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Some of the most emblematic development disputes in recent times have occurred between mining corporations and indigenous and environmental interests. Sites such as the Four Corners region in the United States, Voisey Bay in Labrador, Canada, and, further away, the Ok Tedi mine in Papua New Guinea and the Freeport McMoRan operation in Papua, Indonesia, have gained international profiles as locations where mining has triggered environmental and indigenous protests. In these contexts, indigenous concerns have frequently been conflated with the environmental effects of the mining operations, to the extent that an indigenous-environmental alliance is readily assumed by outside observers whenever mining operations impinge on the territory of indigenous people.

In this volume, Saleem Ali interrogates this conflation between the indigenous and the environmental in the context of the contemporary North American mining industry. The focus of the book is apparent from the opening sentence: “Why do indigenous communities support environmental causes in certain cases of mining development and not in others when technical indicators of environmental impact may in fact be comparable?” (p. xv).

To answer this, Ali draws on case material from, primarily, two mining areas in the United States (the Four Corners region among the Navajo and Hopi people, and the Crandon mine proposal in Wisconsin) and two from Canada (the Saskatchewan uranium mines and the Voisey Bay nickel project in Labrador). These four sites offer a diversity of technical, economic, political, and cultural settings that allow Ali to explore the interplay between indigenous and environmental interests in the resistance (or lack of it) to these mining developments.

The volume is structured into three parts. First, the characteristics of the four key players in these conflicts are described: indigenous peoples (ch. 1), environmental NGOs (ch. 2), mining corporations (ch. 3), and government (ch. 4). The second part is divided into three chapters, the first of which provides the necessary background to the case studies. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the relationship between what Ali calls the “technical” impact of a mining development and the development of indigenous resistance. He finds that neither the extent nor the nature of the environmental impact, or the economic dimensions of the mining operation, can account for the development (or not) of resistance to the mine. However, his work does reveal that “while scientific indicators of impact may not adequately explain the emergence of resistance to mining, they can be an important means by which other latent factors are articulated in a negotiation” (p. 121).

Next, Ali thoroughly explores the nature of indigenous and environmental relations in the four case studies. Although some such alliances have been problematic, successful “red–green” collaborations have arisen. The key to this “has been in allowing the indigenous groups to make their own decisions and establish their own priorities” (p. 136), even if these do not accord with the immediate aims of the environmental group. Ali also discusses the role of land claims as the focal point for the development of resistance to mining in the four cases, especially in the context of differing land claim processes. The third part of the volume, comprised of chapters 9 and 10, moves from analysis to what Ali labels “prescriptive synthesis.” The conclusions of the study lead to a number of useful policy-related insights and advice for the various stakeholders in mining developments.

Ali’s central finding is that resistance to mining by indigenous groups is not premised primarily on environmental grounds—in some cases of large environmental impacts, there was no resistance. Rather, the primary issue at stake for indigenous communities is sovereignty: “The explanation of why resistance may arise in certain cases and not in others is predicated on whether the issues and stakeholders who articulate them are able to strengthen the capacity of tribes to realize long-term objectives as defined by them” (p. 175).

The approach in this volume draws on an eclectic range of theoretical tools derived predominantly from the sociological literature, including that relating to organizational behavior, institutional negotiating analysis, and linkage politics. In this sense, it exposes the book’s origins as a doctoral dissertation, but the application of these various tools is constructive and the author resists becoming theoretically polemical. Indeed the grounded nature of the material and analysis is one of the strengths of this volume. Ali has provided a valuable addition to the literature on mining and indigenous peoples, one that profitably utilizes a comparative framework in preference to the standard single-mine site investigation of the impact of mining.

MICHAEL LAMBEK
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Displaying immense erudition in both Islamic scholarship and the history of European thought, and sharply skeptical of received wisdom, Talal Asad offers trenchant soundings into secular modernity. This book is neither a celebration of secularism nor a neutral ethnographic exploration of secular life. It is a genealogical investigation of both the emergence of a concept (“the secular”), the additional concepts, discriminations, and practices it makes possible, as well as those it closes off, and, finally, an articulation of a political program (“secularism”). Asad intends to counter the self-affirming tone with which scholars—secular intellectuals—frequently approach the topic, seeing in secularism a triumph of liberal and ethical trends in European thought and Western democracy. Instead of viewing the secular “as the space in which real human life gradually emancipates itself from the controlling power of ‘religion’ and thus achieves the latter’s relocation” (p. 191), he analyzes how the modern state produces the very distinction between the secular and “religion,” justifying itself in the process and occluding other forms of community.

The book is thus less a discussion of religion (or its absence) per se than a contribution to empirically and historically informed political theory. Asad argues that secularism is not the positive condition of overlapping consensus and public conversation, as envisioned by theorists like Charles Taylor, but rather the political medium by which differentiating practices of religion are transcended. In addition, secularism defines itself against an other, which becomes, in effect, the object of its redemptive project. That is to say, Asad is ultimately concerned with both secularism’s emergence within Christian Europe and its call to Muslims to become subjects of liberal democratic states and, thereby, “embrace secularism and enter modernity” (p. 10).

Asad rejects the identification of secularism with disenchantment but argues that “the notion that…experiences [of modernity] constitute ‘disenchantment’—implying a direct access to reality, a stripping away of myth, magic, and the sacred—is a salient feature of the modern epoch” (p. 13). Thus, the very argument that connects disenchantment to modernity is itself a feature of modernity rather than an acute analysis of it. Asad approves Walter Benjamin’s argument that “[modernity] is ‘secular’ not because scientific knowledge has replaced religious belief…but because, on the contrary, it must be lived in uncertainty, without fixed moorings” (p. 64). Weber’s original conception of disenchantment may be closer to this than Asad’s critique suggests, but the point is well taken that “secularism” is not simply neutral space but full of powerful signifying processes, including those that ignore the interdependence of representations and what they represent (“reality”).

As a condition for contemporary thought, it is extremely difficult to get a direct or objective purchase on the secular. Accordingly, Asad moves obliquely through a series of connected chapters rather than a linear argument. He illuminates “the complicated genealogies by which we have acquired our vocabularies for talking about agency and subjectivity” (p. 71, n. 9) and contrasts “the passionate performance of an embodied ethical sensibility” with secular ideas of individual responsibility and punishment. He critiques both the secular goal of fully intentional, self-creating, and self-empowering subjects and modern depictions of the passivity of suffering and the privacy of pain. This theme is continued in critiques of secular forms of violence and discourses of suffering that are “increasingly universal in scope but particular in prescriptive content” (p. 101). Asad questions what counts as a “human rights violation” in public discourse and notes the “unresolved tension…between the moral invocation of ‘universal humanity’ and the power of the state to identify, apply, and maintain the law” (p. 138). Similarly, the secularist individual right to freedom of belief emerges through national legal systems, which simultaneously undermine the cultivation of the very practices that constitute “religious being.” For Asad, the key issue in human rights is not relativism versus universalism, but how particular kinds of interventions are justified.

A significant recurrent theme opposes Kantian and Aristotelian perspectives: between pure contemplation and practical activity, enlightenment and tradition, and abstract bearers of individuated conscience and collectively cultivated, embodied dispositions. Accordingly, Asad argues that we conceive of culture “not only in visual terms (‘clearly bounded’…” but also in terms of the temporalities of power by which…practices constituting particular forms of life are displaced [sic], outlawed, and penalized, and by which conditions are created for the cultivation of different kinds of human” (p. 154). This view is brought to bear in an astringent but sensible analysis of Muslims conceived as a “religious minority” in Europe. The point is not “recognition” of group “rights,” but an enabling of “what it takes to live particular ways of life continuously, cooperatively, and unselfconsciously” (p. 178). The presence of heterogeneous “embodied practices rooted in multiple traditions” evokes medieval Christian and Islamic society (p. 179) in contrast to the excluding, essentializing, and homogenizing character of nation states.

The concluding chapter offers a rich analysis of secularization in colonial Egypt. Legal reforms distort the way authority has functioned in Muslim tradition by misunderstanding the nature of Islam as a tradition. Upper-class Egyptians were encouraged to become self-governing, while Islam, Islamic law, and the subjects of that law (in particular, “the family”) were reconfigured within state law. The boundaries between law and ethics, civil and individual sovereignty, and the substance of each were thereby increasingly objectified and abstracted from social relations.

As anthropologists cognizant of the meaningful nature of religious worlds for their subjects and skeptical about the
claims of the liberal state, yet, as ourselves the inheritors of a skeptical and “enlightened” position, and beneficiaries of theory and the contemplative distance it implies, how do we choose between secularism and its alternatives? In the end, I think, Asad finds himself in the curious position of being at once a skeptic, and a defender of nonskeptical forms of life. It is perhaps in this sense that these complex and challenging chapters constitute most fully an anthropological account.


MARC BECKER
Truman State University

Based on a 1997 field study in the archaeological site of Cochasquí in northern highland Ecuador, O. Hugo Benavides examines how archaeology and history contribute to the construction of gender, race, sexuality, class, ethnicity, and national identity. Rooted in a reading of Benedict Anderson, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and other theorists, he analyzes the political production of hegemony. Cochasquí, and Ecuador in general, is primarily used as vehicle for interpreting the process of historical representation and intellectual production. The primary contribution of this book is not an ethnographic or historical study of Ecuador but an attempt to construct a theoretical model for how identities are constructed.

Although the book is presented as a study based on the Cochasquí archaeological site, its scope is somewhat broader. Only the first half of the book focuses on Cochasquí, with subsequent chapters touching on the topics of homosexuality, indigenous movements, and media coverage of debates over a deity called Saint Biritute. Each of these sections is rather underdeveloped and could potentially be expanded into a separate book. Particularly surprising is a failure to present a full ethnographic analysis of the Cochasquí site. Local intellectuals, such as Pablo Guayaña, have built entire cosmologies around this and the neighboring sites of Puntachil and Pambamarca, which would seem to be key to the author’s interest in historical constructions, but they are not mentioned at all.

Chapter 4, “Between Foucault and a Naked Man,” examines homosexuality but hints and tantalizes more than it fulfills. A section on sexual jokes and racial myths at Cochasquí does not seem to reveal anything unique to this region, but could potentially be reflective of general social patterns common anywhere in Ecuador, or even throughout the Latin world. More disappointing is a subsequent section that attempts to historicize enchaquirados, a harem of young male religious sexual servants, which ethnohistorical accounts describe as being located on the Ecuadorian coast. There is little connection to previous sections on Cochasquí, seemingly missing an excellent opportunity to analyze how sexual identities are constructed across time, space, and culture. How do present-day indigeneous intellectuals engage this history? How do constructions of sexuality in Ecuador contrast with those found elsewhere? Such comparisons and analyses could be very instructive.

These weaknesses become even more pronounced in the next chapter. Benavides examines the attempts of indigenous movements to present reinterpretations of histories and alternative constructions of narratives. Although Benavides utilizes a standard theoretical literature, what is striking is almost a complete failure to engage a rapidly growing body of works on identity politics in Ecuador. A claim that indigenous and African peoples have been described “only rarely in analytical ethnographies and social texts” (p. 143) may have been true 20 years ago but is clearly no longer the case. From historical treatments, such as Karen Power’s work on the colonial period to Derek Williams’s work on contemporary studies in anthropology, and political science by Kim Clark, Susana Sawyer, Robert Andolina, José Antonio Lucero, and many others, there is an increasingly rich body of Ecuadorian literature from which Benavides could have drawn.

Except on the most abstract theoretical level, the sixth chapter on a 1993 debate of moving a statue of Saint Biritute, from the urban center of Guayaquil back to its home in the rural community of Sacachún, seems removed from the rest of the content of the book. Although Benavides admirably uses media reports on the conflict to examine issues of cultural hegemony, the event is a rather minor footnote in Ecuadorian history and, hence, is of somewhat limited value in defining how cultural hegemony functions in the country. Arguably, even the archaeological site of Cochasquí plays a relatively minor role in how the country as a whole has constructed its identity.

Although some readers certainly will be interested in the author’s engagement with critical theorists, it is probably not an ethnography that would be effectively used in a classroom or one that would be of interest to the general public. At points, the writing tends to jump randomly from topic to topic. A photo essay of a February 1997 uprising that evicted president Abdalá Bucaram from power leads a reader to assume that this will be a central theme in the book. With only passing references to these historic events, one is left with the impression of a book that collects random material to which the author had access, rather than carefully building a broad and compelling argument.


DAVID L. BROWMAN
Washington University in St. Louis

This massive volume is a seminal work—a major synthesis of a huge body of environmental and cultural factors
relating to hunter-gatherer groups, with much to offer archaeologists and social anthropologists interested in the evolution of social organization. The first draft began in 1971 as material for a seminar, with comparative data from 196 case studies in Murdock’s 1967 Ethnographic Atlas. Over the years, seminar students assembled comparative materials from 390 groups; 339 groups yielded sufficient information to be included in the quantitative manipulations here. This database is well documented; the 583-page volume contains 19 pages of notes, 44 pages of references, and 19 pages of author, case study, and subject indices.

The data reduction method is the “cultural processual” approach, with concomitant attempts to make lawlike generalizations and to develop middle-range theory. The 339 case studies are reduced to 60 tables and 151 figures. Some tables are extremely detailed—the longest are 14, 12, and ten pages. From these comparative data, Binford derives 131 generalizations, 82 propositions, 35 formulae, seven problems, and six scenarios. Clearly grist for multiple Ph.D. dissertation proposals.

Binford believes that variation in hunter-gather behavior is determined by a small number of environmental and demographic parameters. The book is about the development of a method for utilizing ethnographic data to project population density, economic subsistence, and social organization under different environmental and demographic constraints.

The first three chapters are used to review previous scholarly work and to establish various working definitions, such as risk versus uncertainty, risk pooling, and projection versus prediction. The second three chapters involve the study of the impact of environmental factors in what Binford sees as “middle-range research.” He utilizes relational projection (correlation argument between variables and organizational properties) and proportional projection (based on proportional means of properties from a selected area projected onto the entire earth surface) to generalize from his restricted data set, which is heavily biased toward groups in North America west of the Rockies and in northern Australia. One has to carefully read and understand the definitions being employed to follow the argument elaborated.

After developing techniques for monitoring global variability in climate and vegetation, Binford computes secondary biomass (animal tissue supported by the habitat). His proportional projection techniques provide an estimation of the maximum total hunter-gatherer population of the earth, with estimates of reliability made for projections to different plant communities. He then defines an “effective environment” derived from the environmental frame of reference, and constructs a “Terrestrial Model” as a new baseline frame of reference. To show the utility of this construct, he employs the ethnographic frame of reference, the environmental frame of reference, and the Terrestrial Model to approximate the subsistence base, degree of mobility, and ethnic diversity of prehistorically documented European hunter-gatherers.

The third set of three chapters deals with “first-order derivative pattern recognition.” Binford argues that the best way to employ ethnographic data is through homology rather than analogy, that one proceeds by pattern recognition through “dimensionalizing” the data to identify regularities. He computes the minimum hunter-gatherer group size as 20.47 persons, and the standard unit of geographic space that they occupy as 225 square kilometers. A computed threshold of 9.098 persons per 100 square kilometers is the point at which maximum diversity in niche breadth occurs. He identifies nested sets of risk pooling; the upper limit of number of units corresponds to the “Johnson constant” of six. Factoring this into the models derived, he computes the optimal group size of 10.23 persons and the most effective decision group size of 10.5 persons, very close to 9.95 + 1.58 persons empirically observed ethnographic mean size. His mobility-minimizing model yielded an estimate of 20.47 persons, which compares favorably with the ethnographic observed mean of 17.49 persons.

The fourth set of three chapters is more theoretical, resulting from his “second-order derivative patterns” exploration of intensification. Intensification impels hunter-gatherers to increase the amount of food they extract from increasingly smaller segments of landscape as population multiplies, resulting in an increased “packing” of ranges, which renders mobility obsolete as a tactical subsistence strategy.

In the summary chapter, social and economic responses to “packing thresholds” are detailed. The first packing threshold demarcates the minimum population density required before hunter-gatherers can viably occupy a habitat. Hunter-gatherers maintain minimal group sizes by structuring labor with respect to dependence on various food resources. They are organized in terms of kin-based networks not self-contained bands. Nonpacked groups are shifting combinations of sequentially scaled, risk-pooling, cooperative associations or networks, primarily organized to maximize subsistence security and secondarily organized to facilitate family mobility and reproduction. Groups dependent on terrestrial animal and aquatic resources usually establish trading partners, whereas groups dependent on terrestrial plants tend to circulate gifts through kin-based networks.

The second packing threshold indicates the point at which changes of direction occur among the groups who exploit aquatic or terrestrial animal resources, where anthropogenic or other environmental change forces an already packed system into a critical state. Among aquatic resource groups, the change is toward expanded niche breadth; among terrestrial animal specialists, the shift is toward intensification rather than intensification. Terrestrial hunter-gatherer groups increase in size once packing occurs, and are no longer able to maintain their mobile way of life once the packing threshold is exceeded. Below packing thresholds, groups dependent on plant resources lack wealth or social ranking, whereas groups dependent on aquatic resources exhibit wealth distinctions. Beyond packing thresholds, aquatic-based groups shift to centralized ranked authorities.
and kinship alliances, whereas terrestrial resource groups experience an increase in exchange with trade partners. Domestication of plants and animals are responses to the packing pressures, contributing to the collapse of previous social organization; agricultural processes force further changes.

This is a volume that cannot be appreciated with just a single reading. It is destined to be an essential reference that will be pulled off the shelf many times as one rereads relevant sections for new insights.

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**PATTY KELLY**  
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For those of us who research and write about the sex trade, it is often challenging to find full-length monographs of great depth. Written accounts of the commercial sex industry tend toward a superficiality intended to titillate, or are highly polarized works that view female prostitution as either liberation or exploitation. Denise Brennan’s welcome and well-researched study avoids such pitfalls, offering readers a balanced and nuanced examination of transnational sex tourism in Sosúa, Dominican Republic.

The book is divided into four sections. Part 1 examines the town of Sosúa and its lengthy transnational history. Sosúa has been a United Fruit Company banana plantation, a refuge for European Jews fleeing Nazi persecution, and home to German expatriates lured by the fantasy of “island life.” Most recently, it has become a place where Afro-Dominican and Afro-Haitian migrant women sell sex to white foreign tourists. In portraying Sosúa as a “transnational sexual meeting ground” (p. 15), Brennan details the town’s transformation into a new kind of global sexual space characterized by international tourist travel to the developing world, the consumption of commercial sex, and inequality. Sosúa is imagined and experienced differently by old migrants and new, by Dominicans and expatriates, by tourists and the taxi drivers, hotel workers, and prostitutes working directly or indirectly in the global sexual marketplace that Sosúa has become. Particularly interesting is Brennan’s discussion of how the image of the tourist, specifically the German man, has been transformed from one who represents money and opportunity to one who also represents the danger, disease, and violence that threaten the “morality” and “tradition” of Sosúa.

Part 2 presents an engaging discussion of the cultural construction of love and the ways in which male and female Dominicans employed in both the tourism and sex trades work at “performing” love with international tourists in an effort to secure remittances and visas for international migration. This section, perhaps the most compelling, opens with the story of a double wedding that captured national attention in the Dominican Republic. Brennan deftly uses the story of two 18-year-old Dominican men, who married two older British tourists they met at an all-inclusive hotel where they were employed, to analyze the complex meanings and connections between love, marriage, and money in Sosúa.

The third part of the book explores more deeply the work and lives of Sosúa’s sex workers. Brennan skillfully makes clear the conditions (increased export manufacturing, the feminization of the work force, and structural adjustment) that shape women’s lives and the ways in which sex workers respond to such conditions. Sosúa’s sex workers develop social networks with other women to decrease the impact of the poverty, danger, and anxiety that mark the sex trade; they also develop local and transnational ties with both Dominican and foreign men to achieve their economic goals.

Brennan ends by examining the experiences of Dominican women who, through their successful “performance” of love in the sex trade, have secured visas and gone to visit or live abroad with European men. For both men and women, their respective transnational fantasies often become disappointments, with women returning to the Dominican Republic following abuse, isolation, or even simple homesickness.

Although Brennan’s writing is clear and engaging, there are points in the text in which this reviewer longed for richer, more intimate ethnographic details. There is little discussion of the particulars of what is being sold in Sosúa along with fantasy, namely sex. Still, What’s Love Got To Do With It? is a book that offers profound insights into women’s work, sexual commerce, international tourism, and the global economy. It is essential reading for scholars and students of gender, sexuality, and political economy in Latin America. In writing about sex workers, Brennan is careful neither to glamorize them nor to portray them simply as victims of gender oppression. By highlighting the structural roots of Sosúa’s sex trade and sex workers’ responses to their situation, Denise Brennan has created a much-needed ethnography of commercial sex. In sum, Brennan’s work is a compelling account of global sex tourism, with all its contradictions and complexity.


**LINDA M. WHITEFORD**  
University of South Florida

This is a powerful book, sweeping in scope, rich in detail, and disturbing in content. Briggs and Mantini-Briggs have
written a book that will become a classic in anthropology for its innovative documentation of the causes and consequences of “medical profiling,” its multiyear and multisite methods, its solid and impressive ethnography, and its damning indictment of good intentions.

It is a story of an epidemic. But more than that, it is a story of the targeting of a marginalized population, already identified as “distinct” and as purveyors of the disease, to shift the gaze from the government’s failure to provide adequate access to water and sanitation, education, or employment. It is a book of many stories—the stories of those trapped by the disease and those trapped by failures of imagination. Globalization, debt repayment, and the consequences of servicing international loans form the backdrop to a story of internal politics of blame and social inequality. Briggs, an anthropologist who has been working in the Delta Amacuro state of Venezuela since 1985, often spending prolonged periods of time there, learned the Warao language and culture of the area before he learned about the cholera epidemic. His coauthor is Clara Mantini-Briggs, a Venezuelan physician who, in 1993, was the Director of the Rural and Indigenous Health Program for the Venezuelan Regional Health Office. Mantini-Briggs later became assigned to the Delta Amacuro regional office. Briggs and Mantini-Briggs thus brought to the research project in-depth knowledge of the local language, regional cultural group, social history of the area, and also medical experience and insight.

This book is based on extensive research leading up to 15 months in the country, between June 1994 and September 1995. But the book is also clearly based on knowledge acquired over a period of more than ten years for Briggs and a lifetime for Mantini-Briggs. The worst of the epidemic moved through the delta region of Eastern Venezuela in 1992–93, and even though Briggs was in the area in 1992, the research is based on narratives gathered in 1994 and 1995, following the worst of the epidemic. This is significant because the book weaves together many narratives—those of the two authors, officials from the Venezuelan Ministry of Health and Public Assistance, people from UNICEF, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the Pan American Health Organization, and the World Health Organization. Included also are newspaper reports, leaflets, flyers, and other materials created by the Venezuelan health authorities. But the most important, moving, and telling narratives are those of Warao people who were interviewed in their homes, yards, and meeting places throughout the fluvial region most devastated by the epidemic.

Cholera is a water-borne bacteria (vibrio cholerae) that kills through rapid and massive dehydration. In earlier times, cholera was called “the blue plague” because, as the disease progresses, the tip of the tongue and lips of the affected person turn blue shortly before death (Whiteford 2003). The extreme expulsion of body fluids through both vomiting and endless diarrhea can kill an adult within 15 hours of the first symptoms. The loss of fluids and electrolytes can cause up to a percent loss in a person’s body weight in a matter of hours (p. 1). Tragic as any death is, the greatest tragedy in cholera deaths is that they are easily preventable. Oral rehydration salts and antibiotics can stem the loss of fluids and kill the vibrio, in most cases thus avoiding death. The effect of the cholera vibrio can be limited by providing readily available access to potable water and sanitation. Why this failed to occur in the Delta Amacuro is one of the stories this book tells.

The lessons from the book are varied and many; what the authors hoped for when they wrote:

Our goal is not to add a new chapter to the old game of passing along the blame. Rather we hope to provide everyone who is affected by social inequality, stigma, and disease—that is, all of us—with new tools for figuring out how institutions can be run, studies carried out, and lives lived without resorting to a denigrating process that ultimately denigrates us all. [p. xvii]

That Briggs and Briggs-Mantini succeed so well makes this book a necessary read not only in anthropology but also in medicine, public health, political science, and history. It tells many stories that should not be repeated again in the 21st century.

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LARRY J. ZIMMERMAN
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The Society for American Archaeology’s (SAA) Principles of Archaeological Ethics number seven states that “archaeologists should work actively for the preservation of, and long term access to, archaeological collections, records, and reports,” and should encourage responsible use of materials. The SAA’s Curation Committee developed seven guidelines to help implement the principle and organized sessions at the 2002 SAA meetings to expand on issues raised in the guidelines. Here, S. Terry Childs organizes 12 session papers around the guidelines. The result is a thin but powerful book that documents an archaeological curation crisis in the United States. Developing over decades, the crisis was exacerbated by the surge of cultural resources management (CRM) projects beginning in the 1970s.

Many of the authors largely attribute the crisis to archaeologists who seem to have forgotten the long-term importance of collections. They rightly contend that every archaeologist should know that once a site is excavated, damaged, or destroyed, the artifacts and records associated with it may be the only record of the site. Thus, proper care
of materials should be a high priority, but archaeologists have never been especially good about maintaining collections. The task usually falls to collections departments, or worse, materials end up on laboratory shelves or in dead storage, often improperly processed or stored. Even with proper treatment of materials, the numbers of artifacts and records coming in from CRM projects have quickly overwhelmed curation facilities; some no longer take newly recovered materials. Tough budgetary times have made museums and labs favorite targets for administrators bent on saving money. Several facilities recently have seen major cuts or closures, usually with little attention paid to the proper disposition of collections. To make matters worse, archaeological “culture” has emphasized excavation and discovery, with an emphasis on new projects rather than promoting research on existing collections. Unfortunately, almost no one has advocated strongly for the collections.

The chapters in Our Collective Responsibility do a terrific job of documenting the crisis and its causes, showing the utility of long-term curation and providing exemplars. Each makes a strong point in support of the guidelines. Alex Barker’s chapter is typical. Barker provides a remarkable analysis using 1930s collections and records curated in the Milwaukee Public Museum and the Smithsonian. He tracks single, anomalous artifacts from questionable contexts. If accepted as nonintrusive, they would have substantial impact on interpretations of prehistoric America. For example, he demonstrates that a horse skull found in a Late Woodland, Wisconsin, mound was intrusive and thus did not evidence a pre-Columbian reintroduction of the horse.

There is no doubt that the authors are correct about a curation crisis in the United States. I disagree with nothing they write, but the issue is more complicated than just blaming uncaring or misguided archaeologists. Archaeologists reflect their own cultures and the interests of a public whose heritage they claim to be protecting. The public does not get excited over a box of stone flakes or a rusty can. They like artifacts that are impressive, the earliest, or unique, and, frankly, archaeologists are the same way if you listen to what they say about their finds. These attitudes promote a notion that the rest is unimportant or just “junk,” barely worthy of our attention. If it is not important to archaeologists or the public, why should administrators care? The costs of curation are substantial. If, as Robert Sonderman suggests (p. 111), 20–25 percent of a federal project’s budget could be spent on curation, the costs become daunting. It is difficult to justify such costs to managers, and doing CRM, if you budget curation at that level on nonfederal projects, you will quickly be out of the competition on most bids.

The blame can be spread more widely, and as several authors note, we need creative ways to solve the problem. Archaeologists would be very willing to curate materials properly if there were reasonable ways to do it. To answer the question in the title of Michael Wiant’s chapter: Yes. If you build it, they will come!

My impression is that the word “should” might be the problem at the core of this book. One can assume that in an ethics code, “should” might be used in the sense of moral obligation, and that’s certainly the intention of the editor and authors of Our Collective Responsibility. In practice, however, many archaeologists and the people they work for interpret “should” to mean “ought to” or “it would be nice if” in terms of proper care of collections and records. Real conflicts with ideal, so we need to find ways to change “should” to “must.”


DANIÈLE BÉLANGER
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Population and Ethno-Demography in Vietnam is a translated and slightly updated edition of an original publication in Vietnamese (Khong Dien, 1995). As such, it obviously contains little novelty for scholars already aware of the earlier version. As in the original book, the author’s objective is to provide a selection of data to sketch the demographic history, from a few decades in the past to the present, of the 54 ethnic groups in the country. Khong Dien focuses on the 53 non-Kinh groups (Các Dân Tộc Thiếu Số, the National Minorities). Readers will find a total of 115 tables of uneven relevance, providing data on population size, distribution, and structure of all ethnic groups. Most tables rely on data from the national censuses of 1979 and 1989, whereas others present results from small local surveys and earlier regional censuses. Unfortunately, many tables do not specify the source of data, and too few of them provide information in percentages, thus making sense of the data a tedious task.

The book opens with a presentation of the classification of ethnic groups in Vietnam, including a brief discussion on the different ways of establishing a classification. The official list of 54 groups is presented but not discussed. The approach to ethnicity in this chapter is in line with the official position of the Vietnamese state (“Principles of classification of ethnic communities—general concept,” pp. 2–5). In chapter 2, Dien documents the spatial distribution of ethnic groups on the national territory, mostly by providing the number of communes in which each ethnic group is present. This data, however, still comes from the 1989 national census, despite the 1999 figures being listed in one of the appendicies. In this chapter, maps would have helped situate the communes under discussion. The author also focuses on internal migration, a sensitive issue in Vietnam. The sedentarization of a number of nomadic ethnic groups and the organized migration of Kinh people to the uplands are both presented as unilaterally positive parts of Vietnamese history. Chapter 4 takes a very Malthusian
approach to fertility and mortality differentials between the Kinh majority and the other ethnic groups, although the high fertility and mortality rates of the ethnic minorities are not discussed as part of larger socioeconomic inequalities, emerging in part from an unequal distribution of resources. The five-page conclusion commends the Party in regard to the exemplary way in which it has dealt with national minority issues since the 1950s. The bibliography slightly expands the 1995 original publication while remaining entirely based on Vietnamese sources and the occasional Soviet reference. This in itself is interesting for the non-Vietnamese readership, except that the most recent reference stops at 1993. It is unfortunate that neither local nor foreign sources were used to update the bibliography.

The author, Khong Dien, has been director of the Institute of Ethnology at the National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities since 1995. As such, he represents an official scientific authority on national minorities in Vietnam. The book is thus unquestionably a useful reference for anyone seeking general demographic information on ethnic minority populations of Vietnam. Unfortunately, it offers no analysis or any criticism of the issues underlying the numbers. For instance, the highly political nature of the classification and counting of the ethnic minorities in Vietnam, as well as the strong socioeconomic inequalities between the latter and the Kinh majority—evident in a demographic analysis of mortality levels among ethnic groups—fail to be addressed.

The publisher probably has to be held responsible for not finding a way to include more and better maps—only two maps are included, unsourced and set at national scale, one showing provinces, and one, indecipherable, of ethnolinguistic groups. Perhaps the publisher should have also insisted that the author incorporate the 1999 census data in his text, instead of merely adding a table to the appendices.

A pleasant cover photograph of two radiant minority women and 22 pages of attractive color pictures, featuring smiling women and children in colorful attire, certainly look pretty. One could say that they also sum up the political stance of the book. As for readers in search of an understanding of the more complex dimension of minority life in Vietnam behind the data, they will have to keep looking.


ESTHER NEWTON
University of Michigan

A growing number of historically minded ethnographies are documenting how gay and lesbian communities have taken shape in the United States. For better or worse, quite a few of these works have been written by scholars in other disciplines. This may be because, as Kath Weston pointed out in her classic essay, “The Virtual Anthropologist” (1997), North American anthropology, in general, and gay or lesbian anthropology, in particular, are not considered interesting (or career enhancing) by the majority in our profession. In this context, this book makes an important contribution to the corpus of work that tells readers, inside and outside of anthropology, how gay communities have developed and how our nation might have arrived at such inflamed controversies as “gays in the military” and “gay marriage.”

The Courage to Connect also fills a specific ethnographic gap, because it deals with a town that has great significance in gay history. For that reason alone it is a must-have for scholars of what Sandra Faiman-Silva calls “sexual others.” (The town was one of the first in the state to defy Governor Mitt Romney’s edict that only gays and lesbians who are state residents could be married there). Cherry Grove, San Francisco, New York, Philadelphia, and Seattle gay communities have been studied, but the current work is the first of three recent ethnohistorical projects dealing with Provincetown (the second, by Karen Krahulik, is reported to be forthcoming from NYU press). There are only two other towns where gays are a majority, Cherry Grove and the Pines, both on Fire Island in the New York metropolitan area, but they are seasonal resorts. Provincetown, now primarily a resort and tourist destination, is a satellite of Boston, but has long been and still is a fully functioning, year-round town.

Faiman-Silva conducted fieldwork between 1995 and 2003. She clearly loves the town and, although she does not discuss this in her book, one wonders what her relationship is to both the Portuguese and gay communities that are the principal groups there. She is sympathetic to both, and interviewed a variety of residents (although she does not say how many). The paucity of information about how residents might have viewed Faiman-Silva is a weakness of the book. In such a polarized town, her own social position surely influenced the kind and quality of interviews she was able to do.

She gives us a basic history of the town, which prior to the late 19th century was a Yankee fishing village. When a large number of Portuguese immigrants settled there, the Yankees were eventually outnumbered; as the Portuguese came to power in a classic tale of ethnic succession, most Yankees left. Faiman-Silva’s account of the attitudes and divisions among the Portuguese immigrants is interesting and nuanced, although one could take issue with her contention that their later toleration of “diversity” can be attributed primarily to their being especially open minded. The narrative continues on through the 1920s and 1930s with the arrival of bohemians and artists, which is clearly the condition from which many gay and lesbian communities arose, but most of the book deals with the late 20th century.

The basic contention of the book, as the title suggests, is that Provincetown’s “base metaphor” has been one of toleration, which has allowed the townsfolk to adapt—albeit not always happily—to a variety of “others.” This variety includes, since the 1980s and 1990s, a flood of gays and
lesbians, both resident and tourist, who swept in as the fishing industry was dying. She even wants to see in the town a possible “formula for radical global citizenship” (p. 233). But Faiman-Silva is too much the scholar not to give the reader plenty of evidence in interviews, census data, and case studies that there are other possible interpretations. In the last 25 years, there has been “straight flight,” a drastic drop in the school population and frequent gay-straight clashes (up to and including violence) over such issues as school curricula, uses of public space, and censorship of risqué performances. The reader may conclude that the “sexual others” are supplanting the Portuguese the way the Portuguese once replaced the Yankees.

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JEFF MASKOVSKY
Queens College, City University of New York

Anthropology cannot always be relied on to take more than a business-as-usual attitude toward the violence and suffering that has engulfed much of the world these days. The now widespread (and, in my opinion, unfortunate) delinking of theory from concrete political engagement is but one reason for the continued presence of a vast demobilized space at the center of our discipline. Fortunately, Paul Farmer is among a notable group of scholars who dares to act in a no-more-business-as-usual kind of way. A physician and anthropologist whose research and writing are intimately connected to his medical practice among some of the world’s most poor and oppressed, Farmer’s latest work is Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights and the New War on the Poor. Comprised largely of previously published essays that have been updated to advance a social justice orientation in the emerging field of health and human rights, this is a useful and timely book.

Pathologies of Power is about the connection between “structural violence” and human rights abuses. Against perspectives that tend to blame the poor for their own ill health, or those that argue that the world is too starved of resources to help the destitute sick, Farmer argues that health care is a human right and that the spread of infectious diseases is the predictable and inevitable consequence of unequal power relations that produce human rights violations. The book is divided into two parts. The first, “Bearing Witness,” offers four case studies focusing on rural Haiti, Guantánamo, Cuba, Chiapas, and Russia, respectively; each is designed to exemplify the deleterious consequences of structural violence for the health of the poor. The second, “One Physician’s Perspective on Human Rights,” is organized thematically to spotlight some of the limitations in current public health thinking and to offer alternatives.

The book is at its best in tracing the complexity of economic and sociopolitical reasons—the structural violence—behind the spread of infectious diseases such as AIDS and tuberculosis. We read, for example, about the U.S. government’s ill-conceived detention policy for HIV-positive Haitian refugees who, when forced to flee their country because of political upheaval, are detained because of their HIV status. They are kept on the U.S. military base in Guantánamo, Cuba, in paltry conditions with little access to health care. (Controversially, Farmer contrasts this unfavorably with Cuba’s AIDS policy, which has been extremely successful in stopping the spread of AIDS on the island, despite its resemblance, from the perspective of many U.S. commentators, to quarantine.) This case, among others, demonstrates how certain groups are placed at disproportionate risk for suffering and death because of gender and racial inequalities, impoverishment, and corporate greed, not to speak of geopolitical imperatives that divert resources from health and social infrastructures.

The book is also useful in pointing out the limitations of neoliberal health policies. Farmer is a harsh critic of what he calls “the self-serving relativism of the public health realpolitik” (p. 195). By prioritizing cost-effectiveness over the idea of health care as a social good, international health experts have established a “double standard of therapy” (p. 195), in which patients from countries with resources are cured while patients from resource-poor countries die from the same diseases. In contrast, Farmer believes in every patient’s right to effective therapy. His successful effort to make medications for drug-resistant TB available for patients in Russian prisons and to make antiviral therapies available to his HIV+ patients in rural Haiti are but two of many examples. He brings these up to demonstrate to a reluctant international public health community that the question is not how to provide health care in a resource-poor setting, but, rather, how to build local capacity and redirect resources so that poor people everywhere can receive the same medical treatments as everyone else.

The social justice perspective in Pathologies of Power is informed largely by liberation theology. Liberation theology’s “preferential option for the poor” (p. 139) animates Farmer’s writing on such topics as medical ethics, development, charity, and health care commodification. The unmitigated commitment to the perspectives of the poor may not seem so terribly novel to politically committed anthropologists, but the fusing of a broadly defined human rights perspective with an emphasis on the viewpoints of the poor constitutes a major challenge to business-as-usual in the field of international health. Farmer’s new agenda for health and human rights, detailed in the final chapter, is worth serious consideration.

Although Pathologies of Power argues compellingly for a paradigm shift in international health and human rights, the anthropologists reading it may notice Farmer’s inattention to work in our discipline that could help to advance
his commitment to the destitute sick. For example, Farmer is somewhat disdainful of identity politics, an unfortunate stance toward a form of politics that is often animated by the same social justice concerns that inform Farmer’s brand of liberation theology. There is plenty of anthropological research showing the effectiveness of activism, organized under the banner of identity, in improving the health of the poor. Did not the AIDS activist group ACT UP play an important role in advancing the cause of global AIDS drug access, for example, and is it not rooted in gay liberation, the women’s health movement, and black civil rights? It is noteworthy that part 2 of Pathologies of Power is called “One Physician’s Perspective on Human Rights.” Readers may wish at times that Farmer had taken more inspiration from the best that politically engaged anthropology has to offer. Still, in a moment when many anthropologists are leery of “pragmatic solidarity,” it is refreshing to read Farmer’s unapologetic insistence on action, healing, justice, and faith in the poor.


DIANE SINGERMAN
American University

Anthropologists have long been conversant in the details of everyday life and the making and remaking of locality, but Farha Ghannam’s new book does a wonderful job, linking locality to critical national and global processes, particularly etatist policies. She examines the 1979–81 forced relocation of 5,000 families from Bulaq, in central Cairo, to a new public-sector housing complex in al-Zawiya al-Hamra—an outlying, low-income, rapidly expanding neighborhood. The impetus for their move lay with Anwar Sadat’s vision of progress and modernity, fueled by the Open Door Economic Policy in 1974 and real estate schemes that would accommodate the gaze of tourists and upper-class Egyptians.

Although focusing much more on the ways in which residents remade their apartments, Ghannam is never far from the political and economic context of their relocation. After the 1977 food riots, which protested significant reductions in food subsidies, President Sadat accused some of the demonstrators of escaping into the narrow streets of Bulaq. To legitimize the move, the state first stigmatized the population as drug dealers, criminals, and troublemakers. Relocation then became crucial for disciplining, normalizing, and integrating them into the nation. New modern apartments, designed for the nuclear family, would enhance their privacy, individuality, health, and welfare.

Ghannam describes how relocated residents welcomed the amenities of the identical “modern” apartment blocs while lamenting the loss of cooperation and support that they had in Bulaq. However, because they were still living in close quarters while trying to maintain gendered norms, the rapid gathering of people with diverse backgrounds in the same area was unsettling and potentially dangerous, since they could not “place” their neighbors. The solution arose from the rapidly proliferating mosques in the area, which offered the Muslims in al-Zawiya a “safe” place that provided a sense of belonging and community (p. 80).

One of the most important insights of this book, nuanced as it is, is the direct link between class, the modernist state discourse, and a renewed religious identity. Although the connections between social dislocation, urbanization, and alienation are not new themes in the literature on religious movements, Ghannam’s analysis emphasizes that religious identities have competed successfully with a more secular nationalist discourse, because the state’s embrace of “modernity” as a nationalist project left out the Bulaqis. As the state turned the Bulaqis into the dangerous, backward “other” and arrested young men in crude sweeps of cafes while looking for “fundamentalists,” the mosque celebrated their culture and provided community and services to residents. In particular women, in particular, who had lost their social networks from Bulaq turned toward the mosque and found advice, solace, friendship, and a moral compass. Their religious identity helped them to embrace what they perceived as positive aspects of modernity and avoid the negative. While residents struggled with the state’s attempt to copy Western modernity and represent it spatially in their homes, they also questioned the religious extremists’ rejection of modern objects and discourses deemed un-Islamic. A resident argued “El-tamaddun [modernity or the possibilities that come from urban life] is like a knife with two edges; if not handled carefully, it can kill” (p. 133).

It must be emphasized, however, that this book focuses primarily on the ways in which the Bulaqis moved walls, constructed balconies, added bathrooms, and struggled with the authorities to remake their surroundings. Remaking the Modern still leaves one with an urge to know and understand its limits. Ghannam points to the Certeauan tactics that enable the weak to gain victory over the powerful but she stops short of calling these moves “resistance” (p. 37). Perhaps, my disciplinary home in political science encourages this concern, but what will force planners to listen, or at least consult, residents before launching a new modernist development scheme? How do the memories, dreams, and aspirations of Bulaqis circulate within modernist discourses and government plans? When and how can people develop less costly strategies, pursued through legal means, to remake Cairo?

Although this is a case study of the relocated Bulaqis, the tensions raised in this book are experienced by millions of Caireans and those elsewhere in the region, where economic conditions, a housing crisis, and speculative real estate development force people to move to new, unfamiliar neighborhoods. Thus Remaking Cairo is a compelling cautionary tale of hybridity as well as high modernist state planning that will be useful to understand these dynamics in many other global cities, beyond Cairo.

ROBERT M. HAYDEN
University of Pittsburgh

Although the title of this volume refers to violence and conflict, the editors and contributors explicitly see “connections between militarized violence that occurs before, during and even in the absence of war. Sites of war and peace are ultimately linked” (p. 4). Their work has been motivated by three connected circumstances: (1) the large-scale displacement of peoples during conflicts in the 1990s, caused by (2) the increased involvement of civilians in military conflict, and (3) the common deployment of gendered images to exacerbate intergroup conflict. The contributors are all associated through their work with the Women in Conflict Zones Network (WICZNET), a research collaboration founded in 1996 that originally included researchers from Canada, Sri Lanka, Serbia, France, and England. The scope of the work of WICZNET members is apparent in their chapters: studies of aspects of gendered violence in Guatemala, Sudan, Iraqi Kurdistan, the former Yugoslavia, and Ghana; refugee camps for Somalis in Kenya; and Afghan refugees in India and Sri Lanka. There are also strong theoretical chapters on the continuum of violence that all of these authors take into consideration.

Precisely because gendered images have been deployed so frequently in ethnic and national conflicts, there is a huge, impressionistic, usually partisan, and sometimes self-serving body of literature on what Cynthia Enloe has called *women and children*—a term invoked by many of the contributors to this volume. The contributors to *Sites of Violence* avoid adding to this body of impressions. The three chapters on topics in the former Yugoslavia (by Edith Klein, Maja Korac, and Mirjana Morokvasic-Muller) are especially noteworthy in this regard because they take original, serious approaches to a region in which the sensationalization of gendered violence was rife.

Most of the chapters offer fieldwork-based analyses of the ways in which specific practices have involved violence against particular groups of women in particular settings, but always with wider theoretical and political implications. One of the great strengths of the collection is that a large section of the book (5 of the 14 chapters) deals with feminist analyses of international organizations and asylum. That the policies and classifications employed by international organizations may themselves contribute to gendered violence is not a new observation, but it is very well explored here. Some of the analyses may cause discomfort, such as Edith Klein’s critical study of the gendered impact of international actions in the former Yugoslavia; but this kind of critical examination of what many would like to see as international support for (re)building democratic societies is part of what makes this volume so useful.

In a collection as strong as this one it is almost unfair to discuss one chapter over the others, but Audrey Macklin’s chapter on the links between the commercial activities of a Canadian oil company and military campaigns against some peoples of the Sudan in support of “securing the region” for oil exploitation is compelling. For anthropologists, the fact that the peoples being displaced are Nuer and Dinka should cause particular unease (Macklin, a lawyer, makes no reference to the place that studies of these peoples have in the history of anthropology). Macklin’s observations were made during her service on a Canadian-government mission to assess the accountability of a Canadian corporation for human rights abuses. The mission concluded that the Canadian company was adding to the suffering of people in Sudan, but the Canadian government refused to impose sanctions on the company. The bad publicity did lead the company to sell its interests (to a subsidiary of India’s national oil company). Although the connections between commercial exploitation, militarization, and gendered violence are tragically clear, the solution is not. Also clear is the self-awareness of the Sudanese women under military threat, as women, addressing the women of the Canadian mission as “sisters.” Macklin sees this manifestation of equality as a gendered lens itself, focusing responsibility “to those who are disempowered for how we exercise our power” (p. 99). The perception of a continuum of violence between war and peace that informs all of the chapters—between sites of conflict and more distant sites that sponsor conflict—is made stunningly apparent.

As a collection, this is an exceptionally coherent volume, probably because of the common analytical framework developed in WICZNET. The individual chapters will be of interest to area and regional specialists, and the volume as a whole to anyone interested in the gendered nature of violence. It would be easy to structure a first-rate undergraduate course around the book.


KATHERINE A. SNYDER
Queens College, City University of New York

This well-written monograph provides an account of contemporary Catholic practice in a Southern Tanzania community. In so doing, it attempts to address the relative lack of ethnography on the legacy of colonial forms of Christianity, on both the present-day churches and their parishioners in Africa. The first part of the book provides a historical overview of how colonial and postcolonial policies have economically and politically marginalized this region, once regarded as an “economic powerhouse” (p. 18). Maia Green analyzes the intimate alliance formed between Catholic missions and the German administration and shows how this tie, together with the education policies of both the German and British colonial administrations,
did much to attract converts to Christianity. First Benedictines, then Capuchins, established themselves among the Pogoro of Ulanga District, providing education, health facilities, and opportunities for wage labor. First converts were primarily young men and boys who sought work or education opportunities. The Capuchins, seeking to increase the number of converts and to promote Christian marriages, drew on the local practice of excluding girls between puberty and marriage, providing a parallel rite of passage for Christian girls during which they received instruction from the missionary sisters. The mission then acted to arrange marriages for these girls with Christian men, going so far as to receive bridewealth for them. The role that the Catholic mission had in providing education, labor opportunities, and health facilities cemented the relationship in local people’s minds between economic power and Catholic Christianity.

With independence in 1961, the missionary era came to an end. By the late 1970s, over 75 percent of the priests in the diocese were Tanzanian. Green shows that although most of the clergy are local and the church is under African control, the dependence of the diocese on funding from missionary orders in Europe, or European Christian charities, results in the persistence of mission influence in Church affairs. Today, services once provided free as an effort by missionaries to entice converts (education and health) are now available for a fee. The church also levies annual fees on Christians and expects contributions of food to support the church. Unlike missionary priests, who saw ordination as a sacrifice into a life of poverty, becoming a priest in Tanzania is viewed as entering into a life of worldly success and power. Priests, compared to the majority of the people in their congregations, live secure and privileged lives, with access to vehicles, a host of material possessions, and no shortage of food. Furthermore, parishes often have such moneymaking enterprises as maize-grinding mills, shops, and farms. These factors all contribute to the perception of the Church as the “religion of business” (p. 49). This assessment undermines the view of the Catholic Church as promoting a religion concerned with the soul. Priests live separate from the community and, like missionary priests before them, condemn much of what is classed as traditional practice. To rural Christians, the postmissionary era appears little different from the days of mission in which the relations of power between the population and clergy were founded on inequality.

Green examines what it means for Pogoro to define themselves as Christian and discovers that their perception differs quite markedly from that of the Church. For example, Christians view their burial practices, whether overseen by a priest or not, or held in the homestead or in the churchyard, as legitimately Christian, whereas the diocese has more complex technicalities about what constitutes a legitimate Christian burial.

The second half of the book provides a fine-grained ethnographic discussion of kinship, gender, and antwitchcraft practices and movements. Green focuses on the role that women have in life-cycle rituals. Because of their compassion and understanding, formed through their lived experience of caring for others and dealing with death and sorrow, women are key participants in rites of passage. Their experience with suffering, which imbues their personhood, results in a specific form of gendered religiosity. It informs women’s special relationship with Mary, who, like them, has suffered as a mother who has lost her son.

In her discussion of antwichcraft movements, Green argues intriguingly that the church’s and government’s condemnation of these movements has resulted at times in these institutions being implicated in witchcraft. Antwichcraft practices are used to oppose both local government and Church policies and activities, and thus serve to curb local power.

This ethnography contains many illuminating insights on popular Christianity, conversion, gender, and the use of the “traditional” to resist local power structures. It provides a useful case for comparative analysis of other Christian communities. Although I found Green’s ethnography absorbing and engaging, I did wish that the later ethnographic chapters focusing on kinship, gender, and witchcraft suppression were better integrated with her discussion of Pogoro Christianity. Although she notes that Pogoro notions of gender inform their religiosity, how has Catholicism affected gender, kinship, and antwichcraft practices? Also, intriguing glimpses into popular forms of Christianity, such as the worship of Mary, could have been developed further. These weaknesses aside, the book will interest scholars and students of anthropology, African studies, and religion.


**BRADLEY B. WALTERS**

Mount Allison University

This volume includes revised versions of 12 papers first presented at a 1995 conference, “Environmental Discourses and Human Welfare.” The book’s title may mislead readers expecting case studies of “projects” in the more traditional sense of the word. Coverage of the South and Southeast Asian region is patchy: Cases studies from either India or Indonesia account for eight of the 12 chapters; only three chapters attempt cross-cultural or regional analysis. Topical coverage is also uneven: Most case studies examine management and contestation over forest lands and resources. Marine issues are examined in only one chapter and urban environments and pollution not at all.

For the most part, the editors have done a good job: The chapters are well written and there are few errors. Their introduction, however, left me with a sinking feeling that comes from reading postmodern and poststructuralist scholarship tainted too much by value-laden jargon...
and an ideological agenda. Fortunately, few of the subsequent authors succumb deeply to this. In fact, a good number of the chapters demonstrate the intelligent application of discourse analysis to the complex and dynamic world of environmental issues. Among the better chapters are those by K. Sivaramakrishnan (salal forest management in Bengal), Roger Jeffery and colleagues (nontimber forest products management in India), Nancy Peluso (tenure and territoriality in Kalimantan forests), and Charles Zerner (conservation on the Aru Islands). These chapters could just as well be published in edited volumes on ecological anthropology or natural resources policy. Each demonstrates convincingly how discourse about the environment actually influences people's behavior toward it and vice versa. Making such connections is critical here because the editors are explicit in their intention to examine environmental discourse and demonstrate its significance for the (material) environment and human development. This being the case, it is not enough to make claims about the importance of such things as language, rhetoric, and ideology without also demonstrating, through careful analysis and attention to appropriate evidence, that such discourse has material consequences. What constitutes sufficient evidence varies from case to case. A common failing is that demonstrating coincidence in time and space, between a particular discourse (e.g., a forest narrative) and a particular change in people or the environment (e.g., deforestation), is not likely, in itself, to constitute sufficient evidence so long as alternative explanations for said change remain plausible.

To illustrate, Susan Darlington suggests that Buddhist monk rituals intended to protect a village forest in Thailand have achieved this objective, yet she presents inadequate evidence to support this claim. Furthermore, she fails to consider the plausible effects that may have resulted from the establishment, around the same time, of a state-protected reserve over the same forest.

As another illustration, Warwick Anderson and Paul Greenough argue in separate chapters that the practice of tropical medicine is racially and culturally biased, and as much a tool for colonial or state control as an objective scientific enterprise. There is likely some truth to this, but both authors offer bold and controversial assertions that, although thought provoking, are unwarranted given the evidence presented. Consider: Were the aggressive, but ultimately very successful, containment measures used to eradicate polio in rural India unreasonably coercive and reflective of “hypermodern” ambitions of the state, as Greenough contends, or were they, given the then-available resources and state of public health knowledge, a reasonable and pragmatic response to stem the spread and destroy one of the last remnants of a terrible communicable disease? To make a strong case for the former claim, the latter explanation needs to be convincingly debunked, but little attempt is made to do so. After all, aggressive disease containment is a time-tested strategy, the use of which predates the era of modern medicine and the (hypermodern) state (it was deployed with success by some European city authorities during the Middle Ages to contain the spread of bubonic plague).

Those authors who are more inclined to dig deeper for evidence have been rewarded with more nuanced understanding of the relationships between discourse, human action, and environmental change. Simplistic categories and dualities that so often inform scholarship in these fields (i.e., colonial, postcolonial, the state, community, indigenous, local, nongovernment) have been repeatedly found wanting by these authors. Instead, they encounter diverse communities, organizations, and actors, motivated to varying degrees by knowledge, ideas, and a host of pragmatic considerations. They find general environmental rhetorics and state policy prescriptions smashing on jagged social and environmental realities, and splintering into diverse management practices on-the-ground. And those researching cases over time (e.g., Jeffery et al., Sivaramakrishnan, and Peter Brosius) learn that interactions between different actors, the environment, and environmental discourses are surprisingly dynamic and continuously evolving.


RIVA KASTORYANO
Center for International Studies and Research (CERI)

Muslims in the West are as diverse as Christians in their origin, language, nationality, ethnicity, and denomination (Sunnis, Shiites, or Alawites). In Europe, their presence goes back to postcolonial times, combined with economic migrations in the 1960s, when France, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands were competing for cheap labor to accelerate their economic reconstruction. Today, with their permanent settlement, Islam has become a source of tension in most Western societies. Almost all the chapters in this edited volume examine different—but very similar in many respects—contexts and situations. Each refers to feelings such as mistrust, suspicion, and the threat that the presence of Muslims inspire in public opinion as well as in the political class, which projects the difficult process of assimilation onto the religion of Islam by questioning its compatibility with the West and its ability to adopt “Western values.”

Chapters in this volume also underline that, at least in the European context, the issue is not one of assimilation (as was the case in the past for other immigrants) but of recognition. Tariq Ramadan’s chapter on Muslims in Europe urges that Islam be recognized in different European countries as well as in the European Union. In this respect, there is a convergence, not only among European countries but also between Europe and the United States concerning immigrants or ethnic minorities. A wind of multiculturalism as a basis for democracy blows in European nation-states and affects discourses and policies toward immigrants. It is encouraging their organization around voluntary associations...
structured around an identity, an ideology, or an objective with regard to the country of residence or the country of origin, or simply a culture and tradition. In any case, their demand for representation challenges democratic liberal societies in their understanding of equality.

The “ethnicization” of Islam (p. 75) in Europe, as formulated by Hans Mahnig, leads European countries to recognize Islam as a second or third religion. Recognition refers to the institutionalization of Islam, either as an extension of existing religious institutions, or an accommodation that gives space to Islam in national societies—according, of course, to the conception of integration and the relationship between state and religion in each country. In Switzerland, Mahnig points out that the integration of immigrants is the duty of the canton and, therefore, Islam is treated on a local level. In Germany, Barbara Stowasser suggests that Islamic organizations could openly take shape and be part of the existing corporatism. More concretely, in the Netherlands the principle of “pillarization” as a basis for equality between the two dominant religions (Catholicism and Protestantism) with regard to education has added Islamic schools to its list. This principle, which recognized the differentiation of the religious education of Protestants and Catholics, ended officially in 1960. It is, however, still considered a “relevant framework for the development of a model that grants certain collective rights to religious groups” (p. 146), including Islam (Thiijl Sunier and Mira Kuijeren). In 2003, France promoted the creation of the French Council of the Muslim Faith, a representative institution like those that represent the other religions.

There are common issues debated in different countries throughout Europe: the representation of Islam (not only in the media but also in juridical language, as shown by Kathleen M. Moore), the meaning of symbols (scarf, beard, and child bride), the stigmatization of the Muslims, and their link to the Muslim world or the Middle East. In this volume, the approaches to studying Muslims in the United States and in Europe are nonetheless different. However, this difference is structural and related to the difference in the histories and “historicities” of immigration in the United States. Although there are still questions about integrating Islam into national institutions and societies in Europe, the question of representation is raised, as demonstrated by Mamoon Fandy, in terms of foreign policy in the United States. At the same time, the internal diversity of Islam that leads to multiple identifications (skin color, nationality, or religion) makes unification around an Islamic identity as difficult as in Europe. At stake is Muslims’ political representation, which weighs in domestic as well as international politics, on the both sides of the Atlantic. Even if the dilemma between “electoral politics and diaspora politics” (p. 240), as formulated by Karen Leonard with regard to the South Asian leadership of U.S. Muslims, is raised in the United States, the issue has the same relevance today in Europe.

_Muslims in the West_ is an important volume that furthers our understanding of the contexts, situations, and the internal complexity—cultural, political, and philosophical—of the states and of their Muslim populations. All together, the contributions constitute an extremely useful collection for a comparative study of the Muslim presence in Western societies. One question in this volume looms large: How might liberal democracies manage differences in their societies when internal and external influences interact and require new approaches that can take into consideration new developments, particularly with regard to Islam?


**JOCelyn LINNeKiN**

University of Connecticut

Readers are in for an intellectual treat with the appearance of another volume in the prestigious History of Anthropology series. _Significant Others_ is the second number edited by Richard Handler, who continues George Stocking’s legacy of thematic coherence and meticulous scholarship. _Significant Others_ specifically examines the significance of personal contexts in the history of anthropology. The seven chapters pursue one of two major themes: the involvement of relatively unsung individuals in the work of certain anthropologists, and the role played by marginalized “others” in tilting anthropology toward particular theoretical directions.

In a brief introduction, Richard Handler notes that the volume’s scope is wider than the title suggests. The chapters venture far beyond the category of “wifely” others, whom male ethnographers typically thank for their typing, translating, editing, and moral support. In fact, only one chapter, Matthew Engelke’s riveting history of Edith and Victor Turner’s marital and professional collaboration, focuses intensively on the role of “anthropologist’s spouse” as “significant other.” The fascinating saga of the Turners’ relationship begins with “Vic’s” rise to prominence but turns into a celebratory and immensely satisfying tale of “Edie’s” metamorphosis from an uncredentialled, behind-the-scenes collaborator to a “prodigy-after-the-fact,” in Roy Wagner’s phrase (p. 45). Engelke’s chapter is all the more enjoyable for his astute observations on the tensions of fieldwork, the stereotypic role of the spouse in field research, and the constitution of professionalism in anthropology—subtexts that appear in subsequent chapters as well.

Perhaps it is inevitable that a volume focusing on anthropologists’ personal relationships should often read like a work of fiction. _Significant Others_ tells of personal tragedies, friendships made and broken, gender politics and academic power plays, and even provides some salacious details about the extraprofessional activities of our intellectual forefathers and foremothers. Although nearly every chapter concentrates on a single “significant other,” in each case, a
multitude of “others” constitute the web of mutually influential relationships. In Lyn Schumaker’s study of Max Gluckman’s role as Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and founder of the Manchester School, Gluckman is identified as a “significant other” to his students and members of his research team. Yet he, in turn, appears surrounded by a host of “others,” including Africans as well as the colonial administrators, whom Gluckman considered legitimate and necessary subjects of study.

For ethnographer Harry West, the “significant others” in his research in Mozambique included the deceased ethnographer who preceded him by 40 years, the anthropologist’s widow and key informant, as well as modern Makonde, who used the earlier ethnography as a reference for their own “tradition.” As West followed the tracks of Portuguese anthropologist Jorge Dias, troubling questions arose about the honesty and effects of his representations. West discovered that Dias, who described the colonized Makonde as a cultural isolate, had secretly funneled information and advice to Portuguese administrators. Not least in importance as “significant others” were Dias’s former research subjects, who now considered themselves “a shadow of their former selves” in comparison to the ethnography (p. 58). The idealized and politically vapid portrayal effectively made the earlier Makonde their own “others.”

Chapters by Michael Silverstein and George Stocking analyze the logical development of the “culture and personality” school from Boasian precepts—a welcome contribution for anyone teaching the history of theory. Silverstein situates Boas’s activist anthropology in the intellectual and political milieu of the 1920s and entertainingly details the personal entanglements between Kroeber, Sapir, Mead, Benedict, and others in the Boasian circle. The weightiest chapter in the volume is Stocking’s extensive analysis of the career of A. Irving Hallowell. With his characteristic precision, Stocking explicates the theoretical relationship between Hallowell’s systematic, comparativist brand of psychological anthropology and Boas’s teachings. The “significant other” in Stocking’s chapter is Hallowell’s adopted son William, whose descent into crime and early death, Stocking argues, influenced the trajectory of Hallowell’s theory. Stocking stresses that he is exploring a “contextual” rather than “causal” approach to the question of intellectual influence (p. 213). Nevertheless, I found this retrospective psychohistory unconvincing, as did one of Stocking’s own “significant others”—his dissertation advisor Murray Murphey, who appears unexpectedly as a critical interlocutor in a “reflexive dialogical interlude” (p. 232).

As excellent as this volume is, in my opinion, not enough attention is paid to gender disparities in anthropology’s intellectual history. Stocking addresses scholarly authority and the nature of “influence” at some length, without noting that some people are privileged to exert influence and others are not. In the semiotics of scholarly prestige, white males build theory and influence others. One chapter is devoted to Jaime de Angulo, who inhabited the margins of Berkeley anthropology during Kroeber’s time. Rob Brightman characterizes de Angulo, who never managed to finish his degree or secure an academic appointment, as a “Bohemian” who garnered a certain mystique because of his outrageous behavior. Brightman’s descriptions hardly call to my mind the term bohemian, and I could not help but wonder if the chapter would have been written had Angulo been an uncredentialed woman with similar personality issues. The last chapter, by Joy Rohde, addresses gender inequity in the early history of the discipline, but its placement after Stocking’s 60-page offering suggests a degree of marginalization. Discussion of the exclusion of women should have been incorporated throughout the volume. Rohde’s chapter is succinct, powerfully written, and important. The gender prejudice that she documents for the period 1885–1903 is still embedded in the academy today.


NANCY ANN MCDOWELL
Beloit College

Rarely does an edited volume read as coherently and cogently as this one does. Michael Harkin’s contributors all address the same sharply focused question: To what extent are the insights provided by Anthony F. C. Wallace’s notion of revitalization, first articulated in 1956, still valuable today? Whether we label revitalization a descriptive category or an analytical theory, does deploying the concept almost 50 years later continue to yield insight? Each chapter contributes to an answer by examining revitalization in the context of Pacific or Native American societies. The clear, limited focus encourages contributors to investigate these phenomena in subtle and nuanced ways, significantly deepening our understanding of them.

Although most contributors are appropriately postmodern and acknowledge that the concept of “revitalization” is a Western one (Laurence Carrucci’s contribution is especially insightful), they generally agree that it is preferable to perfect and extend the concept than to abandon it. Many note that Wallace was prescient in his emphases; developing the concept encourages refinements and important modifications. Ann McMullen, for example, notes that Wallace’s original conception defined these movements as especially insightful), they generally agree that it is preferable to perfect and extend the concept than to abandon it. Many note that Wallace was prescient in his emphases; developing the concept encourages refinements and important modifications. Ann McMullen, for example, notes that Wallace’s original conception defined these movements as explicitly conscious efforts to formulate a more gratifying or meaningful culture, thus highlighting the role of human agency. Larry Nesper’s analysis of identity among the Anishinaabe concludes that “communities did go through a self-conscious process that eventuated in their thinking of themselves and the story of their relationship to the encompassing society in a different way” (p. 245).

Most contributors acknowledge that something akin to “stress” was apparent but that a new look facilitates a better appreciation of its nature. Joel Martin, for example,
cautions us not to equate stress with deprivation: “not all ‘stress’ correlates with a loss of power, territory, autonomy, wealth. … Stress also occurs when horizons of possibility expand, when increases in power and territory, autonomy, wealth and so on cause communities and individuals to desire new visions, to crave change, and to rethink codes” (p. 67). Paul Roscoe argues that “stress” is not necessarily the best descriptor for the pressures that seem associated with revitalization among the Yangoru, in which the felt need to interpret unusual phenomena is pivotal (p. 164).

Wallace’s original formulation construed revitalization movements as events that characterized a period of change between two “steady states.” Several contributors (e.g., Michael Harkin and Paul Roscoe), although acknowledging the inclusion of process in that original idea, develop it further and argue that that these activities are a part of historical processes not a reaction to them or something apart from them. Jennifer Brown’s analysis of a revitalization movement in the Hudson Bay area emphasizes the ways in which it was a part of an ongoing historical process. McMullen explores revitalization among indigenous groups in southeastern New England, in the light of more contemporary concerns with the invention of tradition.

Only one implicit criticism of Wallace’s notion emerges as a theme: He did not recognize the profound importance of power. Maria Lepowsky argues that the ritual violence that often accompanies these movements represents political opposition, and McMullen explicitly analyzes them as strategies people use to situate themselves relative to others and, thereby, to gain power. She asserts that they are “about power and the relationship between superordinate and subordinate and not about cultural difference” (p. 267).

A highlight is the short foreword by Anthony F. C. Wallace. Although he comments briefly on “revitalization” in the anthropological literature, his focus is the future, and he emphasizes two directions research might go. First, we should explore the use of chaos theory as a “promising” (p. viii) way to enrich his original model (which was based on systems theory) because doing so could facilitate an understanding of the singular event. His second suggestion is one long overdue: Anthropologists must approach these movements not just as reactions to colonialism but as elements in broader human history. He notes that although most of the contributions to this volume are based on data from colonial situations, what we learn here advances the potential for understanding comparable movements and behavior in other, more complex, and even industrialized contexts. In two all-too-brief paragraphs, Wallace sketches potential applications to increasing fundamentalist activities in both the Islamic and U.S. Christian worlds and illustrates what rich results might obtain. Volumes such as this one are extremely successful and important contributions, but the time has come to use what they have taught us to understand that it is not just “the exotic others” who participate in these movements. They have a long and complex history elsewhere as well, and it is time for anthropologists to turn their attention to them.

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ANDREA FISHMAN
West Chester University

Most readers love a good story. I know I do, especially one about the Old Order Amish. Stephen Bowers Harroff has many good stories to tell about the Indiana Amish and their schools. Stories about Manda, the energetic young first-and-second-grade teacher whose rule was “if your pencil is shorter than your little finger, throw it away” (p. 41). About anonymous birthday parties, with mysterious invitations saying only, “Tomorrow bring a spoon and plate for noon” (p. 161), hinting at the special meal a birthday child’s family would provide for the entire school. And even stories about the author’s own mother, who substituted in an Amish school and mistakenly began the day with the Pledge of Allegiance—instead of the Lord’s prayer—bringing a predawn visit from the district bishops the next day (p. 199).

Unfortunately, these stories are buried in chapter notes and among pages and pages of facts, statistics, generalizations, and conclusions that are neither as interesting nor as enlightening as the stories Harroff knows but chooses to minimize or simply not to tell.

The Amish Schools of Indiana is primarily a compendium of discrete facts and figures. Readers interested in the growth rates, enrollment figures, building and classroom capacities, and even construction details for each individual school in five Indiana counties can find them here, both reported in the text and shown in bar graphs that comprise the first several chapters. Although any reader must respect the work behind this compilation, I found myself wondering what purpose such dutiful data reporting served and when the “ethnography of the education practices of Indiana Amish life” (front cover flap) would begin.

Chapter 3, “The Pupils,” seemed a promising place for the sort of thick description associated with ethnographic research, a place the “real story” might start. It does open with “Manda’s Rule,” but devolves into the same flat tone and rote recitation so disappointing in chapters 1 and 2. “We will begin our study of Indiana Amish parochial school pupils,” Harroff drones, “by considering the major visible difference between them and public school pupils: their appearance” (p. 41). Thus begins many pages of generic description: Amish boys’ and girls’ clothing, how Amish children travel to school, books they read, math books used, how they behave. Not one illustrative anecdote for 14 pages, and then just one paragraph about a fifth-and-sixth-grade class, in voiceless prose. The chapter does end with two
wonderful anecdotes—about Jacob Adam and JoAnn, two first graders with “the same pop-up, hand-waving, look-at-me-wanting-to-get-some-attention habit” (p. 56). Why these are buried I do not know, but the strategy of burying the most interesting and distinctive information marks Harroff’s approach to this work as a whole.

The subtitle of The Amish Schools of Indiana is “Faith in Education.” This wonderful turn-of-phrase suggests: (1) the Amish community’s faith in the power of education; and (2) the ways school enacts their religious faith. Yet Harroff subordinates the many ways faith plays out in these schools to the more general, encyclopedic approach that dominates his book. Just as he spends most of chapter 3 generalizing about students, so he spends most of every chapter generalizing about teachers, curriculum, classroom management, and teacher education. This is not to say there are no specific facts in these chapters, for there are many. Book titles, publishers, and subjects studied are all identified and described. Weekly schedules, chore charts, teacher meetings, and even articles in teacher journals are detailed in their respective places.

Yet important insights about how subjects studied, books chosen, days structured, and weeks planned support and preserve Amish culture come at the ends of sections and chapters. It is as though the title–subtitle relationship is not intended to highlight the point of the book but, rather, to exemplify its organization. Generalizable facts and ideas come first. What they reveal about Amish schools—what makes these schools distinctive and instructive—comes second, significantly detracting from what Harroff could contribute to our understanding of parochial education, in general, and Old Order Amish education, in particular.

Another disconcerting feature of this book is Harroff’s seemingly defensive stance and laudatory tone. First, he appears to more than just appreciate “bluebird houses [put] on the fence posts surrounding [some] school[s] so that the children may experience springtime delight in the birth of one of God’s most beautiful creatures” (p. 21).

Second, he explicitly marvels at the cleverness, talent, and hard work of Amish teachers. While teaching reading one day, a young teacher calls the silent e, “a magic e.” Harroff waxes emphatically ecstatic: “Now what child doesn’t like magic? And to harness that magical power for reading is irresistible!” (p. 65). Another young teacher, giving her fourth graders ideas for the friendly letters they must write, tells her class about a letter she wrote herself, to whom, and why. Harroff’s reaction: “Simple, heartfelt, humble, and to the point!” (p. 94).

Finally, Harroff seems to want to prove that Amish children are both as smart and as real as other children. “Amish children love to spell,” he claims, “they are very good spellers and participate energetically in spelling bees” (p. 95). Simultaneously, though, “These children are exceptionally soft-spoken inside the school building; though on the playground they are as loud and even boisterous as all healthy young children can be” (p. 53).

Harroff self-identifies as an ethnographer, a participant-observer. When ethnographers study personally connected communities—as Harroff does here, given his own Anabaptist background—balancing their participant and observer perceptions requires constant vigilance. This book is not the report of a sufficiently vigilant participant-observer, and that is a shame. Stephen Harroff could have “[brought] to light the crucial role that a community’s education system has in its success and solidarity” (back of book jacket). Instead, he buried his light beneath an unnecessarily boring, often discomfiting bushel.


MICHAEL G. POWELL
Rice University

When Nature Goes Public represents the first ethnography of a complex network of sites that constitute bioprospecting—a process whereby pharmaceutical companies attempt to find new products derived from indigenous community knowledge in the global south. In exchange for this local knowledge, these corporations pledge royalties for community development. On the surface a simple agreement, Cori Hayden explores the numerous steps in the negotiations between communities and corporations, disentangling our taken-for-granted assumptions about how such deals could function. The majority of Hayden’s ethnography focuses on field sites in Mexico, ranging from a university in Mexico City to the side of a Chihuahua highway. She also includes sites in the United States as well as international ones, such as the UN. Attempting to characterize Hayden’s ethnography as an anthropology of globalization would probably only add to the ambiguity of such a term. In her introduction, Hayden succinctly sums up the object of her investigation in her introduction as “a distinctly late-twentieth-century practice that stands at the very center of contemporary contests over indigenous rights, corporate accountabilities, and ethical scientific research” (p. 1).

Probably the most compelling aspect of Hayden’s ethnography is the manner in which she frames the object of study. The essential focus is not local knowledge, but instead the circulation of local knowledge in bioprospecting by pharmaceutical corporations looking for new drug products: where, who, and why? Hayden gives us the nuts-and-bolts of the operation. At first glance, the emphasis on circulation might remind the reader of other anthropological explorations of circulations through multisited ethnography. But Hayden supplements her multisited ethnography through reference to Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in science and technology studies. She uses this theory to analyze bioprospecting as a complex network of objects and subjects, as well as a way to incorporate the multiple and sometimes contradictory “interests” at stake. The flexibility of ANT, not so much a theory as a methodology or
manner of conceptualization, allows Hayden to break out of our imagined notion of “multi sited.” Anthropologists have taken this term to denote two or more field sites, geographic locations, creatively linked together by the ethnographer for the purpose of showing us a larger social process. Hayden explodes this simplistic notion by including sites such as a supranational agreement, the UN Convention on Biological Diversity, or a scientific research technology, such as the brine shrimp assay. ANT specifically includes these as actors or sites, consciously refusing to artificially divide subjects and objects within the larger network. Hayden deploys this theoretical conceptualization to raise some deeply involved and sometimes conflicting or contradictory logics. The many actors inside the network include anthropologists and ethnobotanists studying healing practices of indigenous communities. The knowledge-production of these anthropologists becomes one of the objects of study.

Another innovation of her ethnography is the attention she gives to the ethical dimensions of interests and publics, especially in terms of the pharmaceutical’s ethical obligations to give back to the southern communities. Rarely has scientific innovation or capitalist progress had to double back on itself in this manner, or perhaps the critical analysts who have looked at such far-reaching processes have not taken such ethical obligations as sincerely. Hayden remains ambivalent about this premise of bioprospecting, but she makes this ethical entanglement a central feature of her ethnography—a product of recent responses to critical rejoinders against globalization’s unequal flows of capital and ideas.

Hayden addresses another area of increasing anthropological attention: intellectual property, also a major concern in terms of the increasing commercialization of academia. This raises a common question concerning all intellectual production: What should be public? Hayden takes note of the harm done in handing all knowledge to markets, but she is not ready to reverse this position either, saying all information must be free and open. Where would that leave the local knowledge of the indigenous communities in the bioprospecting arrangement? This problematization of intellectual property is neither good nor bad, but a site of increasing relevance and importance. Hayden’s ethnography represents a contribution to an evenhanded understanding of this issue.

In the end, Hayden raises far more questions than she has space for which to offer answers. She addresses a novel procedure that may soon reach its end but still manages to show us how the density of bioprospecting represents emergent entanglements relevant to a larger number of agreements, arrangements, and relationships between the First World and the Third World. As much as anything, bioprospecting is a site that has yet to come to fruition and may ultimately fail, but its promise represents a site nonetheless. As such, the preparations for and early responses to bioprospecting offer us a unique look into the future. Hayden shows us a way in which anthropology can do more. Going beyond how society and culture function in the present, she delves into ways that the past and present may influence the future through conflict in various public spheres and awareness of historical inequality.


CHRISTIAN GIORDANO
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From the very outset, we need to point out that the title of this latest book by Michael Herzfeld evokes far less than what the text itself asserts. In fact, it is neither a strictly ethnographic monograph about artisans (as a social body) in a town on the island of Crete or their body attitudes, nor is it the umpteenth and by now repetitious digression on the relation between local and global. Michael Herzfeld instead gives us a thorough, rich, and stimulating presentation of the social complexity of an urban community on Europe’s margins in current times of accelerated changes, which give rise to strong tensions and disorientation in those who must endure rather than impose change because of their peripheral situation. The artisans referred to in the title are the astute pretexts to matter of factly yet broadly discuss the quality and dynamics of a group’s social ties within the framework of three different levels: community, national, and global.

With a fitting microsociological approach, which brings to mind Georg Simmel’s (1908) classic work, and based on sound ethnographic material collected via innovative methods, the author reconstructs and interprets the intricate role playing in which the artisans, as a professional category forced into marginality, are involved. In the book’s most representative chapters, we find very detailed analysis of the dyadic interpersonal relations between masters and apprentices, producers and clients, relatives (agnatic or cognatic) and family (nuclear or extended), bureaucrats and citizens, men and women, and youngsters and elders. However, the study of these basic social relations is never purely formal, and thus static. Instead, it takes on a dynamic aspect as well, functionally illustrated by several examples drawn from in the field experience. In fact, especially in those sections relating to the intricate ties between masters and apprentices, Herzfeld describes the extremely changeable nature of these relations, which are caused by the various strategies of manipulation taken up by both sides, depending on situation and opportunities.

By analyzing the types and dynamics of the various social relations in which the artisans of the Cretan town are involved, the author develops four notions, which, from a theoretic point of view, give the entire book depth and consistency. These are the concepts of power, hierarchy, agonism, and (mis)trust. This significant system of coordinates allows Herzfeld to show which basic rules, notwithstanding their mutability, are at work in interactions among people.
Therefore, we can distinctly understand, for example, that the relation between master and apprentice is based not only on power and hierarchy but also, concurrently, on a spirit of mutual rivalry and a feeling of reciprocal mistrust. This, in turn, paradoxically guarantees the relationship's dynamism and, consequently, the individual's vertical social mobility as well. Finally, especially in the sixth chapter entitled "Associative States," the author shows that over and above the implications of hierarchy and power, agonism and mutual mistrust permeate even next of kin and family, which many authors (esp., Edward Banfield in the late 1950s and far more recently Francis Fukuyama) have regarded as the sole sanctuaries of solidarity and cooperation in societies, such as the Cretan one studied here.

However, and rightly so, Michael Herzfeld does not settle for examining the artisans' world within the small urban community to which they belong. He broadens his outlook and considers all those hovering external influences that strongly affect both the dynamics of the artisans' productive system and their associated social relations. The hegemonic role of the national state, as well as that of the global hierarchy of value, runs through the entire text as a sort of leitmotif. On the one hand, the Greek national state (as in many other world peripheries), via its specific departments, imposes the modern rules of tradition that artisans must follow, willingly or not. On the other hand, global hierarchy sets the mere material value of handicrafts as well as the "standards of desirability" (quoting Clyde Kluckhohn's renowned definition) defined by media and tourism.

At this point, however, we ought to make some critical comments that might help clear some points that the book deals with only incidentally. First, highlighting the differences within the artisans' professional category, those who can hardly be regarded as members of a single social class, would have been worthwhile. Given, above all, the status and prestige gaps, the hierarchic order often historically inherited, and, finally, the open and ritualized rivalries among the single crafts, the internal social differences within this multifaceted world of crafts could have been examined more in detail. This would probably have helped to better understand the diversified nature of the social dynamics currently under way within this professional category. Moreover, more emphasis on the gap between center and periphery would have been worthwhile, because the opportunities of social betterment, or, contrariwise, the hazards of marginalization and downgrading, are very dissimilar depending on whether one belongs to the first or other parts of the world system. In other words, what happens to artisans in Greece, and specifically in Crete, certainly does not happen in Switzerland, where first-generation Italian immigrants symptomatically turned the Meister (master), who historically was and still is quite a prestigious figure, into maestà (your majesty) by assonance.

In conclusion, Michael Herzfeld's study provides an extremely discerning interpretation of Greek society, as exemplified by the Cretan one. Well beyond the oversimplifying functionalist universalism and the paralyzing uncertainties of postmodern relativism, Herzfeld spurs the reader toward making use of the comparative method, not only by comparing peripheral societies but also by considering the comparison with the central ones that produce and impose their global hierarchy of value.

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CHARLES HIRSCHKIND
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In the last decade, a growing body of literature has developed under the rubric of an anthropology of the senses. It focuses on the cultural patterning of sensory experience and its relation to distinct forms of self and society. In part a response to the neglect of the sensory dimensions of culture within interpretivist and reflexive approaches and to the ocular and verbocentrism of our inherited conceptual vocabularies, much of this work explores those senses historically marginalized within accounts of social life, namely: taste, smell, touch, and hearing, as well as those sensory modalities not captured by conventional ways of schematizing sensation and perception. In Sensual Relations, David Howes seeks to introduce this work to a broader anthropological audience and to demonstrate its analytical value and research potential to the discipline on a whole. The result is both insightful and highly readable.

The book is divided into three sections, the first of which examines the history of anthropological inquiry into issues of sensory meaning and experience. Howes traces a set of shifts within the discipline, from an early interest in hierarchies of sensory discrimination as a means to classify and rank racial types along an evolutionary scale, through the effacement of the senses in the 1970s and 1980s with the rise of textualist and dialogical approaches, to the reemerging concern with the implications of human embodiment and the cultural formation of the sensorium of recent decades. This contemporary, "sensual turn" in anthropological scholarship is exemplified and explored in the approaches of a number of the key contributors to this research agenda, among them Michael Jackson, Paul Stoller, Nadia Seremetakis, and Steven Feld. In his conclusion to the section, Howes summarizes and critically unpacks the dominant theoretical frameworks in the field, condensing within a few pages a series of key insights for the analysis of the sensual. Among them are the following: the importance of attending to the sensory models underlying indigenous epistemologies, an emphasis on the dynamics of intersensory relationships rather than on the individual senses as compartmentalized and differentiated within Western models, and the fact that questions of
sensory experience should be pursued in relation to cultural meaning and social practice.

In the second part of the book, Howes revisits a number of classic topics in Melanesian anthropology—most notably, the Kula—to demonstrate how attention to the senses can lead to analytical insights otherwise passed over. In exploring complex interrelationships between the senses in a number of cultural contexts, Howes makes a compelling case for his claim that our understanding of forms of social practice can be greatly enriched by attending to the cultural organization of different sensory registers in their interrelations. Through his detailed examination of the multiple sensory dimensions of Kula practice, Howes provides a vivid illustration of how the senses, in their mutual relations and coindications, form a symbolic system from which cultural practices derive their form and moral valence.

The final two chapters of the book attempt to establish the relevance of the anthropology of the senses to social theorizing via an engagement with Marx and Freud. Howes’s rethinking of the classical object of Marxist scholarship, the commodity, builds on lines of inquiry laid out by Bourdieu in his work on taste and the articulation and expression of class distinctions through patterns of consumption. His discussion of the implications of Trobriand sensory hierarchies for the cultural organization of sexuality is both thoughtful and original, and represents an important contribution to ongoing debates on the universality of the Oedipus complex.

Although Howes is right to critique interpretivist and dialogic approaches for their overreliance on notions of “textuality” in the description of cultural worlds, his argument could have benefited from a more rigorous engagement with the claims of those he criticizes. Although his observation that, instead of writing about texts, we should write about the people we observe is well taken, it leaves unaddressed the epistemological problems that led to an emphasis on reflexivity and dialogue in the first place. To say that anthropological attention to discourse must be supplemented with “participant observation” (p. 25), or that the answer to anthropology’s epistemological crisis is to be more “sensible” (i.e., attend to culture’s sensory dimensions; p. 27), waxes of an empiricism that many would find troubling, and moreover, does an injustice to Howes’s own highly nuanced analytical approach.

Lastly, although Howes’s explorations of the cultural attribution of meaning to sensory experience in a number of diverse Melanesian contexts is both engaging and persuasive, he pays far less attention to the instrumentality of the senses—that is, to the way learned sensory orientations enable people to perform culturally valued actions (the sort of thing Mauss discussed in regard to body techniques). Such an exploration would look at the senses less as symbolic systems than as culturally honed instruments, bodily conditions for the enactment of certain kinds of knowledge and action. Despite these lacunae, Howes’s work remains an invaluable introduction and guide to this vibrant arena of anthropological inquiry.


JENNIFER SCHIRMER
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Violence Workers attempts to address an issue of significant contemporary currency: How individuals are transformed into torturers, how they justify such violence, and what impact such work has had on their lives. Through interviews with 23 police officers, the authors seek to understand one essential question: If we cannot rely on personality disorders or abnormal psychology to explain how ordinary men can be transformed into perpetrators of violence, what does it take to have ordinary people systematically carry out despicable acts against other human beings?

The book was written as the collaboration of a sociologist and two psychologists. The questions they ask must be understood, they argue, through three different disciplinary lenses: the historical and political, the sociological and organizational, and the social-psychological.

There are a number of themes used to explain why these violence workers were able to undertake such gruesome work: by way of secrecy, occupational insularity, organizational fragmentation through a division of labor into different categories and practices, personal isolation, and social separation, as well as different “masculinist” groupings. They are also viewed in relation to how changes in the Brazilian state influenced their individual moralities about torture and murder.

Although the authors conclude that they have presented research evidence that offers answers to basic questions about the nature and sources of human violence, it is not even clear that they have adequately answered questions about violence workers in Brazil. For one, the sample of interviewees is small—only 14 of the total are believed to have directly participated in torture—and of these, a number refused to admit this. Second, we are not told how representative of torturers these 14 individuals are; we are provided no analysis of the class, racial, or cultural makeup of torture perpetrators. For another, we meet only those who worked at the low end of the cycle of violence, that is, those who did the actual dirty work of torture. Missing from the analysis are interviews with those who construct or abet the architectures of violence in which these workers find themselves.

Unclear as well is how the use of “masculinities” helps the analysis. The authors use masculinity rather cavalierly: When the concept as a whole does not work for them, they use a part of it, indeed different parts, for different individuals and institutional instances. Thus, it is unclear how the concept provides any additional insight into the mindset of violence workers.

There also appears to be a distancing of the authors from the testimonies, even though much is made of their
tactics to get the interviewees to talk. Indeed, from this discussion of tactics, we come to see that the authors are more interested in relating to the reader how adept they are at getting the respondents to admit to acts of torture than in gaining a full sense of who these torturers are as complete individuals and why they tortured.

Finally, there is little sense of the overall political structures and cultures that create the need for such violence workers. As a result we know little of why and in whose interests such systems are put in place, how they actually function within the society as a whole, how they are controlled, and who comes to decide how such violence is used. Without this analysis, it is difficult to make sense of how violence workers are created and used. As an example, the authors at one point suggest that the murder of innocent victims by violence workers, ordered to kill them by a superior officer after they had been accidentally shot, is evidence of being blindly obedient. It could be, though, that such an action was based not on blind, unthinking obedience, but on complicity based on fear, with a clear-eyed tactical sense of survival. Complicity can emanate for many reasons, as can violence, and without a fuller understanding of the system within which violence occurs and for whom it is useful, and without a detailed and nuanced account of the testimonies of individuals who perpetrate such systematic violence, we can learn little about either such violence or its workers. Unfortunately this book offers neither.


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Michel Izard’s considerable work on Moose (Mosi) society of Burkina Faso represents an important contribution to historical and political anthropology. His latest book, Moogo (“Moose country”), is not an ethnographic monograph as the title may suggest. Izard uses “Moogo” as a notion of cultural and political power intimately tied to the construction of the formation of the Moose “political space.” As Izard writes, the Moogo made the Moose people and not the other way around. The purpose of this extremely detailed and exhaustive study is to reexamine the processes at work in the emergence of the Moose state (in the late 15th or early 16th century) on the basis of all the available written material and of oral traditions. It is a longue durée history that exposes the evolving relations between social, cultural, and political arrangements.

The author develops in the introduction an interesting reflection on history and oral tradition in a hierarchical and centralized society. Yet this book is also a work of political anthropology in the tradition initiated by Meyer Fortes and E. E. Evans Pritchard’s African Political Systems, but one that takes into account the colonial impact on the historical discourse of local societies. Faced with many different precolonial and colonial versions of the same historical or mythical events, Izard does not attempt to reduce them to one coherent narrative. Instead, he introduces the notion of “prevailing tradition” (la tradition dominante) that exerts a guiding influence on Moose historical discourse for periods of time as long as several generations. In one example, Izard demonstrates that the colonial period ushered in a new “tradition dominante” of the Moose early history in which, the founding ancestor, Wedraogo, has been transformed from woman to man. The Moose naaba (chiefs) and the first Moose scholars, confronted with the French colonial administration depiction of the Moogo as a stable empire and the views of “administrators-ethnographers,” uncomfortable with the idea of a female ancestor in a patriarchal society, converged to arrange a new, prevailing tradition more in tune with the Moose warrior ethic.

The most impressive achievement of this book is its systematic research on the origins of Moose society. A series of “kingdoms” (Mamprugu, Dagbon, Nanun, Yanga, and Moogo) originated in the northeastern region of present-day Ghana, where Mande and Gur speaking societies meet. They were founded on the same radically new conception of power that produced hierarchical societies whose expansion followed a segmentary model. The well-established narrative about the origin of Moose society, which relates a conquest by nakombse horsemen who rapidly subjugated local populations, is challenged by Izard who argues for the gradual infiltration of strong men, bearers of a profoundly new political project, the political order of a state. The success of the conquerors would have depended as much on words as on weapons, a revised interpretation of the conquest of better armed forces against noncentralized societies of the West African savanna shared by other scholars. The autochthonous and the imported political orders (gens de la terre–gens du pouvoir) combined to form Moose society, the political complexity of which is well rendered in this book.

The history of this new society has been characterized by tension between the proliferation of naaba generated by the segmentary model and an ongoing process of centralization. There is no linear development but an evolution of the articulation between segmentary and state society. Izard analyses the Moose segmentary model, called moos buudu, as an a posteriori intellectual rationalization of the encounter between nakombse warriors and local societies, which created a fictive genealogy for all Moose people. What makes the moos buudu, or Moose society, unique is the naam, a spiritual power embodied by the naaba. The centralization movement accelerates in the 18th century with the settling of the nakombse warriors and the expansion of long distance trade. Izard does not discuss a possible relation between the centralization movement of the 18th century and commerce partly controlled by Muslim merchants, called Yarse by the Moose, who played a significant ritual and political role in the courts of the non-Muslim Moogo Naaba (the paramount chief) and other naaba. However, the purpose of this work is to point
to the endogenous dynamics in Moose political history. The author insists that scholars should not view his work, and especially his genealogy of Moose dynasties, as a definitive version of Moose history. Yet readers may wonder how this outstanding work of research and reflection is going to be improved. An editorial note: The complexity of the material covered deserved an index or at least a glossary of Moose institutions.


**DOLORES ROOT**
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

*Liberating Culture* challenges the commonly held view that museums are a Western invention and argues that curation and preservation of material culture are cross-cultural phenomena that deserve to be studied like other aspects of human behavior. Through examples from her own work in Indonesia and other parts of the world, Christina Kreps demonstrates the many different ways non-Western cultures actively preserve their cultural heritage, today and in the past.

The book is organized into five chapters. The first lays out the intellectual framework, in which Kreps situates the investigation within the larger discourse on cultural representation. It grounds her investigation in the comparative method and builds on new directions in museology, focusing on museums as forums for social change. Rather than repeat the now familiar critique of the Eurocentric model of museums, Chapter 2 illustrates the conflicts between professional “scientific” practice and local knowledge and practice. Here, Kreps draws on her own fieldwork in Indonesia.

Chapters 3 and 4 document, across a diversity of non-Western cultures, the physical structures and indigenous practices for storing and preserving objects of cultural value as well as the importance of objects for the transmission of culture. In demonstrating cultural diversity, Kreps dismantles the justification for salvage ethnography and the ongoing scientific justification for opposing restitution. The chapters also discuss the resurgence of cultural conservation in the postcolonial era, as many non-Western cultures adapt the concept and form of the Western museum to preserve their cultural heritage, today and in the past.

Next, she returns to Indonesia and offers a bottom-up (vs. top-down) approach to museums. In the context of people-centered approaches to international development work, Kreps and others argue that community museums can be a catalyst for reinvigorating and preserving local culture—objects and skills—as well as a forum for economic development and conservation of resources. The key is respect for local knowledge and participatory processes. Kreps describes her work as a consultant for the World Wildlife Fund, developing a community-based museum program in East Kalimantan, which included planning with one village a community museum. Although the museum has yet to be realized, Kreps examines the many ways the project and its process are an alternative model for museum development in Indonesia and beyond. The final chapter synthesizes Kreps’s meaning of liberating culture and she advances a framework for cross-cultural heritage management.

This book’s focus on indigenous practices of caring and preserving material culture in non-Western societies is both a strength and a limitation. Kreps makes a compelling argument for the value of cross-cultural study of these behaviors and their relevance to museum practice, especially in Western museums. Moreover, Kreps articulates the theoretical underpinnings for her investigation, which is a refreshing approach to museology.

Although the theoretical scope is broad, the narrow focus on curation and preservation circumscribes reflection on the public dimension of museum practice. Clearly, methods for the care and preservation of material culture have many implications for interpretation, but there is little discussion of exhibits: how culture is represented in non-Western museums, and how different approaches to the curation and care of objects affect the stories told. Similarly, discussion of the planning of a community museum—in which the foreign idea of museum is successfully introduced by drawing on a cultural analogue, the rice barn—does not illuminate activities beyond conservation. Are the public activities similar to or different than those associated with Western museums, for example, exhibits and education programs? As an alternative model, what are the outcomes of a participatory planning process? What constitutes community participation and community ownership, and how does the outsider as catalyst influence the outcomes?

I anticipated that an investigation of cross-cultural practices and alternative models might problematize the very idea of museum as a repository for caring, preserving, and making accessible cultural heritage. The book does not question this fundamental idea. It left me wondering, is the idea of museum a cross-cultural universal, or does it reflect Western culture’s hegemony in the construction of global culture? A cross-cultural perspective invites us to consider this important question.

*Liberating Culture* is a thoughtful and rich addition to the discourse on museum representation and museum practice. It is well suited for use in upper-level undergraduate and graduate-level classes in anthropology and museum studies.


**DARA CULHANE**
Simon Fraser University

“**Real**” **Indians and Others** begins with a brief autobiographical account of the author’s experience as a
mixed-blood child of a Francophone Aboriginal mother and an Anglophone British father who grew up working class in Quebec during the 1960s and 1970s. Entering university in her early thirties, Lawrence began to piece together her own history through family stories; government, public, and archival records; legal documents; historical and sociological research; and conversations with other similarly positioned individuals. These explorations provided the groundwork for the development of the methodological approach Lawrence adopted for doctoral dissertation research among members of the urban Native community in Toronto, Canada.

The principal analytic focus of the work emphasizes the central role of law—particularly the Indian Act of Canada—in constructing categories of inclusion and exclusion, and, thus, in shaping relationships among Aboriginal peoples, relationships between them and the Canadian state, and between Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal majority population. The book also describes and analyzes the complexities of living through embodied racialized identities on myriad interconnected levels: from the effects of differences based on individual physical appearance; through intergenerational family histories lived on and off reserves; participation and nonparticipation in diverse cultural practices; conversion and rejection of various Christian religious affiliations; to relationships with state bureaucracies and social service entitlement and provision; competitions for resources, education, and employment; and political affiliations and participation in social movements. Although focused on Canada, and specifically Eastern Canada, the book offers productive insights into important axes of comparison between Canadian and American Indian policy.

Lawrence locates her work within contemporary discourses among scholars, artists, and activists who are concerned with indigenous peoples’ diverse pasts, complex presents, and possible futures. She asserts in the preface that “a metanarrative about encounters with genocide”—as defined by the UN Genocide Convention—forms the underlying premise of her work, and that “urban mixed-blood Native identity cannot be adequately understood” outside of such a framework (p. xvii). Lawrence concludes by outlining a proposal for supporting revived indigenous political confederacies that existed at the time of colonization. Such polities, she argues, “represent one of the only possible means by which truly effective political alliances can be created between on-reserve and off-reserve communities” (p. 240). By offering the possibility of membership no longer overdetermined by the colonial premises of the federal Indian Act, such confederacies may allow for the possibility of greater inclusion, and provide a position from which to struggle for an expanded land base, revitalization of language, and some form of sovereign Indigenous governance. Lawrence presents a thorough, well-supported, and well-argued defense of this particular vision, which is, of course, one of a number of positions. The author is explicit about her commitment to (re)building indigenous nationhood. She does not explore in any depth al-ternative models of sovereignty, self determination, or coexistence that are currently the focus of intense debate among and between indigenous and nonindigenous peoples. At the same time, however, Lawrence carefully documents the legacy of centuries of colonial rule, manifested in often deeply divided communities and acrimonious relations between state-regulated categories of indigenous people brought into increasingly tense competition with each other for scarce resources.

Lawrence succeeds in presenting a thoughtful analysis of extraordinarily complex sets of social relationships. The histories of “mixed-blood” indigenous peoples and urban communities are only now beginning to attract serious scholarly attention, despite the long historical presence of “hybrid,” “creole,” “mixed-race,” and “multi-ethnic” populations in North American urban centers. “Real” Indians and Others makes an important contribution to this emerging body of literature, filling lacunae in indigenous and in urban studies scholarship.

Clearly written in accessible language, the text as a whole, including a comprehensive bibliography and appendix, make this book valuable for classroom use. Appendices consist of: (1) an outline of terms and conditions for “Eligibility for Status and Band Membership under Bill C-31” in Canada, (2) the author’s reflections on “Issues in Conducting Indigenous Research,” and (3) “Narratives of Encounters with Genocide” that offers verbatim excerpts from interview transcripts. The experiences and critical analyses articulated in “Real” Indians and Others contribute in challenging ways to theoretical development in a range of fields concerned with intersections between structures of inequality affected by class, race, and gender relations in the contemporary world and forge important links to struggles for social justice and transformation.


JOHN R. BOWEN
Washington University

In the latest of his studies of French culture and society, Herman Lebovics examines worries of the postwar French about who they are. Through a series of modestly connected case studies that range from peasant protests to cultural museums, he argues that the process of becoming postcolonial has profoundly shaped the ways in which French public figures fashion new forms of French national identity.

The author tells his stories well. The first focuses on the center-region tension. It concerns the protests by self-styled “peasants” in the south-central Larzac plateau during the 1970s. The “peasants of Larzac” refused to allow the state to expropriate lands to extend a military base (a project designed to buttress France’s role as a military power). The protesters played all the appropriate chords. They portrayed themselves as the defenders of France’s rich regional
agricultural heritage against the militarism of the postwar government. They drew on sympathies with regional Occitan cultural self-expression. They attracted Parisian intellectuals who worked on a local press and bought little plots of the threatened land. In the 1980s, the peasants were to donate a land parcel to the New Caledonian Kanak nationalist movement, and a decade later José Bové attacked a McDonald’s in the same region. Antidomination by Paris easily became antidomination by the United States.

In the next chapters, the author adds a new layer to his analysis of Paris and the regions: the practical effects of decolonization on the politics of regional culture. Drawing on his earlier study of André Malraux’s Ministry of Culture, Lebovics points to the important role played in the ministry by former colonial administrators. Strategies used to tame the colonies could be deployed against recalcitrant regions as well. Paris also sought to create its own intellectual version of regions as an answer to regionalist opposition movements (such as that of Larzac). Lebovics traces the efforts by anthropologists to create an ethnology of France in the late 1970s, at the moment when many of their number had been thrown out of work by decolonization. Once again, colonial expertise was turned inward—against those who would defy the central state. Lebovics has a good ear for the battles among intellectuals for state funding (although I would have liked to see more about the decentralization of education and research in the 1990s).

When he moves to the debates about pluralism and difference beginning in the 1980s, the author importantly underscores the importance of the way the socialists responded to Le Pen’s strong 1988 electoral showing by dropping their support for cultural pluralism in favor of a strong reaffirmation of undifferentiated republican citizenship. I think he underplays the importance of immigration and Islam in this story. Indeed, it has been to a large extent through criticisms of public Islam that both the Left and the Right have sought to blunt the force of Le Pen’s appeal. Lebovics does nicely contrast the multicolored 1998 World Cup soccer team with the 2001 brawl at a France–Algeria match to show the limits of French celebrations of multicultural citizenship. But in many ways, the battles over who is French have been most importantly fought in the schools and through the popular media, in which the Left continues to fight its own past “excesses” of multiculturalism.

In his final chapter, the author takes us through the story of how patrons of new museums are trying to co-opt the art and culture of the world into new ideas of France. He chronicles the difficulties of even naming the museum, “difference beginning in the 1980s, the author importantly underscores the importance of the way the socialists responded to Le Pen’s strong 1988 electoral showing by dropping their support for cultural pluralism in favor of a strong reaffirmation of undifferentiated republican citizenship. I think he underplays the importance of immigration and Islam in this story. Indeed, it has been to a large extent through criticisms of public Islam that both the Left and the Right have sought to blunt the force of Le Pen’s appeal. Lebovics does nicely contrast the multicolored 1998 World Cup soccer team with the 2001 brawl at a France–Algeria match to show the limits of French celebrations of multicultural citizenship. But in many ways, the battles over who is French have been most importantly fought in the schools and through the popular media, in which the Left continues to fight its own past “excesses” of multiculturalism.

In his final chapter, the author takes us through the story of how patrons of new museums are trying to co-opt the art and culture of the world into new ideas of France. He chronicles the difficulties of even naming the museum, which doubtless someday will be called the Musée Chirac but that for now goes by the name of its location on the Quai de Branly. The Museum is caught between two ideals: showing how people in Asia, Africa, and the Americas make objects part of their social lives, and exhibiting those objects for their aesthetic properties. Lebovics has his own view of who is right here (it is you, dear reader), but he also makes clear that the dilemma is a real one. In this chapter, as in the book as a whole, Lebovics’s light touch masks the extensive research that supports his arguments. His enjoyable and profound treatise on contemporary France should be read by anyone interested in the dilemmas of the postcolonial world.


HILL GATES
Central Michigan University

In this book, Anru Lee examines a challenging paradox. Recently, as Taiwan’s economy industrialized, employers found themselves short of labor while unemployment rose. Lee offers an explanation based on her fieldwork in a small textile factory. She brings together elements from political economy, seen up close but also from a head-clearing, international distance, with approaches from gender and kinship theory. From women in three ten-year long, “industrial generations,” and from the rich resources of native background, she distills a “moral discourse of work” that adds much to our knowledge of this distinctive society. By situating Taiwan’s changing economy in anthropology’s enormous literature on 20th century industrialization, she has written a book that will reach an audience well beyond her focus.

The detail, complexity, and authenticity of Lee’s exploration of life among women factory workers deserve much praise. Written with a lightness of touch and an abundance of direct quotation, life histories, and appropriate self-reflexivity, her study is enjoyable and to the point. Life in Taiwan has changed so rapidly that superficial novelty blurs underlying continuity for some observers—but Lee pays attention. An important theme, well developed at many levels, is the continuing social acceptance of the subordination of the youngest women to the needs of male kin and the patriline. Lee captures the words and actions of young women who can find no way to break out of the self-denying virtue of maintaining “harmony,” that is, doing what they are told. It is no surprise that not all girls toe this line. Resistance and agency are given their due. Especially interesting revelations about Taiwanese women’s ingeniousness in seeking a space of their own are found—I would almost say buried—in a chapter on the meaning of work. Here, we encounter a new version of the religiously flavored sisterhood through which many Han Chinese women have evaded the natural extortions of an overdone patriarchy. A semitextual folk religion formerly banned in Taiwan, Yi Guan Dao (I-Kuan Tao) serves to validate women-founded temples for residential celibates and their less committed sisters in faith.

Lee frames her ethnographic detail by posing it between two poles. One is economy. By this, she means the engagement and integration of Taiwan’s labor, capital, and culture into global capitalist currents. The other is variously labeled “culture” (e.g., pp. 8–10), “harmony ideology” (p. 161), and
Richard Maddox chooses this highly symbolic event as the site for his ethnographic study of identity politics and policy making in the “New Spain.” The author explicitly and successfully tries to overcome both the localist and synchronic biases of conventional community studies carried out throughout the 20th century in southern Spain, and their simplifying, dualizing analyses of transformations in terms of tradition versus modernity. The resulting “macroethnography” (p. 29) is an excellent contribution to the ongoing redefinition of the ethnographic object in the post-Writing Culture era.

Maddox analyzes the interrelations between the globalized, hegemonic discourse of “cosmopolitan liberalism” (p. 6), on the one hand, and Spanish political culture and identity politics, on the other. After a historical and methodological introduction (part 1), these interrelations are ethnographically studied through a diachronic analysis of the making and shaping of the Expo 92 project by the different intervening agents (part 2). Conflicts quickly arose between clashing views on urban planning and local development (part 3); the discourses on regional, national, and European identity as portrayed and performed during the exhibition (part 4); the gap the author perceives between the organizing elites’ globalization and identity discourses, and the visitors’ own impressions and experiences (part 5); and finally, the long-term impact of the Expo 92 project on the local political and economic arena in Seville (part 6).

There are two shortcomings that together limit the author’s capacity to adequately answer his initial question on the interrelation between “cosmopolitan liberalism” and Spanish political culture. First, Maddox introduces and acknowledges at too late a stage (p. 318) the power and impact of local clientelist and cronyist traditions of policy making as a decisive factor in the global and local conflicts and confluences. In contemporary Andalusia, these traditions, which have been extensively studied in several rural and urban southern European contexts, are currently being reinterpreted as ambiguous, but effective, resources of localist resistance against globalizing forces.

Second, in his deconstruction of identity struggles between Seville local elites, Spanish political elites (mainly...
from the governing Socialist Party), and European actors, the author emphasizes the local versus national versus global “battleground” for the case of Seville in the broader framework of the transforming and increasingly federalized Spanish nation-state. This perspective, however, is all too reductionist. Andalusian regionalism—and not only Seville localism—had been a core issue at stake during the marketing of the Expo 92 throughout Spain. To overcome the discursive weakness of Andalusian identity politics and the lack of such ethnic markers as the Basque medieval autonomy traditions or the Catalan national language and literature, the regionalist actors successfully “sold” the Expo 92 to both Andalusians and outsiders as proof of Andalusian “hyper-modernity” (the topos used was “Andalusia as the future California of Europe”), with Seville as its most visible and universally recognized symbol. In this sense, the Expo 92 and its surrounding infrastructural megaprojects were internally directed against the persisting subregional, divergent localisms. These are still viewed as the most important obstacle for the successful unfolding and spread of Andalusian nationalist discourse, and are nourished and sustained by the above-mentioned local clientelist traditions.

Apart from these shortcomings, Maddox’s ethnography, with its vivid and engaged narrative, fruitfully combines macro and micro perspectives, diachronic and synchronic approaches, and ethnographic and documentary sources on the world’s fair and its actors. As an exemplary case study of processes of glocalization in a nutshell, this book decisively contributes not only to the ongoing efforts to de-essentialize the tradition of community studies in the anthropology of Europe and Mediterranean anthropology but also to the ethnography of globalization in general.


PAUL ALLATSON
University of Technology, Sydney

The front cover of From Cuenca to Queens features a map, a green swathe of the Americas with state frontiers intact. Superimposed on this geopoliticized terrain, an arrow curls away from Cuenca, Ecuador, across the Central American isthmus, the Gulf of Mexico, and the U.S. hinterland, until it nudes the yellow dot of New York City. A little distraction perhaps; but for me this image confirms how difficult it is to represent, indeed, conceive of, transnationality.

Ann Miles responds to this difficulty by letting the Quitasacas, the Ecuadorian family whose travails she followed over a 12-year period in Cuenca and New York, do the talking. With this approach Miles acknowledges a debt to Oscar Lewis’s pioneering participant-observer method, one she adapts to accommodate her more obtrusive ethnographer presence. The resulting study augments the critical literature on what Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith (1998) call “transnationality from below” as opposed to “from above.” In Miles’s study, the Quitasacas respond to and make sense of immigration’s impact on a family divided between distinct, yet intimately and imaginatively connected, cities and states. They relate their international migrations to local rural–urban and Andean–lowland trajectories. They provide insightful discussion on how migration to New York by the family’s male members both upholds and transforms prevalent gendered conventions. Equally fascinating are these Ecuadorians’ perceptions of their “new” relation to U.S. ethnicity discourse and other Latino groups. Vicente, for example, acquires de facto “Hispanic” status, but he is not welcomed by established Latino sectors. The male Quitasacas have no access to latinidades in the United States, the panethnic affiliations or coalitions identified by Latina/o studies practitioners.

In tandem with Miles’s aim to let her subjects speak, she also figures prominently in her text “not because I think the story is about me (or because I want it to be about me) but in order to highlight the ethnographic process” (p. 7). The claim is somewhat disingenuous. The intensity of the author’s relationship with her subjects, and its impact on Miles’s participant-observer function, rarely gives rise to deeper reflection. For instance, Miles promises financial assistance to Rosa who is diagnosed with lupus, but there is no analysis of how, if at all, that arrangement reconfigured her subjects’ and her own mutually affective senses of the transnationality that concerned all involved. More worrying is Miles’s faith in her narrative capacity as ethnographer. At stake here, given the page-turning novelistic appeal of her study, is the point raised by Renato Rosaldo (1989) when he warns anthropologists not to structure “the untidiness of everyday life [events] so that they can be ‘read’ like articles, books, or, as we now say, texts” (p. 12). From Cuenca to Queens does reveal untidy lives. But given Miles’s emphasis on the Quitasacas’s “story,” one they requested her to write to publicize their experiences to North American readers (p. 183), there is no admission from Miles that “their story” cannot be their story alone. Evident here, as in much ethnographic work, is a subaltern dilemma, by which the First World intellectual speaks for her subjects and constructs the subalternity that concerns her. At play, too, is a testimonial-like problematic, by which the purported truth of the narrative itself is contaminated and transformed by the mediating function of the transcriber–author. It is too neat to assert, as Miles does, that she is merely the ethnographic vector by which the Quitasacas’s stories are “made real” (p. 183). If From Cuenca to Queens is a “true story” (p. 188), Miles cannot evade responsibility as the protagonist and chief beneficiary of that tale.

This evasion returns me to the unsatisfying cover image. In the critical literature on migration, “transnational” is a ubiquitous but contested term. For many cultural anthropologists, including Miles, it denotes the emergence of new social fields or networks and cultural hybridities across state borders. Miles demonstrates that transnational migration is an unpredictable and
multivalent enterprise. It entails bidirectional and mutually transformative flows of people, funds, and goods. It is marked by consolatory and conflictive interplays between various material and discursive factors in home and host countries. As Miles ably shows, these factors include: personal identifications on a range of fronts, class conflicts, juridical status, familial structures and expectations, communal networks, gender conventions, discourses of racialization and ethnicization, the vicissitudes of labor markets, grinding poverty, and the values accorded to cultural capital, much of it popular, mass mediated, and derived from the United States. A unidirectional arrow cannot encapsulate the imbrication of ethnographic subjects and ethnographer alike in this narrative, and it is also inadequate to the task of signifying such transnational complexity.

REFERENCES CITEd


VEERENDRA P. LELE
Denison University

It is not self-evident that Immanuel Kant’s moral philosophy would be at odds with European imperial endeavors, but as Sankar Muthu’s excellent and ambitious book makes clear, it may be if one historicizes and “anthropologizes” Kant’s theory. Contrary to conventional interpretations of Enlightenment theory, three important philosophers—Denis Diderot, Kant, and Johann Gottfried Herder—lodged sustained criticism against European imperialism. Muthu contends that these three (with Jean-Jacques Rousseau as a common referent and touchstone) presented their defense of non-European peoples through their argument that all humans have a capacity for culture, what Muthu terms cultural agency. Although Diderot, Kant, and Herder argued against empire, in part to critique European society of their day, all three also argued that cultural agency is part of the very composition of the human being—or as Edmund Burke said, “art is Man’s nature” (p. 8). Here Muthu is more than simply (as he says) “pluralizing the Enlightenment”: He provides a critical genealogy of contemporary anthropological issues about empire and “the relationship between human unity and diversity” (p. 1).

Beginning with discussions of Rousseau and Diderot, Muthu describes the former’s influence on the latter through an analysis of Rousseau’s Discourse on the Origin of Inequality. In this essay, Rousseau offered his famous argument that “civilization” has ruined (European) humanity, relying on reported ethnographic evidence of Amerindians and Hottentots, people who were neither purely savage nor quite civilized. Revealing Rousseau’s ambivalence, Muthu states succinctly, “Rousseau’s need to provide empirical examples for a supposedly hypothetical category transforms what might have been merely a heuristic (if implausible) concept of natural humanity into an ethically troubling and inadvertently dehumanizing rhetoric” (p. 69–70).

As an important contributor to Abbé Raynal’s Histoire des deux Indes and the author of the Supplement to Bougainville’s Voyage, Diderot countered Rousseau’s representations of such “noble savages.” Muthu clearly presents Diderot’s sustained argument against European conquest of non-Europeans, an argument based on cultural agency as constitutively human. Contrary to readings of Diderot’s discussion of Tahitians as an example of “natural humans,” Muthu argues that, for Diderot, Tahitians lived in a “paradise constructed and maintained by Tahitians themselves” (p. 57). Further, if Tahitians lived in nature, it was nature suffused with, and realized through, the artifice of social relations and institutions. In his contributions to Raynal’s Histoire, Diderot argued that the plurality of human cultural practices may be “morally incommensurable” (p. 121), perhaps presaging cultural relativism of contemporary anthropology.

Reconciling a universal moral rule with recognition of human plurality is a difficult task. In perhaps the most intriguing chapters, Muthu tries to articulate a notion of “cultural agency” with the Kantian moral rule—Kant’s famous “categorical imperative”—basing this, in part, on Kant’s presupposition that humans are necessarily variable in their experiences. Muthu (following Kant) analytically separates the moral rule from its object: The rule is categorical—universal and independent of any actual experience (in theory)—but its object is the cultural agency that is the endowment of all humans, everywhere (pp. 139–141). Muthu is able to make this argument because he is not in thrall to Kant’s three great Critiques but, rather, reads the Critiques in relation to Kant’s later social and political writings.

The chapter on Herder presents several significant arguments: Although Herder may have disagreed with his former teacher on some things, his views on European imperial conquest were compatible with Kant’s and, as such, Herder ought to be understood as an Enlightenment thinker. Furthermore, Muthu argues that Herder’s notions of the “nation,” often interpreted as at odds with Kant’s cosmopolitanship, can be understood to be a “check [on] the homogenizing and oppressive power of increasingly centralized and imperializing ‘state-machines’ ” (p. 258), a reading that becomes possible when taking seriously Herder’s opposition to European conquest of non-European peoples.

At the heart of the various arguments is an anthropological sensibility—and a very contemporary one at that—of cultural agency. Muthu’s impressive scholarship provides an important contribution to the confluence of political philosophy and anthropology, and a history of the moment just prior to their disciplinary separation. More than this, Muthu points out that as European imperialism refined and
refracted concepts of human unity and diversity, these were central concerns of three major representatives of the Enlightenment. During the Enlightenment, a notion of “cultural agency” (and perhaps incommensurability) was fundamental for arguments against imperial exploitation. Such arguments were not sustained by later 19th century thinkers (as Muthu notes) as racial theories of human diversity became ascendant. But moral and ethnographic arguments based on cultural agency would become an organizing principle for a later German (American) anthropologist, Franz Boas.


DAVID H. PRICE
Saint Martin’s College

Over the past two decades, Leslie White’s place in the history of anthropology has devolved from cartoonish representations of a scrappy crusader to representations of White as a minor anomaly in the formation of what are now whiggishly represented as the inevitable prevailing postmodern trends. Although few anthropologists today read or quote White, kernels of his vision of culture as a powerful sui generis force are nonetheless detectible within contemporary culture theory—even if those writing this reject his evolutionary essentialism. With the relegation of White’s legacy to the margins, White’s forceful cultural determinism, his materialist vision of cultural evolution, and his technological determinism have been dismissively ignored.

William Peace’s biography sheds important new light on the life and times of Leslie White, and it gives us new reasons to reconsider White and his contributions. Peace clarifies how U.S. anti-Marxism limited the forms of analysis that Marxist intellectuals like White could undertake within the U.S. university systems. Peace’s work calls for the history of anthropology to more explicitly examine the political context of its subjects—as Peace discerns a “failure of historians such as George Stocking and Richard Handler to consider the political beliefs and actions of [anthropologists] drawn to radical politics” (p. xv).

Peace’s most significant contribution is his documentation of White’s intellectual debts to Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and Socialist Labor Party founder Daniel DeLeon. White’s correspondence and diaries reveal how his commitment to socialism, and his thorough reading of Marx, informed his materialist cultural evolutionary theory. White was an active member of the Socialist Labor Party from 1931 until the early 1940s (publishing over 30 articles in the SLP’s Weekly People under the pseudonym of John Steel), and it was through his political associations that he first came to read Morgan, Marx, and Engels. Peace demonstrates that White’s Marxism was the anchor for his life and work, although this dimension of White was necessarily withheld from public inspection during his life.

White’s battles as a graduate student in the University of Chicago’s sociology department are shown to have been instrumental in the university’s decision to open its department of anthropology. And although White’s fieldwork among the Acoma reveals fieldwork techniques that would be unethical today—as he privately pressed informants to reveal secret, sacred information—this fieldwork is shown to be far more substantial than widely assumed, in all spending over 50 months conducting fieldwork in the Southwest.

White’s lectures to packed assemblies at the University of Michigan converted and outraged the students who heard them. His disdain for organized religion and authoritarian limits to academic freedom brought him trouble, as he was denied promotions and raises and was subjected to squadrons of shorthand-taking nuns in his course lectures. White’s confrontations with Boas and his students are legendary, but Peace reminds us that White’s most lasting contribution may be that these confrontations gave theory a new primacy in U.S. anthropology.

There is some small irony in writing a biography of one who championed a vision of cultural determinism in which individuals simply did not matter. But Peace’s brilliant historical detective work adds an interesting personal depth to our understanding of one who rejected the psychological for the culturological. We learn of White’s tormented youth in rural Kansas; as a teenager White faced down his domineering father over his sister’s out-of-wedlock pregnancy; how his witnessing of the Great War’s destruction led him first to psychology, then sociology, and finally anthropology to learn what causes such cruelty. And we also learn of the personal tolls inflicted by his long solitary intellectual battles.

Knowledge of White’s socialism adds a hopeful edge to White’s dire automatonic vision of culture—but this inevitably raises paradoxes of agency when confronted with White’s particular culture concept. These paradoxes did not apparently become evident to White until his final book, The Concept of Cultural Systems (1975), in which he confronted the limits of evolutionary functionalism in a universe he declared governed by chance and necessity.

In the end there is no consistent accounting of why White undertook (pseudonymed) socialist activist writing for years, yet when asked in 1968 why he did not protest the war, he replied in typical Whiteian fashion that, “I would hate to see the northern hemisphere largely covered once again by a huge ice-sheet. My feelings about Vietnam are more immediate and do involve my emotions much more than the contemplation of the prospect of another ice age. But the intellectual attitude is the same” (p. 225).

As with most lives, questions about such contradictions in the end remain unanswered. But the complexities and contradictions of White give Peace plenty of rich material to
weave a fascinating story of one of the 20th century’s great iconoclasts—and the revelations of White’s socialism significantly advance our understanding of White and the history of anthropology.

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JOAN VINCENT
Barnard College

This volume of chapters stretches the definition of development. Derived from the Association of Social Anthropologists’ conference held in London in 2000, it marks a coming of age in development studies that does not defer the question of global politics. If its charter lies in Michael Cernea’s 1996 Malinowski lecture on “Social Organization and Development Anthropology,” its denouement is found in the “frontline protests,” as one contributor calls them, of Noam Chomsky and Arundhati Roy. En route, familiar concepts in development anthropology are challenged and renegotiated. Through discourse analysis and ethnography, critical assessments are made of the World Bank, multinational developers, governments, and national intelligence organizations. The privileging of the cultural extends to linguistics, mental health, information warfare, and nuclear knowledge. As a contribution to Pluto Press’s series on Anthropology, Culture, and Society, it is strong medicine best taken in small doses: at times jargon and acronyms outweigh reader friendliness.

Chapters focus on expert building work in Yemen, nuclear information in India, development aid in Bolivia, the exit strategy of a transnational oil company in Wales, disaster aid in Montserrat, land claims over a national park in Australia, a National Park Authority confronting the competing interests of popular tourist-oriented ecological awareness and fishing and shellfish gathering communities in Portugal, temple activities in China as management strategies for coping with modernity, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Sri Lanka, military invasion in Eastern Zaire, conflict among stakeholders in mining in Papua New Guinea, conservation projects in the Philippines, and World Bank rhetoric on dam building and relocation in Uganda. They have in common encounters between “locals” and “outsiders” and a questioning of the vocabulary of ethnographic analyses of development.

The chapter sequence reflects a clustering of concepts editor Johann Pottier discusses in the opening chapter, “Negotiating Local Knowledge.” This projects anthropology’s escape route from a top-down concern with technologi-

cal development since the 1980s. The extent to which this arrives at studying-up the feeding chain of multinationals and humanitarian agencies varies from chapter to chapter. Pottier advocates a “negotiated situation-specific” (p. 4) approach that pluralizes every familiar concept (local knowledges, local peoples, shareholders, and stakeholders both local and external) and recognizes the problematic character of each. Development is the one term not defined. In terms of political theory a shift has occurred (belatedly, perhaps) from systems to arenas. The performative is accentuated: not knowledge and knowledge interfaces but knowledge production.

Several chapters adopt concepts not introduced in the introduction: terrorism, governmentality (which appears in the index as “governmentability”), power, empowerment, disempowerment, hegemony, entitlement, resistance, and genocide among them. Pottier’s passing observation that “the incorporation of external/global elements in local knowledges receives much attention in this volume” (p. 5) might not be appreciated if a reader failed to read the endnotes. These lead beyond the colon to the book’s subtitle: Power and Identity. They, too, are concerned with problematics. For example, five contributors limit their discussion of hegemony to rhetoric, discourses, representations, myth, and miscommunication in a site-specific “knowledge interface.” Two go further. Pottier’s own ethnography holds the UN to account for their failure to prevent Rwanda’s invasion of eastern Zaire in 1996 and Alex Argenti-Pillen’s chapter, “The Global Flow of Knowledge on War Trauma,” raises questions about the wisdom of global humanitarian agencies. Both authors provide the historical knowledge that global operatives lack and locals possess, adding irony to the lack of credentials and naïveté of globally empowered operatives whose decisions mean life and death for thousands. Never have negotiation and power appeared so distant.

Reading Argenti-Pillen’s engrossing ethnography is like peeling back the layers of an onion. At the heart of her chapter is a close-grained analysis of a translation process, but the outer layer is the culture of monoglot Westerners in their Cinnamon Gardens compound in Colombo. Internationally funded, they seek to bring peace of mind to rural Sri Lankans caught in the crossfire of one of the bloodiest “small wars” of the Cold War era. The monoglots employ elite urban Singhalese to translate the science of the Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome that supposedly predisposed the villagers to further cycles of violence. Argenti-Pillen, a doctor as well as an anthropologist, spoke both village and upper-class Singhalese as well as English. The sting in the scorpion’s tail lies in the revelation that the villagers had supported a left-wing insurgency to overthrow the orthodox state-sponsored Buddhist elite to which the translators belonged. They were thus being taught to come to terms with their suffering in the language of their oppressors. The international humanitarian community was inadvertently sponsoring the spread of an intolerant extremist regime.

NINA EGGERT
University of Geneva

How to develop a common analytical framework for political movements (class and nationalist movements) is the central issue of Jeff Pratt’s Class, Nation and Identity.

Pratt examines Ernest Gellner’s view of nationalist movements, which emphasizes the linkage between modernity and nationalism, and Benedict Anderson’s analysis of the role of experience, memory, and the emotional power of nationalist movements, which according to him are essentially based on cultural interests. The author notes that within the framework of class movements analysis, nationalist movements are depicted as struggles around purely economic interests.

The class question has always been more complex than the simple dichotomy between cultural and economic interests. Therefore, the author calls for explaining nationalist movements using the framework of class analysis.

Indeed, concepts of culture and identity are not restricted to nationalist movements and are applicable to class movements as well. Both types of movements can be explained by factors such as identity formation, imagined communities, and memory transmission.

The author’s main argument is that discourses—be they class based or nationalist—are linked to identity. Yet, as he maintains, identity becomes problematic when it refers to a type of movement that was supposed to have emerged with the end of class politics. In the analysis of political movements, discourse defines who the members of the collectivity are—that is, who is part of it and who is excluded from it. To capture these aspects, the author uses the concept of “identity narrative,” which defines the collectivity’s boundaries and oppositions but also allows us to place the collectivity in social processes, as well as in time and space.

Yet, identity narratives do not only define who “we” are. They also offer an account of why the collectivity exists in the first place and the particular situation in which it finds itself. In this way, identity narratives work on different levels. Horizontally, they define the collectivity by tracing the line between past, present, and future. In other words, identity narratives place the collectivity in time. Vertically, they define the collectivity in opposition to the others: who belongs to the collectivity, who is excluded from it, and why.

This, according to Pratt, applies to both class-based and nationalist movements and allows him to analyze both types of movements with the same analytical framework.

The author illustrates his argument through a series of case studies of class-based and nationalist political movements, such as Italian communism, Andalusian anarchism, Basque nationalism, the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, and French Occitania.

In the first part of the book, he stresses the importance of the future tense in class-based movements. Indeed, these movements are future oriented as they attempt to establish a new type of society. The second part of the book looks at nationalist movements that maintain continuity with the past, cultivate old traditions, and attempt to rebuild lifestyles that have been lost. The author argues for the importance of the historical context and the social relations for shaping identity narratives. He thus combines two different components: (1) identity narratives defining the collectivity and positioning it in social history (identity component) and (2) the organizational process through which social divisions are transformed and interpreted by their incorporation in a movement (movement component).

By moving beyond an analysis of class and nationalists movements as separate entities, Pratt’s book offers a welcome alternative to the compartmentalization that political anthropology has witnessed in the analysis of political movements.

Nevertheless, some weaknesses must be pointed out. In particular, the author neglects a substantial body of literature on social movements. Authors such as David Snow and William Gamson, among many others, have stressed the importance of collective action frames in shaping social movements, motivating participation, creating and sustaining collective identities, and other cultural and cognitive processes involved in collective action (for a review see Benford and Snow 2000). What Pratt refers to as identity narratives very much resembles what students of social movements have called framing processes. The author does not take advantage of this growing body of literature on social movements and contentious politics and, thus, participates in deepening the gap between different strands of dialogue on this topic.

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PETER GOW
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The title of this high-minded and well-written book gives pause for reflection. What might being “in Amazonia” mean? However one chooses to define it, Amazonia is bigger than Europe, has a far higher linguistic diversity, and has had far less written about it. A European from Coimbra might be wary of any accounts of “Europe” delivered by an Ethiopian who had spent one year or two years in Bergen and London. The inhabitants of Puyo, Leticia, Pucallpa, or Riberalta might be similarly wary of this book. Of course, In Brazilian Amazonia, or even more accurately, In Some Parts of Brazilian Amazonia Plus an Excursion to the Guianas, would be less catchy as titles.

The book starts well, with a new and remarkable story about Amazonia, to join all the other recent fascinating discoveries. The author discovers that, in Amapá in
northeastern Brazilian Amazonia, local people habitually modify the courses of local streams to either gain access to new areas or to shorten certain river journeys. I have never heard of such a thing in western Amazonia, or read about it in the literature. There is clearly a great deal that we do not know about how people can and do live in Amazonia, and there is so much to learn. The very idea of people working with picks and shovels to change a river course struck me as deeply “un-Amazonian,” which, in turn, made me realize how my own notions of what Amazonian people are like are still tinged with the prejudices noted long ago by Charles Wagley. Hugh Raffles’s discovery is like the recent discovery of the massive pre-Colombian earthworks in Acre: both stunning and mysterious. One wants to know more.

Unfortunately, Raffles does not tell us much more about that, for he then veers off into a series of chapters about other things, such as Sir Walter Raleigh, Henry Bates, and mahogany. It is by no means clear why the author does this, and he does not deign to explain it either. He is clearly profoundly familiar with the literature on the region and, hence, well aware of both its gaps and its surfeits. Does he believe that the lives of people in Amapá are too boring to sustain the readers’ jaded interest? Those in search of enlightenment about Sir Walter Raleigh would not expect to find it here, and the chapter on Bates, although delightful, served only to remind me that Bates’s own writings are even more interesting. Of all the fascinating things actually in Amazonia, why write so much about two Englishmen who happened to go there? And why about two Englishmen who are already so well known?

Reading on, I began to wonder what exactly this book was meant to be about. Its subtitle, A Natural History, does not help much. Bates wrote natural history, Raffles does not (or at least, does not really). Or is the subtitle an artful play on words, a history of the region based in nature? If so, this book is not a natural history either. Raffles seems afflicted by the general crisis of object that assails certain areas of anthropology in this postpostmodern era. Having rejected as hopelessly compromised most of the concepts that anthropology in the past used to identify objects in the world, many anthropologists end up, quite literally, not knowing what they are writing about. Analytical sequence is abandoned in favor of an utterly arbitrary juxtaposition of vaguely connected topics, in the style pioneered by New Age writers on self-discovery. It makes for good literature, perhaps, but it fails to establish its claims to its presumptive readers’ time and attention.

That Raffles is conscious that there is a real problem here is revealed in the footnotes and bibliography. These are scholarly attributes and they indicate that this book has an object other than the author himself, which is why New Age books on self-discovery avoid both of them. Raffles’s book has more than 50 pages of notes corresponding to a mere 200-odd pages of text. Many of these notes are fascinating, and all are about something. The bibliography is 30 pages long and contains a previously published paper by Raffles called “Exploring the Anthropogenic Amazon: Estuarine Landscape Transformations in Amapá, Brazil.” Now there is a sturdy little title: pithy, alliterative, and beckoning the reader to a new object out there in this region of so many mysteries. Perhaps in the future, Raffles will oblige us with a full account of the remarkable fruits of his research in Amapá, now that he has proved how much he has read and how very well he can write.


**ANTHONY BEBBINGTON**

University of Manchester

In a context in which, some claim, economics is colonizing the social sciences, a book on culture edited by two economists will set off alarm bells. That these are World Bank economists will merely ratchet up the volume. Yet this book is well worth the read. It is one product—probably the most significant—of a set of Dutch-funded initiatives at the World Bank to explore the relationships between culture and development. The book brings together interventions from senior anthropologists (Arjan Appadurai, Mary Douglas, and Lourdes Arizpe), senior economists (Amarty Sen and Jean-Philippe Platteau), sociologists, social development practitioners and bank staff—each exploring, in their own way, how concepts of culture ought to influence understandings of inequality, exclusion, politics, policy, and institutions.

Although inevitably uneven, the contributions are thought provoking both in general and on their specific themes (e.g., HIV/AIDS, political culture, participation, and indigenous movements). Although the authors have differing conceptualizations of both culture and development, most—perhaps all—share some basic convictions about the ways in which an engagement with “culture” should change understandings, and practices, of development. The editors suggest that two such convictions stand out. First, the traditional focus of development (economics) on individuals—their preferences, assets, and choices—should give way to a recognition of the ways in which “relational and group-based phenomena shape and influence individual aspiration, capabilities and the distribution of power” (p. 359). Second, it is imperative to create space for debate across culturally diverse perspectives on development, and that in such debates the issue of power must be faced head on: The scope for “subordinate” groups to engage and have voice must be enhanced.

Appadurai’s chapter captures these concerns with particular clarity. Drawing on his work with Slum/Shack-dwellers International in India, he argues that strengthening the capability of the poor to have voice is critical if they are to renegotiate the “norms that frame their social lives” (p. 66). Central to any such endeavor is the cultivation of poor people’s “capacity to aspire,” to imagine and lay out...
paths toward futures they view as better. This relates to culture in many ways, not least because “culture is a dialogue between aspirations and sedimented traditions” (p. 84). The chapter resonates with longer standing Freirian traditions and more recent writing on the cultural politics of social movements, while linking them in intriguing ways to reflections on the future-oriented nature of development and culture alike.

If Appadurai reaches out to (certain currents within) development economics, Anita Abraham and Platteau’s chapter reaches back from economics. They tack between economics and anthropology to interpret institutional and socioeconomic dynamics in tribal societies and to explore the ways in which participatory development—when pursued hastily and without prior social and historical analysis—can lead to elite capture, resistance, and the exclusion of the poor. Interestingly, their analysis leads them—like Appadurai—to suggest that rather than intervene directly, development agencies might often be better advised to create space for unions and people’s organizations to lead any process of change, facilitating their networking and (by implication) enhancing their capacity to exercise voice.

The World Bank, of course, has a tendency to assimilate critical languages selectively and then to make them more anodyne and conservative. Yet it would be a mistake to interpret this book this way (although readers will make their own judgments)—indeed, there is an important degree of reflexivity on the part of the bank authors involved. That said, certain themes are notable for their relative absence. I note two here. First, there is no sustained interrogation of “development” as a cultural construct, although one senses that the editors and authors do view it this way. Second, there is no real treatment of the culture of the bank itself. Perhaps the editors would have been damned if they had and damned if they had not, but was this a lost opportunity to reflect on the intersections between meaning, power, and practice within the bank itself? Only Sabina Alkire’s chapter broaches this issue in any significant way. What, she asks, should an organization like the bank do with the insights afforded by the book’s other chapters—and she then reveals what is it likely to do with them. This leads her to reflect on those cultures of expertise and authority that restrict the extent to which the bank could be a vehicle for opening up debate and fostering “equality of agency” among its own personnel and others (esp., poor people). Although she begins to open the box, it is one that needs prying open further. As the editors note, there is much ethnographic work still to be done on the development organizations themselves.


NANCY FLOWERS
Hunter College

Four years ago, journalist Patrick Tierney alleged in his book Darkness in Eldorado: How Scientists and Journalists Devastated the Amazon that anthropologists and geneticists working among the Yanomamö of the Brazilian and Venezuelan Amazon during the 1960s and 1970s violated ethical principles in carrying out their research. The most egregious charge was that James V. Neel, a well-known geneticist, in order to test his “eugenic theories,” deliberately caused a measles epidemic by injecting Yanomamö with an inappropriate vaccine. The resulting scandal rocked the anthropological community, exacerbating ideological schisms and revealing personal animosities. According to the editors of Lost Paradises and the Ethics of Research and Publication, Tierney’s book has put anthropology on trial, not because of its specific charges, most of which have since been discredited, but because it brought to the attention of the world that indigenous Amazonians are dying of preventable diseases. “While science has managed to reverse many ills for their neighbors, and the rest of humanity, morbidity and/or mortality rates among South American natives are among the highest in the world and continue to increase through time” (p. 4).

Francisco Salzano and A. Magdalena Hurtado have done an important service to anthropology by editing this sober and informative book. In general, it eschews ideological polemics to discuss, in depth, the essential issue raised by the Eldorado scandal: How can we overcome the barriers that are preventing medical and genetic research from being used for the well-being of the inhabitants of Amazonia?

Neel’s research among Amazonian groups in the 1960s illustrates the problem. As Susan Lindee shows, Neel was primarily a researcher whose objective was to reconstruct the human evolutionary past through physical examinations and by collecting biological samples from living people. Contrary to Tierney’s allegations, Neel acted responsibly in 1968 when, learning that an epidemic of measles had broken out in a Yanomamö community, he obtained a large supply of vaccine and put his research on hold to attempt to stem the epidemic. Neel’s experience made him keenly aware of the devastating effect of introduced disease on recently contacted Amazonian peoples, and he knew that timely vaccination and medical care could greatly reduce its lethality (Neel 1994:163–65). After returning from the field, he drew up reports and participated in symposiums on Indian health; but he wrote in his autobiography, “I have no illusions about how effective any of this was in the long-range sense” (Neel 1994:171).

The contributors to the section, “Epidemiological Contexts,” amply demonstrate that Amazonian peoples have serious and specific health needs that are not being met. Carlos Coimbra Jr. and Ricardo Santos show that, even as indigenous groups in Brazil continue to suffer from infectious and parasitic diseases often attributable to poor sanitary conditions in their villages, chronic noncontagious diseases associated with changes in subsistence, diet, and physical activity are beginning to emerge. Raymond Hames and Jennifer Kuzara discuss current Yanomamö health conditions. Most Yanomamö populations are characterized by short stature, suggesting undernourishment during growth.
However, their most threatening health problems are introduced diseases of European and African origin. Malaria may have affected them for a long time, but new strains brought by outsiders are proving lethal.

Black and Hurtado suggest in their contributions that New World peoples have biological vulnerabilities to diseases brought from the Old World that help to explain population collapse following contact. Black maintains that the relative genetic homogeneity of indigenous South American populations limits their ability to resist diverse and rapidly mutating pathogens. Magdalena Hurtado, writing with Inés Hurtado and Kim Hill, describes indigenous immune systems as skewed toward the production of the Th2 type of helper T cells, which defend against helminths, ectoparasites, and trauma, the prevalent precontact risks to health. However, Th2-cell dominance limits production by the immune system of Th1 cells, which are most effective against infectious diseases. Hurtado found, for example, that less than 15 years after first contact, 18 percent of the Aché of Paraguay had been diagnosed with active tuberculosis (p. 180).

Salzano and Hurtado argue that genetic and medical research among Amazonian Indians, carried out under present-day guidelines that require informed consent, is both ethical and potentially beneficial to the subject population. This emphasis on basic research implies that scientific research among Amazonian Indians, carried out under the present political climate affecting medical research among Amazonian peoples, especially in Brazil. As indigenous leaders travel and become literate, they are increasingly aware of health problems and the inadequacy of the health services provided for their communities. Permission to carry out research no longer depends on the tutelary government agency but on the community itself. Not only do community leaders insist on understanding the aims and methods of the research, they expect it to be directed at solving the health problems that they see in their own communities. Perhaps it is appropriate that indigenous peoples, having for so long contributed to knowledge as subjects of scientific research, now demand that science serve their interests.

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ELLIOT FRATKIN

Smith College

“Nomads are not a kind of people but different kinds of people, who use a particular strategy—that is, mobility of the household—in carrying out regular productive activities” (p. 40) writes Phillip Carl Salzman, whose latest book Pastoralists allows the author to reflect on 40 years of research and thinking about pastoralist societies—those nomads who herd domesticated livestock for a living. This book is not as regionally inclusive as other treatments (e.g., Barfield 1993; Galaty and Johnson 1990), but it concentrates on the author’s extensive research among the Baluch in Iran and later research in Rajasthan, Sardinia, and Corsica, while drawing on ethnographic examples from the Middle East and East Africa. A theoretical focus of the book concerns pastoral political organizations and their transformations by comparing egalitarian and democratic pastoral societies to those that are hierarchically organized, stratified, and incorporated into larger state polities.

Salzman shares, albeit critically, the comparative framework of Morton Fried’s (1967) “egalitarian-ranked-stratified” and Elman Service’s (1962) “band-tribe-chiefdom-state” typologies. Drawing on a variety of ethnographic examples, Salzman argues that pastoral societies are particularly characterized by a high degree of individualism and democracy, which he attributes to the autonomy and mobility of the household group that is necessitated by the demands of pastoral livestock keeping. Political hierarchy emerges as pastoralists compete with each other, often militarily, or are influenced by contact with larger states and market economies. He debates Fried’s position that tribal organizations arose only in response to external state structures, arguing for the importance of networks and mutual defense in tribal societies organized by segmentary descent systems.

In addition to its generally didactic approach, Pastoralists provides a platform to critique what Salzman sees as anthropology’s “revisionist” scholars—Marxists, behavioral ecologists, and postmodernists—who, he argues, see inequality everywhere, even among egalitarian pastoral societies in which it does not exist. Salzman laments the departure of empirical and comparative approaches from cultural anthropology and polemicizes about correct and incorrect approaches to studying pastoral societies. Although I agree with his comparative approach, I am uncomfortable with Salzman’s blanket dismissal of alternate theoretical approaches and recent scholarship on pastoralists. He rails against those scholars of the past 30 years whose emphasis on inequality has been at least in part influenced by various Marxist-inspired approaches including critical anthropology, cultural materialism, and political economy; by the currently popular view of anthropology as cultural critique; and by the enunciated political commitment of some postmodernists in favor of the subaltern and victims of all types. [p. 43]

He takes on those (including this reviewer) who argue that economic inequality among pastoralists (based on differential ownership of livestock wealth) can lead to social inequality and stratification (Fratkin and Roth 1990). Salzman does not deny that economic disparities exist among pastoralists, but he argues that differences in status do not necessarily repeat intergenerationally, because livestock surpluses, if they survive periodic drought and loss,
are invested in other people through gifts and exchange. Salzman has engaged his critics elsewhere (Salzman 1999), but it is unfortunate that he dismisses current scholarship so cavalierly. His position leaves him bereft of information that could illuminate his expressed interest in the transformation from egalitarian to stratified societies, including differential wealth accumulation, reproductive success, access to markets, education, and the pursuit of alternate sources of livelihood.

A major weakness in Salzman’s discussion of inequality is the absence of any discussion about gender relations in pastoral societies. We are told often about pastoral autonomy, independence, and sense of honor, but these are always about men, described in ethnographies written mainly by men. Where Salzman relies on Lois Beck’s excellent ethnography of the Qashq’ai of Iran, he does not discuss gender or utilize Beck’s important work on women among Qashq’ai (Beck 1978). Feminist and gendered approaches to pastoral societies have flourished in recent years, including work by Lila Abu-Lughod, Dorothy Hodgson, Corinne Kratz, and Aud Talle, to name a few, and students of contemporary pastoralism would do well to read these.

Despite these shortcomings, Salzman’s contributions to political anthropology and pastoralist ethnography are significant. A major strength of Salzman’s work is his long held acknowledgment of historical context, and his final chapter, “The Dynamics of the Pastoral World,” describes the major changes many pastoral societies have undergone in the past half century, including increased sedentarization, commoditization of the livestock economy, and political circumscription by national state structures. Despite his periodic polemics, Salzman’s understanding of political processes among pastoralists makes this an important addition to the anthropology of nomadic societies.

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SAM MIGLIORE

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The popular media, and sometimes even scholarly literature, suggest that the Mafia is a highly successful criminal organization that is difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate because it has deep roots in Sicilian history and culture. Jane Schneider and Peter Schneider go a long way to dispel this popular (mis)conception. Reversible Destiny brings together a great deal of information on the Mafia in Sicily, including a vast literature that appears only in the Italian. The authors make use of this information to provide a historical account that traces the development of the modern Mafia to the 19th century and the unification of Italy. The Mafia, then, has relatively shallow roots in Sicilian history. However, the link to Sicilian culture is much more complicated. Schneider and Schneider successfully argue that the Mafia cannot be viewed as a mere reflection of Sicilian culture. By focusing on some of the ambiguities, contradictions, and changes that surround Mafia ideology and behavior, they demonstrate that, although linked to some aspects of Sicilian culture, the Mafia has had a life and culture of its own. Throughout its history, the Sicilian Mafia has both affected and been affected by various local, regional, national, and international developments. The authors, in fact, identify some of the subtle steps the Mafia has taken to establish and maintain symbiotic relations with certain government officials, segments of state bureaucracy, and a number of individuals and organizations of high social status and wealth.

Although this historical and cultural discussion of the Mafia in itself makes a contribution to the anthropological and scholarly literature, Reversible Destiny has much more to offer. Schneider and Schneider make use of historical documents, ethnographic research, pentito (Mafia justice collaborator) testimony, and a variety of other sources to trace the interconnected histories of the Mafia, anti-Mafia, and counteranti-Mafia movements in Palermo (as well as in Sicily and Italy, in general). The authors, for example, discuss the attempts of the anti-Mafia movement—composed of a diverse set of individuals and groups that may or may not work together effectively in specific contexts—to expose and eliminate Mafia influence from various aspects of Palermo’s social, economic, and political life. Despite a number of horrific setbacks, such as the assassinations of magistrates Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino, this movement has met with a degree of success. This success is caused, in part, by (1) concerted and brave attempts to take legal and political action to address specific problems; (2) attempts to change people’s thought and behavior by promoting the values of a “civil society”; and (3) attempts to change the physical appearance of the city of Palermo. In recent years, this anti-Mafia movement has met with a strong backlash, or counteranti-Mafia movement. Again, the authors are able to trace this development to a number of social, economic, and political factors linked, at least in part,
to some of the consequences generated by anti-Mafia discourse and action.

Although Schneider and Schneider do a good job of discussing some of the complex factors associated with this counteranti-Mafia movement, I find the identification of Leonardo Sciascia as the leader of one dimension of the movement troubling. Sciascia is a well-known and respected Sicilian author whose works are often clearly linked to an anti-Mafia sentiment. Is Leonardo Sciascia a leader in the counteranti-Mafia movement or a strong proponent of a pro-Sicilian position? The authors touch on this question but, in my view, the ambiguities and complexities surrounding Sciascia’s position deserve greater attention.

Overall, *Reversible Destiny* is a well-written book that makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Sicilian history, social movements, and the interrelationships among crime, politics, and socioeconomic factors. The book will be of particular interest to scholars concerned with issues of political economy, historical anthropology, criminology, urbanization, and the anthropology of Sicily and Italy. At the same time, the book would make an excellent text for advanced courses in anthropology, sociology, and criminology. Finally, the book has something to offer to anyone interested in current debates concerning attempts to deal with organized crime or terrorism in various parts of the world. The Mafia has not yet been vanquished but, as Schneider and Schneider make clear, Sicily’s destiny is not necessarily linked to Mafia activity.


**A. LYNN BOLLES**

University of Maryland, College Park

Close to half of the world’s population now lives in urban areas. Editors Jane Schneider and Ida Susser propose that we look at the enormity of social and economic issues facing urban dwellers in terms of city “wounds.” Urban wounds result from fiscal failure, internal political strife, armed conflict, and the horrific destruction from natural catastrophes, such as earthquakes, and the man made ones, such as the destruction of historical Baghdad and New York City’s World Trade Center. The concept of “wound” implies the possibility of recuperation and health with a healthy prognosis. However, the causes of many of these wounds are embedded in the construct of the contemporary city itself—a site of complexity and social inequality—and the nature and severity of the processes of globalization. Here, globalization means “an integrated phenomenon bringing all the world’s cities into a single interconnected life” (p. 2). Unlike the hierarchically based “global city” approach, the 11 cities included here represent a wide range of sizes and locations, with the exception of Africa. What binds all of these urban settings is their historical context, the ways each area dealt with pressures exerted by globalization, and the expectations of the citizenry in this particular moment.

An introductory chapter by David Harvey argues for another organic metaphor to conceptualize urban ills and crises, “The City as a Body Politic.” Harvey captures the destructive yet restorative elements of an urban setting and the large body politic that directs those activities in often self-serving manners. The rest of the volume is organized into five parts, each focusing on a “wound” that erodes the quality of life of urban dwellers, or how they as a body of political actors deal with certain situations. These include “The Degradation of Urban Life” (Mexico City, Xalapa, and Siberia); “Crisis of Crime and Criminalization” (Kingston, Jamaica, Medellín, Philadelphia, and Harlem); “Rapid, Inconsistent Expansion” (Bangkok and Ho Chi Minh City); “Reconstruction and Recovery” (Belfast, Beirut, and Palermo). An epilogue, titled “Epilogue: Baghdad, 2003,” focuses on the invasion of Iraq in historical context and continues the discussion of the problems and issues raised in the preceding chapters.

Claudio Lomnitz notes that discovering the “wounds” of Mexico City in terms of any event is made difficult by the city’s enormous scale. “The Mexican dancing with death” (p. 67) trope is a national stereotype that focuses on the lack of value placed on human life. Skull imagery and play with death were a social leveler and consequently became popular images in tourist art. However, in the 1980s and 1990s, popular cartoons using the same imagery showed representations of urban crime, kidnappings, and violence that took off in a different direction. Instead of a social leveler, the “technocratic depreciation of life” that emerged used death and skull imagery to show the “radical disparity” across class lines.

Thermoelectric power stations in Ulan-Ude, Siberia, illustrate how explosions, inefficiency, poor management, and antiquated equipment prevent citizens from receiving basic utilities during the coldest part of the winter. Caroline Humphrey presents a case of deindustrialization, reduced state support, and the growth of unstable microservices that plague the contemporary Russian state, which is incapable of meeting the rights and expectations of consumers.

What of young men? In Kingston, as Don Robotham points out, the young male garrison community gang leaders, nominally controlled by politicians, became wealthier than their benefactors because of their alliances with Colombian drug interests. In “Wounded Medellín,” Mary Roldan states that “whether the state acted in conjunction with the death squads or newly reorganized narcotics groups, all the young men who gave up their arms and participated in ‘peace accords’ in the late 1990s, have been killed” (p. 145). And in the state of New York, the war on drugs has become the single most important contributor to increasing the prison population. The war and the growth of the prison-industrial complex, according to Leith Mullings, have stifled critical discourse in the larger society and dampened the ability of local communities, such
as Harlem, to continue and to extend their protest stance (p. 190).

There are a few broad questions that need to be posed to the authors: How do inhabitants of complex social formations attempt to construct ideas for the common good given the levels of inequality inherent in cities? To whom are urban ethnographers asking these tough questions and is there an intended reply?


**AMY TODD**
University of Massachusetts at Boston

Marketplaces articulate socioeconomic systems that, in today’s world, extend to all corners of the globe. They attract buyers and sellers, often from linguistically and ethnically diverse populations. They also illustrate the “embedded” nature of the economy: Buying and selling occur in tandem with political maneuvering; performance of ethnic, class, and gender roles; gossip; ritual; and every other manner of socializing. The anthropologist who steps into a marketplace faces all the challenges cultural anthropology has to offer. In the words of Sidney Mintz, “marketplaces are hard” (personal communication).

Linda Seligmann’s ethnography of vendors in Cuzco, Peru, is based on in-depth ethnographic study conducted over 25 years. Seligmann began her anthropological work in the countryside and knows Quechua, enriching her perspective on ethnic and gender transformations accompanying migration and entry into the urban marketplace system. Although Seligmann focuses on the street vendors who precariously flank a congested strip of Avenida Ejército, she also includes ethnographic details on vendors in permanent marketplaces. Rich descriptions and transcriptions of interviews and field notes reveal the complex and dynamic world in which Cuzco’s vendors, mostly women, operate.

For the economic anthropologist, this book offers some fascinating qualitative details. For example, by giving voice to a self-identified “Tomato Queen,” Seligmann provides a counterperspective to propaganda against intermediaries. The Tomato Queen emerges as a strategic, highly skilled risk taker who initiates crop production by selecting and distributing seeds and cash advances to rural producers. Similarly, we learn how loan sharks, women who lend money to desperate vendors at interest rates two to four times those offered by government banks, themselves negotiate a risky and complex system dominated at the top by men with the social and economic capital to borrow money from official banks. Although Seligmann offers little quantitative data, her study provides the kind of complex sociocultural details that, if overlooked, would seriously compromise quantitative economic research.

Seligmann is also highly attentive to noneconomic aspects of the marketplace, successfully fulfilling one of the traditional goals of economic anthropology. In an excellent chapter on norms of verbal interchange in the marketplace, Seligmann describes everyday conversation at a chicha stall, which serves as the marketplace tavern. Transcription and analysis of failed transactions between vendors and customers reveal the complex and creative use of language to convey deep racism, classism, rural–urban hostility, and economic frustration. In another chapter, Seligmann focuses on popular religion in and around the marketplace, following ritual processions and interviewing vendors about the unwavering faith they profess under uncertain, sometimes tragic, circumstances.

Seligmann’s ethnography, like the market system itself, is by no means theoretically tidy. She explains the growth of vendors with the widely accepted argument that national and transnational economic policies have led to massive unemployment in the urban sector and concomitant growth of the “informal” economy. But, like much of the anthropological literature on vending, the label “informal” is confusing (most vendors are regulated by the municipality and unions). Although Seligmann interviewed politicians, tax collectors, and other officials, they unfortunately have no voice in this ethnography. The fact that city planners must contend with the obvious social problems associated with marketplaces is obscured by ideologically strong language favoring vendors who protest taxation and relocation. Fortunately, Seligmann’s ethnography is rich enough to reveal disagreement among vendors with respect to these very issues.

Seligmann’s chapters on sociolinguistics and popular religion draw primarily on literature about cultures of the Andes. More general theoretical perspectives, ranging from classic Malinowskian functionalism to Lévi-Straussian structuralism, are implied but not explicitly discussed or seriously engaged. Similarly, the richness of ethnographic detail on gender is not matched by analytical or theoretical clarity; the reader must work very hard to decipher Seligmann’s conclusions about gender. Theoretically, Seligmann’s approach may frustrate anthropologists with a more comparative perspective. The sentimental anthropologist will also note the omission of such names as Polanyi, Bohannan, Dalton, and Malinowski—pioneers in this very kind of marketplace research.

Finally, this ethnography would have been enormously enhanced by the inclusion of tables, maps, and floor plans. Seligmann herself states that “space is a critical resource and factor of organization for market vendors” (p. 27) and space is meant to be one of this ethnography’s main narrative threads. Yet her detailed descriptions of the movement of goods and people, and the inclusion of numerous place names, are likely to confuse anyone not intimately familiar with Cuzco and its environs. The potential interest of this rich ethnography to a much wider readership could have been enhanced with visual and summary aids.

CLAUDIO SAUNT
University of Georgia

Contrary to most recent anthropologies and histories of Native America, A Strange Likeness explores not the obvious differences between Indians and Europeans but the many similarities. Nancy Shoemaker notes that, without sharing a number of ways of thinking about society and the world, Indians and Europeans would not have been able to communicate at all. In six concise chapters, Shoemaker explores how 18th century Indians and Europeans used similar metaphors and categories to understand and discuss land, political authority, writing, alliance, gender, and race. Her overall point is not that Indians and Europeans were more alike than not, but that basic similarities—a “common humanity,” she writes (p. 3)—allowed Indians and Europeans to perceive obvious differences all the more clearly and eventually to create a “fiction of irresolute difference” (p. 11).

Two of the most provocative and original chapters (revised from earlier journal articles) treat gender and race. Both Indians and Europeans, Shoemaker states, used metaphors comparing defeated men to women. Conquered men wore petticoats, said the Iroquois, a notion shared by Europeans, who made similar statements impugning the virility of defeated men. The domination of women by men during sex, Shoemaker implies, was an experience common to both Indians and Europeans; therefore, both peoples understood when sexual metaphors were used to explain dominance in other situations (pp. 108, 113).

Regarding race, Shoemaker asserts that the category “red people” was created as much by Indians as by Europeans. “Red” and “white” were common colors used by southeastern Indians to differentiate moieties. When Europeans arrived and described themselves as white, native peoples responded by calling themselves red. What may have been merely metaphor gradually took on physiognomic connotations. By the beginning of the 19th century, both Indians and Europeans believed that the differences between red and white people were more than skin deep. Shoemaker’s highly original argument stands out among numerous interpretations that locate the origins of race solely in Europe.

A third chapter explores how both Indians and Europeans formed and maintained political alliances in similar ways. Especially fascinating is how they shared the notion that nations could be both sovereign and dependent. Native Americans, from the Iroquois to the Creeks, incorporated into their confederacies peoples who were allowed to retain limited sovereignty. In Europe, international law similarly recognized that nations could govern themselves yet remain dependent on larger, more powerful states. Shoemaker concludes that John Marshall’s famous ruling that Indian nations are domestic dependencies, drew as much on Indian traditions of alliance as on Anglo jurisprudence.

The remaining chapters of A Strange Likeness are also intriguing, raising as many questions as they answer. A chapter on political authority argues that by constituting individuals as “incarnations of the public will,” Indians and Europeans practiced politics that were “alike in intent but different in form” (p. 39). Yet the contrasts Shoemaker describes between the grandeur and power of European monarchs and the humility of Indian leaders suggest that differences in form had truly profound consequences. A chapter on writing, drawing on anthropological literature challenging the dichotomy between oral and literate societies, raises similar questions by concluding that Indian and European practices (treaties and wampum belts) differed only in form (p. 81). And a chapter on land argues that Indians and Europeans “conceptualized territorial sovereignty in much the same way” (p. 17). It invokes but does not explore the precise meaning of sovereignty to these peoples.

Citing work by linguist George Lakoff, Shoemaker hints only briefly at what she believes to be the source of the similarities she describes in her six imaginative chapters: Indians and Europeans shared the same cognitive “tool kit” and the same physical world (p. 3). Her application of linguistics to 18th century ethnohistory is strikingly original, and it demands further investigation. How would cognitive psychologists, anthropologists, and linguists other than Lakoff consider the assertion that our bodies and our environment provide the substance for shared metaphors? Whatever their origins, Shoemaker suggests that the similarities between Indians and Europeans existed at contact; the notion of absolute difference, she concludes, is an unfortunate legacy of colonialism.


AMITY A. DOOLITTLE
Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies

Headhunters, viral diseases, El Dorado, noble savages, shamans, Maya temples, tiger reserves, primordial jungles, and vanishing biodiversity—these are just a few of the images our imagination conjures when we hear the words “rain forest.” Such a vivid array calls out for the type of cultural critique found in the chapters of In Search of the Rain Forest, edited by Candace Slater. Without deep reflection on the images and rhetoric that surround the rain forest, how can we really know what it is we are trying to “save?” Is it the jungles of our imaginations teeming with exotic flora and fauna that must be protected? Or is it the gardens, orchards, and forests of resident peoples that need our attention? And what are we trying to save it for? Is it to safeguard the vast repository of undiscovered pharmaceuticals, minerals, and oils? Or is it to comfort ourselves that the “lungs of the world” are continuing to compensate for our extravagant lifestyles? And whom exactly are
we trying to save it from? Is it the destructive shifting agri-
culturalists, the ever-expanding agribusinesses, or the arm-
chair environmentalists? More than just an entertaining
exercise in deconstruction, probing what lies behind the
iconic and simplified representations associated with rain
forest preservation has significant consequences for its in-
habitants and the resources it contains. As Candace Slater
remains, increasingly social scientists “see the battle for ma-
terial resources as symbolic tugs-of-war in which one side’s
ability to appear as nature’s true defender is often as vital as
access to physical force” (p. 8).

This volume is concerned with examining both the con-
ceptual and political implications of our representations
of the forest and its dwellers. Among these representations
are the “mutually constitutive concepts of ‘wildness’ and
‘violence’ ” (p. 208) as embodied in the stereotypes of head-
hunters from Borneo (Nancy Peluso); the African jungle as
“the viral forests” (p. 247) that bring HIV/AIDS and Ebola
to the world (Charles Zerner); and the ways in which multi-
national oil companies overshadow native opposition to
oil extraction by drawing attention to their “technological
ingenuity” (p. 69) that leave only a “minimal footprint”
(p. 69) in the Upper Amazonian region of Ecuador.

For many scholars and activists concerned with the fu-
ture of the rain forest, this collection of chapters may seem
like a distraction from the primary pursuit of halting an
impending ecological crisis. But image-centered reflections
should not be cast aside as a mere diversion from more
action-centered approaches. The contributors to this vol-
ume are aware of the urgency of developing concrete di-
rectives that address global struggles over natural resources.
Slater sums up the volume by stating that, “The value of
approaches centered on representations depends very much
on a series of next steps” (p. 303). Without recognizing what
assumptions lie behind concepts that are so often evoked as
universal truths and used to design policies and programs,
more damage to local peoples’ autonomy and to natural
resources is sure to continue in the name of conservation.

The chapters by Scott Fedick and Paul Greenough make
this point most cogently. Greenough’s chapter on tiger re-
serves in India highlights the importance of including peo-
ple and their knowledge systems in the conceptual land-
scapes on which conservation management policies are
based. Greenough points out that in supposedly people-
free protected areas, where local residents were expelled and
police maintain an aggressive presence, we see higher lev-
els of intrusion, poaching, and fatal interspecies conflicts
than in smaller reserves inhabited by migratory herders,
who perceive themselves as guardians of the forest and the
tigers. Fedick, meanwhile, provides an archeologically based
narrative of Maya agriculture, debunking our conception
that the Maya civilization lived in a constant state of strug-
gle against the encroaching, unproductive jungle (p. 145).
Rather, Fedick argues, the Maya landscape was a “managed
mosaic, a patchwork of forest, field and garden in which the
Maya were neither perfect guardians of nature nor the foes
of a hostile jungle. It is a story in which the Maya were, are,
and should be part of the Maya forest” (p. 135). Given this
narrative, Fedick struggles to understand why many conser-
vation biologists continue to focus on preserving or even
restoring allegedly natural landscapes based on the absence
of people (p. 156).

This interdisciplinary cultural critique of the rain forest
demonstrates how powerful simplifying rhetoric can be,
influencing policy makers to develop equally simplified
prescriptions for conservation that ignore the complex
social and natural histories of the landscape. By calling
these simplifications into question, this volume challenges
our conservation policies and argues for a different model
of resource protection based on landscape wide accommo-
dation of resident peoples and their livelihoods.

Voices from Four Directions: Contemporary Transla-
tions of the Native Literatures of North America. Brian

NANCY BONVILLAIN
Simon’s Rock College of Bard

Brian Swann has assembled an impressive collection of
translations of Native American literatures. The volume
contains prose and poetry from 31 linguistic and cultural
groups. They are translations of newly elicited works as well
as retranslations of literatures obtained in the late 19th and
early 20th centuries. Several are written by contemporary
Native American storytellers. The coverage is continental,
divided into four broad regions (north, west, south, and
east) in keeping with the title of the book and a recurring
metaphor in Native American cosmology and philosophy.
The literatures include sacred texts, sung or chanted accom-
paniments to ritual, stories of ancient heroes and folk char-
acters, and narratives of cultural history.

Each translator presents cultural, historical, and lin-
guistic contexts that situate their selections. These intro-
ductions also deal with problems of translation, a critical
focus of the volume. In Swann’s words, “The whole question
of translation is problematic. It has always had a political
and social dimension.” (p. xvii). Among the problems are
those of linguistic equivalence and the translation of mean-
ing. Cultural connotations and presuppositions embedded
in words and grammatical structures are not carried across
into another language. Problems also arise because readers
of translated works do not have access to the cultural mean-
ings that a Native audience would know.

A number of translators follow the pioneering lead of
Dell Hymes in using a presentation format that is ethnopo-
etic. The narratives are divided into acts and scenes, with
the text separated into lines containing sentences or rhetor-
cal clausal units. This technique visually highlights the
structural parallelism and repetition employed in Native
American literary styles. Other translators use the approach
of Dennis Tedlock in arranging the text according to ut-
terance units and indicating pauses, changes in emphasis,
and pitch and speed of delivery. This technique is quite
effective in approximating a performance, transcribed live or recorded on tape. Bold type or large print replicates loudness or emphasis while small print indicates lower volume. This technique emphasizes Native American narrative as performance, stressing the oral quality of oral traditions.

Many of the translators comment on the tension between two goals: (1) translating Native texts into accessible English and (2) preserving the structure, flow, and mood of the originals. The goal of accessibility is important because of the desire to reach a general audience, bringing the wealth and beauty of Native American literature to the world. The second goal pays homage to the uniqueness of these resources.

Some translators discuss their approaches to dealing with stylistic features of Native American narrative practices. Among these are the use of interjections and verbal or sentential particles to mark parallel structures and boundaries between major structural or discursive units. For example, stories from the Inupiaq (Edna Ahgeak MacLean), Lushootseed (Crisca Bierwert), and Western Apache (Eleanor and Thomas Nevins) traditions use words meaning “then” or “and so” to mark the beginnings of acts or scenes. Translators have coped with these particles in various ways, but most include them in their translations because they convey structural cues and carry narrative tempo and flow. Many Native American languages also use evidentials, markers that indicate sources of information and knowledge. For example, a Western Apache particle awkwardly translated “it’s said to have happened” conveys “the sense that this is something people know, not from seeing it around them today, but from stories about the time and place removed from the present here and now that people know about only through generations of storytellers” (Nevins et al., p. 286). Other Western Apache particles mark changes in narrative focus or signal contrasts between the context of the narrative and the everyday context of people's experience. Translating the first group of particles is relatively easy, but the meanings of the others are difficult to insert into an English translation that aims at fluidity and fluency. These are the kinds of issues that translators deal with as they try to be faithful to the texts yet write in colloquial English.

Another distinctive feature of Native American narrative styles is the use of an evidential, translated as "it is told" or "it is said." In Inupiaq, the evidential gguuq “establishes the authenticity of the story” (MacLean, p. 53). The particle is also used to indicate the climax of a series of actions, marking the outcome. Inupiaq also has a rich array of spatial markers noting the nearness or distance of the speaker to the place of the action, or internally within the story, the nearness or distance of characters to some significant point of reference. Although MacLean chooses to translate these forms, Judith Berman, in her presentation of a Kwakwaka'wakw story first recorded by Franz Boas, alerts the reader to a discourse suffix that attaches to the first verb or auxiliary of the first clause of each basic rhetorical unit. It is excluded from the translation but rhetorical units are indicated by a print format that begins each unit at the leftmost margin of the page.

Overall, this worthy volume gives the reader insights into the linguistic and cultural problems of translation. The various presentation formats are instructive examples of the ways that different approaches uncover different kinds of meaning. When the texts are read with the translators' introductions in mind, the reader is able to recreate these dramatic renditions of a vibrant oral tradition. Great credit goes to Swann for his inspiration in embarking on this collection and to all the contributors for giving readers the richness of Native American storytelling. We can glean much of the meanings of these stories by the struggles and successes of the translators in bringing them alive. Although linguists may be particularly intrigued by details presented in the introductions, all readers can be informed and moved.


MARTIN PADGET
University of Wales

Alongside figures key in the development of U.S. anthropology in the late 19th-century Southwest, such as Adolph Bandelier, Frank Hamilton Cushing, and Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Herman Frederik Carel ten Kate has received relatively little attention. Ten Kate traveled widely through the United States and northern Mexico in the early 1880s, conducting fieldwork among a large array of indigenous cultures and publishing his subsequent account in his native Dutch. Several years later he joined Cushing as an employee of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, making excavations in southern Arizona and on the Zuni reservation. In 1885, the Dutch academic publisher E. J. Brill printed Reizen en Onderzoekingen in Noord America, ten Kate's account of his first yearlong journey through the United States and Mexico. Unfortunately no English translation of the narrative was made during ten Kate's lifetime. It is only now, through the work of translators and editors Pieter Hovens, William J. Orr, and Louis A. Hieb, that Travels and Researches in Native North America, 1882–83 has come to the full attention of the English-speaking world.

Ten Kate was 24 years old when he embarked on the first leg of his U.S. journey to visit Iroquois Indians in upstate New York in late 1882. He had undertaken a wide range of studies in ethnology, linguistics, geography, and palaeontology at universities in Holland, France, and Germany, he had yet to complete the medical studies that would lead to him practice as a doctor in Japan between 1898 and 1919. The narrative describes travels made within the United States to consolidate this scholarly training and forge his identity as a full-fledged anthropologist. To that
end, he sought out Yaquis in Sonora and Pericu´e Indians in Baja California before traveling north of the border to visit the Tohono O’odham and other southwestern Native peoples, including Apaches, Chemehuevis, Mohaves, Pimas, Pueblos, Utes, and Yumas. Further travels took him to Indian Territory, where he visited Cherokees, Choctaws, Comanches, and Kiowas.

Ten Kate’s research echoes the salvage paradigm that distinguished so much anthropology in the late 19th century. He busily collected 400 material objects that were sent to one of his sponsors, the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum (Royal Ethnographic Museum) in Leiden. Meanwhile, he strived to create a typology of Indians by measuring skin pigmentation, heads, and physical stature. With apparent relish, he recounts recovering skulls from graves while eluding the censorship of local native people. For the most part, though, ten Kate’s somatological, ethnographic, and linguistic fieldwork was made in an incomplete and halting fashion. Simply put, ten Kate traveled too widely to embed himself in a particular culture for a sufficient period. He could not duplicate the achievements of Cushing, whose prolonged immersion in Zuni culture between 1879 and 1884 helped forge the new participant-observer technique so vital to 20th century anthropology. For Hovens and Hieb, in their fine introductory chapter, the value of ten Kate’s narrative is less in his “hit-and-run ethnography,” which yields “a severely fragmented description of tribal cultures” (p. 28), than in the overall picture it affords of a key moment in the development of U.S. anthropology.

In addition to his academic education, ten Kate was well versed in fictional representations of Native Americans by James Fenimore Cooper, the Briton Mayne Reid, and the French author Gustave Aimard. Such writers helped shape the consciousness of countless European youths as they contemplated Native America from a continent away. With the benefit of actual experience in the American West, ten Kate stated: “Let no one now harbor any illusions about finding much of anything recalling the dream images of days past. The harsh prose of stark reality grips the observer irresistibly, and disillusionment and disappointment follow one after the other” (p. 199). Ten Kate, then, witnessed Native people adapting to dramatically changed circumstances as they contended with life on reservations, the demise of traditional subsistence patterns, and the proscription of Native religions. But he also saw ceremonies, including a Hopi Snake Dance at Walpi and a Kakokshi Dance at Zuni, which appeared to uphold a deep sense of historical continuity in those cultures. Ten Kate’s narrative affords a great opportunity to examine how a European traveler viewed the ongoing transformation of western lands and Native cultures. Romance and adventure conmingled with rationalism and the humanistic ideal of applied anthropology to create a fascinating text that, thanks to the sterling efforts of Hovens, Orr, and Hieb, should command the attention of southwestern specialists, historians of anthropology, cultural historians, and literary critics alike.


MARThA LAMPLAND
University of California, San Diego

A masterful, ethnography and powerful political intervention, Katherine Verdery’s The Vanishing Hectare represents the culmination of a decade of fieldwork in a Transylvanian village, and several decades of research in and on Romania. As a study of the nature of property, social relations, and the (trans)formation of value, this book will surely constitute an invaluable resource for a range of scholars. Although she makes clear throughout the sociocultural specificity of the postsocialist transition in Romania, Verdery nonetheless has written a book with important comparative import for a broad audience of anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and political scientists. Even more, however, is the extremely valuable service The Vanishing Hectare performs in mounting a sustained critique of the dominant approaches to the study of the postsocialist transition, and global transformations in political economy more generally—that is, neo-institutionalism and rational choice theory.

In the course of her analysis, Verdery discusses central concerns of transitology, and the work of their most prominent proponents. These include the following: social, cultural, and political capital; the role of national and local elites; historical justice and restitution; the restructuring of inequality along the axes of class, ethnicity, and gender; and last but not least, the role of international agencies in setting the political and economic boundaries of contemporary capitalism. Although the ethnography is firmly situated within the postsocialist context, she provides important insights into late socialism, permitting her to show what precisely is a socialist legacy and what is not. This is especially true in her analysis of decollectivization as a moment in contemporary capitalist formation, rather than a process of retraditionalization, as some have argued. In studying these processes in and over time, she can demonstrate how various aspects of the transition occur simultaneously, rather than in phases, as the simplistic blueprint mentality would suggest. In this sense, her work is fully historical, unlike the majority of studies in postsocialist transitology and political economy. In short, she examines the sociocultural processes of decollectivization in the postsocialist transition of Transylvania in their full complexity, all the while challenging central concepts in our theoretical repertoire for reformulation.

Verdery dispenses judiciously with theoretical and analytic categories ill suited to the unfolding dilemmas she observes, such as notions about agricultural lands as fixed and unchanging resources, the need to establish private property rights as the legal platform for economic development, and the independence of economic value from cultural and historical processes through which it is created. Despite the often long and venerable pedigree of these
categories in social and political theory, Verdery insists on crafting alternative concepts. With the notion of “effective ownership,” she argues persuasively that attention to legal documents or abstract rights in property—the primary focus of transition debates—misses the complex social relations through which ownership is exercised and made meaningful culturally. In line with much recent work on subjectivity and materiality, Verdery rejects the universal assumptions of stable objects and self-sufficient individuals, demonstrating that persons and objects take form over time as interdependent processes—interdependencies that are necessarily culturally and historically contingent. Her careful explanation of the complex and sometimes conflicting notions of value at play allows her to demonstrate how value is acquired, expanded, fashioned, refashioned, destroyed, and lost.

Verdery’s book is solid political economy, with no flairs of stylistic experimentation familiar in certain quarters of ethnographic production. Yet it bears little evidence of the dry and detached tone of much of the literature analyzing economic and political issues in postsocialism. The voices of villagers (as well as bureaucrats, judges, and international observers) speak clearly and forcefully in these pages. We acquire a keen sense of the people who live this history—their deeds, opinions, and sentiments—no doubt a direct consequence of the choice of ethnographic method over less socially engaged and temporally limited methods of analysis. Indeed, precisely because of the time and energy she has devoted to studying events on the ground, her work has greater depth and theoretical import than much of what has been written on postsocialism.

In the end, as Verdery herself admits, much of the story of postsocialism is not new; one more time we are witnessing the impoverishment of many for the enrichment of the few. The familiarity of the tale still left me, as I finished the book, with a profound sense of sorrow. Verdery’s unrelenting commitment to the “obfuscating details” of historical process, presented so effectively in these pages, brought me into that painful, often ironic world in ways unimaginable in other genres of social scientific analysis.


HENRY T. WRIGHT
University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology

The vast expanse of southwest Asia, extending from Anatolia to the Yemen, would be of interest even if it were not the homeland of some of our most important domestic plants and animals, our earliest urban societies and states, and a long succession of ancient empires. Once rich, much of it is wasteland today. To what extent is the present environment a result of natural changes rather than of human action? This question, a focus of research since the beginning of the 20th century, cannot yet be precisely answered, but this study provides the best overview available today. Tony Wilkinson of Edinburgh University—an archaeologist with a solid grounding in geography as well as anthropology, and with 30 years of fieldwork in the Near East, including major projects in Iran, Oman, the Yemen, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria—is uniquely qualified for this task.

Wilkinson focuses on “landscapes” to balance the emphasis of previous regional studies on settlements and to provide a context to better understand the interaction of natural and human factors. He defines such key natural processes as climate, vegetation, sedimentation, erosion, and sea level change. He also provides a summary of current techniques, particularly the analysis of aerial and satellite images, and the collection of density-controlled samples of artifacts. Long-used mapping and sedimentological techniques are less emphasized, doubtless a response to space limitations.

Having introduced basic concepts and tools, Wilkinson turns to the “signature landscapes” of the Near East. Central to these are the great irrigated valleys, particularly the Tigris–Euphrates alluvium of Lower Mesopotamia. Our knowledge here is based on the extensive mid-20th-century surveys of settlements, canals, and other landscape features by Robert Adams and his colleagues. More intensive studies were possible during the late 1970s in only a few areas of the upper alluvium. Nonetheless, Wilkinson provides sketches of the development of irrigated landscapes, from the first attested canals of sixth millennium B.C.E., to the surprisingly simple systems of the states and empires of the fourth to second millennia. He explains the vast and transformative projects of the later empires, ending with a discussion of the unintended consequences of such projects, including not only natural changes such as salinization but also social changes, such as distortion of the labor supply.

In contrast to the large irrigated valleys are the dry farming zones—the steppes and foothill valleys of Upper Mesopotamia and the Levant—where irrigation is supplementary. Many of Wilkinson’s field studies are in this zone and his landscape analyses are masterful. He presents a diversity of evidence on changing rainfall, streams, and vegetation, contrasting a wetter, lusher early–Middle Holocene, changing during the third millennium B.C.E. to a drier, more barren and less stable late Holocene. Into this, he introduces the dynamics of human population and settlement. He begins with village networks of the sixth and fifth millennia B.C.E., which developed into larger towns during the fourth millennium. Although many villages are abandoned, the larger settlements that continued to grow in the third millennium were often walled, some with populations approaching 20,000 people. These settlements have radial patterns around them, and Wilkinson, after considering various hypotheses, argues that these patterns marked roads. A majority of these possible roads, extending only a few kilometers, are taken to define the area of bounded fields. Furthermore, he defines areas of uniform low densities of broken ceramics, close to sites that
he argues mark fields or gardens fertilized with domestic trash, an indication of a cultural response to intensification and loss of fertility. Wilkinson uses these assessments to model Upper Mesopotamian demography and land use—an approach applicable in other parts of the world. Late in the second millennium B.C.E., land use changed radically in these dry farming zones. Cities grew and their plans and service networks were redesigned. Farmers dispersed into hamlets and estates. New water harvesting and storage technologies spread, allowing dense settlement in formerly “marginal areas.” Even though Wilkinson focuses on the Roman–Byzantine world, and less on similar changes in the Partho–Sasanian world to the east, no previous study has had the temporal, geographical, and disciplinary span to so clearly define these fundamental shifts in land use.

The core areas cannot be understood without evidence from the so-called “marginal areas.” The desert oases, with their systems of irrigation tunnels, wells, and walled fields, are a primary focus. Wilkinson also discusses desert tracks, camps, corrals and hunting traps, and ritual or funerary monuments. The contrasting high plateaus and mountain areas were important as contexts for terrace agriculture, summer pasture for pastoralists, sources of wood and minerals for lowland peoples, and sacred places. Wilkinson draws on his experience in Anatolia, Oman, and the Yemen to illustrate research on these uses.

Those who have studied Near Eastern landscapes in the field will again and again find in Wilkinson’s study plausible answers to questions that have puzzled them for years. Those who teach about the Near East will find an invaluable resource, richly documenting the current state of research. The book is essential for anyone concerned with the longue durée in the Near East and with interactions between nature and culture.


LINDA RABBEN
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On the cover of Human Rights in Global Perspective is a photograph of a man’s hands cuffed behind his back, as a black, oversized, official-looking glove grips his forearm. The photo economically represents the violation, not the exercise, of individual human rights. This is the kind of constrained, negative image that journalists and activists commonly present in trying to draw attention to injustice and persecution around the world. It leaves no doubt about who is in control, and little room for hope.

Many of the contributors to this volume, the product of the 2001 ASA (Association of Social Anthropologists) conference at Sussex University, seem to approach human rights with the same constrained vision. They are skeptical of what they take to be the claims of human rights ideology and seem reluctant to move beyond legalistic definitions of human rights by the nation-state, scholars, and legal experts. Although some present case studies based on ethnographic research, they tend to overlook the acts of human beings seeking to exercise, protect, and advance their own and others’ rights through grassroots social movements.

In the first chapter, which sets the tone, Kirsten Hastrup defines human rights as a form of legal representation. “Because human rights are cast in the genre of legal language, they rely heavily on their form for authority,” she observes. “Their nature is form and, along with other genres that depend on form, the law also legitimately exercises a violence of the freedom of interpretation [sic]” (p. 24). Here, Hastrup uses the passive voice and does not identify who casts human rights in legal language. Underlying her argument seems to be an assumption that human rights ideology and discourse come from an undifferentiated, reified “global human rights culture.” This characterization does not reflect the complex dynamics of real-world human rights struggles.

In an analysis of reproductive rights policies versus poor Indian women’s moral claims for health care, Maya Unnithan-Kumar posits a “formal, legal language of rights which is often experienced in the form of the state imposing rights” (p. 181). She continues, “As we know, universalizing discourses on rights are problematic for their unilinear construction of people as objects, who receive rights (in the view of the state), as individuals who are disengaged from their moral and social communities (by the legal language employed)” (p. 185). She does not say where these “universalizing discourses” come from—presumably the state and its allies.

But human rights activists probably would not agree that the state imposes (or grants or gives) rights or that people are objects or individuals disengaged from their moral and social communities. Rather, they would say that by asserting their rights, human beings have pressured states to acknowledge social and moral facts by signing agreements, conventions, and treaties committing themselves to respect those rights.

In another chapter, Martin Mills pinpoints a crucial ambiguity in the way anthropologists approach human rights, as they try to “catalogue the possible relevance of alternative social realities to our understanding of the dominant ideological frameworks of our own communal lives, whilst also acting as ‘expert witness’ for the inscription of those selfsame ideologies upon the very social realities that we study” (p. 68).

But in “Rights and the Poor,” John Gledhill goes beyond such conundrums to recount the complexities of actual human rights struggles. He does this by focusing on “the changing and growing role of local and transnational non-state actors in the global politics of rights and entitlements” (p. 214). His discussion of the role of international non-governmental organizations, citing the 1994 Zapatista uprising and its aftermath, is useful and acute. His critique of
the “third way,” espoused by Anthony Giddens and others, makes an important connection between economic development and human rights. He concludes by calling for “a considerable amount of analysis of contradictions on the ground.”

And in the final chapter, Lisette Josephides makes a notable attempt, based on both philosophical discussions and ethnographic findings, to blend Western and Papuan (Kewa) concepts into a cross-cultural “human ontology.”

As students of the whole human species as well as individual cultures, anthropologists are well equipped to contribute to the broad discussion of human rights as both social theory and social practice. These contributions make this book worth reading—not for the answers they provide but for the questions they raise and the debate they are likely to inspire.


**MICHAEL BLIM**
City University of New York Graduate Center

Moving out and about an autumnal Italian countryside, making the rounds among the dead and wounded shoe firms once so successful 20 years ago, Silvia Yanagisako’s *Producing Culture and Capital: Family Firms in Italy* comes like a welcome message in a bottle on a wave of seemingly irresistible economic decline. The interlocutors I encounter want desperately to know how family capitalism, on which rests much of the fortunes of the Italian economy, might survive and thrive. In a world where even the Pirellis and Agnelli’s now fear to tread, how do the small and medium-sized firms find their way? How do they accomplish the miracle of social reproduction, both at home and in the factory? Yanagisako has some important things to say on this subject.

It needs to be confessed at the outset that our ideas about such things, heretofore, amount to threads and patches. Adages like “from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations,” or as Yanagisako’s interlocutors put it, “the grandfathers founded the firms, the sons develop them, and the grandsons destroy them,” are put poorly to the work of explanation. When folk theory falls short, literature, of all that this implies, the practice of capitalism per se differs once bounded because it denotes objects in space and time and calculates their value in quantitative units of big corporate capitalism. In synergy with and by the success of modern states, capitalists created large bureaucratically organized firms that became, in some measure, the mirror images of states in markets. Combine Weber’s chronicle with the historian Alfred Chandler’s calculus that bureaucratic firm organization grew as markets became larger and more complex, and the result is the ineluctable triumph of the modern corporation in capitalist affairs. A rather more radical version would emphasize how colonialism, and later imperialism, provided other opportunities for the organizational crossbreeding of corporations and states. Indeed, some of the organizational revolutions that came and went in corporate America during the postwar period were but lay versions of management models developed and practiced at the Pentagon, that cathedral to statehood at the heart of the U.S. government apparatus. So the big firm theorists have their reasons.

But what do these theories have to say about the steadfast and productive presence of small businesses, often family-run, in all world economies, great and small? Surely, it is wrong to imagine them bureaucratic wannabes, and the scholarly time has passed when they can be considered the living fossils of the early industrial period. Yanagisako in her highly engaging study of the reproduction of silk manufacturing family firms in and around Como, a small city 100 miles north of Milan on Italy’s northern border with Switzerland, argues that in providing a theory that works for the silk producers, she can also indicate how a theory of capitalist reproduction must develop. She pursues a line of reasoning only hinted at in some early work by Joseph Schumpeter: By following the life of the class, in this case the bourgeoisie, in its highly various family lives, one can find the motivations and social conflicts necessary to explain a great deal of its economic behavior. Yanagisako pushes beyond Schumpeter because she is willing to allow that much of capitalism as we know it is rooted in the garden of desire created by kin ties and gender differences, and that family capitalism has been largely ignored as a kind of ever-present weed among cultivers of a more pure sort.

Via the Como case, Yanagisako argues four main points. First, capitalism is cultural practice. Yanagisako studiously avoids the Polynesian lapsus of the “embeddedness” of capitalism in culture, presumably because it generates a gnawing dualism in understanding the economic behavior that she finds present in Weber. Although I applaud the move, it has its liabilities. It smacks of a kind of imperial gesture—in which all sciences of human activity, because they are dressed in language and context—are mere subsets of the cultural domain. Thus, although highly critical of the Parsonsian move of incorporating all human sciences in a theory of action, Yanagisako herself draws near to Parsons’s grandiosity by subordinating all to culture. Although the world of economic theory, with its truckloads of suspect concepts, should indeed be analyzed critically as a cultural discourse, and for all that this implies, the practice of capitalism per se differs once bounded because it denotes objects in space and time and calculates their value in quantitative
ways. Although one can no longer say “at the end of the day,” an expression that loses its meaning in a global economy, the relative success of economists in at least measuring their phenomena suggests that economies may possess some relative autonomy or at least some difference from the more changeable discursive space of cultural practice.

But it seems to me that one can be an agnostic on the cultural claim and appreciate all the same the other three arguments of the book. The second main point is that if one looks carefully at what people do via historical documents, rather than rely exclusively on what people say, one finds that women—stricken from the official oral accounts of family firms—are crucial, constitutive members. In a finding reminiscent of Annette Weiner’s among the Trobrianders, women’s wealth is a key source of capital and access to markets for firms. Indeed Yanagisako finds that women, aided by the rise of the women’s movement over the past quarter century, have begun to use their wealth as a lever in obtaining more power in the daily affairs of family firms.

Third, Yanagisako shows that sentiments arising from kin ties often determine the economic interests of individuals and of the firms of which they are a part. She launches a solid critique of conventional British social anthropological assumptions of the solidarity of the kin group. Next, noting the tendency in the family capitalism literature to treat the household as an unfettered asset in the reproduction of the firm, she proposes that betrayal just as much as loyalty characterizes the actions of family members in their economic struggles over the control of their firms. Structured dispositions such as the complicated desire of the male patriarch to pass on the firm to sons while maintaining control until death or disability, the difficulty of the same sons to assume effective direction of the firm, and gendered exclusion of women from the chain of command, create conflicts in which betrayal becomes acceptable—and not an unusual option.

Fourth, Yanagisako argues that classes are complex agglomerations composed of groups differentiated not only by the quantity and degree of control they have over capital but also by their diverse social origins. She shows how some families have arisen from artisanal backgrounds and come a certain distance up the class ladder, whereas others have begun at the top and stayed there.

In the last argument, there are matters to discuss. Yanagisako aspires to create a concept of class with multiple trajectories to derail a more general concept of class interest. She provides initial grounds for this, as her analytical descriptions of her interviews with her interlocutors are carefully and provocatively crafted, as well as abundant. One does not find oneself looking up from the book and wondering why a particular detail is necessary. They follow her line of argument logically. But the four fractions of the bourgeoisie Yanagisako creates are distinguished by criteria no less formal than those more statically inclined chosen by a Poulantzas or a Wright a generation ago, concerning the ownership and control of capital and labor. Although she adds educational attainment and also counts prior social origins of the firm’s families as criteria for their class assignment, they remain formal designators of class position and are thus suspect no less than the class theory she criticizes.

Are the distinctions real? Insofar as the transfer of property across generations is concerned, Yanagisako is able to show how class fractions handle the problem differently based on their respective resource bases. Beyond this measure, we cannot be sure. Class making and class-fraction making require concerted action both among self-identified actors and against others whom they perceive opposed to their interests. For this reason, Weber, for instance, was chary—even dismissive—of many class claims, demanding that classes must show themselves in action, protecting some aspect of their material existence. Marx, too, demanded action of classes, distinguishing between a class in itself and for itself.

Although Yanagisako acknowledges a debt to E. P. Thompson, the premier scholar of a working class acting “for itself,” she does not follow his example by providing an account of how the various fractions develop lines of communication and awareness. She does not follow her family capitalists into organizational, community, or political life. Although we know some of the internal imperatives family firms and their members face by virtue of their economic activity, it is hard to know how and if they make up a class in the fuller sense of the term.

Finally, by implication, the book raises larger issues about reproducing class success. As I move among shoe firms literally decimated by economic changes, such as the rise of China and the decline in European and Italian competitiveness, I think that some complete accounting of the rise and fall of family firms must include kinship and gender hierarchies that organize economic activities and, by doing so, reorganized themselves. But it must also take full measure of those events either accidental like comets and dinosaurs, or tendential like the falling rate of profit that come on local economies in often dimly perceived but fatal waves. A death rate of 90 percent after all, within the space of 25 years, for instance, puts book to knowing much about the successes of actors appraising and realizing their prospects within family firms. Perhaps not in Como, but from the vantage of 300 miles away in another part of family firm Italy, everything that once worked no longer does, and not for reasons internal to the constitution of the firms. A great wave, like the economic decline and rise of whole continents, wrapped in our cultural imaginations in certain ways, leaves its own tracks, even as it obliterates others.

That admitted, Yanagisako has provided fresh ideas, the nub of a theory of economic reproduction based on kin and gender-based sentiments, and an engaging case that will make further investigation and reflection richer and much more fruitful.
Leftfield Progressive Big Room Tech House Techno Trance. Cute as fuck hooligan rap, the first single from Datkid & Leaf Dog’s forthcoming collaborative album Confessions Of A Crudlord™. Love Leaf Dog’s chaotic collage and DK’s one-take-style rhyming, great as you’d expect from this pair of reprobates. Split Prophets. Is Elite Singles a good place to meet attractive, intelligent women? Our Elite Singles reviews has everything you need to know about this dating site! Elite Singles vs Match. One of Elite Singles™ main claims to fame is that over 80% of their users have a college degree of some type. That means it has a slight edge over match in the education department, as Match claims 74% of its users have either some college or a college degree.