steeped in relations of patronage and clientelism. The coercive bonds of the gift, enacted through CSR, inspire deference and dependence rather than autonomy and empowerment" (p. 236). Analyzing CSR within the politics of gift exchange has the added benefit of highlighting the movement's overlooked continuities with longer histories of corporate colonialism, philanthropy, and industrial discipline—a vital counterpoint to assessments of the movement as a wholly novel one.

As a whole, the book invites readers to ponder the sobering implications for governance in an age of increasing corporate power. Rajak argues that despite the rhetoric of inclusive empowerment, the practice of CSR is ultimately an exclusionary one grounded in the dependent relations of gift exchange rather than the rights and entitlements of citizenship. Anglo and other corporations ultimately decide who will count as a stakeholder and participate in development programs amenable to corporate interests. This point is poignantly illustrated in Rajak's analysis of the company's wellness program. While Anglo was able to manage the HIV/AIDS epidemic more effectively than government agencies, the program was limited by the company's strategic interests; excluded from treatment were employees' families and workers who became too sick or migrated home. Those who were not economically productive for Anglo experienced a "hand-over to nothing" because they could no longer access the company's resources and public infrastructure to continue their care was insufficient (p. 152). This case study points to larger problems with leaving corporations to care for populations, as "valuing humans" and "valuing human capital" are separate—and sometimes contradictory—practices (p. 173).

Because Rajak's subject is the corporate citizen, not actual corporate personnel, she seeks to understand "what kind of a 'person' the company is rather than what kind of people make up the company" (p. 73). Nonetheless, her analysis lays the groundwork for future research that could investigate the fit between the two. The corporate personnel she interviewed generally espouse company rhetoric, even as they frame it within their own life trajectories. Ethnographic research about the everyday lives of these personnel would trace how the fit between actual people and the corporate person is negotiated, challenged, and consolidated, as well as how each are transformed in the process. *In Good Company* is a valuable resource for anthropologists grappling not just with the increasing reach of extractive industries but also with broader global transformations in corporate capitalism.

The Anthropological Study of Class and Consciousness. *E. Paul Durrenberger,* ed. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2012. 317 pp.

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The present global economic crisis presents an excellent moment for a volume devoted to anthropological examinations of class and consciousness. Consisting of ten case studies sandwiched between an introduction and conclusion by E. Paul Durrenberger, contributions to this volume examine the ways in which class—seen through Morton Fried's view of privileged access to resources—construct various forms of social consciousness. Ranging from studies of Mongolian herders circa 2,000 BCE to a beauty salon in Florida, the vignettes assembled in this volume explore these issues from a "class as consciousness" perspective.

Durrenberger's introduction argues that contemporary anthropology has failed to adequately address class, preferring instead to immerse itself in native categories (e.g., race, gender, etc.) that obscure the importance of class and class consciousness in social life. Suggesting that American anthropology is distracted by an ideological dreamwork that denies the existence of class within its own cultural milieu, Durrenberger states his intention for this volume to make class accessible, both theoretically and empirically, to anthropological examination. However, to undertake such analyses we apparently must reject all emic perspectives and categories because they reflect dreamwork rather than the true nature of social inequality. As with similar calls for anthropologists to position themselves as the etic arbiters of sociocultural truth, it seems as though everyone not committed to certain forms of Marxist analysis is apparently blinded by one form of dreamwork or another.

Case studies by William Honeychurch and Douglas Bolender examine emergent inequalities and class distinctions primarily using archaeological data. Honeychurch addresses social stratification among herding groups in the eastern steppe, while Bolender addresses the use of land and labor to create class distinctions in Iceland. These chapters examine the roles of land tenure, material goods, and labor in the creation of durable social inequalities among previously nonstratified peoples. Both chapters demonstrate the ability of archaeology to deal with long-term cultural transformations and the emergence of social classes, but both also rightly recognize the inherent

difficulties of reconstructing consciousness using archaeological materials.

Anne M. Hill's chapter examines Fried's view that non–state stratified societies are inherently unstable, short-lived sociopolitical formations. Examining the historical settlement of Nuosu communities in Southwest China, Hill turns Fried's perspectives upside-down, demonstrating that the fragmentary nature of non–state stratified societies grants them an ability to respond quickly to changing political, economic, and demographic situations. Paul Trawick's chapter yields strong support to these views through an analysis of the challenges presented by the global capitalist system to nondominant classes. Beginning with the suggestion that the prevailing view of wealth creation is a logical fallacy, he attacks neoclassical economics using George Foster's "image of the limited good." Trawick's contribution is the volume's strongest statement on the relationship between social class and consciousness, but even here it is suggested that the dreamwork of false consciousness keeps the working class, those most at risk from the capitalist system, from achieving solidarity of consciousness.

Chapters by Dimitra Doukas and Barbara J. Dilly analyze class consciousness through examinations of contemporary conspiracy theories and the changing labor demands of American farmers' daughters, respectively. Doukas suggests that the pervasiveness of belief in a series of conspiracies reflect working-class alienation, with these narratives promoting novel forms of class solidarity. Dilly addresses fluctuating demands placed on the labor of American farmers' daughters and ways in which class consciousness among these women was altered in the transition from subsistence farming to commercial agribusiness. Dilly is also correct in suggesting that class cannot be isolated so easily from gender, race, ethnicity, and other forms of social identity.

Two subsequent chapters address aspects of the Mexican immigrant experience in the United States, with David Griffith highlighting the various class formations accompanying groups immigrating to Iowa and southeastern North Carolina. Griffith shows how class, immigration status, and economic aspiration structure Mexican immigrant experiences. Josiah Heyman examines many of these same issues along the U.S.–Mexican border in El Paso, Texas, but takes the novel approach of using discussion board posts from an online course to examine concepts of class and nationality among students at UTEP. Heyman's analysis provides a powerful demonstration that class is viewed—and experienced—differentially based on a number of social factors, making it one of a number of productive areas of meaningful social inquiry. As Heyman suggests, "the point is not that class is real, race (say) is not, and this is just all a simple and naive mystification" (p. 243).

Sharryn Kasmir's contribution examines the rhetoric of superiority surrounding novel employment practices at the Saturn automotive manufacturing facility in Spring Hill, Tennessee. Kasmir argues that members of the United Auto Workers at Saturn were dispossessed of their working-class consciousness and allegiance with other UAW workers through an employment system designed to convince them of their superior status in the hierarchy of American auto manufacturing. Kasmir demonstrates that such actions worked to create novel forms of identity among unionized employees while alienating them from other industrial laborers, their communities, and their families, creating a dialectic of privilege and dispossession.

The final case study by Kate Goltermann analyzes the class distinctions in an exclusive Aveda beauty salon in Florida. Goltermann shows how Aveda manipulates its corporate image to appeal to a class-based awareness of the environmental movement and the human rights of Indigenous peoples. In promoting aesthetic services that promise improvement of one's personal appearance without detrimental impacts on the environment, Aveda appeals to an affluent upper- and upper-middle-class clientele. However, the double work of Goltermann's analysis is found in her subtle comparison of the social class of the salon's stylists with that of their clientele. Every aspect of the workplace symbolically bridges the stark class distinction between employees and clients, but in actual practice these actions only make these differences in lifestyle and class consciousness more apparent. Goltermann states that "paradoxically, beauty work heightens people's insecurities while appearing to alleviate them" (p. 283), a statement that works simultaneously for stylists and clients.

In the concluding chapter, Durrenberger returns to many of the themes from his introduction. He suggests that the volume's contributions demonstrate the ability of anthropology to see "beyond the confusions of the surface to the realities under it" (p. 299). He counterposes the theoretical perspective represented in this work with that of Sherry Ortner and other scholars who have found little utility in analyses of class, preferring instead to operationalize other forms of identity in their research. Durrenberger dismisses such studies as just another form of dreamwork, stating that "gender is one of the poles of identity that anthropologists may dance around like strippers in a bar to distract the denizens from the grimy realities of their lives" (p. 300).

This is an excellent volume, but not for the reasons Durrenberger contends. Rather than a theoretical tour de force for class-based anthropological analysis, this work demonstrates repeatedly that class and consciousness are intersected by a host of other forms of individual and collective identity and experience. As Heyman's chapter suggests, the point is not to deny the importance of class-based anthropological critiques but, rather, to see how class is enmeshed within other forms of social experience and consciousness making. Thus, what remains are valuable anthropological studies that demonstrate that even when

attempting to bring class to the forefront, the so-called dreamwork remains an integral—and, arguably, the most fascinating—component of the human experience.

Fighting like a Community: Andean Civil Society in an Era of Indian Uprisings. *Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. xx + 233 pp.

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Years ago, Xavier Albó and I examined the linkages between a Bolivian rural peasant community and its migrants who lived in the capital, La Paz. What we found is that the migrants worked diligently on behalf of the home community and exercised strong influence on its affairs. Albó described the migrants as the "hidden army" deployed by a rural community to defend and advance its needs in the capital.

Since then, many Andeanists have studied this richly nuanced relationship, including Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld, author of the present monograph. Readers will find *Fighting like a Community* a closely argued, provocative, and useful book. The author focuses on the political life of contemporary rural highlanders in two sets of communities. One set lies northeast of Otavalo, Ecuador; the other is Tigua, a center of artistic innovation to the south of Quito. Readers will know (1) that Ecuador is exceptional in terms of powerful national indigenous political mobilization, and (2) that the northern highlands area is especially known for entrepreneurial traditions. Although one cannot view the book's communities as representative of Andean communities, these locations are strategic choices for examining the dynamics of Ecuador's indigenous economic and political mobilization.

Although the centuries-long monopolization of wealth by mestizos continues, for the past two decades the reaction of indigenous communities has figured in all national decisions affecting their interests. When the indigenous communities mobilize, the country can be paralyzed and the central government may fall. This quite astonishing development demands that we look at how Ecuador's indigenous communities manage internal decision making, how they deal with external authorities, under what conditions they suspend ongoing disputes to coalesce with neighboring communities against threats from the state to local interests, and the roles played in these conflicts by those of their citizens who now live in cities.

Underlying the emergence of indigenous power are the profound changes that indigenous communities have undergone in recent decades. Although its agriculture and community lands are powerful identity symbols, agriculture makes only a small contribution to most livelihoods. Instead, it is trade, crafts, and transport that are the mainstays of local income. Colloredo-Mansfeld uses *career* to understand how community members construct their personal livelihood solutions. Careers will dictate whether they live in the community, in the city, or even abroad and whether they stay in occasional or constant contact. Commonly new economic and social interests arise (producing, e.g., trade groups), which cut across origin community membership, but one's indigenous status, anchored in origin community membership, remains central and indispensable to a viable career.

The book's strongest area of analysis is on the political workings transpiring within indigenous communities. What the author finds is an "agonistic unity" in which community leaders conduct "vernacular statecraft" to overcome omnipresent community divisions. Communities harbor jealousies, grudges over past conflicts, disputed boundaries, and rivalries that must be overridden (with difficulty) when coalition and joint action are needed. Colloredo-Mansfeld is perhaps at his strongest in discerning how this is accomplished, particularly through artfully employing the traditional *minga,* the obligation imposed on community members to participate in collective projects or face sanctions.

At the same time, local communities are no longer, in form or content, traditional entities sharing traditional peasant values. The institutions of their governance structure, land boundaries, political actions, and economic base are the creation of external entities. National organizations, international NGOs and their ideas, land reform laws, economic change, past national political struggles, and evangelical churches have combined to fundamentally transform the nature of local communities.

Community sovereignty and autonomy are indefatigably defended, to the point of excluding external police, while "rough justice" is administered to miscreants. No external organization, including indigenous advocacy NGOs and political authorities, can dictate the actions of the local community. NGOs can be instigators and articulators of an issue, but local communities, coalitions, and individuals are in control of whether they choose to participate or not. Thus, national organizations and movements, the author argues, derive their power and efficacy from local indigenous communities, not the other way around: "Where national organizations offer coordination and visibility, communities deliver the practical punch" (p. 178).

At the same time, legacy symbols are potent. Being indigenous and a member of a specific indigenous community, even though members are strikingly diverse in particulars, are prerequisite to a viable career. Kin links within a community are a necessary credential. The embracing of traditional Andean ritual cosmology is highly variable, but respecting those beliefs is required.

Indigenous language (Kichwa) is a badge of belonging and a tool for excluding mestizos, NGO personnel, external authorities, and police from community proceedings.

Like all studies, the research presented in this book has limits and boundaries. For example, in examining protests, the author pays scant attention to the spread of cell phones, which allow protesters to confound the control measures of state authorities. Just as cell phones now empower protests globally, they do so in the Andes, and without them indigenous actions would be much more vulnerable to suppression. Another underexamined factor is the spread of evangelical religion, and the corresponding weakening of folk Catholicism that has traditionally reinforced older forms of control over Indians. Also, the book would be stronger if the author had examined why clientelism, the traditional mechanism by which mestizos and national authorities have controlled indigenous people, no longer has force. Why is clientelism impotent now?

Finally, the indigenous movement in Ecuador grew from both Indians of the Amazonian lowlands (i.e., tribally organized Indians) and the agrarian highlanders of peasant background. While noting the "other" Amazonian participants, Colloredo-Mansfeld accedes to the broadly held assumption that Ecuador's lowland Indians are not very relevant to the indigenous movement as far as the highlanders are concerned. The ongoing record of indigenous protest in Ecuador argues to the contrary: the national indigenous movement is a joint, synergistic creation and, thus, both highlanders and lowlanders must be a part of its analysis.

That said, *Fighting like a Community* is an important, even a critically important, book. Its author analyzes in a fresh and convincing way how particular operant factors produce indigenous political life in Ecuador, a country where emergent indigenous power in national politics demands to be explained. Further, the author's discussion of the relevant scholarly literature provides the reader with a useful context for situating his argument. Most importantly, the book deals with Andean indigenous people, communities, economy, and politics as they are now.

Differentiating Development: Beyond an Anthropology of Critique. *Soumhya Venkatesan* and *Thomas Yarrow,* eds. New York: Berghahn, 2012. 248 pp.

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In their introduction to *Differentiating Development,* Venkatesan and Yarrow pose questions that are relevant not only to anthropologists of development but also to all anthropologists who worry about their contributions to the societies in which they work and teach. The editors sketch what they see as a fin-de-siècle "shift" from a "more applied" development anthropology to a "more detached" anthropology of development (p. 3), the latter as elaborated in the work of such scholars as Arturo Escobar and James Ferguson. The editors and contributors to this volume recognize the importance of this "post-development critique," which has shown "how an overtly benign impulse to eradicate poverty and promote positive social change often ends up reinscribing the very forms of inequality 'development' purports to overcome" (p. 2). Yet to leave the matter there leaves hanging those anthropologists who work in development, not to mention well-intentioned development workers and the many anthropology students (both graduate and undergraduate) who want to work in development. Beyond critique, the book asks, what potential is there for a positive engagement between anthropology and development?

In response, the editors ask anthropologists of development to renounce what they see as a taken-for-granted asymmetry: "an assumption of the superiority of anthropological knowledge" vis-à-vis the knowledge deployed by development workers (p. 6). The critical anthropology of development has grown from ethnographic work that, from the start, has "take[n] critique as its aim" (p. 8). Anthropologists of this orientation have, of course, "align[ed] themselves with the particular [non-Western] groups they study" (p. 4), but, doing so, they have not been able, or have wished, to take development workers themselves as natives with contradictory, sometimes admirable intentions worthy of study in their own right.

This anthropological assumption of superiority has deprived us, Venkatesan and Yarrow contend, of one of the greatest benefits of anthropological fieldwork: the reflexive self-criticism it provokes as we find our own theoretical worldview challenged by the people we study. The chapters gathered here (stemming from a 2008 workshop) seek, as a counter to the now-dominant view, "to reveal the moral and social worlds in which ideas of development are made meaningful, without becoming apologists for those that we study" (p. 8). A particular concern is to grapple with the distinction between anthropological knowledge couched as theoretical (and political) critique, on the one hand, and development knowledge organized to effect (or to appear to effect) results on the ground, on the other hand.

The volume contains ten substantive chapters and five briefer comments by senior scholars. The chapters present overviews of long-term projects, each attempting (with more or less success) to reinterpret past work in terms of the theoretical concerns of the volume. While space constraints preclude discussion of all ten chapters, attention to two, which the editors themselves see as representing the most divergent viewpoints of the volume, will be useful.

In a chapter on "Contrasting Aspects of Knowledge Work in International Development and Anthropology," Maia Green describes the two forms of knowledge

("expert" and "participatory") that development projects are socially organized to utilize. Her astute analysis is based on "long-term involvement with the Tanzanian Local Government Reform Programme," as an observer, stakeholder, expert, and, as the author of the chapter in question, an "ex-expert" (p. 48). In her work as an expert, she was required to produce knowledge "in the form of a series of reports" that "was a contracted outcome of the process of engagement with the programme" (p. 49). Needless to say, that process of engagement was itself grounded in the bureaucratic structure of the project, so that, in the end, her work could only generate results that were socially "acceptable as relevant knowledge" (p. 49). Green's account of the construction of participatory knowledge is even more disheartening as she describes the bureaucratic practices that structure participation (through routines of mapping, diagramming, and group discussion, etc.) and then fence off the results as morally unassailable because locally inscribed. Neither type of knowledge is allowed to interact with the other (two-way reflexive critique is impossible in this social context), and both are ultimately written up by experts and bureaucrats. In the end, Green contrasts all this with "the openness of anthropology to new knowledge, not only from within the discipline but across other disciplinary frames" (p. 53). Anthropology's "porosity" gives it an "epistemological advantage . . . when it comes to addressing the unanticipated." But because anthropological knowledge refuses to be corralled, it "resists application to templates and grids" and becomes, for the purposes of most development projects, "useless" (pp. 53–54).

A very different story is told by John Gledhill and Maria Gabriela Hita in "Beyond an Anthropology of 'the Urban Poor': Rethinking Peripheral Urban Social Situations in Brazil." Gledhill and Hita describe ethnographic research they conducted "while supporting the development of a new community representative body" (p. 114) established in 2007 in Bairro da Paz, a poor neighborhood in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. While they do not say much about the formal nature of their engagement with the community, they provide an overview of the history of a neighborhood that has managed to maintain a "combative political culture" that is "suspicious of 'impositions' and focused on demands," and all this during the rise to hegemonic prominence of neoliberalism in Brazil (p. 115). Gledhill and Hita's ethnography reveals poor people who are not simply victims of state and NGO incursions, despite the fact that their room for maneuver is circumscribed by poverty. They also seem confident that ethnographers working alongside, and under the direction of, community-based projects can produce knowledge that can be reflexively critical, both for anthropologists and for community activists, while also being useful to the latter in forwarding their own projects.

The difference between the situations of knowledge production described by Green and Gledhill and Hita suggest that, after all, those who pay the piper call the tune. These chapters offer no sure recipe that can make anthropological knowledge useful in development projects, but they challenge us all to be mindful of our audiences as we construct our critiques.

Masquerade and Postsocialism: Ritual and Cultural Dispossession in Bulgaria. *Gerald W. Creed.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011. 254 pp.

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Masquerade and Postsocialism is a provocative and intellectually stimulating ethnography on seemingly archaic and esoteric ritual practices of mumming in Bulgaria. Referred to as *kukeri* or *survakari* in the local parlance, the masquerade rituals take place in the winter between early January (linking it to the New Year's celebrations) and mid-March (relating it to the beginning of Lent) in many villages throughout Bulgaria, in which groups of people go from house to house. According to Creed, it is an "all-consuming event" (p. 2) involving elaborate masks and animal-skin costumes that are diligently prepared by the mummers far in advance, as well as hypnotic sounding bells and reciprocal offerings of food and wine–brandy by villagers who receive the mummers at their homes during the ritual.

While mumming is often considered a ritualized pagan "superstition," the practice has survived state socialism, which promoted scientific modernization. Furthermore, it was eventually embraced by the socialist state for nationalistic goals and continued to expand in the aftermath of state socialism. Creed poses the question of why some of these villagers who struggle for basic necessities continue to invest resources for these rituals that seem "ineffectual performances" (p. 1). Although rituals such as mumming are rarely considered as grassroots activity aiding in civil society initiatives, Creed sees these ritual practices as cultural resources that could have proven useful during the intensive and often frustrating social transformation process following the collapse of state socialism. His term *cultural dispossession* refers to the failure of taking advantage of the familiar cultural resources that could have resonated more to the local context than a Western-centered discourse of democratization and neoliberal economic reforms.

The book can be followed along two main threads: one around the meaning of rural ritual practices during intensive social transformations, and the other around the poignant critique of postsocialist studies and the limitations of common Western assumptions on why the neoliberal agenda of civil society produced more disappointment than enlightenment, and actually diminished rather than encouraged civic engagement. In this context,

mumming serves as an important nexus to investigate several important themes of postsocialist studies such as gender and sexuality (ch. 2), civil society and democracy (ch. 3), autonomy and community (ch. 4), and ethnicity and nationalism (ch. 5) to explain the transition from socialism to capitalism and democracy. Throughout the chapters but particularly in chapter 1, the ritual is described vividly with great ethnographic details. The subsequent chapters meticulously analyze the ritual around the various themes.

What stands out in Creed's analysis is his sympathetic yet critical eye on the limitations (and, thus, failure) of potential alternatives that could have been more locally viable. For instance, reflective of the so-called gender crisis in postsocialism, the mumming practices have conveyed a stronger manly aura with bigger, heavier bells; more menacing and larger masks; and increasing preference for animal-skin costumes over fabric during the transition period. While there are signs of women mummers, mummers have traditionally been exclusively males and included a transvestite bride. This suggests that mumming offers a social space to express alternative masculinities. Creed is careful, however, to note that these alternatives become hardly recognized as viable alternative masculinity because they are ultimately placed in the lower standing within the hegemonic global hierarchy.

The chapter on civil society and democracy particularly shines in bringing out these nuanced readings of what one might call the postsocialist agony in the post–Cold War era: Creed brilliantly demonstrates how civil society in Bulgaria (and elsewhere in Eastern Europe) can be viewed as "democratic performance" to civilize and establish governmentality (p. 115) of the globally hegemonic powers. Mumming activities reflect culturally embedded social relations and interactions and, thus, can be seen as indicative of the local expectations of civil society. And, yet, the most popular focus of civil society discussions has revolved around NGOs. He poses an important question of why ethnographic studies have had little effect on mainstream studies of democratization and civil society and argues that we need to rethink how we understand the nature of community.

In the chapter on community, Creed continues his critique about the ethnocentric criteria of civil society that assumes a homogeneous notion of "community." Such a perspective allows only certain kinds of activities (e.g., via NGOs) to be interpreted as civil society. He instead suggests that other activities (e.g., mumming) demonstrate similar qualities and virtues that are often associated with "civil society." Creed also challenges the common interpretation of socialist societies as being atomized. According to the mainstream analysis, socialist policies resulted in isolated and selfish families who could not trust one another, were in conflictive relationships, and, ultimately, depended on the paternalistic state. As seen in the mumming ritual, however, Creed shows how the conflictive aspects of social relations are inherently part of a community. In other words, the notion of community can be understood as one in which conflict is constructive rather than disruptive, and minority populations, for example, can be incorporated and tolerated in everyday interactions without the promise to end ethnic prejudice as reflected in these rituals. Unfortunately, even though these rituals are intimate and integrative elements of people's lives, and are evident alternatives, these cultural resources were eroded and reformed before they could be recognized as viable—a process that Creed calls "cultural dispossession."

While Bulgaria is hardly a "model" for inspiration by social theorists, the Bulgarian case that Creed examines is highly relevant and effective in critiquing the rather limiting hegemonic political and economic models for "developing" countries under the post–Cold War conditions. As Creed emphasizes, "postsocialism is not just the situation of former socialist countries, it is the condition of the world in the aftermath of a global cold war that derogated socialism and laid the groundwork for cultural dispossessions" (p. 7). This kind of perspective can be very useful in thinking about the failed attempts of development efforts elsewhere and encourages us to think comparatively about similar cases in late socialist countries such as China and Vietnam. One thing that I missed in Creed's otherwise brilliant analysis was the engagement with postsocialist literature outside of the European context. While he makes reference to the comparison between postcolonialism and postsocialism in an earlier chapter, he does not particularly delve into postsocialist experiences outside of the Eastern European context. The atomization argument, for example, is noticeable in late socialist literature, and it would be fruitful to engage in some of those discussions (e.g., Yan 2009).

Masquerade and Postsocialism was an exhilarating read that offered much inspiration on the relevance of anthropological insights into larger social problems and critique of hegemonic models for political and economic reforms. Clearly and accessibly written, I strongly recommend this book for both introductory and advanced level courses. For the former, it offers not only colorful and engaging descriptions of "exotic" rituals but also teaches students how to ask provocative and clearly articulated questions of seemingly unrelated matters such as rural pagan tradition and its potential for grassroots civil society initiatives. For the latter, it shows a superb example of a fine-grained ethnographic analysis and how to engage with larger debates on society and culture using these sophisticated interpretations of diverse cultural phenomena.

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Reigning the River: Urban Ecologies and Political Transformation in Kathmandu. *Anne M. Rademacher.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. 245 pp.

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The last decade in Nepal has been extremely turbulent. With the dramatic end to monarchy and an equally remarkable rise of a Maoist-led democracy, the Himalayan state is in the throes of radical change and uncertainty. As Nepal comes to grips with the profound political change and as scholars and political enthusiasts attempt to analyze the social, historical, and political contours of this unfolding political transformation, Anne Rademacher's ethnography *Reigning the River* comes at a timely moment and makes a much-needed contribution to our anthropological understanding of the intense entanglements of social, political, and environmental changes. Focusing on two rivers that flow through Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, and are in serious decline, *Reigning the River,* as the title aptly suggests, tracks the overlapping projects of environmental improvement and state making as they unfold over the years and argues that the project of reigning the river is as much about the river's ecology as it is about the form and function of the national polity itself.

Kathmandu, an embodiment of symbolic and material power, stands in the river basin of the two holy rivers—Bagmati and Bishnumati. Over the last few decades, there has been a significant inflow of landless migrants into the city from other parts of the country. Unable to cope with the rising population, the city dumps the untreated sewage of almost the entire city, along with garbage, into the river, resulting in severe degradation of the river. As the Bagmati river undergoes further decline, efforts are made to restore the river's ecological vitality with the help of funds and expertise from international donors. Despite billions spent in river restoration and glorious plans for urban parks in place, there have been no changes in the river ecologies. It is in this context of ecological decline, political flux, and rapid urban expansion that *Reigning the River* weaves together a powerful and rich ethnographic narrative that brings together diverse perspectives and politics and urges us to rethink our standard terms of analysis and take note of the contingent and contradictory aspects of urban improvement. By foregrounding ecology as a social practice and attending to what the author calls "ecology in practice," *Reigning the River* elaborates how the riverscape simultaneously offers a charged terrain for those who want to maintain the legitimacy of the state as well as others who contest and question the goals and practices of the state. As the condition of the river deteriorated and political struggle intensified, Rademacher shows that the pollution of the river exceeded beyond the question of the environment and became an index of democracy's successes and failures.

In taking seriously the question "what urban ecology *means*" (p. 31) posed by an interlocutor in the field, *Reigning the River* is precisely the exploration of what are the configurations of urban ecology and how it comes to be constituted and legitimized at different moments. Through conversations, interviews, and the unfolding saga of river restoration and environmental improvement, Rademacher suggests that the answer to the pithy and, yet, loaded question is not waiting to be found in documents and libraries but what urban ecology means and comes to mean is in constant production and contestation (p. 33), which unravels itself in everyday practices and ecological imaginaries of modernity, developmentalism, and urban improvement. By exploring how certain ecological logics and moral claims come to gain ground in particular political orders, Rademacher argues against a unified environmentalism and writes that "we can claim neither a singular and stable environmentalism nor a singular or uncontested attendant morality" (p. 177).

Reigning the River is divided into six lucid chapters and an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction comprehensively takes the reader through the complex social history and political turbulence in Nepal and lays out a theoretically sophisticated framework of the book. To historically situate the unfolding politics of river restoration and democracy, chapter 1 presents a careful but necessary account of the political shifts over the last several decades and explains the key elements of monarchy, nation building, the rise of an international development network, and democracy that help us understand the events of the 21st century. Chapter 2 presents three different but not necessarily distinct narratives of river degradation that attempted to first define the problem and also find possible solutions. The official narrative relied on extensive scientific data and support from international donors, and it did not question the status quo and, in fact, assumed a continued relationship between international development and the Nepali state. By highlighting primarily the biophysical aspects of degradation, the official narrative not only offered technical solutions to restore the rivers but it also legitimated the exclusion of those who lived on the banks of the river. The housing advocates, however, drew on the transnational discourse of sustainability and spoke on behalf of the landless migrants to upgrade their settlements. The third narrative, largely spearheaded by one charismatic leader, presented a dramatically different reading and equated "river restoration with the very reclamation of cultural identity and political autonomy" (p. 89). Upholding the vision of a "Bagmati Civilization," this version of restoration relied on a more traditionalist solution that too was exclusionary in its own ways. Chapters 3 and 4 chart the ironic turn of events

when the Bagmati river was miraculously cleaned during the emergency and draw attention to yet another rendering of urban ecologies in practice. As the urban beautification project went hand in hand with housing demolitions to make room for urban parks in preparation for the SAARC meeting, chapter 4 recounts how urban spaces were refashioned to make visible the idea of a new Nepal, a modern nation and a polity without monarchy. Interestingly, as the city was being reordered during the emergency, instead of resentment and frustration, Rademacher finds there was general appreciation and support for city beautification, even among the housing advocates, who were pleased to see that "something was getting done." Because ecological decline and dysfunctional democracy had come to be linked, the beautification of the city was surprisingly a welcome change. With beautification underway during the emergency, chapter 5 focuses on migrants and describes how they came to be considered river degraders. Not only were migrants blamed for the poor state of the river, ecological assessments of migration and slum housing changed during the emergency, highlighting how different narratives of ecology and their solutions become dominant at different moments. Chapter 6 presents a rich analysis of the transnational linkages that constitute the dynamics of local and global and how river-focused identity and global linkages were strategically invoked or rejected (p. 155).

As Nepal forges new political alliances and strives for a democratic and equitable future, Rademacher's nuanced and thoughtful reading of the political shifts through and with the lens of urban ecologies in practice makes a groundbreaking contribution. With rapid expansion and growth, cities in the global south are confronted with meager infrastructure and serious inequalities in access to basic necessities, producing highly contested and fraught urban terrain of everyday life. Anthropologists have just begun to turn their attention to cities in the south and *Reigning the River* is one of the first detailed ethnographies to effectively grapple with the cultural politics of urban natures. It is an admirable project and will not only be of immense relevance to a wide range of readers interested in questions of urban improvement, development, and livelihood struggles, but it also deserves to be read widely by undergraduate and graduate students of urban studies, environmental studies, anthropology, cultural studies, and South Asian studies. It is a pioneering contribution that is bound to have a lasting impact.

Becoming Mapuche: Person and Ritual in Indigenous Chile. *Magnus Course.* Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2011. 224 pp.

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This is an unexpected ethnography of personhood because the Mapuche garner so much attention for their political struggles. Magnus Course's focus on what Mapuche men of one region consider the defining characteristics of the "true person," or *che,* thus offers a unique, systemic analysis of the principles that structure interpersonal relations. Course provides a productive twist, however, from traditional approaches to social structure in indigenous societies, in that he emphasizes how individuals with their competing and overlapping interests form tenuous alliances via reciprocal relations, which in turn validate them as "true persons" (or not, as the case may be), rather than assuming that preformed groups construct the person.

In the first 40 pages or so, Course's take-nothing-for-granted, rather mundane approach to the principles of Mapuche relationships may test some readers' patience. He explains that kinship and reciprocity, or "the sociality of exchange," are the primary means by which true people form and strengthen relationships; exchanging gifts, particularly wine among Mapuche men, creates and reinforces relationships; friends and potential affines are of a different order of exchange than patrilineal kin; "true persons" exchange greetings every morning and evening, and, time permitting, visitors inquire about each other and their families; it is offensive to eat in front of someone without offering food; and people's traits are explained by descent, environment, and chance. Such etiquette is little different from that of the Ch'orti' Maya or even Kansans, among whom I spend most of my time. As the book progresses, though, the distinctiveness of Mapuche life comes into clearer focus as does the rationale for Course's approach because the Mapuche—like Ch'orti's and Kansans—are seen as forming a type of society where individuals have relatively more liberty to build their own one-on-one affiliations, rather than having them imposed by corporate groups. The juxtaposition with U.S. residents also provides an excellent opportunity for classroom discussion.

Mapuche men seek, build, and maintain one-on-one affiliations through the commonalities of reservation residence, patrilineal kin groups, marriage, and ritual groups *(lof),* all of which are voluntary. The centrality of these relationships comes to the fore in Course's detailed descriptions of funerals, ritual field hockey games, and multicommunity annual rituals, all of which vindicate the emphasis on the primacy of the individual rather than preeminence of groups. While all can fortify alliances, funerals and ritual hockey matches in particular are fields of suspicion and competition. All deaths outside of physical combat are because of sorcery, such that even the unification of kin, friends, and affines for funerals is rife with tension and maneuvering. In ritual field hockey, an individual challenges another to a match and only then do the two assemble players from their respective lofs, opening rituals of hospitality are riven with gamesmanship, and even the

game itself lacks teamwork in favor of players of opposing positions competing individually against each other as "enemy-affines." More challenging to Course's individualistic approach is the multicommunal Ngillatun thanksgiving ritual. Clearly not an individually motivated event, Course explains it as cosmological model of and for the social fields in which Mapuche individuals ally and compete, but even this is structured as a dyad, with two blocks of communities alternating in hosting the annual event.

Course's descriptions of ritual events are sometimes so finely detailed as to be of interest only to ethnologists of the Mapuche and, perhaps, South American indigenous societies generally, which points to a logical tension in the book. As Course acknowledges, "the Mapuche" have experienced tremendous changes over the centuries, but in interpreting the meaning of contemporary Mapuche practices on the Pacific coast, such as ritual field hockey or the concept of the soul, he sometimes turns to historical and other ethnographic documents, seemingly taking for granted a transhistorical Mapuche culture. In other places, Course is more careful in accepting diversity, as in his discussion about where the soul goes after death. Again, these divergent approaches could make for instructive moments in the classroom.

Overall, Course is careful to couch the dynamics of current Mapuche men's patterns of descent, reciprocity, and animosity as shaped, constrained, or induced by colonial disempowerment and poverty. And here he is at his best. Mapuches have been herded onto reservations that were later reduced and privatized, forced from pastoralism to agriculture, prohibited from practicing polygyny, and observed their population unsustainably increased with accompanying migration to the cities. As a result, kin groups and rituals have weakened, complex bride-price procedures have collapsed, and inheritance has been the cause for increasing tension. The dramatic changes cause one to wonder whether such circumstances have contributed to the Mapuche independent mindset.

Becoming Mapuche is a must read for Mapuche scholars, and because Course concludes by ruminating on how the Mapuche "true person" offers clues as to why they have not formed a strong nationalist movement, it makes a nice companion reading to the more politically oriented publications on the Mapuche. With 167 clearly written pages, the book is well suited for both undergraduate introductory and area courses, and Course's individualistic approach has the potential to generate much discussion about comparisons between the Mapuche and Western societies. I find his approach to Mapuche social organization from the individual up, rather than social groups down, to be refreshing and convincing. The book would also be appropriate and useful for more advanced courses on kinship, the person and society, and ritual and sport. In sum, *Becoming Mapuche* is well researched, well written and organized, and offers a unique and persuasive approach to the Mapuche that would be useful for other indigenous groups as well.

From Modern Production to Imagined Primitive: The Social World of Coffee from Papua New Guinea. *Paige West.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 315 pp.

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Paige West uses political ecology and multisited ethnography to examine how coffee production connects one remote village, Maimafu, in the highlands of Papua New Guinea with the global specialty coffee industry in *From Modern Production to Imagined Primitive*. West's long-term fieldwork in the highlands has provided her with a wealth of ethnographic examples from which to draw on while exploring the social and material world of coffee there. She takes the reader on a journey from the rural households where coffee is grown in Maimafu; to the city of Goroka, where it is processed; and, finally, overseas to Australia, Germany, England, and the United States, where it is marketed and consumed.

West begins her book by exploring the historical and economic importance of coffee production in Papua New Guinea. Today, the coffee industry is the main source of income for 300,000–400,000 people in the country. Coffee has placed rural farmers into a complex network of national coffee companies, international certification organizations, importers, buyers and roasters, and coffee consumers around the world. By examining the coffee industry in Papua New Guinea, West provides the reader with a lens through which to view racial, ethnic, class, and cultural transformations that have occurred in that country.

One of the most important contributions of this book is West's scrutiny of the incongruent fantasies of modernity and the primitive that are ascribed to coffee production and producers in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. West explains that while coffee farmers see coffee production as a marker of modernity, coffee marketers craft and sell a fantasy of coffee producers in Papua New Guinea as "noble savages." Coffee marketers use stereotypical images and stories, drawn from both the colonial period and early ethnographic work there, to add economic value to the coffee and differentiate it from coffee produced elsewhere that has a similar flavor and quality profile. West talks with coffee traders who explain that consumers in countries such as the United States desire "fairytale coffee," so the images they use on packaging and the stories they tell fulfill this desire.

West discusses how coffee has transformed both the physical and social landscape in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. Coffee production has transformed family labor relations and cultural practices at the village level.

Her use of ethnographic detail is particularly rich in her discussion of how coffee production differs greatly from sweet potato production for the Gimi people of Maimafu. The Gimi are in a constant transactive relationship with the forest and fields where they live. West discusses how Gimi women both "come into being in the world and bring the world into being" (p. 118) through their relationships with and care for traditional crops such as sweet potatoes. In this patrilineal society, sweet potato production binds each Gimi woman to her husband's family through a connection to his family's ancestors. Unlike sweet potatoes, coffee is not linked to a family's ancestors. It is linked to the outside world because coffee is exclusively sold rather than locally consumed or given through gift exchange; thus, it has a different significance for the Gimi. Sweet potato production helps to build collectivity in Gimi society, while coffee production, like other Western influences including Christianity, waged labor, and commodity consumption, refocus the Gimi toward individuality.

In the second half of the book we leave the village of Maimafu to explore the national and then global connections that infuse coffee with modernity for the Gimi. Coffee leaves Maimafu by airplane and is largely transported by two different faith-based carriers into the city of Goroka. West provides us with ethnographic details about how coffee is processed in Goroka and how people there are able access a middle-class lifestyle through the coffee industry. Furthermore, she discusses the historic and present-day racial tension between native Papua New Guineans and a diverse group of expatriates in the country who work alongside them in the coffee industry.

In her penultimate chapter, "International Coffee," West attempts to cover the entire coffee commodity chain outside of Papua New Guinea. Covering the perspectives and roles of coffee importers, buyers, roasters, and consumers of coffee in one chapter feels unbalanced when compared to the rich ethnographic discussions about the social life of coffee in Papua New Guinea, which make up the preceding six chapters. While it may be impractical to give equal treatment to each level of the commodity chain, this chapter might have benefited from being split into two chapters, one with a focus on the rich stories about the marketing and importing of coffee and the fantasies that are created and used to market the coffee, and another chapter that would provide a more detailed discussion about coffee consumers' limited understanding about both certified coffees and Papua New Guinea.

West concludes her book with a critique of certified coffee. The concluding chapter is the one most devoted to discussing third-party certification systems such as "fair trade." Prior to the conclusion, West only provides a short description of the small additional amount of money coffee farmers can earn from fair trade–certified versus uncertified coffee. The reader does not have a complete picture of the certification process, the farmers' perceptions of it, or on the ground impacts the certification system has on the farmers and families. This chapter seems disjointed from the rest of the book, which has such rich ethnographic discussions about the social life of coffee in Papua New Guinea. If third-party certification systems are an important part of that social life, they deserve a more nuanced discussion.

This well-written ethnography contributes to several bodies of literature including those on coffee production and commodity chain studies, and ethnographic accounts from Papua New Guinea. It would be useful for graduate or undergraduate courses on globalization, as an example in graduate courses on writing ethnography, and for those scholars studying commodity chains and third-party certification systems.

Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy. *Edith Turner.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 258 pp.

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Edith Turner, known affectionately throughout the anthropological profession as Edie, is drawn to the nonordinary in human experience. The analysis of the distaff side of culture was significantly advanced by her late husband Victor Turner, building on Van Gennep's study of rites of passage and Max Gluckman's analysis of institutions such as African rituals of rebellion. Often working in tandem with Edie, Victor Turner elaborated an array of fertile concepts such as "antistructure," "liminality," "marginality," and—the subject of this book—"communitas."

My recommendation is that the reader begin at page 194, read pages 197–198, and then go to the beginning. This way one starts with a very clear introduction to what Turner is up to. On page 194 she speaks of lending her weight "to the task of reopening the heavy door that has been barred in serious philosophy, anthropology, many aspects of religious studies, and the study of the psyche against the *experience* of religion." Provided one takes "religion" broadly, I can think of no more precise statement of the course her studies have taken for many years. Pages 197–198 succinctly set out her view of how the experience of communitas is achieved by "alignment." She describes this by means of a few analogies, including two or more musicians "finding unison" after moving through discord.

Communitas is an experience of collective solidarity, joy, even ecstasy, an oceanic feeling of unity that emerges when several individuals lose their sense of divisive individuality. The best way to convey the meaning of communitas is via concrete depictions that may evoke memories of readers' own experience of it. One vivid instance is anthropologist Roy Willis's encounter with communitas while

participating in a Lungu healing ceremony in Zambia. Many anthropologists, reading that, will recall comparable happenings from their own fieldwork.

The bulk of the book gives accounts, drawn from Turner's own life and from many others, of the emergence of communitas in a wide variety of contexts: music, graphic arts, sport, political movements, the experience of shared labor, the awe of nature, social gatherings, and religious ceremonies, to name only a few. A good deal of attention is devoted to African initiation rites for both males and females, which call to mind the Turners' early explorations into communitas during their fieldwork in the 1950s.

Indeed, so much here is identified as communitas that one begins to wonder what experiences do not qualify. The subtitle of the book is *The Anthropology of Collective Joy,* and it often looks as if she means to include within communitas any and every experience that evokes strong positive affect. This may be a shortcoming because the meaning of an object, event, idea, or condition is defined as much by what it is not as by what it is, by what it excludes as much as by what it includes. The broader the definitional brush the more indistinct the figure. My concern is that something of the unique quality of communitas—both in its intensity as an experience and its power as an analytic concept—is lost when it bleeds out to encompass virtually all feelings of joy, satisfaction, and goodness.

As I read Victor Turner's treatment in *The Ritual Process* (1969), the necessary incubator for the emergence of communitas is a plurality of individuals thrown together in antistructure. Standard examples of antistructure are initiates in a liminal state between their former status as children and their future status as adults, the marginal state of hippies who drop out of the conventional social structure to follow a communal lifestyle, or the inferior condition of groups like the followers of St. Francis who eschew worldly goods to embrace poverty. Many other examples of antistructure may readily be identified. The critical factor is the eradication of individual differences between those who are together in antistructure, leaving them in a condition of uniformity that fosters the sense that they are all One, merged into a kind of superorganic unity. That feeling is communitas.

Many of Edie Turner's examples fit this description but a number of them do not. Some of them lack the communal element, being solitary experiences such as an individual being overwhelmed by the vastness of the Great Plains, Turner's own early mornings as a girl doing chores on a farm, the self-transcendence that occurs with Zen mastery of painting, archery or some other activity, or those cases of musicians or athletes being "in flow" or "in the zone" as individuals rather than as team members (think of soloists or baseball pitchers or singles tennis players). Other examples seem to fall short of the merger into unity and the kind of affective intensity that accompanies it. I have in mind the "unconscious communitas Americans have for each other" (p. 24), noted on observing families visiting the mall in Washington, D.C., and her sharing pizza with a group of fellow travelers whose airplane was grounded in a strange city by bad weather.

Of course, Turner can define *communitas* any way she wishes. One effect of her broad brush, however, is that it impedes the capacity to analyze the differences between various types of communitas. Normative communitas is the effort to bring permanence to the powerful but fleeting experience of spontaneous communitas. This project, often attempted, can find no real success. That failure can be explained only by carefully distinguishing between structure and antistructure, because normative communitas tries to impose structure (rules, role differences) on spontaneous communitas, a condition that in its essence is antistructural.

To point that out, however, is to focus on communitas as an analytic concept for explaining the distinctions among a variety sociocultural situations. That is not Edie Turner's objective. She shows little interest in normative communitas. Instead, this book chronicles her fascination with spontaneous communitas as an elevating emotional feeling that we experience ourselves as well as recognize in others. No one can tell the story of that better than she can.

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