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BOOK REVIEWS

Single Book Reviews

Black and Indigenous: Garifuna Activism and Consumer Culture in Honduras

Mark Anderson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. 290 pp.

KWAME DIXON
Syracuse University

The academic and popular literature on black and indigenous peoples in the Americas frames blacks as being "new world" or "diasporic" and indigenous peoples as "native." But what if the traditional construction of blackness and indigeneity were collapsed, thus allowing blacks and indigenous peoples to be understood as complimentary verses oppositional? In other words, is it possible to speak of a black indigeneity or indigenous blackness, and if so, what does this imply? Mark Anderson's important new book, *Black and Indigenous: Garifuna Activism and Consumer Culture in Honduras*, raises some critical questions on the Afro-Indigenous equation. He argues that the Honduran case allows for an understanding of black indigeneity or indigenous blackness. What investments go into making and marking of these distinctions as oppositions, such that new world blacks can never be indigenous—or can they (p. 1)? Anderson calls into question binary constructions of social identity and argues that the case of Honduras calls for a more nuanced approach.

Black and Indigenous explores the complex intersection of racial formation, black and indigenous identities, Afro-Garifuna social movements, and rise of neoliberal multicultural politics in modern Honduras and other part of the Americas. One of the main questions raised is whether we can interpret and explain the variety of discourses and practices of race and culture among Garifuna, who produce various meanings of blackness with variable emphasis on the indigenous (p. 7)? To them, "blackness" and "indigeneity" are not mutually exclusive categories; instead, they serve as modalities of identity formation that overlap with each other (p. 21).

Garifuna are able to simultaneously assert multiple, overlapping identities. These modes of identification include black, Honduran, Afro-Honduran, and Garifuna, which are deeply rooted in indigenous culture. And over the past few decades, Garifuna identity has taken on diasporic dimensions as many Garifuna have developed links to black North Americans via transnational networks. Anderson posits that it is important not to privilege one mode of formation over any other but, rather, see them in relation to each other.

Anderson argues that the Garifuna case produces forms of black indigeneity that partially disrupt a conceptual political grid that links indians with indigeneity and blacks with displacement. To best understand the production of Garifuna identities, Anderson explains the use of key identity terms (e.g., *negro, Indio, Moreno*) to show how Garifuna communities use them in relation to categories like "black" and "indian" to underscore how such categories converge with biological and cultural difference within racialized classification schemes.

Contemporary Garifuna social mobilization is linked to Pan-American currents of identity politics, from civil rights struggles to black nationalisms to indigenous movements. Anderson locates Garifuna social mobilization within the context of the rise of "neoliberal multiculturalism." There are two important theoretical currents that are central to Anderson's use of neoliberal multiculturalism: first is the relationship between neoliberal governments and multicultural politics, and second is a critical assessment of the relationships among black politics, cultural rights, and antiracism in Latin America (p. 139). The politics of multiculturalism in Honduras has produced a web of contradictions and distortions. Grassroots activists, who operate on tight budgets and sparse resources, are forced to chose between participating (or not) in government- or externally financed projects, which means choosing to participate, with the risk of being compromised, or to offer a critique of state practices, with the risk of being marginalized (p. 140). Anderson examines several Afro-Honduran groups, as well as other stakeholders, in order to show how the ethnic paradigm came to be and how Garifuna groups positioned themselves

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 114, No. 1, pp. 156–172, ISSN 0002-7294, online ISSN 1548-1433. © 2012 by the American Anthropological Association. All rights reserved. DOI: 10.1111/j.1548-1433.2011.01413.x

relative to discourses revolving around mestizaje. The Garifuna movements of the 1950s to the 1970s were born out of the struggle against racial discrimination; however, by the 1980s, Garifuna had developed a new strategy of aligning themselves with indigenous peoples under the sign of ethnic autochthony (p. 133).

Black and Indigenous: Garifuna Activism and Consumer Culture in Honduras is a significant contribution to the burgeoning literature on Afro and indigenous peoples in the Americas. First, the book helps us think more critically about blackness and indigeneity as categories that intersect and overlap, and, in doing so, it provides a more critical frame to understand these categories: racialized subjects should not therefore have to choose between black and indigenous identities (p. 234). Second, Anderson's discussion of Afro-Honduran ethnic mobilization and politics opens new space for both scholars and activists to continue to explore this underinvestigated area. Third, not only does Anderson's analysis point out the dangers of "multiculturalism" as high-level "labeling" but also it shows how some Garifuna groups produced their own forms of authentic difference by selecting from a broad range of existing discourses. This book is strongly recommended for both undergraduate and graduate students in African American and Latin American–Latino studies, anthropology, sociology, and political science.

Aghor Medicine: Pollution, Death, and Healing in Northern India

Ron Barrett. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. 216 pp.

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No other Hindu sect is as notorious as the Aghori. The group is famous for living in cremation grounds, for drinking liquor from skulls, and for eating human feces and flesh from human corpses. The exact performance of their most extreme rituals are kept secret; hence, it is no surprise that good research on Aghori practices is hard to find. *Aghor Medicine: Pollution, Death, and Healing* is the most detailed ethnography published to date. Lucidly written and beautifully illustrated, Ron Barrett's book was a worthy winner of a Wellcome Medal in medical anthropology.

Between 1996 and 2003, Barrett conducted 22 months of research on the Kina Ram Aghori of Banaras. The bulk of this time was devoted to anthropological fieldwork, but it also included a stint in applied NGO work and a period as an initiate of the cult. When Barrett arrived in Banaras, life in the ashram had already changed significantly. Founded in the 18th century, the sect underwent a dramatic reformation since the 1960s. The gist of these changes was a new focus on healing stigmatized diseases such as leprosy. Aghor healing rituals, which are publicly performed, allowed Barrett to write a surprisingly nonsensationalist account of the sect.

Barrett argues that Aghor therapies are based on two culturally shared schemata of purification: in the "transportive" schema, pollution is externalized and dumped. In the "transformative" schema, pollution is internalized and converted to a higher level of purity. Patients come to the Aghori because they can "transport" pollution. The Aghori receive this pollution, convert it, and transfer health onto patients in the form of "medicine and blessing" (*dawa aur duwa*). The "transformative" schema requires the receiver to be in a superior state of body and mind. The Aghori fit that role because of their arduous spiritual exercises. Like the holy Ganges, the Aghori can consume even the foulest pollution and digest it toward health and wholeness.

Barrett is successful in making sense of Aghor medicine but not in generalizing his findings to medical pluralism in India. For Barrett, "medicine as medium" concerns how healing is enacted not only in the Aghor ashram but also in doctor–patient relations in India across all medical systems. True, some forms of healing focus more on the qualities of the healer than on the qualities of the prescribed substance, yet there is little evidence that this is a universal trait of doctor–patient interactions. And it is certainly not true that Indian patients would have no interest in what substance they ingest as long as it is blessed by a healer they revere. Most healing in India entails neither a "transportation" of disease from the patient nor a "transformation" within the healer nor, indeed, anything suggesting an act of "blessing" the remedy.

Despite the Aghori's new emphasis on doing good in society, Barrett convincingly shows that the principles of their worldview remained unchanged. Similar to mainstream Hinduism, the Aghori believe that all apparent differences in the world are illusions that must be overcome to realize the essential oneness of the universe. Barrett affirms that their full-on confrontation with death and decay is *Advaita Vedanta*—a philosophy of nondualism—pushed to its logical extreme. Barrett goes on to argue that the kind of nondiscrimination propagated by the Aghori could become the seed for a "systematic theory of destigmatization" (p. 185) beyond the Indian context. Aghori

nondiscrimination becomes a "medicine" against seeing the world in the wrong way, and an Aghori "psychospiritual" (p. 11) state of mind could and should be applied to stigma in other societies.

Barrett also teases out some of the ironies that emerge when Aghori nondiscriminatory principles are put into practice. For example, he describes how, at Aghori festivals, established social rankings remain closely observed by both priestly and lay members of the sect, despite their insistence that social rank is an illusion. The most fascinating irony is that the Aghori's embrace of stigmatized persons, such as lepers, has had little success in destigmatizing the patients. The reinvention of the Bina Ram Aghori as helpers of the marginalized has won them a degree of esteem from mainstream society that the sufferers themselves never achieved: "patients did more to destigmatize the Aghori than the other way around" (p. 182).

Reproducing Race: An Ethnography of Pregnancy as a Site of Racialization

Khiara M. Bridges. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. 293 pp.

CHRISTA CRAVEN
College of Wooster

Reproducing Race is as refreshingly provocative and incisive as it is compellingly well written and accessible. Chronicling her ethnographic research at Manhattan's "Alpha" Women's Health Clinic in large public hospital, Khiara Bridges delves deep into the politics of racialization in the United States as it is enacted through the site of pregnancy. This is a must-read for anthropologists concerned with reproduction and medicalization, as well as those interested in the politics and complex processes of racialization more broadly.

Bridges centers her inquiry on what has become a central anthropological truism: "race is a social construction." With a keen critical perspective drawing from her scholarly background in both anthropology and law, she asks the logical follow-up question: How is race socially constructed? Examining pregnancy as a particularly "racially salient" period (p. 10), Bridges demonstrates convincingly that long-held, but still profoundly relevant and insidious, assumptions about the presumed genetic basis of race are enacted and reinforced through state-funded prenatal care.

While the book links deftly to larger healthcare debates over issues such as universalized healthcare and Medicaid policies, it never loses touch with the extensive ethnographic fieldwork conducted by the author. Bridges begins with a series of ethnographic vignettes about the tensions at "Alpha" among the primarily white providers (physicians, residents, nurse-midwives, and nurse practitioners), an ancillary staff of largely first-generation immigrants of color (incl. medical and administrative staff, registered nurses, social workers, and financial aid officers), and the racially heterogeneous patient population (predominately Latina but also including significant numbers of documented and undocumented immigrants from throughout the globe as well as U.S.-born Black and white patients) that set the tone for her approachable, narrative-infused analysis. Peppering stories from her extensive participant-observation in the clinic's waiting room, at the front desk, the nurses triage station, and in medical exams, procedures, and births with the inclusion of extensive quotes from 120 hours of interviews with 80 patients and 50 hours of interviews with 30 providers and staff persons, the reader is quickly drawn into the intimate daily lives of a variety of players in the "thinly controlled chaos" (p. 5) of the clinic.

Bridges then layers a nuanced history of both the setting and the participants in her research with a Foucauldian exploration of biopolitics regarding the ways in which the receipt of Medicaid allows intrusion into women's private lives and renders pregnancy a site for the supervision, management, and regulation of poor women. She offers a well-crafted and nuanced argument about the overmedicalization of poor women's care—such as triple testing for sexually transmitted diseases and infections (when privately insured patients typically undergo only a single test)—which she contends hinges on and reiterates problematic assumptions about poor women as hypersexual, lazy, and, ultimately, biologically deficient. Following Bridges's close analysis of how class impacts women's experiences and expectations of pregnancy in the initial chapters of her ethnography, the second half of the book demonstrates how the history of medical racism further complicates the present-day realities for pregnant women of color—an argument she makes particularly powerfully through her examination of provider and staff quotes about a caricatured and ultimately racialized "Alpha patient population."

Ultimately, Bridges shows in disturbing detail how "deracialized racialist discourse" (pp. 180–181) creates new, pathologized categories of Othered poor women. These sharp ethnographic insights set the stage for a critique of "the nationally circulating discourses, politics, policies and

practices" (p. 24) that shape the U.S. healthcare system and allow for the pathologization and stigmatization of patients in dangerously racialized ways. My only critique of the book is that I would like to have seen Bridges further explore the crucial broader political implications of her important work in the concluding chapters. Nonetheless, *Reproducing Race* offers readers sophisticated theoretical tools, as well as key ethnographic evidence, to encourage critical reflection on recently reinvigorated assumptions about racial biology.

All in all, this is an astute ethnography that would make excellent classroom material for courses on reproduction and medicalization, as well as courses devoted to the consideration of race, class, and gender in and beyond anthropology (i.e., Africana studies, public policy, race and ethnic studies, sociology, women's and gender studies, and the like). Although the extensive theoretical discussions in the later chapters may appeal more to specialists in the above areas, the book could also be used to good effect in introductory courses in cultural anthropology and medical anthropology—as a potent example of the public relevance of contemporary ethnography in debates over healthcare, as well as a grounded articulation of the processes of racialization in the United States.

A Neighborhood That Never Changes: Gentrification, Social Preservation, and the Search for Authenticity

Japonica Brown-Saracino. Fieldwork Encounters and Discoveries series. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 334 pp.

JOANNE PASSARO
Carroll University

In this rich comparative study, Japonica Brown-Saracino shatters prevailing assumptions about the meanings of, and motivations for, gentrification. The author contends that looking at the process of gentrification through an economic lens—one that has led to the prototypical depiction of gentrifiers as soulless predators—obscures the complex relations among new and old residents and the extent of their shared motivations, practices, and interests.

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in four field sites—two Chicago neighborhoods, Andersonville and Argyle, and two New England towns, Provincetown, Massachusetts, and Dresden, Maine—Brown-Saracino argues that ideologies of social preservation have been overlooked in analyses of gentrification. As a result, the full range of gentrifiers' motives, meanings, and impacts on particular communities is largely absent in the literature. The author contends that this gap is rooted in assumptions that give primacy to economic explanations in which culture has little or no independence from capital interests. But she acknowledges the possibility that, to some extent, gentrifier's practices of social preservation and what she calls "social homesteading" might be relatively recent responses to widespread descriptions of the negative impact of speculators and "urban pioneers," the stereotypical gentrifiers bent on the wholesale transformation of what they perceive as urban wildernesses instead of preexisting communities.

Brown-Saracino presents a tripartite typology of gentrifiers based on key ideological distinctions. Social preservationists are attracted by the authenticity of the neighborhood and its longtime residents; they aim to preserve the existing social ecology and, interestingly, view other newcomers as potential threats to the soul of the community. Social homesteaders seek affordable housing in neighborhoods that they aim to improve while maintaining, to various degrees, what they see as originality and diversity, broadly construed. The last category, "urban pioneers," comprises the gentrifiers who are motivated by economic gain, seek increasing property values and enhanced public safety, and support the displacement of long-time residents.

A Neighborhood That Never Changes is a splendid and nuanced ethnography. Brown-Saracino explores the many complexities that belie the neatness of her nonetheless useful typology. For instance, in a wonderful chapter entitled "The Real People: Selecting the Authentic Old-Timer," she describes how the construction of "authentic" old-timers is a process of negotiation between the biases and values of the social preservationist and preexisting local definitions. In a fascinating turn, instead of directing her immediate focus to the effects of that process on the people being coded as variously "authentic," she first explores the ways that defining the "true tenants" of a place is a process laden with preservationists' longing for community and valorization of what the author calls "virtuous marginality."

Brown-Saracino discerns a pattern in definitions of "preservable" old-timers across her four sites: in Provincetown, for instance, social preservationists see Portuguese fishermen and struggling artists as more authentic than descendents of pilgrims, longtime gay and lesbian residents, or families of WASP whaling captains, while in Argyle, Vietnamese residents are deemed more authentic and worthy of preservation than other Asian immigrants, Ukrainian Jews, or descendents of the town's theater district–movie studio past. The author contends that a similar set of criteria underlie these choices: a veneration of

independence–autonomy, tradition, and a close relationship to place. The result is a constructed nostalgia in which social preservationist newcomers, who see their lives as increasingly dominated by the 24–7 demands of success in a globalized world, seek to preserve particular others who seem to embody the local, self-made, and hand-wrought lives they lack. In her finely detailed analysis, Brown-Saracino does a marvelous job of demolishing the notion that individual self-interest in the gentrification process is reckoned by, or can be meaningfully understood though, a purely financial calculus.

In a fascinating chapter focusing on the self-representations of the old-timers (those that preservationists deem worthy of preserving, as opposed to other long-time residents), Brown-Saracino finds that these old-timers do not view, as one might expect, rising property values and the displacement of long-time residents as the most significant factors in what they perceive as community decline. Rather, they cite their loss of control of public space, exemplified by its increasing heterogeneity, as the most significant culprit. In Provincetown, for instance, one old-timer identified the most significant negative change as the transformation of state-owned wooded dunes into the Cape Cod National Park in the 1960s. While this land is still open to the public, it is now subject to regulations that constrain acceptable use, and the public it serves is no longer his neighborhood community. In Andersonville and Dresden, the increased and visible presence of lesbians and gay men, and gay pride stickers on shop windows, were cited by old-timers as factors that changed the homogenous nature of public space and marked their loss of control of it. Interestingly, the author did not find the same concern with community decline among the Vietnamese old-timers in Argyle; she attributes this to the fact that Argyle is in an early stage of gentrification and that, thus far, differences in culture and language have mitigated the impact of gentrification on their community.

Thus, for the old-timers, it seems, community means "people like us," while for the social preservationists, it is quite the opposite. This is fascinating stuff. Brown-Saracino's ethnography is rich and evocative, and her analyses are even-handed and thoughtful. She has written a wonderful, highly readable, timely, and important book.

Scripting Addiction: The Politics of Therapeutic Talk and American Sobriety

E. Summerson Carr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011. 323 pp.

ANGELA GARCIA
Stanford University

E. Summerson Carr's *Scripting Addiction* presents a detailed and compelling account of the practices and politics of therapeutic talk in mainstream U.S. treatment programs for addiction. The book centers on Carr's long acquaintance with "Fresh Beginnings," an outpatient drug recovery program for homeless women located in an unnamed Midwestern city, and examines how program participants are socialized to "speak like" and inhabit the roles of "recovering addicts." Carr analyzes the professional labor that goes into the production of recovery "scripts" and probes their meaning, both in terms of the political and cultural dimensions of addiction treatment in the age of welfare-state retrenchment and of U.S. ideologies of language and personhood. In so doing, *Scripting Addiction* meticulously attends to the high stakes of therapeutic talk, in which one's ability to convincingly speak the language of "sobriety and self-sufficiency" affects one's access to an ever-shrinking pool of resources and services.

Significantly, Carr first worked at Fresh Beginnings as a student intern, accruing field hours for a master's degree in social work. In time, the program became the focus of her ethnographic study, and the book draws on more than three and a half years of fieldwork, mostly conducted in the mid- to late 1990s. Although the book skillfully engages a wide range of scholarly literatures, this early disciplinary orientation frames much of the book's analysis. (Indeed, the book concludes with implications of the ethnography for social work education and addiction treatment.) In other words, this is a book that focuses on what Carr calls the "metalinguistic labor" of therapists and clients in the day-to-day workings of "the program." The bulk of the ethnography describes and analyzes administrative practices, meeting minutes, clinical assessments, group therapy sessions, and ethnographic interviews with therapists and a handful of clients. Through these, Carr argues that "administrative practices and therapeutic ideas are thoroughly cultural and inexorably political" (p. 22).

The opening chapter sets the stage for this argument by recounting a scene in which President Bill Clinton, seated in the White House Rose Garden between two nameless African American women, signed into law the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act. "A profound act of government retrenchment as moral cure" (p. 23), this scene condenses the book's important claim that economic and political issues such as poverty,

homelessness, and the attendant problem of addiction have been cast as primarily therapeutic and psychological issues. The following chapters go on to examine the linguistic methods through which this politico-therapeutic language is reproduced at Fresh Beginnings—how a language of dependency is supplanted by a language of personal responsibility and independence.

This therapeutic work centers on the coproduction of a language that references and reveals inner states. The core of the book analyzes various therapeutic practices and rules of such production, such as personal inventory taking, which Carr aptly describes as a kind of "boring down" through internal layers of negative emotion (guilt, shame, denial) toward a purportedly purer, innermost self. "Successful clients learned to use language as a means of inner reference: matching spoken signs to innermost signifieds, which were thought to be already there and awaiting expression" (p. 94). Like professional therapists, Carr shows how clients become wordsmiths, always aware of what they can make, and undo, with the words they speak.

One of the more potent insights of *Scripting Addiction* is that the ideology and praxis of inner reference has lead to evidentiary crises for therapists, as well as for the anthropologist herself. In chapter 6, Carr draws on Bakhtinian analytics to describe how clients use mimetic practices to "flip the script" of inner reference—to talk the talk, not walk the walk, of sobriety: "script flipping demanded that the analyst, whether anthropologist or therapist, approached clients' narratives not as transparent reports of the contents of individual psyches" but, instead, as cultural coproductions with significant material and therapeutic consequences (p. 218). Unfortunately, this insight likely has broader methodological and epistemological implications for anthropology that the book does not fully develop, perhaps because of the book's tight focus on the day-to-day linguistic labor of the program.

Indeed, while reading the book, I often found myself wondering about those moments lived outside of the program—when "clients" were women, talking differently to friends or family, or when tired therapists were at home, not talking. Such moments would have added depth to the book's central arguments about the material implications of therapeutic talk, as well as the relationship between language and personhood. While reading the book, I also found myself nostalgic for the days Carr describes, when addiction programs were, in fact, predicated on talk. Those days are quickly fading from view as the disciplinary boundaries of addiction research and treatment shift toward the neuroscientific and toward new technical regimes such as forensic testing that can quickly and cheaply detect recent drug use. Who needs the exploitable labors of inner reference when one can rely on foolproof saliva swabs?

Despite the rapidly changing landscape of addiction treatment and the intense pressure Carr places on words, *Scripting Addiction* provides a powerful account of the cultural and material implications of therapeutic language. This is a book that will appeal to linguistic anthropologists, social workers, and addiction specialists alike.

From Foraging to Farming in the Andes: New Perspectives on Food Production and Social Organization

Tom D. Dillehay, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 361 pp.

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College of Lake County

The Preceramic period of northern Peru (roughly 13,800 to 5,000 B.P.) provides a unique opportunity to investigate the shift from small-scale foraging and horticultural groups to increasingly larger-scale and specialized societies. *From Foraging to Farming in the Andes* is an exciting new volume that deals with these topics directly and summarizes three decades worth of research between the Zaña and the Jequetepeque valleys of northern Peru to describe one of the most complete Preceramic period sequences in South America to date. The volume includes broad and varied perspectives on the past and includes discussions of environmental change, subsistence economies, social organization, and ideology. Various chapters summarize the results of regional, village, and household investigations, and others combine these with detailed lithic, botanical, and osteological analyses. The result is a richly textured sequence on early cultivation, sedentism, and monumentality that will be essential reading for both Andeanists and comparatively minded archaeologists working outside the region. The volume offers a valuable contrast to other early cases in the Andes (Asana, Aspero, Caral, Paloma, Valdivia, etc.) and, by doing so, ultimately illustrates that the character and evolution of these early societies were so remarkably diverse that it would be unwise to subsume these all under what Stackelbeck and Dillehay describe as a "single line of emerging regional complexity" (p. 133).

The volume includes several phase- and material-specific chapters (botanicals, faunal remains, etc.) that outline with the specific evidence that the authors refer to. These give the

middle of the volume important empirical grounding and a monograph-like character, and my impression is that these chapters will be of practical utility to investigators working in surrounding regions. I would like to direct my attention to the introductory and concluding chapters, which appealed to me as an outside reviewer and should interest a broader professional audience. One of the most attractive features of this volume is its regional focus and its attention to the relationship between these larger-scale processes and household organization. This offers a welcome departure from the individual site-by-site descriptions that used to dominate Preceramic studies and calls attention to the profound regional changes identifiable only through the systematic study of nonmonumental sites. The preservation and recognition of such sites are certainly enhanced by the arid conditions of the arid Peruvian coastal valleys, and it is humbling to realize the majority of these open-air sites would appear as nothing more than small lithic scatters in vast portions of the Americas.

Particular attention is paid to the Nanchoc basin in the foothills of the Zaña drainage, which provides access to several nearby ecological zones. The Nanchoc is remarkable for its early evidence for domestic structures, small house gardens, and experimentation with several cultivated plants (squash, peanuts, quinoa, manioc, etc.). Maize only entered the botanical record late in the Preceramic. The Piperno chapter discusses these plants in some detail and widens the context to include Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Ecuador. This chapter will be a valuable reference for those looking for a succinct update on early cultivars. As Dillehay argues in his concluding chapter, the reliance on these resources was not sudden or widespread but developed over millennia in the context of seasonal foraging groups and mixed economies. These developments in the Nanchoc preceded the emergence of small sedentary villages, public architecture, and agricultural intensification by the late Preceramic, but in the absence of clear evidence for political hierarchy (p. 305). Dillehay argues these changes occurred in the absence of population pressure or profound climatic change (p. 271), and reference is made to the contribution of various social and ideological factors. The absence of a detailed discussion of verticality is particularly interesting in this regard and suggests that the operation of classic vertical economies was not a conspicuous feature of this Preceramic sequence, contrary to popular notions of "lo andino."

The overarching message is that there were multiple and interconnected pathways toward sedentism, agriculture, and increasingly complex social patterns, even within a single region, and that these processes cannot be comfortably explained by reference to climatic or demographic factors alone. This insight makes the volume particularly relevant to scholars investigating similar issues around the world and may serve as an inspiration for future projects. Such sustained and detailed research has changed the story of the Preceramic greatly, and it is exciting to imagine how our understanding will continue to evolve to accommodate the diversity, nuance, and achievements of these early societies.

Suburban Beijing: Housing and Consumption in Contemporary China

Friederike Fleischer. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. 219 pp.

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One of the striking transformations that reshape contemporary China spatially and socially is the rapid expansion of suburbs and the rise of thriving suburban life. In this process of urban restructuring and emerging mass consumerism, new class differentiation and ways of life are also being created. In *Suburban Beijing,* Friederike Fleischer offers a timely and in-depth look at these complex transformations by focusing on how a mega suburban residential and commercial zone (Wangjing) is produced in Beijing and its profound socioeconomic implications for understanding Chinese society at large. Her account is theoretically engaging and ethnographically rich. It addresses several important issues concerning current urban studies: gated communities and middle-class culture, rural-to-urban migration, social stratification, and the lived experiences of urban sprawling.

The core argument of the book is that the creation of new suburbs in China is simultaneously a spatial and socioeconomic process during which new class subjects and social practices are shaped. Inspired by theorists such as Henri Lefebvre, E. P. Thompson, and Michel de Certeau, Fleischer suggests that we must approach class structuration from a processual and relational perspective and that we must do so by integrating spatial production, consumption pattern, and cultural change into one analytical framework. Her insightful analysis is deeply grounded in firsthand, refreshing ethnographic materials collected during 14 months of fieldwork in Beijing between 2001 and 2007. Those who shared their life stories with the author and informed her analysis include a range of social actors, but her primary

focus is on the lived experiences and understandings of three distinct groups of suburban residents: well-to-do professionals, residents of remaining state-owned complexes, and migrant entrepreneurs. Although Wangjing as a whole is promoted as an upscale, modern, and desirable neighborhood, there are also conflicts and contradictions going on within it.

Suburban Beijing consists of an introduction, five substantive chapters, and a conclusion. The introduction and conclusion lay out the key argument and central theoretical questions I have summarized above. The first two chapters provide a historical and structural account of the broader changing context in which the reorganization of Chinese urban space and society has taken place since the 1950s. Fleischer highlights the centrality of *hukou* (the household registration) and *danwei* (the work unit) in socialist times and their continued effects today while examining the impact of more recent land and housing reform, migration, and privatization on suburbanization. Chapters 3 and 4 detail daily life and emerging socioeconomic differences in Wangjing by contrasting the lifestyles and values of several groups of residents living in very different housing situations. These social actors coexist in the same space but have diverging life trajectories, dispositions, and understandings of what the economic reform, modernity, and future mean to them. Chapter 5 explores the relationship among consumption, status, and space in and beyond Wangjing through the ethnographic lens. What is most interesting here is the analysis of the emotional aspect of the consumption of housing among her informants.

While Fleischer's study is nicely ground in locality and history, it would be even more appealing if it had situated the case of Wangjing and China in a broader comparative scope. The phenomenon she analyzes here (new place making and class making) echoes similar spatial and social processes going on in other parts of the world. For instance, in countries like India, many mega suburban developments are also underway and are profoundly transforming modes of living, social relationships, and subject formation. Yet, at the same time, China has displayed its own characteristics in suburbanization: the presence of strong state forces, socialist legacies, and a unique pattern of marketization and land policy. Thus, it would be very productive to tease out the converging and diverging practices in the global reconfiguration of spatial forms, housing, and class subjects.

In sum, *Suburban Beijing* is highly accessible, informative, and a pleasure to read. It is a welcome contribution to contemporary urban anthropology, China studies, and urban planning. It can be used in undergraduate and graduate courses on related topics in anthropology, sociology, urban geography, Asian studies, and other disciplines. Those interested in the making of global middle classes though new place making will find this book particularly intriguing.

Houses in a Landscape: Memory and Everyday Life in Mesoamerica

Julia A. Hendon. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. 292 pp.

TIMOTHY PAUKETAT
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It is a distinct pleasure to read a book about the pre-Hispanic Maya that does not focus on political history, monumentality, epigraphy, or cosmology. These facets of the Maya world were important, of course, especially with respect to the questions of social memory raised by Julia Hendon in this book. But obviously they were no more important than the everyday experience of the multitudes of people in Mesoamerica. And it is the realm of the quotidian that Hendon relates to social memory in *Houses in a Landscape*.

Houses in a Landscape is as much a synthetic application of recent theories of memory, materiality, performance, temporality, and sensuous experience as it is an interpretation of the three Maya regions that Hendon uses as case material, all of which date from the 7th to the 13th centuries C.E. in Honduras. Each chapter in *Houses in a Landscape* touches on theoretical matters, usually as a preamble to her analysis of archaeological evidence. Seven chapters and a conclusion follow her introduction, which begins by opening up the larger issues of social memory that undergird the book.

The first chapter is an overview of the peoples, places, and regions in question: the Copan Valley, Cerro Palenque and the Lower Ulua Valley, and the Cuyumapa Valley. Hendon's goal is to begin to consider the residential complexes in these locations as communities of practice, loosely defined as the "series of interactions, relations, actions, and practices through which memory and identity are constituted and reconstituted over time" (p. 60). Importantly, such relationships are not limited to people but are extended to things and spaces that define and are defined by human experience. Chapter 2 continues in this vein, connecting notions drawn from semiotics and material-culture studies to propose that the materiality of everyday life is fundamental to the construction of social memory.

The next three chapters are meatier follow-ups to the issues raised up to this point and are my favorites in the book. In chapter 3, Hendon defines the domestic contexts wherein "social relations" were "created through the confluence of space, people, and material culture" (p. 96). Particularly insightful here is the author's discussion of domestic storage, caching, concealment, and commemorative deposits. Chapter 4 extends these insights into the realm of embodied knowledge production, focusing on weaving, pottery making, paper making, and shell working. The author's point, in essence, is that people live and enact memories. That point opens up the discussion in chapter 5 about identity construction. As others have argued before Hendon, personhood is ideally suited to archaeological studies of identity given that it is constructed externally and is "not bound to the life span or corporeal limits of any single person" (p. 150). Hendon makes use of a Mesoamerican sense of "coessence"—the ability of spirits or powers to occupy multiple bodies and things—and shows how baked-clay whistles and sculptures juxtapose and transfer essences, thus connecting otherwise dispersed elemental forces and defining identities.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus on large-scale commemorative and commensal events including feasts and ball games. "Both kinds of events . . . represent further examples of ritualization that incorporate the everyday into the religious and the political" (p. 203). Of course, here Hendon is considering more traditional Maya archaeological subjects: monuments, murals, courts, and so forth. But for her, these subjects are extensions of the domestic more than the work of elites. This sets up the book's conclusion, a relatively brief postlude reaffirming that social memories are the habitus of people in larger relational fields. These fields have a materiality, occupying forms and spaces that are the essential dimensions of the memory work that was ongoing both explicitly and, more importantly, implicitly everyday.

There is much to recommend in this book, and both professional archaeologists and students will find in it particularly good examples of the practical applicability of contemporary theories in archaeology. Certainly, the book covers a lot of ground. One leaves *Houses in a Landscape* with a clear sense of the richness of the archaeology on which Hendon draws, as well as with a sense of the possibilities of an archaeology that delves carefully into the domestic, practical, embodied, and experiential. For instance, while the author does not seek to develop a sensuous archaeology, one seems like it should be in the offing in Mesoamerica. Moving in that direction might help us parse the slightly problematic notions of "ritualized action" and "everyday practice," both of which (unintentionally in this case) imply the existence of a mundane nonritual realm. Of course, all actions have varying degrees of rituality, and there are other temporalities that construct human experience besides those defined by night and day. But such terms are rooted in our analytical language, the limitations of which Hendon's book—in its comprehensive relational approach—has gone a long way toward transcending.

Rites of the Republic: Citizens' Theater and the Politics of Culture in Southern France

Mark Ingram. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011. 238 pp.

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Specificity of place and the emplacement of politics are key themes running through Mark Ingram's ethnography of civic-minded theater in southern France. This multisited study juxtaposes the Théâtre Rural d'Animation Culturelle (TRAC), an amateur troupe from the Vaucluse with a strong rural identity, and the Friche, professional theatrical artists who identify with the urban setting of cosmopolitan Marseille. Comparing these groups, Ingram develops a broader perspective both on the local mediation of a national politics of culture and on the shifting political significance of territoriality in the experience of place. Drawing on research spanning two decades, he is well positioned to address how these cultural producers creatively respond to a perceived crisis of postcolonial French identity and to processes of Europeanization and globalization. The result is a widely accessible ethnography that will appeal to scholars of contemporary France both inside and outside the field of anthropology.

Ingram begins with a useful overview of the national politics of culture in postwar France. He explains how competing justifications for state intervention in the arts on aesthetic and social grounds resulted in "two parallel systems, one centered primarily on professional artists and an arts patrimony . . . and the other centered on amateurs and popular education" (p. 5). Although the groups in this study reflect these divergent emphases, the professional artists of the Friche strive to make their arts practice socially relevant to residents of the diverse working-class neighborhood in which they are based, and the amateur artists of the TRAC aspire to produce work with transcendent aesthetic value. Responding to a gradual transfer in responsibility for arts administration from the central state to local levels, both groups have changed their administrative status in ways that strengthen preexisting local ties, with the Vaucluse designating the TRAC a center of "amateur arts practice throughout the entire department" (p. 55) and the Friche becoming a nonprofit corporation "focused on its local socio-economic environment" (p. 63).

Ingram's attention to regional specificity offers a useful contribution to anthropological research on French cultural policy that has largely focused on elite Parisian institutions.

On a national level, factious, ongoing debates about state cultural policy reflect competing cultural agendas. Ingram says that, taken as a whole, these debates constitute "a dynamic and vital discourse on culture that continues to provide terms and institutional structures for the expression of broadly diverse perspectives on citizenship and society across the French territory" (p. 21). This keen insight leads him to focus on the ways that, "beyond providing financial assistance, state cultural policy has structured the sphere of interpretation for arts practice by providing a civic frame, a broader political context defining the public value of art" (p. 72). Operating within this frame, the two groups in this study engage in a constant dialogue with the political tradition of French "republican universalism," which Ingram uses "as a convenient shorthand term to describe the ideology of promoting the general good over the particular aims of interest groups and 'communitarian' identities in France" (p. 120). His framing of their civic-minded cultural productions as "rites of the Republic" reflects not only the sacred place of arts as secular religion in republican France but also the transformative properties participants associate with theatre itself.

The TRAC and Friche seek to address national conversations about republican identity and to enact "a model of creation, collaboration, dialogue, and exchange in shaping a Europe more inclusive of those of immigrant descent in France today" (p. 160). In this postcolonial context, both groups emphasize France's connectedness to countries of the Mediterranean rim to balance the gravitational pull of northern Europe. For these artists, the embodied practice of theatre is itself a form of political engagement based on self-expression, interactive collaboration, and authentic encounters with audiences. This is particularly clear for the amateur artists in the TRAC, who "view art and culture as a means of finding and expressing one's own voice—an active means of engaging the world" and who "recognize and valorize voluntary associations as a key node in the development and implementation of cultural policy" (p. 175).

Detailed descriptions of TRAC productions constitute a particularly rich part of this ethnography and reflect the author's long-standing relationship with the troupe. His examples illustrate how a republican agenda of national integration geared to a rural population informs the group's aesthetic choices, internal organization, and social interactions with inhabitants of the villages on their touring circuit (rituals of commensality before and after performances are crucially important). Even as the TRAC increasingly tours internationally, principally through exchange partnerships with rural arts groups in Europe and North Africa, it promotes itself as "a theatre of '*terroir*'" (p. 30), using the French designation for an agriculturally distinctive place to signal social rootedness in the rural Vaucluse and suggesting a striking paradigm for the global circulation of culture.

The Anxieties of Mobility: Migration and Tourism in the Indonesian Borderlands

Johan Lindquist. Southeast Asia: Politics, Meaning, and Memory series. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. 193 pp.

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While many studies focus on how transnational production and globalization has reorganized capitalist political economy, Johan Lindquist claims they have left the attendant emotional economies undertheorized. *Anxieties of Mobility* attempts to rectify this at least partially by focusing on the lived experiences of different actors in the unfolding drama of globalization at the Batamindo industrial park on the Indonesian island of Batam. The book is built around stories of the people who circulate through Batam—migrant factory workers, sex workers, visitors from Singapore, and the unemployed. It proposes three concepts as the basis of various anxieties associated with migration: *merantau* (circular migration), *liar* (wild, unregulated), and *malu* (shame). These dominant tropes of the emotional economy together characterize everyday life in Batam as *belum* (not-yet), with inhabitants "always striving."

Merantau refers to circular migration; Indonesians leave rural homes and return once they achieve economic success. Such travel is considered a rite of passage for young men whose status within the villages rests on their returning rich. They come to Batam hoping for modernity, fun, and economic opportunities and are shocked to find a half-built city full of people and spaces categorized as "liar"—squatter settlements, unmarried couples, and sex workers. Nonetheless, the shame of returning without success pushes them on to bigger dreams, like migrating to Singapore, creating an anxiety-filled system of mobility rooted in both state strategies and migrant tactics. Lindquist argues that these

movements across borders keep the transnational economy alive.

In his attempt to describe globalization as an emotional economy, Lindquist delivers a powerful treatise on the resulting inequalities wherein systems of border control keep people striving to achieve what is ultimately denied to certain groups of people. The book's description of the power relations inherent in border-control strategies is its most potent contribution to the studies of globalization. Nuanced analysis of technologies of survival such as veiling and the use of Ecstasy clearly show a migration circuit that is gendered and unequal.

Lindquist argues that emotional tropes, such as malu, initiate and maintain a migration that appears to be driven solely by economics. Although this argument is intriguing, one cannot but wonder whether he was able to fully support it. Lindquist spent one year in a rented house in Nagoya, but because his informants were highly mobile, he had to be mobile as well. Consequently, the ethnographic accounts sound somewhat shallow. While mobility can enrich an ethnography, it precludes getting to know groups of people in more informal living contexts where life can be witnessed in all its complexity—including tensions, contradictions, and utter absurdity. Lindquist's interview data promise much, but just as the reader begins to know a person, the story terminates, conveying only anxiety, unhappiness, and failure. Other studies on migration for transnational work have adduced evidence of positive emotional-pull factors, such as relatively more independence, and corresponding negative emotions that sparked the migration. Lindquist claims that "subordination forms the basis of all forms of agency," yet he fails to analyze forms of agency in the liar and subordination felt at the villages. In his quest to bring the undertheorized side of globalization to light, he seems to have produced another one-sided thesis.

According to Lindquist, as the migrants get trapped in the gendered emotional economy of the merantau they begin to understand themselves as an "underclass outside the promises of development" (p. 49). How this understanding forms, especially in the context of state discourses on how underclasses can be part of national development, is not addressed. Other ethnographies on Southeast Asian factory workers have shown how women are encouraged to present themselves as "good, dutiful daughters" who migrate to fulfill their duties toward their families and the nation. A discussion of other works on globalization, migration, and emotional economies in South and Southeast Asia would have enriched Lindquist's analysis.

These weaknesses aside, the book provides important insights into emotional economies associated with global circulation of people and capital. Even if lacking in complexity, the stories are fascinating and give glimpses into the lives of people who are rarely referenced. This ethnography is one of the few on Batam and its border relations with Singapore, and it opens up intriguing questions that ought to lead to interesting future studies. The book is written in simple, clear prose and would be of interest to undergraduate students in anthropology, sociology, economics, or any other field who are interested in globalization and its impact on people and places. In fact, the book should be of interest to any reader who is curious about how broader social processes are experienced at the ground level by people belonging to different countries, social classes, and gendered groups.

Believing in Belfast: Charismatic Christianity after the Troubles

Liam D. Murphy. European Anthropology series. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010. 324 pp.

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Almost by convention, anthropologists of Northern Ireland caution that national politics, inequality, and discrimination have all been structured by sectarian difference, but the conflict is (or was) "not religious." This approach makes good analytical sense of the troubles and challenges stock media stories. Yet its salience—indicative of how much the conflict has set the agenda for Northern Ireland research—diverts attention from those for whom religion matters not just as code for ethnonational identity but as lived faith. For the Charismatic Christians (hereafter, "Charismatic") whose religious lives Liam Murphy explores, faith matters so profoundly that it can be "difficult for non-believers to grasp" (p. 12).

Murphy's central question is how "religion and modernity are simultaneously opposed and integrated in the context of rapid political and economic change in Northern Ireland" (p. 17). This is also a puzzle for his participants—although their preoccupation is "how quickly and thoroughly our times usher in a spring-like social and moral renewal" (p. 48). To non-Charismatics, even other Christians, this pursuit can seem alarmingly "radical," for Charismatics want more than a "spiritual 'facelift'; at stake is the meaning of human existence [in] . . . a world . . . *hostile* to religion," a problem compounded in Northern Ireland

by "widespread ambivalence about the historical mingling of faith, ethnicity, and political identity" (p. 58).

Murphy circulates widely in Belfast's evangelical and Charismatic religious world but explores these questions primarily through two groups, Agnus Dei Fellowship (ADF) and the Divine Fellowship Congregation (DFC). For most members, ADF supplements a core loyalty to Catholicism. ADF also runs a reconciliation center, offering community services to nonmembers. The DFC is the largest local wing of the International Christian Fellowshipping movement. Most members were raised Protestant but regard denominations as secondary to "the idea that the Church is 'One' on a level of reality that transcends earthly appearances" (p.47).

Murphy writes well. He is a skilled and thoughtful ethnographer who gives a concrete sense of everyday and exceptional religious occasions and encounters in the peace process context. A major strength of the book, these ethnographic episodes convey how "charismatics creolize streams of knowledge from the global marketplace of ideas and values with a moral economy peculiar to Northern Ireland" (p. 19). They also show how, even as Charismatic life exceeds its bounds, confessional identity is no more chosen in the "new" Northern Ireland, than is "race" in the United States (p. 79).

A context-setting chapter on Belfast's cultural geography describes a neighborhood tour from DFC member Janice. A self-defined "Protestant" who metamorphosed into a "Christian," Janice cannot escape her sense of Catholic streets as enemy territory. Another chapter examines ecumenical parades, prayer walks, and pilgrimages across that sectarianized geography. Here, Charismatics weld revivalist traditions to modern ideas of civility and tolerance in ways that—given Belfast's history of political parades and demonstrations—break with tradition less than extend it. Similarly, Murphy shows how Charismatics' attempts to offer "balanced" histories of injustice that dispute the absolutely determining role of religious difference may yet naturalize it, overwhelming the "ruptures and fault lines" that exist between and within the Catholic and Protestant "communities" (p. 192).

Murphy's discussion of state-sponsored conflict-resolution programs reveals especially effectively the contrasting logics informing Charismatic and "mainstream" visions of "postconflict" society. Charismatics' commitment to Christian unity placed them among a diverse collection of official and unofficial agents working for cross-community reconciliation during the troubles—a "movement" that became big business in the 1990s when millions in European "peace money" was allocated for community-relations projects. Charismatics' conviction that permanent change requires a "fundamental *God-ordained* transformation of 'hearts and minds,' which would then act in concert with more structural objectives" (p. 230) was at odds with funding guidelines that made explicitly faith-based work ineligible. More than anything, Charismatic ambivalence about official reconciliation programs reflects a complex sensibility. Hoping to be "'new' citizens of post-troubles Northern Ireland[,]" Charismatics remain uneasy about "a drive to modernity" that seems at odds with "their vision of citizenship under God" (p. 229). Insofar as Charismatics accommodate this process—for example by establishing separate nonproselytizing social-service projects—these tensions reveal the disciplining power of a statecraft organized around "a transcendent structure of relations that permits a certain form of heterogeneity while nevertheless binding citizens ever more closely to an homogeneous state and its imperatives" (p. 281).

Murphy adds an important dimension to our understanding of the lived experience of the peace process for a group passionately committed to its success even as their religious philosophy rendered them marginal to its central players. If conflict and division have defined the "Northern Ireland problem" for social scientists, *Believing in Belfast* is exemplary of the prospects for ethnography "after the troubles." In addition to anthropologists of Ireland, this book will interest anthropologists of religion and scholars of postconflict transitions more generally. Finally, all those concerned with the place of religion in the public sphere will gain from Murphy's discussion of how religious adherents negotiate the politics of secularism.

Credit between Cultures: Farmers, Financiers, and Misunderstanding in Africa

Parker Shipton. Yale Agrarian Studies series. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010. 335 pp.

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This is the third volume in Parker Shipton's trilogy based on his many years of field research in Kenya (the other two are *The Nature of Entrustment* [2008] and *Mortgaging the Ancestors* [2010]). Where *Mortgaging the Ancestors* looked at the clash between financial and filial understandings of land, *Credit between Cultures* turns to financial arrangements not secured by land but, rather, crop liens and entrepreneurial potential. Shipton invokes "the triangle between usury, charity and fantasy" (p. xi). At the core of the book is Luo-speaking peoples' attempts to understand, incorporate, and sometimes transcend foreign efforts to bring them into different relationships of credit and debt, both financial and phantasmatic.

The book consists of 12 chapters organized into three sections (plus 12 pages of black-and-white photos). Part 1 reviews two histories: of the Luo-speaking peoples of western Kenya and of ideas about charity, usury, and debt in the ancient and Biblical traditions. Few African languages have specific words for interest or usury. Many (ironically enough) use a loan word, the English *loan,* to indicate the concept's "foreignness" (p. 41). More significant is the persistent view of interest as a ratio of fee to principal rather than a rate (pp. 42, 107). Shipton provides a history of the Bretton Woods order and the rise of state-supported development aid, the World Bank and USAID. At its inception the World Bank was to be a lender, not a donor, inscribing aid from the start in credit not charity. By the late 1960s, the World Bank, under Robert McNamara, undertook a "new direction," from economic growth to "redistribution with growth" or what came to be called, simply, "development" (p. 50). The World Bank became an "odd duck," Shipton writes: "*a bleeding-heart technocracy*" (p. 50).

Part 2 documents the rise and fall of the Integrated Agricultural Development Project (IADP) and the Smallholder Production Services and Credit Project (SPSCP), implemented between 1976 and 1982. Farmers were encouraged to adopt new inputs for cash crops on credit secured against the crop itself rather than against the land. The results were neither an unvarnished success nor an utter failure but, instead, a "grayish, blotchy picture" (p. 120). The scheme's failures, Shipton argues, cannot be attributed to the fact that the loans were unsecured by land (Shipton thus lobs a volley in the direction of Hernan de Soto) but by a complex of factors: people used credit to solidify patronage, men were drawn to cash crops, farmers were loath to be seen as getting ahead of others, people diverted "agricultural" credit to things like school fees, cotton was used as a lien crop despite its being associated with taxation. Farmers would sell their cash crop for money on the spot to middlemen—*agok* or "shoulder men"—who in turn would sell it to the credit cooperatives as if they themselves had grown it. Farmers could thus default and keep growing and selling cotton (p. 112).

Part 3 takes up private alternatives to World Bank–USAID big development. The first case is U.K–U.S. Tobacco's system of issuing credit in kind (seeds, equipment, chemical inputs) rather than cash. Timeliness in delivering credit eliminated room for agok, yet the money earned was "bitter" (see Shipton 1989) because of moral opprobrium surrounding tobacco. The second case is the rise of private aid agencies and NGOs' "discovery" of existing informal credit systems. Shipton shows how microfinance accompanied a corresponding shift from development to enterprise (p. 162). Now, people had to convince funders that their existing small-scale organizations were "women's groups" and that their activities were entrepreneurial (p. 168). Shipton also documents development's "discovery" of savings and includes a fascinating short history of Kenya's Equity Bank and the social lending website Kiva.org.

Development planners repeatedly insisted on a world of separate "sectors." This is one of their fundamental misunderstandings. The on-the-ground conflation of spheres is replicated in their own professional lives, however, by the "mixture and merger" of public development aid, private assistance, and philanthropy in global development (p. 237). Shipton investigates these mixtures and more, not to take sides but, rather, "to plug instead for better mixes" (p. xvi). On this, he quotes William James: "Most cases are mixed cases and we should not treat our classifications with too much respect" (p. 9).

This book, like Shipton's others, thus is consistently cautious, refusing too-easy judgment. Some of the development programs "did something right" (p. 10) by lending without "directly or knowingly threatening anyone's home. . . . They used no debtor prisons or . . . indentured bondage or enslavement" (p. 11). Small comfort, one might respond. Yet shortly after finishing *Credit,* I met a USAID official who told me that he rereads James Ferguson's *Anti-Politics Machine* (1994) every year to remind him of the limits of development interventions. Shipton cannily provides an ethnography of that world—one where practitioners, "targets," and critics are messily co-implicated in relationships of credit, debt, fantasy, and power. I derive some hope from that world as portrayed in this unpretentious volume and the significant set it concludes.

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Strange Enemies: Indigenous Agency and Scenes of Encounters in Amazonia

Aparecida Vilaça. David Rogers, trans. The Cultures and Practice of Violence series. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. 370 pp.

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Stories of "first contact" have a quality of mythic fascination among ostensibly postmythic metropolitan publics (see Downey 2011 on one recent media cycle). Anthropologists too are called by this mythic quality of the stories, in enacting our own diverse responses to them, even responses of rejection.

Strange Enemies is the best ethnography ever written about a first contact history and thus probably the single most anthropologically satisfying publication of any kind for thinking about this subject. Aparecida Vilaça worked with Wari' of western Brazil, for whom peaceable interactions with white intruders began in living memory. Synthesizing extensive oral historical inquiry into these events, Vilaça liberally quotes translated voices of Wari' speakers throughout her text. Her ethnohistorical achievement is all the more impressive given that Wari' now live on five widely separated reserves, that they previously saw themselves not as a unitary ethnic group but as members of eight or more regional subgroups, and that their engagement with whites was at all stages heavily refracted by these intra-Wari' divides of otherness and connection. Ethnography's special value is often correlated with special messiness. For Vilaça's readers, any cardboard-cutout tendencies of the metropolitan "first contact" idea are quickly overrun by the complexity of difference in local Wari' geography, the metamorphosing linkages between any one encounter and preceding phases of contact history, and the rich polyphony of particular Wari' views on whites.

A further mainstay of Vilaça's success is her fine ear for Wari' experience of society as founded on otherness. Her actual ethnohistory of Wari'–white encounters begins only after 200 pages of groundwork on the otherness-focused cultural sensibilities she finds have deeply organized this history: Wari' peoples' "perspectivist" cosmological ides, their understanding of relations of "predation" between self and other as a core basis of social being, and their extensive use of categories translated as "foreigner" and "enemy" to deal with strangers and create society. "Foreigners" are Wari' of other regional subgroups, while "enemies" are non-Wari' who by definition exist to be killed. Through a bestiary of these and other canonical alters of Wari' life and an extraordinary examination of myths of founding social transformation and how they bear on the living of history, Vilaça establishes that what Wari' mainly orient to is not the categories of "kin," "foreigner," and "enemy" conceived as stable conditions of being but, rather, the regularity of persons' passage from kin to foreigners to enemies, or back again. By this reckoning, enmity is the outcome of a relation and a valued ongoing site of relations. Whites, now the prototype "enemy," are mythologically accounted for as people who stopped being relatives across elaborate sequences of fraternal strife and geographic displacement. Following this origin, whites exist as others through which the perspective of a human self can be constantly and unstably rewon: until 1960 through killing and more recently through nonassimilatory cohabitation.

The ethnohistory told in the book's last third often has the quality of an absorbing novel, disclosing many extraordinary Wari' sensibilities about social and historical process. For 50 years after intrusion, the "predation" model meant that the obvious way to relate to whites was to ambush and kill lone individuals. Indeed their intrusion was welcome, because earlier regional enemies had disappeared, causing a generational crisis in Wari' masculinity. The first Wari' to stop shooting at whites and instead meet peaceably with them were from an outmigrated subgroup who had become isolated from other Wari' by a newly white-traveled river barrier, thus losing the relations with extra-subgroup "foreigners" central to Wari' models of true social life. After approaching whites out of a sentiment of "want[ing] people for ourselves," members of this cut-off subgroup were taken by whites on a contact expedition elsewhere in the Wari' area, where they were adamantly construed by locals not to be Wari' at all but crazy whites who bizarrely claimed to be members of the lost group. Here and later, Wari' intermediaries outdid whites in their enthusiasm for encounters: they had their own agendas of crossing subgroup lines to newly "get our people" or reunite with prior acquaintances. Far from there being one thing to call "contact," there were shifting and fundamentally different modes of engagement with whites, there were encounters between Wari' and other unknown Wari' ("enemies"), there were encounters between Wari' and known Wari' of other subgroups ("foreigners"), and today there is a practice of personal alignment with whiteness that Vilaça sustainedly compares to shamanic modes of valued dual existence across the animal–human divide.

Integral to its ethnographic disruption of our own society's cardboard, another gift of *Strange Enemies* lies in the sentence- or phrase-level culturally vivid details of translated Wari' discourse that constantly jump off the book's pages. Thanks to Vilaça and the complementary work of Beth Conklin (e.g., 2001), Wari' are among the most sensitively

documented of all Amazonian people, and their cultural formation is one the most remarkable comparative resources for thinking deeply about difference across human communities.

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Explorations in Navajo Poetry and Poetics

Anthony K. Webster. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. 278 pp.

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This is a study of poetry in contemporary Navajo (Diné) society from the standpoint of a discourse-centered ethnopoetics. Anthony K. Webster identifies his approach as that of an anthropological linguist rather than a literary scholar, although one also learns from this text a good deal about Navajo poetry as literature. Likewise, the word *modernity* never appears in the text, although the book provides a vivid depiction of modernity as a milieu for language as verbal art. Modernity takes on a distinctive cast in the Navajo Nation, which, although it counts as a "fourth-world" nation with highly circumscribed sovereignty, retains a substantial degree of demographic, geographic, religious, and linguistic integrity. Just as it is often noted that the Navajo language has no indigenous word for *religion* (there is a word for *religious ritual*), there is no indigenous word that glosses as *(secular) poetry,* and the very acceptance of the term as an unmarked category is itself a critical aspect of the situation of modernity for Navajos. The small cadre of recognized and published Navajo poets and Navajo scholars who write about their language and culture form the core of the Navajo intelligentsia, the discursive vanguard of Navajo identity, and it is the work of this group with which Webster is concerned.

Webster's central concept is "feelingful iconicity," an idea borrowed from fellow Athabaskan language scholar David Samuels that refers to affective attachment to aesthetic practice. Against the background of language shift from Navajo to English in everyday use, Webster discusses the consequences for poetic practice of the coexistence of language varieties of standard Navajo, Navajo dialect variation, bilingual Navajo or "Navlish," Navajo English, and standard English, suggesting that poetry written in Navajo and the interpolation of Navajo into poetry written in English implicitly posits an idealized pure Navajo language. On a more specific level, he examines the relation of contemporary Navajo poetry to traditional genres including stories, ritual chants, place names, jokes, and puns. He notes that poets refer to their work as stories (*hane'*), emphasizing their narrative quality and blurring the boundaries between oral and literate, inscribed and performed. At the most specific level he examines the continued presence of traditional poetic devices in Navajo poetry, including formulae carried over from traditional genres and the use of sound symbolism, onomatopoeia, ideophones, and "sound effects" that constitute "performances on top of performances," stylistically evoking an entire Navajo lifeworld.

One of Webster's most important contributions is his discussion of Navajo language ideology as reflected in poetry. A critical aspect of this ideology is that Navajo is incommensurable with other languages, particularly English. Navajo discourse about language, and Navajo poetry in particular, puts forward a metasemiotic stereotype in which Navajo is verb based whereas English is noun based, process oriented whereas English is object oriented, more poetic whereas English is more descriptive, and oriented toward motion whereas English is static. Webster loses his critical attitude toward this aspect of Navajo language ideology when he breaks not only the transcribed oral performance of poems into poetic lines marked by pauses but also poets' discussion of their work that would more appropriately rendered in print as prose. Nevertheless, he makes the important observation that, from this stance, poetic devices not only serve as emblems of identity but that poetry "offers an alternative history to the Western literate gaze" (p. 183), creating both narratives of Navajoness that point toward idealized tradition and intertextual gambits that point toward globalized modernity.

As a body of literature, Navajo poetry is thus compelling politically but is also consequential as a case study in the possibility of translation. Two examples from Webster's book illustrate this quite well. The first is a poem by Rex Lee Jim of three lines, each consisting of the single word *Náhookǫs*, which can mean either the Big Dipper constellation, the direction north, or the movement of swirling or gyring from east to west (p. 212). This homonymy based poem and its

particular condensation of meanings could not have been written in any language but Navajo. On the other hand, Webster cites the comment by Laura Tohe (an extended study of whose work comprises three of the book's six chapters) that her own translation of the word *nihik'inizdidláád* as "luminescence all around" sounds flat because it is noun based instead of verb based, and what the word really means is "this light poured over us or among us" (p. 210). Notably, it was her choice to use a noun instead of a verb in the English version, and light pouring among us is as poetically vivid in English as is luminescence all around. What these examples allow us to contribute to the debate about incommensurability between Navajo and English, and hence to the larger debate about the translatability of poetry and language in general, is to distinguish different senses of the assertion that something "cannot be said" in another language. That is, there is a consequential difference in the implication that "there is no way you can understand me" and the recognition that something subtle is lost when in one language something can be said with concision that requires circumlocution in the target language.

Webster's book is a pleasure to read for anyone familiar with or interested in contemporary Navajo society and for any student of Edward Sapir, whose words frequently appear as chapter epigraphs. It should also be of interest to students of ethnopoetics and verbal art as performance, sociolinguistics, and discourse-centered analyses of language and culture. More broadly, it is a glimpse of the perennial dialogue between tradition and modernity in the distinctive setting of a fourth-world nation in which modernity both undermines and provides resources for enhancing cultural and linguistic vitality, and tradition is an explicit element in the discourse of modernity.

Other-Worldly: Making Chinese Medicine through Transnational Frames

Mei Zhan. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 240 pp.

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Mei Zhan's comparative study of traditional Chinese medicine in San Francisco and Shanghai offers a provocative perspective that suggests her subject may be neither "traditional" nor particularly "Chinese." Rather than assuming cultural difference as the starting point for her analysis, Zhan demonstrates how practices and discourses that comprise "traditional Chinese medicine" are produced through translocal encounters that remake the boundaries between conceptions of tradition versus modernity, Chinese versus American, and cultural heritage versus science.

A decade in the making, the book grew out of Zhan's dissertation research at Stanford. While the heart of the ethnography draws on Zhan's fieldwork at educational and clinical institutions both in Shanghai and the San Francisco Bay Area, she also followed practitioners and students out of their institutional bases to professional conferences and community outreach activities. Her diverse sources include historical texts, biographies of famous practitioners, propaganda posters, herbal prescriptions written for her grandfather, and even a mass-forwarded e-mail parodying Shanghai districts in terms of international relations.

Zhan's sophisticated analysis helps us to rethink the epistemological and ontological status of cultural difference, reconfiguring a central concern that has occupied anthropologists since our discipline's founding. Zhan draws on Bruno Latour's work to show how the classic oppositions invoked by Bronislaw Malinowski and E. E. Evans-Pritchard (nature and culture, rational and irrational, science and magic) do not exist prior to but instead are made through the asymmetrical construction of Other knowledges. Rather than taking an essentialist view of traditional Chinese medicine as a stable foil to biomedicine, Zhan begins her book with an overview of how Chinese medicine itself has been variously constructed over the past half century as a method of achieving solidarity with the international proletariat of Africa (by the fledging Chinese communist state during the 1960s and early 1970s) and marketed as a way of capitalizing on the desires of the cosmopolitan middle class in Shanghai and San Francisco (by eager practitioners since the 1980s). Subsequent chapters engage the heterogeneity of Chinese medicine through different theoretical frames: processes of commodification (ch. 2), actor-network theory (ch. 3), cultural translation (ch. 4), and feminist kinship analysis (ch. 5). Zhan fleshes out these "discrepant world-making projects" (p. 34) with rich ethnographic detail to illustrate how practitioners and participants strategically dislodge the hierarchy between biomedicine and Chinese medicine.

Although other anthropologists of traditional Chinese medicine have also highlighted its heterogeneity (e.g., Judith Farquhar, Elisabeth Hsu), Zhan's ethnography extends this scholarship by placing translocality at the heart of her analysis. Zhan presents her work as an

"ethnography of worlding" (p. 22), a concept inspired loosely by Martin Heidegger's phenomenology. Challenging totalizing narratives of globalization, she illuminates how traditional Chinese medicine involves a collection of emergent and often discrepant "worlds in the making." Form follows theory for Zhan: her analytical interest in translocality shapes the organization of her ethnography. Throughout the book, she juxtaposes scenes from disparate places, bringing her readers from the grounds of an employee health fair in Silicon Valley to the back of a lecture hall at a traditional Chinese medical college in Shanghai. This peripatetic perspective reveals how varying understandings of traditional Chinese medicine emerge from a wide range of translocal entanglements.

Zhan's emphasis on "disparate worlding" is simultaneously her ethnography's major strength and weakness. In her zeal to confront tropes of circulation and flow embedded in theories of globalization, Zhan skips from one disparate scene to the next to emphasize her theoretical commitment to the "multiple spatiotemporalities in and of knowledge production" (p. 24). This shifting focus between San Francisco and Shanghai risks losing sight of the deeper sociohistorical contexts in which her ethnographic analysis takes place. Zhan's approach also runs the danger of overgeneralizing from anecdotes drawn from two uniquely situated cities. What do practices and discourses of Chinese medicine look like deep in the heartland of both China and the United States, away from the glitz of wealthy coastal cities? Zhan's loose collection of carefully theorized anecdotes provides a compelling testimonial that Chinese medicine must be understood through translocal frames, but this approach also leaves crucial gaps in our understandings of Chinese medicine today.

Zhan's innovative ethnography is a welcome addition to the growing body of work at the intersection of medical anthropology and science studies. Her sustained engagement with cultural theory makes this book an excellent choice for upper-level anthropology courses with a critical focus on health, globalization, or the politics of knowledge production.