

Book Reviews

Single Reviews

Dancing from the Heart: Movement, Gender, and Cook Islands Globalization

Kalissa Alexeyeff. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009. 206 pp.

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Dancing from the Heart is a readable and evocative account of expressive practices in relation to the changing contexts of politics, economics, and religion in the Cook Islands. The work is dedicated to the memory of Mamia, a dancer who helped the author, Kalissa Alexeyeff, during her fieldwork in Rarotonga (1996–98), and whose identity as a “cosmopolitan” and a “local local” sets up the theme of the performance of gender in a world of global flows and Appadurain “structures of feeling.” The book explores dancing in different situations, from commercial performances for tourists, national performances, and social dancing in night clubs to the ritual community Koni Rani dance round, but dancing is just one form of expression by which feminine gender identity is negotiated, a “conduit for the construction of discourses about cultural legitimacy and ultimately the contours of Cook Islands national identity” (p. 58).

Alexeyeff focuses in this study on femininity as embodied by women and *laelae*, feminized men who perform as women, and argues that signs of femininity are a “performative commentary on global-local forms of sexuality and gender identity” (p. 109). Analyses of the Miss Cook beauty pageants and Drag Queen competitions reveal the tension between ideals of femininity in the Cook Islands and imported elements. Female bodies are the focus for social surveillance, maintained by “the coconut wireless” (gossip) through which girls and women are commended for their shyness and judged for showing off. Performing in beauty pageants and public dances contradicts these values and requires women to navigate “between personal and group demands” (p. 105). Showing off also implicates rank and race, as it is “half-castes” who tend to “perform the culture” in public competitions and dances (pp. 95–96).

There is further disjunction in local value systems as demonstrated in the discussion of drag queens. Attempts

to combine *laelae* behavior with “drag” elements from New Zealand and elsewhere produces “unhappy hybrids.” There is a limit to adaptation and change: “distinctive styles of response” trump transformability. Indeed, among the personal fieldwork stories is the telling tale of the reception of the author’s public lecture on culture as a dynamic process, which was less well-received than the essentialist approach taken by the female president of the council of subchiefs in her talk entitled “The Impact of Tourism on Culture.” As anthropologists have often discovered, subtlety struggles against strong simple arguments in the public domain.

Theoretically, the book steers a course between essentialization and process. Although dancing is characterized as one of a number of “expressive practices” in theoretical contrast to “culture, tradition, identity” (p. 12), identity itself is soon described as emergent (p. 13), and the idea of “expressive practices” is weakened as an alternative theoretical position when the author begins to refer to “expressive culture” (p. 58). Residual oppositionality vanishes as we learn that “novelty and innovation are central to Cook Islanders’ expressive traditions” (p. 75). Dance itself is also occasionally theorized in somewhat essentialist terms: no one needs to be persuaded that dance is not simply a “passive mirror” (p. 12) following the publication of works such as those by Theresa Buckland (2006) and others. Indeed, more reference to works on dance and performance published since 1998 would have sharpened the analysis here. Comparative positioning would also have been helpful in the analysis of the *laelae*, particularly with reference to Tom Boellstorff’s (2005) work on Indonesian cross-dressing.

The book’s strength is as a vividly performed ethnography, and it is enlivened by humorous moments of reflexive discovery—such as when the author learns how not to drink beer in the Cook Islands. It will make a valuable contribution to regional ethnography and will be useful to students and scholars of gender and performance in general—though non-specialists need to know that 75 percent of Cook Islanders

live away from the islands before page 147. The analysis is not “about” dancing, but dance researchers will benefit from the discussion of the concepts of *tārekareka* and *tāmataora* to explain how pleasure is induced through performance and also from the excellent chapter about cultural politics, which explains how debates about tradition and modernity have varied over time according to age and gender. Alexeyeff tells a powerful story of individuals and groups in an island society that has never been free of flows and changes but now self-identifies with the distinctive aesthetic value of “dancing from the heart” and its powers of persuasion. She

shows that this value floats above the transience of the protean postmodern world and continues to give Cook Islanders a sense of selfhood.

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Will to Live: AIDS Therapies and the Politics of Survival

João Biehl. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. 480 pp.

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In *Will to Live: AIDS Therapies and the Politics of Survival*, João Biehl uses an ambitious range of methods to tackle the ambitious goal of describing national AIDS policies and their effects among marginalized HIV-positive Brazilians. Methods include observations within institutions, interviews, life histories, longitudinal observations, and, notably, the photographs by the artist and freelance photographer Torben Eskerod. The images in this book are what first catch the reader’s eye. Eskerod photographed 22 HIV-positive residents of a Brazilian hospice in 1997 and 2001. Eskerod’s black-and-white portraits allow the cool, direct gaze of respondents to give an emotional immediacy and historical depth to the range of issues tackled in this book. Biehl’s goal is to assess the impact of a national free-antiretrovirals policy on the subjectivities and experiences of these marginalized Brazilians. Biehl describes residents’ experiences from 1997 to 2005 within the context of exploring how biotechnology becomes integrated into public policy. Brazil’s innovation engendered unlikely coalitions that laid bare problems with public-health paradigms and also introduced new forms of life and new inequalities.

Biehl is at his most compelling when he draws on multiple methods to document institutional practice, NGO initiatives, and the “micro-politics of survival” (p. 49) of the HIV-positive poor. He does this superbly. *Will to Live* is about if, and how, persons consistently marginalized through public-health systems manage to survive. When Biehl asks in 2005 for an update on the hospice residents with whom he initially worked in 1997, he is told seven of the 22 remain alive. “How wonderful,” he dryly comments. People survive, Biehl concludes, when they develop a subjectivity—

what he terms a person’s manufactured will to live—that allows them to adapt and adhere to changing antiretroviral regimes and expectations. Institutional belonging begets treatment adherence. That combined with a home, any income, a social network, and access to emergency assistance gives some HIV sufferers sufficient consistency such that they have “by all standards exceeded their destiny” (p. 405). The stories of these patients recur throughout the book, and their rich and fragile lives are set out with a clarity and passion that does them honor.

Alongside these survivor stories, Biehl also tackles the reasons why 15 of the residents died over the course of his research. He concludes the marginalized are not served by the state’s universal drug-access policies. He describes in damning detail how surveillance efforts and medical services overlook large numbers of the poor and marginalized. Clerical carelessness, lack of coordination among agencies, and a lack of minimum maintenance of material infrastructures are among the early deficiencies in AIDS management. Although record keeping improved over the decade, Biehl still found marginalized patients did not gain easy access to medication. Biehl describes subtle omissions in care, such as the way physicians use the problem of drug resistance to prevent access to antiretrovirals for marginalized people: the doctors vet patients for their possible compliance before they consider putting them on drugs. Biehl quietly sets out the gaps between ethical duty and local logic, letting the reader infer the complex ways that local health staff use patients’ lifestyles and supposed lack of responsibility to justify their decisions. He also shows how the hospice Caasah went from providing vital care and survival to largely marginalized men in 1997 to offering short-term help to mostly working-class men and women who were willing to adhere to antiretroviral regimes. In-depth interviews with NGO heads, including the director of the Caasah hospice, show a

move in care from providing basic needs to rewarding drug compliance.

While Biehl gamely tackles the complexity of large-scale institutions, he relies heavily on interviews with elite politicians and public-health officials. Biehl does not draw on Eskerod's skills for images of these powerful players. We see no images of these respondents, nor does Biehl draw on institutional observations to contextualize their words. Biehl's analysis seems quick to let their comments stand as sufficient statements about policy. This reader had an uneasy

sense that, through Biehl's methods and analyses, class lines were being unwittingly reproduced. But this is a minor quibble. At 480 pages, *Will to Live* is a big and brave book. It is an important book for anthropologists of all stripes because Biehl is unafraid to travel through the many tiers of social practice and to show the chaotic and rapidly changing face of policy, treatment, and outcomes. For AIDS researchers, Biehl opens a Pandora's box of underaddressed issues, particularly around health care policy and practice, that will set research agendas for years to come.

Words upon the Word: An Ethnography of Evangelical Group Bible Study

J. S. Bielo. New York: New York University Press, 2009. 187 pp.

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The last ten years have seen the development of serious and sustained anthropological interest in how Christians interact with bibles, the ways they think about them, and how the bible figures in their thought and discourse. The change has been remarkable to see: it seems only a few years ago that we knew more about kinship on New Guinea than about what people in U.S. churches were doing with bibles. James Bielo's *Words upon the Word* sheds a lot of light into nearby corners.

Group bible study is the single most widespread religious institution in the United States, with 30 million Protestants—and a small number of Catholics—gathering weekly for this distinct purpose. Despite the prevalence of this practice, it has received virtually no scrutiny from anthropologists and sociologists. Indeed, in my own ethnography of bible use by U.S. evangelicals, group bible study per se receives only peripheral attention. Bielo has done all of us a favor by calling attention to the practice of group bible study, and it is clear that there can be no further discussion of U.S. Protestant Christianity or of biblicism without reference to Bielo's ethnography.

Bielo's principal claim is that group bible study is a primary locus for the reproduction of evangelical Christian culture. I would respond to this with a yawn—virtually all interactions are now characterized as sites of cultural reproduction—except that anthropologists and other scholars studying Christianity have so long assumed, without question, that the primary locus of Christian culture is the church service. I, too, assumed this, even though data to the contrary were plainly staring me in the face, and it was not until Bielo pointed it out that I finally had an “a-ha” moment. No single generalization will hold for all churches, and issues of scale are clearly involved, but I think we had better take seriously

the possibility, at least, that group bible study—including Sunday school—is more central to the reproduction of evangelical Christian culture than is the church service. Bielo does not make this strong claim, but he deserves the credit for opening the door to it.

Bielo's use of discourse theory is among the best I have seen in terms of its clarity and coherence. Simply put, at every point in the book the reader knows exactly what Bielo is talking about, what its implications are, and how it relates to empirical evidence. The book is a pleasure to read.

One curiosity of the book—something that is almost a mistake, but isn't—is the fact that Bielo never defines what precisely he means by “group bible study.” He seems to adopt evangelical Christians' own informal definition of such groups but never explores exactly what that definition is. This could have been a major shortcoming of his work because anyone familiar with what evangelical Christians call “group bible study” knows that such group activities do not necessarily have much to do with actual bibles—a fact that Bielo acknowledges. In the end, though, this failure to explicate a definition does not really matter, because he does not so much examine the groups for how they interact with the bible but for how they interact with each other in “bible-study” contexts. As such, it is not essential to his argument whether bibles are really studied, merely referenced, or just serve as a kind of ideational background. I still think there is both room and need for an unpacking of evangelical Christians' notion of “bible study”—whether group or individual—but the lack of it is not so damaging to Bielo's analysis as it might first seem.

Overall, Bielo's study offers important claims about evangelical Christian culture and biblicist practices supported by a first-rate ethnography and clear analysis. It is recommended for all students of U.S. religiosity, Christianity, and reading.

After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico

Jeffrey Blomster, ed. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008. 443 pp.

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As articulated by editor Jeffrey Blomster in his preface, the edited collection *After Monte Albán* brings archaeology to bear on the poorly understood transition to the Postclassic period in Oaxaca and rebalances the typical emphasis on documents for studies of the Postclassic. There is nonetheless strong representation of data from native written sources among the chapters. Eleven scholars contribute 12 chapters on diverse subjects: this is appropriate for a complicated time and big area but has the downside that one (or two) dominant interpretive themes do not closely tie the chapters.

Blomster provides an integrative overview of the time span and research issues in the lead chapter, situating the Oaxacan record against selected Toltec, Mixteca-Puebla, and Aztec topics. This chapter covers background on issues such as chronology, ethnicity, and the *cacicazgo* or small polity structure that dominated the region after the demise of Monte Albán. One fundamental handicap has been chronological resolution. Happily two chapters address this interpretive subject: Robert Markens presents a seriation of grave goods, and Michel Oudijk uses a set of documents to rectify genealogies (with insights on dynastic politics). Although grouped with these chapters, Byron Hamann's piece uses documentary sources about practices regarding ancient ruins and heirlooms and expands from these topics to weigh the pros and cons of "high culture" arguments and the nature of long-term continuities in Mesoamerican cultural traditions. Hamann challenges the idea that elites should be a sole focus for such cultural topics.

This volume is somewhat atypical of edited works because of its mix of interpretive work and substantive presentations of new data. There is a larger component of descriptive data than might be expected. Recent field investigations were one of the factors that prompted the volume because they afford a chance to take a fresh look at post-Monte Albán Oaxaca. A pair of chapters uses household data. Michael Lind examines stratified construction at Lambityeco, with a record of Monte Albán interference locally and eventual abandonment of the site, a process that he regards as a commoner rejection of a ruling social stratum. Robert Markens, Marcus Winter, and Cira Martínez López comment on how excavated data from Macuilxóchitl relate to information from oral history and colonial documents; this site, like Lambityeco, experienced abandonment and eventual Postclassic reuse. Other strongly substantive work

is contributed in a later section containing two chapters with brief accounts of new data (1) about sites in eastern Guerrero (by Gerardo Guitiérrez) and (2) from four understudied regions of Oaxaca (by Marcus Winter). Winter works to redress the typical preoccupation with regions dominated by Mixtec and Zapotec speakers in favor of seeing the variety of peoples and activities of late Oaxaca.

At an "intermediate" level between substantively oriented and theoretically motivated scholarship, two interpretive chapters concerning the coast of Oaxaca draw on continuing investigation of the Río Verde area. Arthur Joyce examines how cycles of political integration and disintegration differ in long-term history there, including Early Postclassic indications of commoner disrespect of material remains of earlier ruling groups. For the site of Río Viejo, Stacie King examines stylistic and material indications of Early Postclassic interregional connections using ceramic bells, spindle whorls, pottery, and obsidian, emphasizing variable highland connections rather than coast-wide trade. Two chapters are especially devoted to elite political issues, with Blomster addressing the iconography of a Postclassic stone carving from Etlatongo that he interprets as legitimizing imagery associated with processional reliefs on benches or banquettes and with investiture. Bruce Byland uses late codices to dissect the sacred and political roles of particular Mixtec rulers and centers, situated in an unstable political backdrop of competitive Postclassic polities.

For non-Oaxacan specialists, the book provides a wealth of examples of relatively modest-sized polities functioning without a unifying administration or at times when pre-existing economic and political structures underwent dissolution (the decline of Monte Albán). Because chapters operate at so many different levels, however, the book is likely to be frustrating to non-Oaxacan specialists. The lead chapter provides an important touchstone for a wider audience. Although there is no single topical domain in which the contributions move us forward, perhaps political issues are the most prominent, with more detail concerning the machinations of elites than of commoners but at least some balancing of the two. Extensive and unruly, this political and economic time in Oaxaca promotes diversity among chapters. More of Mesoamerica has such characteristics than might be thought from the usual syntheses. In redressing prevailing perspectives, *After Monte Albán* is successful, but Mesoamericanists still have much work ahead to understand the broader structural and interactive effects of these kinds of times and polities.

Conservation Refugees: The Hundred-Year Conflict between Global Conservation and Native Peoples

Mark Dowie. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009. 336 pp.

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In *Conservation Refugees*, Mark Dowie brings his considerable journalistic skills to a subject that has been, for the most part, hidden under the carpet by wildlife conservationists. For the last century or more, a brand of conservation emanating from the experiments at creating human-free “wilderness” reserves in the United States has spread across the world. This essentially consists of officially gazetted “protected areas” meant exclusively or predominantly for wildlife. About 13 percent of the earth’s terrestrial surface is now under such reserves. The intentions of those who have led this movement have been honorable, and undoubtedly protected areas have in many instances helped save threatened ecosystems and wildlife. But they have also had an enormous impact on indigenous peoples living within or around such areas. Ironically, the approach has also not always worked for wildlife.

Dowie deals primarily with the physical eviction of indigenous peoples from traditional territories of occupation and use. Systematic studies on the numbers of people displaced are not available in most countries, and it is unclear what basis he uses for his global estimate of “five million to tens of millions” (p. xxi). But numbers do not tell the whole story anyway; one of the book’s strengths is a series of narratives of actual instances of eviction. One of the earliest examples is of Native Americans expelled from Yosemite and other national parks created in the United States, brutally displaced in events not often recounted when these parks are spoken of proudly as the first in the world. The experience is replicated in other countries and continents: the Maasai were kicked out of now-iconic reserves like Serengeti in Tanzania; the Batwa (“pigmy”) were hounded out of mountain gorilla areas such as Bwindi in Uganda; the Karen were stopped from practicing sustainable shifting cultivation in reserves carved out of their traditional territories in Thailand; several *adivasi* (indigenous) communities were displaced from India’s tiger reserves; the Basarwa (“Bushmen”) of Botswana were thrown out of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (from areas they had occupied for 30,000 years); and so on, for many others. In each case, eviction has been followed by misery, destitution, cultural disintegration, and other such impacts on indigenous peoples. One can fault Dowie for not giving examples of “good” resettlement, wherein communities may have been helped to regain their livelihoods, but this does not detract from the abundantly clear message he delivers: conservation has been blatantly unfair to millions of people.

Interspersed with these eviction narratives are debates over the contested relationship between formal conservation and indigenous peoples. The notion of “wilderness” itself, held by Western cultures as universal, is shown to be absent in many cultures. Indigenous peoples look at themselves as part of “nature” and view “natural” landscapes as cultural entities. The belief that conservation can only be accomplished by the use of modern science, and by trained bureaucracies or scientists, is challenged in discussion of many cases wherein traditional knowledge and practices have been proven valid (although Dowie is careful not to universalize these). The notion that all human use is detrimental to wildlife is debunked using a number of studies showing that “disturbance” of certain kinds and levels may be neutral or even part of making the very biodiversity sought to be conserved.

Dowie also takes on a number of the iconic figures of conservation. He notes that individuals like John Muir, Ansel Adams, Richard Leakey, Bernard Grzimek, and Diane Fossey were often disparaging about indigenous peoples. He also cites many instances of the insensitive approach of the world’s biggest conservation NGOs, including their complicity in some of the examples mentioned above. Their often cozy relationship with oppressive governments and profit-hungry corporations are exposed. But, conversely, the author also mentions with disapproval the tendency of many indigenous peoples’ organizations to equate conservationists with imperial forces (a theme not developed further in the book).

Despite a predominantly sordid narrative, the author provides elements of hope: in the increasing sensitivity of conservation NGOs and government agencies toward social issues, in the number of positive on-the-ground collaborations with indigenous peoples, and in the emergence of new paradigms of collaborative management and community-conserved areas, which put indigenous peoples at the heart of protected-area governance.

The story Dowie tells is not complete: it misses the impact of protected areas on nonindigenous traditional peoples (e.g., fishers, pastoralists, and peasants), and it narrates very few of the instances where participatory conservation has been tried out successfully. Notwithstanding this and a few faults in factual detail, this book is worth a read by a wide audience—and in particular by formal conservation agencies and their donors. Dowie’s narrative blends popular anthropology, ethics, biology, and economics with simple common sense and controlled indignation. The style is eminently readable and, therefore, accessible to a large audience.

The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood

Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. 304 pp.

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The flourishing field of traumatology is dominated by psychiatrists and clinical psychologists who regard post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a timeless, transcultural expression of the universal human response to horror. They assume that PTSD is a natural kind, a disease that has afflicted humanity throughout the ages, despite the relative recency of its recognition as a diagnostic entity by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) in 1980.

Beyond the inner circle of traumatologists, opinions vary. Historians, anthropologists, and sociologists, in particular, question the natural status of PTSD. They speak of the “invention” or “construction” of post-traumatic stress rather than its discovery. Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman are among these scholars. “Rather than a clinical reality,” they write, “trauma today is a moral judgment” that serves “to identify legitimate victims” (p. 284).

Both authors of *The Empire of Trauma* are French anthropologists and physicians. Fassin is an internist and Rechtman, a psychiatrist. The purpose of their book is to trace the “moral genealogy” (p. xii) of psychic trauma from its origin in late-19th-century Europe to its spread throughout the 21st-century world. They brilliantly illustrate how the status of trauma victim completely reversed from that of a suspected malingerer to that of an innocent and morally unimpeachable survivor.

In the first part of their book, the authors describe the emergence of psychic trauma, a metaphorical extension of the concept of “physical trauma.” In the closing decades of the 19th century, train wrecks and industrial accidents injured many people, who then became legally eligible for financial compensation. Complicating matters were physically unscathed survivors suffering from invisible psychological wounds who likewise sought financial compensation. Many physicians and lawyers regarded them as malingering slackers.

Skepticism regarding psychic trauma continued well into the 20th century. During World War I, soldiers who were victims of “shell shock” inspired more contempt than pity. Treatment was sometimes brutal, involving painful electric shocks designed to expose malingerers as much as alleviate symptoms, thereby hastening the soldier’s return to the front. Prevailing medical opinion attributed breakdown to psychological predisposition and weak moral fiber, rather than to the horrors of trench warfare.

Further exemplifying the climate of suspicion, a 1948 book introduced a branch of criminology called “victimology.” Unlike the traumatologists of today, victimologists did not document the psychological harm suffered by crime victims. Rather, they sought to elucidate the psychological characteristics that rendered some people especially likely to get in harm’s way. Several decades later, such inquiries would have been condemned as “blaming the victim” for his or her plight.

The recognition of PTSD in 1980 as a genuine psychiatric disorder marked the end of the era of suspicion. Activists opposed to the war in Vietnam, both psychiatrists and veterans, successfully lobbied the APA to include a diagnosis that captured the symptoms suffered by veterans traumatized by combat, including those haunted by memories of the atrocities they had committed against the Vietnamese. Remarkably, both the recipients of violence and the perpetrators of violence were eligible for the same diagnosis. Both fell under the rubric of trauma survivor. Moreover, traumatologists attributed the emergence of PTSD solely to the traumatic stressor, not to any preexisting vulnerability factors.

In the remaining sections of their captivating book, Fassin and Rechtman illustrate how the concept of “psychological trauma” has spread throughout the world, providing the basis for moral claims making. They trace its acceptance in French society in the wake of terrorist attacks and catastrophic industrial accidents. They explore the moral complexities confronting humanitarian psychiatrists when they treat victims of political oppression and violence. Some mental-health professionals believe that bearing witness to trauma and speaking on behalf of its victims can be as important as treating them. The authors also discuss the status of Palestinian victims of Israeli violence and Israeli victims of Palestinian violence. Affirming the moral equivalence of victims, whether Israeli or Palestinian, is itself a politically explosive gesture. Later, Fassin and Rechtman document the role of psychic trauma in the adjudication of appeals for political asylum among refugees from the developing world. The physical scars of torture are usually transient, leaving only the invisible wounds of psychic trauma, requiring expert examination by psychiatrists. As the authors observe, this requirement signals a partial return of the climate of suspicion, as the European authorities no longer automatically trust the testimony of the refugees themselves.

This excellent book shows exactly why anthropology is indispensable for understanding trauma. It abounds with insights all too rare within mainstream traumatology.

Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast

Jan Hoffman French. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. 256 pp.

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In the past decade, a number of books have been published that reflect U.S. social scientists' long-standing interest in Brazilian race relations. I think particularly of Robin Sherrif's *Dreaming of Equality* (2001), Edward Telles's *Race in Another America* (2004), Reginald Daniel's *Race and Multiraciality in Brazil and the United States* (2006), and Stanley Bailey's, *Legacies of Race* (2009). Jan Hoffman French's *Legalizing Identities* hearkens back to Jonathan Warren's *Racial Revolutions* (2001). Warren examined the growing numbers of multiracial individuals (*pardo* in official contexts; *mulato*, *mestiço*, or *caboclo* in everyday parlance) in northeastern Brazil, who in the 1970s began identifying as Native American. This was a significant finding considering that the region is largely composed of individuals of varying degrees of African ancestry and was thought to have no Indian population. More importantly, Warren disagreed with claims that these individuals were "inauthentic Indians" who had selected an indigenous identity to gain material rewards and avoid the stigma associated with blackness.

Legalizing Identities examines the process through which two neighboring peasant communities in the state of Sergipe in northeastern Brazil came to identify as Indian (the Xocó tribe) or black (the residents of Mocambo) to secure material gains. Both communities are related by kin; descend from Africans, Europeans (Portuguese and Dutch), and Indians; and display African ancestry in their physical appearance. Yet French provides a compelling ethnographic, historical, and legal analysis of how these rural communities have come to differentiate themselves from each other, with sometimes fateful implications, while revising and retelling their historical and contemporary narratives.

In 1972, individuals formed the Xocó tribe to struggle against the landowners for whom they worked. Like other Indian-identified communities in the Northeast, the Xocó displayed few, if any, "traditional" indigenous cultural markers: for example, customs, language, and so on. Yet, certain cultural markers associated with "Indianness" in the popular imagination were crucial to establishing their authenticity and were adopted by the tribe. State recognition was achieved in 1979, and full land rights in 1991, which makes the Xocó the only official tribe in the region.

In 1993, the residents of Mocambo, bolstered by protections in Brazil's 1988 constitution, embarked on a struggle similar to that of the Xocó. In response to increas-

ing black-movement challenges to Brazil's much vaunted racial democracy ideology, the constitution declared racial discrimination to be a crime without bail or statute of limitation, punishable by imprisonment. Moreover, it contained provisions advancing land rights claims of rural communities associated with historical runaway-slave settlements called *quilombos*. In 1997, Mocambo gained official quilombo status, and its residents "assumed" an identity as *negros* (blacks). Historically, the term *negro* carried social stigma originating in slavery. However, since the late 1970s, "a negro identity" had become a means of asserting racial pride attributable to the momentum of the black movement.

Assisted by the Catholic Church, state officials, attorneys, anthropologists, and activists, the Xocó tribe and residents of Mocambo gained official recognition, which resulted in expropriation of land and displacement of the landowners for whom generations of their families had labored. French argues convincingly that these successful struggles, along with the collective subjectivities constructed to facilitate them, indicate that perceived authenticity is not a prerequisite for identity formation. She emphasizes that social construction is not only the basis for all identities but also has implications for the pursuit of social justice. Yet French maintains that collective subjectivities forged in political struggle go beyond practical considerations and can solidify a sense of community and provide a sense of belonging.

Legalizing Identities elucidates how social identities develop—and particularly how jurisprudence can transform cultural practices and collective subjectivities. The Brazilian state has historically neither legally defined racial categories and membership nor enforced institutionalized racially discriminatory policies. Nevertheless, from its very beginning, the Brazilian state, through the implementation of public policy, has been concerned with the politics of race and has sustained an identifiable racial order. This has linked the system of political rule to racial classification. Color terms may be flexible, and racial markers fluid, but they are not materially inconsequential. The process of legalizing identities thus not only solidifies the bricks and mortar of the social order but also provides the basis for collective mobilization. This analytically penetrating, engaging, and, indeed, riveting book will be a valuable resource for social scientists and historians as well as scholars in race and ethnic studies and global studies, particularly those interested generally in Latin America and specifically in Brazil.

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Stitching Identities in a Free Trade Zone: Gender and Politics in Sri Lanka

Sandya Hewamanne. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. 304 pp.

Annuska Derks

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Work in factories that produce clothes for the global market—whether they are located in the Export Processing Zones in Mauritius, in the *maquiladoras* at the Mexican–U.S. border, or in one of the numerous Free Trade Zones (FTZs) on the Asian continent—carries the reputation of arduous working conditions, low wages, poor health, crowded dormitories, and stigmatization. *Stitching Identities in a Free Trade Zone* presents us, however, with another part of the story. Focusing on the predominantly female workers in a Sri Lankan Free Trade Zone, Sandya Hewamanne seeks to uncover the “human spirit that allowed these women to deal with power and violence in the best way they could: through creativity, through everyday poetics and politics, and through developing differential consciousness that allowed them identity moves” (p. 3).

One of the major strengths of the book is its ethnographic detail. For over a decade, Hewamanne conducted fieldwork among FTZ workers during various periods. She spent several months in one of the FTZ factories, lived in boarding houses, and accompanied FTZ workers on day trips and to their families and natal villages. She does a great job of describing the situation on the shop floor, makes excellent observations of the subtle distinctions between (dis)respectable behaviors, and is remarkably sensitive to the language games that FTZ workers play. As a result, the eight chapters and short epilogue of the book are full of stories, anecdotes, and songs that illustrate FTZ workers’ daily confrontations with and responses to the contradictions and expectations arising from Sri Lankan conceptions of gender, nation, and modernity; factory-work routine and resistance; living arrangements and leisure activities; and the complex processes of identification and stigmatization.

The two chapters focusing on what happens inside the factory insightfully demonstrate that factory work cannot be characterized as inherently dehumanizing and alienating. The factory workers who Hewamanne studied displayed strong attachments to their jobs, machines, and fellow workers—especially those with whom they formed “lunch groups”—as well as to their supervisors, whom they resented but for whom they also showed motherly concern and fatherly respect. Experienced factory workers were well aware that they were not merely replaceable components in an impersonal production apparatus but, rather, highly valued and indispensable resources that ensured a smooth production process, which gave them considerable leeway in resisting structures of domination. These conditions allowed workers to express rudimentary forms of class consciousness—albeit to a certain limit, as they at the same time “encouraged others to become skilled and indispensable workers as well, thus benefiting the factory” (p. 102).

The second half of the book sheds light on how FTZ workers negotiate their lives outside the factory gates. Hewamanne describes how the strict control and discipline to which FTZ women were subject on the shop floor extended also to their social lives, as boarding-house owners as well as dominant cultural discourses judged and restricted their behavior and movements. FTZ women were well aware of the stigma they carried as young women living among peers without parental control. But they also used this situation to take liberties (such as in relationships with the other sex), create their own styles (in clothes, music, and movies), use alternative language forms (full of sexual innuendo), and engage in activities (dance, catcalls, outings) that were otherwise considered “disrespectable”—only to leave these styles and put on “home clothes” again when going back to the village. This shows, above all, the temporality and situationality of what Hewamanne refers to as “oppositional

consciousness” (pp. 15, 227, 240). FTZ workers engaged in a balancing act between resistance and accommodation as they strategically switched between different subject positions to reconcile their desires with dominant cultural discourses on obedient daughters who embody “shame-fear” (p. 145). While a successful balance definitely facilitated a return to the village on marriage, it remains to be seen what effects FTZ employment and experiences will eventually have “on the way former FTZ workers negotiate their lives within increasingly globalizing Sri Lankan villages” (p. 247).

Although the focus on the personal accounts of FTZ workers gives us detailed insights into their world, we actually learn very little about how this world relates to the worlds of other working women with similar backgrounds in other (urban) sectors and in other countries in the region. This does, however, not alter the fact that *Stitching Identity in a Free Trade Zone* provides an important addition to the growing literature exposing the creative ways in which poor migrant women from rural areas negotiate their position along (and away from) the global assembly line.

Foraging in the Tennessee River Valley

Kandace Hollenbach. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009. 298 pp.

Cheryl Claassen

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Foraging in the Tennessee River Valley has much to recommend it. It is a good resource for undergraduates: the scientific process is developed, it may be the most interesting treatment of this time period available for the eastern United States, and it provides examples of what some processual archaeologists and evolutionary paleobotanists are doing in the 21st century. The author combines her original botanical analyses with extant faunal, lithic, and sedimentological data from LaGrange, Stanfield-Worley, Dust, and Rollins rock shelters to tackle the environmental adaptation of early Holocene foragers in the Tennessee River Valley. The data sets presented and referenced will be valuable for years to come, although perhaps the catalogue numbers of the samples did not need to be tabulated. Also, as a few side notes, the term *flotation* is spelled two different ways throughout the text, and it would have been appropriate to provide the count of taxa per component.

Author Kandace Hollenbach assumes that small groups, moving in response to provisioning needs of women, have taken up residence in these shelters and foraged from them. I couldn't agree more. My disappointment with the book stems from the discipline-wide practice inculcated in Hollenbach of assuming that rock shelters and caves are always habitation places. In some instances, data suggest ritual activities—burials in LaGrange and Dust—but never is a cave or rock shelter a ritual place in the hands of archaeologists. There is evidence presented by Hollenbach that could cast these four rock shelters as places targeted for ritual acts—with some variety between shelters—rather than mundane habitation or camping loci.

Historic accounts and recent research tell us that rock shelters and caves were good places for hunting shrines, seeking visions, birthing and sweating, menstrual retreating,

initiations, training as a weather shaman or healer, and for burial, particularly the bodies of illegitimate children, all activities of one or two people. Arrow offerings, animal bones, miniature weavings, and weaving equipment were and are important offerings in these places. The use of rock shelters by women in particular stands out in this list.

Two of the shelters Hollenbach uses in her study have bedrock mortars; all have medicinal plants: sumac, morning glory, *Polygonum* sp. (for ulcers, tumors, rheumatism), purslane (for genito-urinary bleeding, liver), poke (for syphilis, breast lumps, and other breast problems); and abundant nutting stones. Nut processing is well documented, but only food uses are considered, despite the fact that nut oils were used extensively in historic times for oiling hair and skin of newborns and for purification rites. Two shelters have human burials. One has chunks of red ochre. The lithics could be offerings as well, indicating rituals of a different nature from healing and menstruation retreating. There are thousands of large mammal bones in Stanfield-Worley suggestive of a hunting shrine; at Dust Cave in Paleoindian stratum, there is only one deer but dozens of waterbirds, 23 goose humeri, and several dog burials suggestive of yet other rituals, not mundane campouts. All of the sites are interpreted by investigators as having very short-term uses. Snakes, foxes, geese, voles, polished carapaces, needles, awls, and secondary burials suggest offerings. In fact, the evidence is stronger for ritual use than it is for habitation.

The plant remains may not reveal as much about the natural habitat around these places as Hollenbach presumes, given that pilgrimages may have been made to each place. They may not be appropriately analyzed from a central-place foraging perspective because foraging concerns may not have driven their collection and deposition. Specific plants were probably chosen for specific rituals. Transporting the items to these rock shelters for a family meal, provisioning a retreat, or making an offering should result in

distinguishable characteristics, like those for faunal offerings (often very small, immature, or incomplete animals). Such an awareness also calls into question notions of what is accidental in rock-shelter assemblages and ideas about why and how flora and fauna come to be fragmented and burned.

Hollenbach compares the shelter plants with open-air sites. If the ecofacts accumulated in these different types of

sites from identical activities (daily living), then these are comparable data sets. But, if not, such a comparison could serve to identify distinctions in the data sets but will require much parsing of traditional data and new kinds of data. While I wish Hollenbach had considered the shelters as ritual places, her recognition of the gendered element in site location shows she is on the cusp of research with greater ramifications than environmental reconstruction.

Fixing Sex: Intersex, Medical Authority, and Lived Experience

Katrina Karkazis. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 384 pp.

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Amid a recent spate of books about intersex conditions (or “disorders of sex development”), *Fixing Sex* stands out. In addition to interviewing individuals with intersex syndromes and their parents, Karkazis interviewed the clinicians socially authorized to assign and surgically produce gender. Hearing them express in their own words their professional convictions, private doubts, misplaced loyalties, and mounting uncertainties adds a previously missing dimension to the discussion. The accumulated layering of these varied perspectives makes this an insightful, disquieting, appalling, and heartbreaking book.

Fixing Sex begins on familiar ground with an overview of history and theories of intersexuality. Much of the theoretical work on intersexuality has already been done, thus early chapters rework the ideas of Suzanne Kessler, Alice Dreger, Anne Fausto-Sterling, John Colapinto, Cheryl Chase, Sharon Preves, and others. The second part of the book moves deftly to the moment of truth: when, how, and why infants diagnosed with intersex conditions are assigned gender and sex. Here Karkazis begins picking apart the explanations and justifications used by surgeons, urologists, and endocrinologists to justify their decisions. Gender assignment provides the foundation for “fixing sex”—that is, producing “normative sexuality” early in life through surgical intervention. Although Karkazis is determined not to vilify well-intentioned surgeons, her interviewees raise disturbing questions about the advisability of surgery. Many of them (including some surgeons) reported that surgical outcomes are poor and often painful, that patients are often left unable to experience sexual pleasure as adults, and that patients’ feelings of shame and stigma are often exacerbated (rather than alleviated) by surgery. Although clinicians frequently rationalized surgery by assuming that “good intentions are synonymous with good outcomes” (p. 267), Karkazis found

otherwise: “one of the more surprising and sad findings in my interviews with adults . . . is the degree to which they avoid all forms of intimacy, not just sexual forms” (p. 176). She asked why early genital surgery continues to be practiced, “especially on females,” and why in light of so much damning evidence it is “so resistant to change” (p. 137). She found no good answer.

Karkazis argues in the third and final section of the book that treatment of intersex conditions should focus on health and well-being. Instead of “fixing” sex–gender incongruities, as clinicians have done, or deconstructing intersexuality for “its value as a heuristic device” to interrogate gender, as feminists have done, Karkazis argues that there is a need “to change treatment practices and improve the well being of others with these conditions” (p. 247). The final chapters examine the political strategies, history, and philosophies adopted by activists dedicated to changing medical protocols. “Given that a good deal of treatment has little to do with the health of the child,” she argues, biomedical clinicians should ask themselves: “What is accomplished by making children’s somatic traits fit our idealized notions of what constitutes male and female?” (p. 289). Although clearly dismayed that early genital surgery has persisted for so long, Karkazis is encouraged by activists who have convinced clinicians to listen to them.

Activists’ voices, however, are not sufficient to persuade clinicians to abandon their time-honored protocols, especially in an era of evidence-based medicine. “Perhaps the greatest impediment to clinical change,” Karkazis writes, “is the lack of clinical research . . . to see if interventions work” (p. 280). Her attention to the complications of designing convincing studies is fascinating (if slightly buried), yet I wished that Karkazis had made a more forceful case for the utility of anthropological evidence of the kind she provides. Why shouldn’t the systematic, evidence-based, qualitative-research findings of a social scientist change the terms of debate? Future anthropologists might consider adding

participant-observation (in teaching hospitals and clinics and with families) to their methodological toolkits. Participant-observation could supplement the data obtained through interviews, surveys, and clinical observations; thicken the descriptions of lived experience; and preempt any suggestion that researchers (however unwittingly) reduce people to their diagnoses.

This book will be a vital resource for scholars of gender and sexuality, although it may be too dense for undergraduates and time-pressed clinicians. As someone unfamiliar

with differences between PAIS, CAH, cloacal exstrophy, 17-beta reductase deficiency, and other diagnoses, I sometimes empathized with the parents who feel overwhelmed by “complex language about chromosomes, hormones, gonads, genitals, and gender” (p. 125). A glossary would have been helpful but is probably unnecessary for the book’s most important audience: those who live with intersex diagnoses, medical personnel, parents, critics, and activists involved in the medical management, social negotiation, and political contestations over intersexuality.

Getting By in Postsocialist Romania: Labor, the Body, and Working Class Culture

David A. Kideckel. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008. 288 pp.

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Given the central role that the working class—particularly, the industrial working class—played in European state socialism, it has been surprising how little ethnographic work has interrogated their lives after socialism. David Kideckel’s eminently readable, tightly conceived, and robustly researched book addresses this lack of attention to the working class and its grim experience of capitalism, neoliberalism, and market economics after 1989. Kideckel’s book is essential reading for scholars of the postsocialist world, as well as for undergraduate and graduate courses on postsocialism, the working class, economic transition, embodiment, and any course that examines the impact of socioeconomic decline. In addition, his engagement with gender—particularly, the nature of masculinity—recommends this book as a useful complement to existing scholarship on the study of gender in postsocialism.

Kideckel draws on decades of research in Romania, comparing the experiences of industrial workers in the Făgăraș region and his more recent fieldwork among the coal mining communities of the Jiu Valley. Continuing and elaborating themes in his earlier book (1993), he explores how capitalism atomizes and alienates workers, emphasizing the ways in which decline and the loss of possibilities for the future are indexed in “workers’ embodied sense of dread and distance, the actual physical conditions of workers’ lives, and their frustrated agency” (p. 26).

Framing his argument within the history of postsocialist Romania’s industrial decline, Kideckel shows how the weakening of labor unions, the withdrawal of state support, the rise of unemployment, and the threat of mass emigration combine to destroy historic social networks, leaving workers lost and alone in their suffering. Community relationships,

once defined by one’s identity as a worker and cemented in the workplace, have fallen apart as workers retreat into their personal lives and compete for jobs and limited resources. Particularly stark is the Jiu Valley, where the bond between miners was forged through teams that worked together in the cramped and intimate mine shafts, carrying their social obligations to the surface at bars and in neighborly gatherings. Kideckel shows that during the “golden period” of the miners one’s worth as a person was bound to one’s identity as a producer but that media and public culture in Romania have disenfranchised these identities, shifting to the valuation of a consumer identity that is now out of reach for most of the increasingly impoverished working class.

Workers’ families have been destroyed by the stress associated with the decline in living standards. The damage to gendered identities is particularly important in Kideckel’s understanding of working-class decline. While the specter of unemployment (or alienating employment) strips men of their sense of masculinity, women find themselves stripped of their agency in domestic settings because of the loss of household income and increasingly are forced to accept exploitative employment to make ends meet. Kideckel convincingly shows that, in a manner that might give some feminist scholars pause, few women have found this disruption of traditional gendered roles liberating; rather, as he notes, “each choice is perceived as a loss, rather than possibility. Each act is glossed not as resistance but as succumbing to unpleasantness not forced on others in their society” (p. 181).

Central to this book is Kideckel’s use of the concept of “embodiment” to analyze the effects of postsocialist changes on workers. The health of workers—as well as their access to and willingness to utilize health care—has been profoundly impacted by the stress of lives that are purely focused on “getting by.” Mobilizing workers’ narratives to heartbreaking effect, Kideckel shows the embodied costs of postsocialist

decline, as his interviewees describe their medical problems, sense of lost agency, impotence (literal and figurative), and feelings of shame, fear, and anger. At times I worry that the concept of “embodiment” seems to be doing too much work in its expansive use; however, I agree with Kideckel that “as workers are persistently concerned by the likely negative qualities and results of their conditions and relationships, these stresses and fears are internalized and displayed in changing physical life” (p. 15).

Kideckel does a service giving voice to the underexplored suffering of postsocialism’s working class. The

story he tells is not mediated by a redemptive narrative about resistance or the secret agency of the subaltern. Instead, Kideckel’s ethnography is unremittingly grim and depressing—a realistic portrayal that captures the truth about lives in decline.

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Missing: Youth, Citizenship, and Empire after 9/11

Sunaina Marr Maira. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 344 pp.

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Missing: Youth, Citizenship, and Empire after 9/11 is a timely and important contribution to study of life in the post-9/11 United States for Muslim, South Asian, and Arab communities, in general, and for Muslim immigrant youth in a New England high school, in particular. Engaging deeply and comprehensively with theories of empire, race, and cultural citizenship, the author uses richly textured ethnographic material drawn from school, work, home, and protests to chart the different practices and meaning of cultural citizenship in the everyday lives of young people here and in the countries their parents left behind. The title, *Missing*, comes from Constantin Costa-Gravas’s (1982) film about the U.S.-backed coup against Chilean president Salvador Allende and the disappearance of dissenters under the military dictatorship of Pinochet. In this book, *missing* refers to the Muslims who disappeared from their communities following their detention and deportation in the months after September 11, 2001, fracturing family ties and creating new refugee flows. It also describes the ways in which mostly working-class immigrant youth went missing as political subjects because anti-Muslim discrimination forced them to stifle their dissent of discriminatory U.S. policies and to struggle to find a secure place at home, in school, and at work.

In a remarkable chapter on the U.S. War on Terror, Maira examines the manipulation of the language of human rights and freedom to justify the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. Although part of a long history of U.S. domination of racialized others, she argues that the “messianic imperialism” of the Bush regime and the attendant hysteria surrounding Muslim terrorists proved remarkably effective in crushing internal dissent, restricting civil liberties, and inspiring a coercive anti-immigrant nationalism.

Although national-security legislation like the Patriot Act targeted aliens and citizens alike, special repression was reserved for U.S. citizen Muslims and Muslim converts.

Maira begins each chapter with the self-reflective narratives of young people. She uses these stories as a window onto a political moment in which heightened surveillance and national-security concerns have blurred the boundaries between the public and private spheres, reduced the possibilities for agency and resistance, and made transnational lives much more difficult. The bulk of the book is devoted to a detailed and nuanced analysis of the emergent understandings of mostly nonobservant South Asian teenagers who became acutely aware of the political meaning of being Muslim and its negative effect on their claims to cultural citizenship and belonging in the United States. One of the strengths of the book is the way the author teases out the challenges these young people face in asserting postnational allegiances, strategically using citizenship status to improve their life chances, and in giving voice to the injustices they witness. Their attempts to embody different modes of citizenship, to maintain transnational family ties, and to pursue global mobility paradoxically tie them to formal citizenship and legal status in a nation-state that marginalizes them.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are a close reading of the ways immigrant youth attempt to be flexible, multicultural, and dissenting citizens. This is a complicated story because these are not fixed categories but, rather, dynamic processes. They reflect the realities of young people who are maturing and assessing who they are in light of the limited choices they have. We see the multiple claims they make in terms of age, gender, class, politics, and religion, as well as their attempts to counter the monolithic category of “Muslim” that predominates in U.S. life. The very diversity of their own backgrounds problematizes the generalizations that abound in political and media discourses. Nonetheless, after we

finish these long and dense chapters, it is difficult to sort out clearly the differences among them. They beg the important question of voice and authorial authority. Is cultural citizenship the most relevant frame for understanding these young people? Is this the way they see themselves and what they are doing?

The media coverage of the recent shootings at Fort Hood reminds us how much we need to revisit the perverse logic of the War on Terror. Rather than center on the violence and trauma experienced by returning veterans and

their caregivers, newspaper reports immediately focused on the Muslim shooter and raised the specter of religious fanaticism, Palestinian origins, and domestic terrorism. The silences and elisions regarding Muslims in the United States are one reason that a book like *Missing* needs to be widely read and taught.

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Made in Sheffield: An Ethnography of Industrial Work and Politics

Massimiliano Mollona. New York: Berghahn, 2009. 201 pp.

Dimitra Doukas

Independent Scholar

Made in Sheffield situates industrial ethnography in the full round of workers' lives for a revealing look at postindustrial steel production. Sheffield is a centuries-old center for the manufacture of cutlery and the steel from which it is made, a place with historical roots in the small shops and familistic relations of artisan production. The "restructuring" of British steel gave new life to Sheffield's run-down Victorian workshops, as author Massimiliano Mollona richly describes, creating in the same stroke a few transnational giants and many small subcontractors, shops where environmental and work-safety regulations could be overlooked and skilled workers could exploit themselves to produce for less.

In the tasks of smelting and forging, Mollona finds an "artisan" work culture of intuitive, embodied judgments and personal prowess for the daily struggle with finicky machines and dangerous flows of molten metal. In the business of finishing the metal, however, workers rationalized their efforts, following spec and counting the strokes of their machines against the shifting rules of company incentive systems—these Mollona calls "proletarians." Artisans and proletarians operate in different relations of production, live in different parts of town, and perceive work and its problems differently.

The book is at its best in juxtaposing these work cultures. For his "shop floor ethnographies" (p. 176), Mollona worked at two Sheffield factories, in both of which the work was organized into "hot" (molten metal) and "cold" (finishing) departments that reproduced the artisan–proletarian cultural divide. The "hot" workers were local men, recruited as apprentices through kinship ties, embedded in social networks that distribute pain and gain across households and provide opportunities for informal income strategies. Some

were not unionized. The "cold" workers, on the other hand, typically commuted, were not embedded in extensive social networks, were more dependent on their wage, and were union members.

Following the steel workers to their pubs, clubs, favorite fishing spots, and eventually their homes, Mollona is lucid on the venerable question of working-class alienation: it is "more about people believing that they are free, rather than about people believing that they are not" (p. 34). Work and home, once interdependent, are now separate, "making invisible the workers' common class condition" (p. 142) and fostering illusory aspirations. Poignant dreams of upward mobility abruptly crashed with the shut-down of a major employer, revealing the hard truths of working-class dependency—"the end of manual labour for Charlie and Toni signaled the end of their dignified existence" (p. 142).

In Sheffield, as in the United States, extended family and quasi-kinship ties reemerged with "flexible labor." Some scholars have seen this development as resisting capitalist rationalization. Mollona, more sensibly, sees postindustrial working-class kinship as accommodating flexible production with flexible reproduction, amply aided by the rules of state transfer payments (p. 71).

In view of that accommodation, however, it is difficult to accept Mollona's view of artisan-style labor as "obsolete," a "marginal social formation" (p. 100)—just at a time when "proletarian" labor is less available and more unreliable than ever. Given Sheffield's long historical legacy of artisan pride, the heirloom machines to which their hard-won skills are linked, and the real economy that their skills and subjectivity represent for capital, why wouldn't these craftsmen hold onto artisan labor as they always have?

Chapter 7 questions the effectiveness of the new "social unionism." As it turned out in Sheffield, both the new "community union" and the old "business union" supported

corporate “restructuring” plans, persuading workers to accept the new schemes against their better judgment. The new unionism reached out to dozens of community organizations but bypassed factory-level labor mobilization, which, as Mollona found, made the critical difference when the bungling conglomerate that ran UNSOR, his second employer in Sheffield, determined to close first the “hot” department and then the entire facility. Social unionism, he argues, blocked the formation of horizontal networks across the working class “which could have prevented the closure of the plant” (p. 156).

But could it have, really? Mollona suggests that they could have if the working class had been less “bourgeoisified” and more organized along lines of class solidarity. Un-

der the postindustrial circumstances that he calls “despotic capitalism” (pp. 20, 177), however, it is not clear that working-class mobilization can or could have prevented deindustrialization. In the face of overweening, “globalized” capitalist power, this faith in working-class power ends up faulting the working class. Alternately, it may be wiser at this point to fault left intellectuals for continuing to idealize proletarian status and the workplaces that reproduce it.

All that said, *Made in Sheffield* is bursting with ethnographic and theoretical insight. Anyone whose interests include labor, production, class, the postindustrial condition, or comparative industrialization will find much to ponder among Mollona’s findings.

The Rediscovered Self: Indigenous Identity and Cultural Justice

Ronald Niezen. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009. 236 pp.

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Ronald Niezen is among the foremost analysts of global indigenous-rights pursuits, and this collection of chapters explores those pursuits’ implications for the formation, representation, and formalization of collective indigenous identity. Niezen identifies and seeks to explain a seeming paradox: as indigenous peoples increasingly stake claims through the United Nations and other global institutions, and as they deploy shared discourses of human rights and indigeneity, these seemingly homogenizing processes produce localized cultural specificity and “ethnic formalization.” This, Niezen argues, is a world historical process, characteristic of modernity, of which indigenous movements provide the clearest example (p. 8). Niezen’s core concern is with the “rediscovered” collective self that emerges through the pursuit of cultural justice. The term *cultural justice*, in turn, points to two phenomena: the extent to which indigenous claims must be made on the terrain of cultural difference to gain recognition by nonindigenous publics, on the one hand, and the tendency of such claims to be made on the basis of suffering, on the other hand. Niezen’s analysis engages with political theory and is based on ethnographic fieldwork with Cree communities in Canada, Tauregs in Mali, and participants in global indigenous rights meetings and movements.

Each of this book’s chapters is a free-standing study; the result is less analytically consolidated than (and not developed far beyond) Niezen’s *The Origins of Indigenism* (2003). Each chapter identifies a site, moment, or mode of intercultural mediation in cultural justice claims. Chapter 2, “Transnational Indigenism,” revisits arguments from the pre-

vious book about the 20th-century institutional origins (in human rights discourse and decolonization, with precursors in appeals to the British Crown and the League of Nations) and growth of global indigenous movements. In both books, Niezen attends less to grassroots international indigenous connections. Chapter 3, “Digital Identity,” is the book’s least original as it explores new geographies of identity enabled by the Internet. In “Culture and the Judiciary,” Niezen shows that Canadian and international legal institutions increasingly demand evidence of indigenous cultural distinctiveness when adjudicating claims. The fifth chapter compares campaigns against harm from hydroelectric projects by two Cree groups (James Bay and Pimicikamak Cree Nation). The author identifies two ways of asserting collective social justice claims in the context of media representation: recounting suffering and establishing cultural distinctiveness. Niezen’s categorization may not fully capture the range of indigenous cultural production in cultural-justice pursuits, but he effectively mobilizes psychoanalysis and Adam Smith’s writings to establish sympathy as integral to contemporary intercultural campaigns and movements.

There is a tone of frustration throughout the book as Niezen outlines the pitfalls of cultural-justice pursuits and notes that claims based on ongoing political injustice gain little traction in intercultural contexts. Indigenous claims based on cultural distinctiveness can lead to essentialized boundary making and paralyzing forms of self-valorization, the author argues, while those based on suffering can result in self-destructive identity formations. In “The Politics of Suicide,” a vivid chapter about a suicide cluster among Crees in Manitoba, Niezen presents the argument about suffering and offers a plausible explanation for high suicide

rates as caused by a lack of political accountability, accessibility, and responsibility (p. 138). Finally, in a chapter about “therapeutic history,” Niezen outlines the intellectual dimensions of self-definition that attend modern indigenous movements, identifying therapeutic history as a “process of collective self-definition” that emphasizes “the process of cultural self-discovery as an essential aspect of recovery from the lingering traumas of cultural genocide” (p. 149). Niezen analyzes clashes between “therapeutic” and professional academic modes of knowledge production, including over Kennewick Man, the origin of syllabic writing, and the valorization of the “ecological native.”

The Rediscovered Self contributes to scholarship that shows how social-justice movements not only represent but also produce categories of the dispossessed. Few anthropologists would quibble with Niezen’s closing contention that collective life is characterized by change and contestation, gaining security not only through constancy but also

through “adaptation to conditions of uncertainty” (p. 186). In the end, however, Niezen’s theorization of the relationship between cultural justice and indigenous identity falls short of explaining how, under what conditions, and on what scale this occurs. Put another way, the book would benefit from a clearer articulation of the relationships among law, sympathy, and cultural distinctiveness. Anthropologists, political theorists, and others who are familiar with Niezen’s work will gain from reading this book’s ethnographic and theoretical development of ideas that were introduced in *The Origins of Indigenism*; new readers of his work would be better served by turning first to that book.

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The Kowoj: Identity, Migration, and Geopolitics in Late Postclassic Petén, Guatemala

Prudence Rice and Don Rice, eds. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009. 458 pp.

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This volume synthesizes what is known of the Kowoj, one of several groups in the Petén region of the Maya lowlands at the time of the Spanish invasion. The Kowoj, whose very presence there was unrecognized until recently, now emerge as important players in regional politics in the 17th century and as a people with deep historical roots in Petén.

Much of the work described here was done as part of the Proyecto Maya Colonial during the 1990s, but the investigations also draw heavily on Don Rice and Prudence Rice’s earlier research in the Petén lakes region. Their introductory chapter provides capsule overviews of geography and environment, regional archaeology, and the cultural geography of the Postclassic and invasion periods.

Prudence Rice’s introduction to the Kowoj and their history opens part 2: “Who Were the Kowoj?” Her assessment of their links to northern Yucatan, especially to Mayapán and the Xiw (Xiu), and of Kowoj entanglements with the Itzá provides a nice preview of the issues, analyses, and arguments that dominate the volume. Grant Jones, whose research first signaled the importance of the Kowoj, summarizes what colonial-period documents reveal about them. Charles Hofling emphasizes the similarities of the language of the Kowoj to that of the Itzá, Mopan, and other speech communities in the Yucatecan branch of Mayan languages.

Part 3, “Archaeology of the Kowoj,” focuses on Zacpetén, located on Lake Salpetén, just east of the Itzá heartland. Zacpetén emerged as a Kowoj political center about C.E. 1200 and flourished until the Spanish takeover in 1697. Five chapters—by Timothy Pugh, Prudence Rice, Don Rice, Rómulo Sánchez, and Leslie Cecil (in various combinations)—present a wealth of data on architecture: defensive, civic, and residential. A distinctive “temple assemblage,” absent from Itzá towns, seems to mark Kowoj identity in a region stretching east from Zacpetén to Topoxté. This architectural pattern is well known at Mayapán, confirming documentary sources connecting the Kowoj to that city. Group 719, the likely home of the dominant Kowoj lineage, has elite residential and civic architectural features, including a building remodeled to serve as a council house. Intriguing use of Landa’s account of life in 16th-century Yucatan and Lacandon ethnography informs interpretations of incense-burner distributions in terms of rituals scheduled by *katun* (period of 20 360-day *tuns*; slightly less than 20 years) cycles.

The three chapters in part 4 explore the ways pottery may reflect Kowoj identity. Cecil characterizes Kowoj pottery in terms of seven technological styles defined on the basis of raw materials and production choices, with vessel form and decoration treated as complementary features. She argues that this approach offers a clearer reflection of Kowoj identity than analyses emphasizing decorative style.

Prudence Rice identifies distinctive Kowoj preferences in paste, form, and decoration of incense burners; she and Cecil analyze the design structure and iconography of painted and incised pottery, finding Kowoj-specific motifs and design layouts along with connections to broader Mesoamerican stylistic currents. Commentary on close similarities to contemporaneous pottery at Naco, in Honduras, would have made this section more interesting.

Part 5 begins with three reports on other material from Zacpetén. David Stuart reads the hieroglyphic text on Altar 1 as an account of the birth of a mythological character or legendary ruler; reuse of the ninth-century altar in a Post-classic civic building may reflect the desire of Kowoj immigrants to appropriate the town's earlier history. Prudence Rice and Cecil's analysis of obsidian shows that Zacpetén received obsidian from sources in highland Guatemala that were not exploited by communities in Belize and Yucatan, suggesting that not all obsidians were distributed through coastal-exchange networks. Duncan's analysis of skeletal material from a mass grave at Zacpetén suggests the re-

deposit of exhumed remains rather than warfare or sacrifice, and his identification of similar burials at Topoxté and Mayapán points to an interesting pattern. His argument that the remains were those of enemy ancestors, disturbed and unceremoniously reburied to diminish them, is plausible, if not compelling. The section concludes with Pugh's case for Kowoj migration to Chiapas after 1697, contributing to the emergence of the northern Lacandon. His analysis of Lacandon rituals involving god pots and god houses in relation to Zacpetén temples and incense burner use is thoroughly persuasive.

Prudence Rice's concluding chapter underscores the volume's character: it is not a project report but, rather, an interpretive summary of newly available information on the Kowoj. It is an interim statement, certainly, but an important one that substantially enhances our understanding of Petén, its peoples, and its history. The book should attract a broad readership for its nuanced examination of material reflections of identity in a complex and shifting sociopolitical landscape.

Acequia: Water Sharing, Sanctity, and Place

Sylvia Rodríguez. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2007. 187 pp.

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The social use of water has emerged in recent years as a key issue, as consensus grows that the world's freshwater supplies and the human and ecological systems that depend on them are in deep crisis because of overuse and pollution. Interestingly, however, most North American anthropologists are not quite sure how to go about studying water issues. For much of the 20th century, anthropologies of water circled around issues related to state formation, a legacy of Karl Wittfogel's theories of hydraulic societies and "oriental despotism" that most scholars now eagerly avoid. Some of the more relevant theoretical perspectives for understanding how water is handled—those dealing with systems and structures, for example—have also fallen out of fashion among many anthropologists. And although anthropologies engaging current discussions about globalization and transnationalism can address climate change, discourses, or politics, the material qualities of the liquid mean that its management often takes place on the regional and local levels that many anthropologists seek to transcend.

In her book *Acequia*, Sylvia Rodríguez offers a theoretically informed, empirically rigorous, and socially relevant anthropology of water use that overcomes the limits of academic fashion. She provides a detailed discussion of both the infrastructure and the moral economy of small-scale irriga-

tion in the highlands of New Mexico and points to some lessons that physical and cultural systems such as these can teach us about the current water crisis and possible ways to address it.

There are three main sections to the book. The preface and the first two chapters provide historical and ethnographic background for the study, locate the author as a member of the Hispano community that she is studying, and identify the study as part of a long struggle among many players—Native Americans (Taos Pueblo), Hispano acequia associations, the town of Taos, and the local water district—to control the waters of the region. The rest of the book is focused on the Hispano irrigators that commissioned the work and is divided into two parts: (1) "Reperto," which deals mostly with the way water is divided among the many canals, ditches, and users in the Hispano irrigation systems; and (2) "Respeto," which discusses customary moral, religious, and cultural principles of sharing water in those communities.

The fundamental customary principle of water management in the Taos Valley is that everyone gets some water. While the distribution (*reparto*) of the resource obeys this general principal, the actual process is flexible and is determined by the geographical, social, and hydrological specifics of each watercourse. In part 1 of the book, Rodríguez focuses on the principal watercourses—the Rio Lucero and the Rio Pueblo—and the way their waters are divided. She describes

the landscape and the hydraulic infrastructure, relying on quotes from irrigators to animate the text. Rodríguez's love for the subject, evident in these chapters, was generated in the process of learning about an incredibly complex and fascinating system and comes from a place of deep appreciation and respect for the knowledge of the irrigators. Part 1 of the book constitutes a convincing argument that the anthropology of water use must begin by carefully studying physical infrastructure and the organization of people around that infrastructure.

Part 2 presents the cultural dimensions of this infrastructure, placing religious practices and groups within the hydroscape discussed in the previous section. Rodríguez focuses on two religious practices: cycles of prayers (the *novena*) and processions. These religious activities form the basis of the "moral economy" of the Hispano irrigation community in Taos Valley. The prayers model an ideal of reciprocity and celebrate good neighborly relations. The processions remind people of the hydroscape in which they live. By commemorating water, holy sites, and cultural ideals, religious practices help create a structure of feeling that re-

inforces tenets of the moral economy. A beautifully rendered set of maps depicts the correlations between (1) religious sites and organizations and (2) irrigation works.

An issue that frames the entire book but remains relatively unexplored is that of the legal battles between the Native American Taos Pueblo and the Hispano acequia associations downstream. In a very interesting final chapter and epilogue, Rodríguez suggests that "Hispano" and "Indian" are identities that form in the process of struggle over land and water, especially the adjudication of water rights. Raymond Williams's ideas about emergent and residual are deployed in suggestive ways here, but they could have been used throughout the book to discuss the reproduction of the moral economy as well. Rodríguez's study was commissioned by the acequia associations to form part of the struggle over water, and a more thorough discussion of the implications this has for her applied and "native" anthropology would also have been interesting. However, these are minor issues beyond the proposed scope of the work. The book would be useful for undergraduate and graduate courses on water and society and the Mexico–U.S. borderlands.

The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan

C. Sarah Soh. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 384 pp.

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As film director Akira Kurosawa convincingly crafted the multiple truths that emerged from the murder–rape–theft case in his masterpiece *Rashomon* (p. 229), Sarah Soh carefully analyzes a number of contested accounts surrounding the military comfort women during the 1931–45 Asia-Pacific War (p. xii). By weaving competing narratives "into a holistic survey of the sexual, cultural, and historical contexts" (p. xiii), Soh shows a more complex picture than any one-dimensional paradigmatic story based on fascistic paternalism, masculinist sexism, feminist humanitarianism, or ethnic nationalism can suggest (pp. 77, 229). My review focuses on Soh's discussion of the following three topics: diverse representations of comfort women and stations; the "public sex"—"nonprocreative, recreational sex outside the matrimonial bed" (p. xii)—that sustained the comfort-women system; and the postwar legacy.

The term *comfort women* is "an English translation of the Japanese statist androcentric euphemism *ianfu*" (pp. xii, 32, 251 n. 2) that already existed in the early 1930s (p. 125). However, "tens of thousands of young women and girls in Northeast and Southeast Asia" (p. xii) who were pressed into "sexual servitude" (p. xii) were referred to in vari-

ous different ways as well. The paternalistic metaphor of imperial "gifts," the documentary classification of military "supplies," "the coarse and objectifying *pi* (cunt)," "the crude metaphor of public 'toilet,'" Japanese nationalist characterization of "licensed prostitutes," Korean nationalist categorization of "deceived labor recruits," feminist label of "sex slaves" (pp. 31–32, 39), "special platoon," "girls' army," and "special-necessary-personnel" are some examples (p. 125). As these multiple representations suggest, the realities and experiences of the military comfort-women system were diverse.

As the Japanese empire expanded during the war, so did the Japanese military. Approximately one million Japanese troops occupied the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, French Indochina, British Malaya, Singapore, Burma, Thailand, and islands in the Pacific (p. 137). Accordingly, the locations and types of military comfort stations proliferated in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China, the Pacific Islands, and "Southeast Asian countries under Western colonial rule" to serve the Japanese troops (p. 133) after "their first appearance in 1932 in China" (p. 132). Soh groups varying types of comfort stations (p. 132) as "houses of entertainment," "houses of prostitution," "maidens' auxiliaries," "quasi-brothels," and "rape camps." She then characterizes each group as "concessionary," "paramilitary," or "criminal"

(p. 133, Table 3.1). Although the characteristics of comfort stations (*ianjo*) and women's experiences vary, almost all comfort women shared one experience at some point: that of suffering.

These women's predicament did not end even after the war and Japanese colonialism in 1945. They were marginalized and could not enter the mainstream society (p. 147). While "former soldiers and officers who had sex with comfort women" reintegrated "into family and marital life when they returned home after the war" (p. 176), comfort women were often defamed (p. 177). Many survivors suffered gender-based double standards, prejudice, "low self-esteem and abiding psychological trauma" (pp. 177–179). The "humiliation of social stigma and isolation in their postwar lives" made many comfort women despair (pp. 148, 156). Soh concludes that the "masculinist sexual culture exerted differently on gendered lives of men and women" both during and after the war (p. 176). In other words, the exploitation and suffering of survivors "arose within not only the comfort-women system and broader parameters of Japanese colonialism" (p. xiii) but also within "patriarchy and its political economy" (p. xiii), which sustain masculinist public-sex cul-

ture (pp. xvi, 3, 245). Poor women in particular "have customarily answered men's desire for nonprocreative, recreational sex outside the matrimonial bed" (p. xii) or have been abused or maltreated as daughters and wives (p. xvi). The "conflation of masculinist sexual culture and structural violence under" (p. 235) the class and (neo)colonial system have been exploiting the impoverished colonized women most.

Yet the masculinist public-sex culture still prevails all over the place. For example, the Allied forces, including the United States, allowed "their troops to engage in" (p. 235) similar sexual "acts and crimes against women in vanquished Japan and postliberation Korea" (p. 235), but few U.S. citizens are aware of these crimes, "most of which go unpunished due to the unequal Status of the Forces Agreement (SOFA)" (p. 214). Military, business, and tourism have been extracting "comfort" from public sex (pp. 207, 217). Soh's "expatriate ethnography" (pp. 245–246) courageously crisscrosses the historical and political controversy of comfort women. I recommend this book to the scholars and courses of feminist anthropology, historical anthropology, Korean anthropology, and Japanese anthropology.

Itineraries in Conflict: Israelis, Palestinians, and the Political Lives of Tourism

Rebecca Stein. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 219 pp.

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I am by no means an expert on the Middle East and the conflicts that haunt the region, so I cannot claim competence in relation to many of Rebecca Stein's area-specific claims, which I am certain will be contested by some within the highly politicized field in which she has chosen to intervene. From my perspective, however, Stein's account is quite convincing, and as someone concerned with more general forms of anthropological inquiry, *Itineraries in Conflict* is a wonderful book that strikes an impressive balance between ethnographic specificity and broader regional and cross-regional claims. Theoretically sophisticated and written with great elegance and clarity, Stein's book is indeed one potential model for contemporary anthropology, precisely for its careful methodological and analytical concern with historical and regional processes that are not strictly local yet are based on various forms of ethnographic knowledge. In this process, Stein explicitly moves away from modes of analysis shaped by Israeli nationalist logics or driven by concerns with Palestinian resistance and toward a relational conceptualization of cultural politics in the region.

Based on research conducted in Israel during the 1990s at the height of the Oslo peace process, a short-lived era that promised a resolution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, the book might initially appear as an anachronism of sorts. But in its engagement with the rise and fall of Oslo through mundane forms of Israeli tourism and leisure practices, Stein's study effectively illuminates the historical contingency of what she terms (following Judith Butler's work on gender) "national intelligibility": namely, "that which is recognizable according to the dominant national script" (p. 3). In fact, Stein's ethnographic concern with tourism proves to be an extremely productive starting point from which to describe Oslo's effects on how the relationship between Israel and the Arab Middle East—and, thus, the contours of national intelligibility—began to be reimagined by certain groups of Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel. Oslo promised not only an end to hostilities but also suggested the beginnings of a process of rescaling through which Israel would become increasingly integrated with the Middle East in economic terms and through new forms of mobility across previously closed borders, a shift that appeared hopeful for some and threatening for others.

Throughout the book, Stein highlights the antecedents of Jewish travel in the Middle East during the 20th century, from early pilgrimages to the Holy Land to more recent military mobility through occupied Palestinian territories. These histories and memories of mobility form the background for Stein's ethnographic accounts of Jewish tourism to two Palestinian areas in Israel. The first, Galilee, has historically been a site of Palestinian struggle and land appropriation by the Israeli state. After Oslo, however, certain forms of ethnic tourism developed as a small number of elite Jewish Israelis sought out authentic forms of Arab village culture. Stein describes how state planners, Jewish tourists, and Palestinian entrepreneurs carved out a form of "consumer coexistence" in this context, which was congruent with modes of tolerance and recognition within the political sphere. In this process, an interest in Arab domestic life came to displace concerns with histories of conflict and dispossession that would potentially threaten the tourist encounter through politicization. In contrast to Galilee, Abu Ghosh has historically been known both as an area of collaboration with the Israeli state and a common culinary destination for Jewish Israelites. In the account of the Abu Ghosh restaurant sector, Stein describes a similar logic of coexistence that developed in Galilee, as the term *edibility* (an analogue to intelligibility)

creates a model for understanding how consumption comes to intersect with citizenship, nationalism, and history in the "political theater" of the Arab restaurant. Equally poignant is Stein's use of the term *melancholic citizenship* as an explicit response to tropes of Palestinian resistance and, more directly, as a way of exploring Israeli and Palestinian experiences in the context of the dual processes of market inclusion and political exclusion.

The collapse of the peace process in 2000 forms the starting point for the final chapter of *Itineraries in Conflict*, which describes how Jewish citizens in urban environments "retreated to micronational scales"—living rooms, takeout food, and online dating—and away from the bars and cafes increasingly targeted by suicide bombers. From this perspective, the end of Oslo was thus in an important sense not only the end of a particular era in which Israel was being imagined as part of a broader region but also a new chapter in the shifting forms of national intelligibility that continue to be experienced through practices of leisure and (im)mobility. Stein leaves us not with any definite closure but certainly with a way forward as anthropologists and others can conceptualize Middle Eastern cultural politics—and, indeed, cultural politics more broadly—from novel perspectives.

Shorelines: Space and Rights in South India

Ajantha Subramanian. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. 320 pp.

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The mounting threats to marine resources posed by overfishing, pollution, and fossil-fuel exploration have drawn scholarly attention to marine ecologies and to the political regimes, kinship systems, and religious worldviews that mediate the use and distribution of marine resources among coastal communities. Within this crowded field, Ajantha Subramanian's book, *Shorelines: Space and Rights in South India*, stands out by offering a historical and ethnographic account of one such community, the predominantly Catholic Mukkuvars, that focuses on their interrelated struggles for livelihood and for political voice and rights.

In chronicling the lineages of rights discourses and practices that inform the dynamics of postcolonial statecraft in India, Subramanian pursues three interconnected arguments. The central argument concerns the necessarily processual character of rights: that is, she maintains that any expression of rights arises within an historically sedimented context of power and protest. She therefore argues against some strains of postcolonial political theory that interpret rights discourses and the political moder-

nity they herald as European imports, claiming instead that rights, and democracy itself, should be understood as emergent systems of discourse and practice that articulate local and extralocal concerns (p. 250). She begins by situating Mukkuvar fishers within five centuries of capitalist expansion, Catholic missionization, and European colonization and finds that, during this period, southern India's coast and its Catholic fishing communities were constituted as spaces of "premodernity"—of religiosity and an artisanal livelihood—against the "modernity" of the agrarian-based inland regions. The chapters that make up the first half of the book examine historical sources to show how these stereotypes arose and to demonstrate how fishers worked through existing systems of recognition, patronage, and colonial statecraft to make rights claims. She follows this thread in later chapters as well, finding a similar logic at work in how Mukkuvars and other subaltern communities maneuver within the patronage networks and familial idioms of political parties to demand justice in the postcolonial state.

Subramanian argues second that struggles over rights occur within delimited spaces but also create space, echoing three decades of work in critical geography. Thus, for example, the marine territoriality (offshore vs. inshore fisheries)

negotiated among different fishing communities in the latter part of the 20th century is read not merely as the product of a biological boundary but, rather, as arising from (and sustaining) other sociopolitical distinctions, such as the modern–nonmodern dichotomy. It is within these sociospatial domains, in turn, that the ongoing struggles of postcolonial developmentalism—around the Blue Revolution’s introduction of trawlers, fisheries mechanization, and aquaculture—are played out. Chapters 4–6 document these processes, showing how they mediate Mukkuvar struggles for distributive justice and citizenship.

It is this latter point leads to Subramanian’s third argument, which concerns the relational character of subalternity. Rather than identifying fishers as “nonmoderns inhabiting a bounded world . . . or as moderns captured by a statist logic,” she aims to show “how they constitute themselves as subjects of rights in a dialectical relationship with existing hegemonies” (p. 254). She draws on the vocabulary of the appropriate (or “intermediate”) technology movement to identify this dialectical domain, referring to it as a space of “intermediacy.” Exemplifying the strategies of intermediacy are Mukkuvar claims on regionalist political institutions and leadership, on modes of territoriality associated with artisanal fisheries, and their championing of intermediate technologies. Together, these three maneuvers

furnish means by which citizenship in the postcolonial state is claimed, enacted, and expanded.

The book is clearly written and briskly argued, although the inclusion of only one map in a book so thoroughly concerned with space and spatiality is unfortunate and may discourage readers who are not already acquainted with the region. Also puzzling, given the centrality accorded Mukkuvar political voice and agency, is the absence of a serious discussion of vernacular religiosity. Subramanian acknowledges that Mukkuvar Catholicism has often been stereotyped by political elites as the locus of their “non-modern” positionality, but—apart from a discussion of influence of post-Vatican II liberation theology on Mukkuvar development strategies (ch. 4)—she does not examine how Mukkuvar religiosity may (or may not) have shaped the forms of subjectivity and agency, not to mention the forms of spatial practice, from which rights discourses emerge. This omission, however, does not detract from the book’s originality and its considerable strengths. Subramanian’s account of Mukkuvar history and relationality makes a signal contribution to regional studies, and her theorization of intermediacy—in that it highlights the culture, materiality, and processual nature of democratic institutions—is a productive and original intervention in political theory.

The Many Faces of Edward Sherriff Curtis: Portraits and Stories from Native North America

Steadman Upham and Nat Zappia. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006. 159 pp.

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Since the rediscovery of his work in the early 1970s, the story of Edward Sherriff Curtis (1868–1952) has become familiar to anthropologists, art historians, and the general public. Curtis abandoned a prosperous career as a society photographer in Seattle and for over 30 years traveled among some 80 western Native American tribes on a personal campaign to preserve a record of the “vanishing race.” Dogged in the face of personal and professional difficulties, he created 40,000 photographic images and collected a host of traditional narratives, songs, vocabulary words, and other ethnographic details, much of which he delivered in a 20-volume monument, *The North American Indian* (1907–30). Along the way, he also made the first ethnographic feature film, the Kwakiutl epic *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914). For a while, Curtis was the toast of the Eastern establishment, but he died poor and forgotten, something like a Progressive Era version of George Catlin.

Curtis was largely self-educated and not beyond the racist conceits of his time. He frequently posed his subjects and insisted that they don old-style trappings. His fieldwork was sometimes slapdash. Consequently, his efforts were disparaged early on by the likes of Franz Boas and James Mooney; one need only imagine how Curtis has fared under the scrutiny of postcolonial scholars. But the criticisms have always been overdrawn. Curtis and many of the Native people with whom he worked enjoyed mutual respect and affection. He did conduct his interviews systematically, and his documentation remains highly valuable to comparatists and to contemporary Native people who consult it for cultural revival. And there will always be enthusiasts of photographic nostalgia who envision Curtis in an aura as luminescent as his goldtone-process prints.

This new volume contributes to a fresh outlook on Curtis’s work, one that is admiring but not naïve. It is not totally distinctive among many recent books reproducing themed subsets of Curtis’s opus (women, warriors, Plains Indians, architecture), but it is interesting on a number of

counts. As the clever title indicates, the photos here are mainly bust portraits and close-ups—80 full-page portraits taken between 1900 and 1927—plus a few landscapes and camp scenes for atmosphere. The images are printed anew from original glass negatives conserved by Jim Graybill, the artist's last surviving grandson, and they are beautiful, with better contrast than the copperplate photogravures normally seen.

The portraits are ordered not according to culture area or date taken but, rather, by the conjectural ages of the subjects, from youngest to oldest. The authors chose this life-course sequencing to emphasize the subjects' shared humanity. Interlaid with the pictures are 27 myths collected by Curtis, running the gamut from creation to afterlife. The tales suggest the subjects' "world view and cognitive maps" (p. 13) while adding to the feeling of temporality conveyed by the advancing age of the subjects and situating their individual lives in a universal unfolding. There is not, however, much correspondence between the tribal affiliation of the individuals portrayed and the provenance of the stories included.

The photos and myths are introduced with a preface describing the origins of the book project and then by three short, graceful chapters. The first chapter treats the historical context of the work displayed, both in terms of Curtis's career and the panorama of Western settlement and U.S. Indian policy. The second chapter discusses global trends of modernity that affected Curtis's subjects—along with all in-

digenous peoples. And the third chapter celebrates Curtis's ability to secure important ethnographic documentation while capturing the temperament of each of his subjects.

The photos and tales are too few, and the analysis too brief, for this collection to function as a complete guide to Curtis. It does succeed as an introductory tribute that will foster further appreciation of the Curtis legacy. Readers will certainly get a sense of the character of each person depicted and of Native American people collectively, conjured by Curtis's skills in the illusion of evocative portraiture and by his subjects' forthright gaze through the Reversible-Back Premo camera and into their future—our present. Yet ironically one cannot help being struck by how physically different many of these faces are from those of people regularly encountered in today's Europeanized North America. The sentiments driving Curtis's career are still on some level inescapable.

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