BOOK REVIEWS

Review Essays

BRINGING A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE TO BIOARCHAEOLOGY NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE SKELETAL BIOLOGY OF GREECE

Lynne Schepartz, Sherry Fox, and Chryssi Bourbou, eds. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2009. 300 pp.

The Scioto Hopewell and Their Neighbors: Bioarchaeological Documentation and Cultural Understanding

Troy Case and Christopher Carr. New York: Springer, 2008. 782 pp.

Skeletal Biology and Bioarchaeology of the Northwestern Plains

George Gill and Rick Weathermon, eds. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008. 352 pp.

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Bioarchaeology, the study of human remains from archaeological contexts, has developed into a discipline focused on the human experience over recent decades. Once limited to appendices and discipline-specific journals, bioarchaeological research has become increasingly visible. As it matures, bioarchaeology has become a key locus of critical analysis and innovation in contemporary anthropology. A shift away from largely descriptive, site-specific inventories and toward analytical regional studies also signals the field's continued maturation. Here, I review three regional collections noteworthy for their depth and breadth.

Bioarchaeology, as defined by Jane Buikstra (1977) and applied by contemporary scholars, encompasses more than simple description of skeletal material. It approaches anthropological research questions by integrating considerations of human remains with their context(s)—mortuary, environmental, sociocultural. Consequently, bioarchaeology goes beyond simple statements about mortality by offering insight into the experiences of ancient peoples. Moreover, it provides a multidisciplinary perspective on human life by consciously engaging with anthropological theory regarding cultural phenomena such as gender and class. The most successful contemporary bioarchaeological studies are theoretically grounded works that integrate biological and archaeological data to produce strong arguments about past groups. The three volumes reviewed here address particular regions—Greece, the northwest plains of the United States, and the Hopewell people of Ohio—and provide consolidated information about the bioarchaeology and skeletal biology of particular populations. In this review, I focus on each work's application of this contextualized bioarchaeological approach.

Arising from a colloquium and symposium on Greece, *New Directions in the Skeletal Biology of Greece* uses the region to bind together a diverse array of chapters. The editors aimed for a broad audience, accommodating a tremendous temporal expanse and highlighting a range of cultural practices. For example, Katerina Harvati's detailed treatment of Petralona (ch. 2), a much-debated fossil of historical importance, reveals morphological similarity between Petralona and contemporary European and African fossils. This chapter also draws attention to the wealth of untapped research questions in the Greek Paleolithic. Although not necessarily focused on individual specimens, other works take on narrow subjects such as growth or disease processes (Hillson et al.; Lorentz; Schepartz et al.; Stravopodi et al.)

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or the benefits of new technologies for Aegean anthropology (Garvie-Lok; Georgiou et al.; Petrousa et al.). Finally, others consider a suite of bioarchaeological indicators, presenting the reader with a somewhat more complete picture of health and lifestyle for a given group (Bourbou and Tsilipakou; Iezzi; Papageorgopoulou and Xirotiris; Papathanasiou et al.).

Although a substantial number of works in this volume acknowledge and integrate cultural context through details of the sites, peoples, and practices, only a few pieces consider a more contextualized bioarchaeology. Comparing the results of an analysis of a ceramic vessel containing cremated human remains to textual sources, primarily *The Iliad,* Philippe Charlier and colleagues (ch. 3) present an intriguing account of an individual experience and argue that these mortuary practices reflect Homeric funeral rituals. Moving beyond a simple accounting of violence in Mycenaean Athens, Susan Kirkpatrick Smith (ch. 6) explores militarism and argues that the individuals and context represented in the Agora remains demonstrate a number of potential military scenarios. Finally, Chryssi Bourbou and Agathoniki Tsilipakou's investigation into a proto-Byzantine site (ch. 8) considers their results in light of the tumultuous historical period. Although hampered by the relative incompleteness of information on the period, the authors successfully explore the differential effects of this period on the lived experience for ancient Greeks.

George Gill and Rick Weathermon's *Skeletal Biology and Bioarchaeology of the Northwestern Plains* offers a broad yet coherent consideration of this region's people. Subjects range from mortuary practices to detailed osteological questions, all set against the twin backdrops of bioarchaeology's evolution and the region's specific history. The long temporal span allows readers to view the region through periods of significant change and offers contexts within which to consider the inhabitants' experiences and responses. A particular strength of this volume is the series of introductory chapters that explicate the region, the history of research, and changes in mortuary practices (chs. 1–3). Through these, the authors strengthen our understanding of the archaeological and historical context and lay groundwork for the bioarchaeology and skeletal biology that follows.

The chapters that present new data and arguments are grouped into two rough clusters. The first series (chs. 4–10) presents a bioarchaeological perspective, analyzing particular groups and integrating them into their context. Subjects include Native American sites, Chinese and Pioneer burials, and remains from 19th-century wars. The second cluster (chs. 11–19) provides a detailed take on skeletal biology, including comprehensive documentation of metric and nonmetric traits as well as arguments for microevolutionary change and discussions of pathology. A number of the bioarchaeological pieces take on the body and the mortuary context to discern details about the lived experience in the NW Plains (Furgeson and Armstrong; Polidora; Weathermon), allowing the authors to craft a picture that goes beyond the description of diseases or coffins. For example, Karin Bruwelheide and colleagues (ch. 9) integrate historical data with their analyses to reveal details about the challenges of frontier life. Similarly, Rennie Phillips Polidora's analysis of Chinese burials (ch. 7) speaks to the daily activities of laboring men. Rick Weathermon's piece on a burial from the Indian Wars (ch. 10) offers similar attention to detail, as he applies a contextualized approach to the life of one individual and reconstructs a personal identity from the remains.

In contrast to the other two volumes, Troy Case and Christopher Carr's opus, *The Scioto Hopewell and Their Neighbors,* relies on a few scholars' expertise to provide a comprehensive review. Case and Carr treat this group in context, attempting to interpret data with an eye toward a Hopewellian perspective. More so than the other volumes, perhaps because of the smaller region, the authors are successful in presenting a thorough and engaged "integrated thick prehistory" (p. 3). By considering the lifeways, culture, history, ritual practices, and material record of life and death, they situate their research in a broad anthropological framework; by recontextualizing earlier excavations and analyzing legacy museum collections, they also stress the value of applying contemporary bioarchaeological approaches to collections that may have been neglected because of their historical status.

The bulk of Case and Carr's volume is divided into two parts, the first of which guides the reader through a basic understanding of the Hopewell and their environs (chs. 2–5). These chapters, by Carr, provide the necessary archaeological background for more integrated analyses of human remains. Of particular interest, his thorough consideration of social and ritual organization (ch. 4) highlights the material goods associated with specific social roles. He goes on to detail how they manifest in the grave, from clothing and adornment to alterations to the corpse including the replacement of teeth with animal dentition and the documentation of "trophy" skulls. The second section begins with a presentation of the bioarchaeological database (ch. 6) and background on ceremonial sites (ch. 7). The subsequent chapters, by Carr, Case, and others include traditional skeletal biology (chs. 8–10) and integrated mortuary analyses (chs. 11–13). These chapters provide a view into the patterning of objects and graves that will be useful for future research. The volume's forward-looking nature is evident in the detailed appendices. A supplemental CD containing massive datasets brings together and systematizes all available data about the Scioto Hopewell, allowing scholars and students an opportunity to explore new research questions.

Although the individual chapters that comprise these three volumes are strong and some are especially compelling, it is hard to determine whether they do more than update the state of research in each region. In some cases, the effort to present a broad sweep of contemporary research overshadows the effort made to integrate and incorporate this work into the broader literature on a given people. Unfortunately, these foci leave the impression that osteological treatments still play only supporting roles in more serious archaeological research. As the field progresses, bioarchaeologists must instigate research instead of merely filling gaps,

and scholars in the discipline need to pose complex, multidisciplinary questions that speak to anthropologists across the subfields. Similarly, bioarchaeology cannot mature and expand without incorporating theory and participating in ongoing scholarly conversations.

Buikstra and Anna Lagia (in Schepartz et al.:ch. 1) conclude their chapter with a call for integration, not just in interpretations of the evidence but of skeletal biologists as well. By incorporating bioarchaeologists, and in fact, with the growth of bioarchaeologically focused research projects, this problem-oriented framework can be applied at all stages of research. If more scholars heed this call, regional collections of bioarchaeological research will not only convey current knowledge about certain places and people but also frame new questions that may yield productive, innovative, and theoretically engaged work.

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CATALYST FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING AS AN EDUCATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY APPROACH TO COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Archaeology and Community Service Learning

Michael S. Nassaney and Mary Ann Levine, eds. Miami: University Press of Florida, 2009. 239 pp.

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All archaeologists should strive to be good anthropologists. In turn, all anthropologists should recognize the power of archaeology to reach and inspire people. Archaeologists deal with three-dimensional artifacts that people can feel, smell, touch, dream about, and care about. Archaeology is an important tool for reaching people and helping them to understand the value and relevance of anthropologically defined knowledge. We use archaeology to teach concepts of culture and to learn important things about ourselves, about who we have been, who we are, and where we are going. We should strive to build bridges between anthropologically perceived studies and the realities of what is important to people.

As archaeologists, we deal with a public resource. We apply public monies, public policies, and public laws that often drive preservation and protection efforts. We deal with a resource that has a natural human attraction. Archaeologists are the experts and purveyors of the rich diversity of a shared cultural heritage. For the most part, we deal with a nonrenewable and fragile resource, the physical integrity of which can easily be compromised. As cultural resource professionals, we have specialized knowledge that equips us to study and interpret archaeological information and objects. Increasingly, we do this in partnership with communities and ethnic groups who have an equal stake in how archaeological information is presented and interpreted.

Since the 1980s, public archaeologists have become more politically engaged within contexts of knowledge claims and within variable and contentious definitions of *authenticity*. We do these things in the name of science and education and under the auspices of cultural resource protection mandates:

> Public archaeologists will be judged in posterity on how well we weave our archaeologically derived insights into the fabric of innovative educational approaches that contribute to public enjoyment and appreciation of archaeological and cultural heritage resources by present and future generations. [Jameson 2003:153–162]

Archaeology and Community Service Learning is an important contribution to the literature of public archaeology that addresses a new focus in teaching, a pedagogical approach that reflects a resurgence in experiential education methods beyond traditional curricula and volunteerism. Termed Community Service Learning (CSL), this new movement in education seeks to revitalize curriculum in schools and promote self-directed learning within a broad spectrum of learning styles. Intended as a catalyst for social change, CSL is an academically supervised activity, containing both an element of student reflection and an evaluation component.

CSL emerged within academia in the 1990s in the United States to promote responsible citizenship and global awareness. Its considerable support received from federal agency grants coincided with a new emphasis in higher education on engaged pedagogies. Intended to link the classroom with the larger world, CSL is an appropriate educational approach in today's climate of globalized communication and instantaneous information exchange. CSL encourages unique approaches within differing cultural and educational contexts in working toward creating frameworks for intercultural and cross-national sharing of experiences and in not reinventing the wheel (Geiger 2004).

Tied to coursework and academic credits, CSL provides an educational experience with two main ingredients:

(1) participation in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs and (2) reflection on the service activity that enables the student to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of personal values and civic responsibility. This definition reinforces the importance of reciprocity with the community and emphasizes civic learning outcomes as key. It underlines an emphasis on partnerships among public and private sectors as well as among a wide dichotomy of stakeholders. Although archaeological academia has traditionally emphasized a more prescribed, field-based training of students, many are using CSL approaches to move beyond traditional approaches and "volunteering" to more community-immersed, participative curricula (Hatcher and Erasmus 2008).

The increase in application and popularity of service learning approaches has paralleled an emerging awareness among archaeologists and cultural resource specialists, both within and outside academia, that they could no longer afford to be detached from the mechanisms of effectively conveying archaeological information to the public. In the National Park Service and other public agencies, finding common ground on education and interpretation philosophies has been important in fostering interdisciplinary, constructive dialogue and promoting resource stewardship (Jameson 1997).

THEME

Editors Michael Nassaney, professor of anthropology at Western Michigan University, and Mary Ann Levine, associate professor of anthropology at Franklin and Marshall College, collaborated in assembling these case studies. The volume came together following a 2007 symposium organized by the editors at the 40th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, sponsored by the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) in Williamsburg, Virginia. It presents an excellent example of applied archaeology with a focus on community outreach, service learning, and collaboration with a variety of community partners and stakeholders.

In the volume's preface, Nassaney and Levine contend that there is a need for reform of archaeological pedagogy in the training of a new generation of archaeologists. One way the authors explain this is to insert reflective student journal entries that reveal enhanced student learning of societal context of archaeological knowledge and an empowerment among students to work collaboratively in uncovering the erased histories of the oppressed and exploited. CSL, they point out, "brings students into closer contact with the public so they can benefit from the wider audiences that share an interest in archaeology. . . . Although there is a well-established literature in the field of community service learning, archaeology and anthropology programs have lagged behind in this pedagogical reform." A number of previous writings about revising the way archaeology is taught, such as those of Susan Bender and George Smith (2000), did not capture or recognize the importance of CSL as a pathway for teaching archaeology in the future. This book helps remedy the problem, the editors contend, by demonstrating that archaeology, with its experiential teaching methods and latent community-based focus, is "right at home with service learning" (pp. 3–4).

CHAPTERS

One of the main tenets or raison d'être of this volume is to demonstrate how the CSL approach can be applied to archaeological endeavors in expanding and enhancing learning opportunities for students. In promoting civic engagement while embracing and building community-based partnerships, the authors relay experiences and case studies from their work in historical archaeology and community outreach. The respective chapters support the stated theme of the book: that CSL contributes to needed reform in the way archaeology is taught in universities, which has long emphasized a practical, field-based approach. They reflect collaboration and civic engagement with a wide variety of community partners in carrying out historical period archaeology projects at 17th-century Native American forts, 18th-century Spanish missions, 19th-century African American sites, and 20th-century labor camps. With an emphasis on measured outcomes such as community feedback and critical self-reflection, they describe challenges and successes in rectifying a perceived disconnect between what they are teaching and what they want the students to learn.

The book is divided into four sections, beginning with three chapters that contribute a philosophical backdrop, grouped under the section heading of "Pedagogical Foundations." This is followed by six chapters of case studies and examples that emphasize community partnerships and the formal classroom settings (three chapters) versus those that are centered on fieldwork (three chapters). The final chapter is a concluding epilogue. Each chapter examines the prospects, benefits, and challenges of applying CSL in archaeology.

PEDAGOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

In chapter 1, "The Reform of Archaeological Pedagogy and Practice through Community Service Learning," Michael Nassaney provides a background and history of CSL as a logical outcome in public archaeology by the 1990s as archaeologists in and out of academia have became more engaged in community-based archaeology and real-world settings. Today, the lines among research, teaching, and application are more blurred. With curricula that include elements of CSL, he contends, teachers of archaeology can more effectively demonstrate archaeology's relevance to addressing contemporary human problems. Students are able to learn better when they have to teach the concept themselves. In addition, they are better able to see the past as connected to the present and have a greater appreciation for diversity.

Sherene Baugher (ch. 2) describes the challenges and diverse opportunities that she and her students at Cornell have encountered. Students immersed in CSL courses can, for example, move beyond the academic status quo by developing oral history skills as part of public archaeology research. Others have taken on public interpretation projects involving exhibit design, museum education, excavation tours, and park interpretive programs. Notwithstanding that many

archaeologists have been uninterested in research partnerships with nonarchaeologists, both groups bring ideas and perspectives to the table. At the Enfield Falls project, one outcome to sharing perspectives was that students learned to be more tolerant of cultural diversity.

In the last of the "background" chapters, Scott McLaughlin (ch. 3) of the University of Vermont offers a model for service learning practice that involves several different approaches, including strategies for CSL curriculum development. Students learn about effective strategies for heritage stewardship and archaeological heritage management while getting direct experience in community leadership. His comprehensive model is a set of parameters for archeological CSL and sets the stage for the chapters and case studies that follow.

CSL IN THE CLASSROOM

As the first example under the "partnerships and the classroom" section of the book, Mary Ann Levine and James A. Delle (ch. 4) describe a CSL project where students at Franklin and Marshall helped a local group conduct an archaeological investigation around houses owned by 19th-century abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens and his African American housekeeper. The project provided opportunities for local schoolchildren to learn about community history and the roles played by Stevens and Delle in the Underground Railroad. Levine and Delle point out the value of reflection component of CSL as indicated by the content of student journals. They provide an example of a CSL course-assessment scheme, including written statements from grade school students involved in the project and other forms of feedback through student journal entries.

In chapter 5, Uzi Baram created a CSL program at New College of Florida that took on the controversial issues of race and class in an atmosphere of gentrification of a historically significant section of Sarasota, Florida. The project involved a study of grave markers in Rosemary Cemetery, the burial site of many city founders. The project was intellectually engaging for students in coming to terms with conflicting perspectives and seeing how archaeology is applied to real-world issues beyond the excavation and curation of artifacts.

Ruben Mendoza in chapter 6 explains how the newly formed California State University, Monterey Bay's Institute for Archaeology, in concert with CSU Monterey's Service Learning Institute, used a CSL model to help realize the university vision to promote growth of social responsibility. Mendoza's students began reconstructing the architectural history of early California as a backdrop to efforts to preserve the Old Mission San Juan Bautista. Projects brought together archaeology and museum-studies students, community volunteers, church officials, and even inmates from a local correctional facility to work collaboratively to produce educational and interpretive materials such as DVDs and videos to garner public support to record and save the mission (Jameson and Baugher 2007:3, 188).

CSL IN RESEARCH AND FIELDWORK

In chapter 7, Paul Thacker demonstrates how CSL and community-based archaeology can be used to direct research goals beyond the excavation metaphor. At Old Salem, North Carolina, students participated in an archaeological investigation of an early schoolhouse that served African Americans. Through the CSL project, students obtained valuable experience and skills in civic engagement through a collaboration with local residents in the redevelopment of the Happy Hill neighborhood. In addition to traditional academic learning, the students also obtained knowledge and skills in presentations, archaeological ethics, and resource advocacy.

The sad plight of Native Americans in New England after the Europeans arrived is well chronicled, and, as in other areas of North America, Native American history has been practically erased in traditional historical accounts. Elizabeth Chilton and Siobhan Hart have helped to alleviate this oversight through their work in the Connecticut River Valley. In chapter 8, they describe courses and field schools where they apply principles of critical archaeology in attempting to decolonize archaeology. Their CSL curricula at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, applies the basic tenets of CSL—preparation, reflection, action, and evaluation—in providing a service to the community. In working with various stakeholder communities, student projects strive to build on existing community assets, improve academic learning, and advance student commitment to civic participation, incorporating real world contexts. Journaling and self-reflection are given as key elements in projects aimed at developing trust relationships with stakeholders.

Chapter 9, the final chapter in the "civic engagement and fieldwork" section, is an example of a CSL program that focuses on the events and aftermath of the Ludlow Massacre that occurred during the 1913–14 Colorado Coal Strike. The chapter examines the effects of the Ludlow Massacre on the present-day labor community, including the importance of women and other minorities, in southern Colorado. Principal authors Paul Reckner and Phil Duke, with contributors, explain how the learning experiences available to students have constantly shifted as the community grew and changed as the project progressed. Their model for CSL includes the credo that responsible and relevant archaeology requires that we engage with interested communities, and it offers tools for realizing public engagement in an environment of strong class identity.

Paul Shackel's epilogue (ch. 10) places the various archaeological applications of the CSL approach presented in these chapters within a broader context of socially responsible civic engagement that reaches beyond the classroom and the academy (see also Little and Shackel 2007). Shackel argues that CSL approaches enable public archaeologists to claim more than just lip service to public benefits of archaeology and suggests ways that archaeology and CSL can be mutually beneficial: CSL enables archaeologists to do things with, rather than for, others.

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeology and Community Service Learning is an excellent example of applied archaeology with a focus on community outreach, service learning, and collaboration with a variety of community partners and stakeholders. Chapters

show how the CSL approaches can be successfully applied to archaeological endeavors in expanding and enhancing learning opportunities for students. In describing mechanisms for aiding and promoting civic engagement as well as embracing community-based partnerships, this book is a must-read for public archaeologists and anthropologists both within and outside of academia.

The readability of the book might have been enhanced by avoiding unnecessary redundancy among the respective chapters in the reiteration of descriptions and definitions of CSL. In addition, some chapters read like they were meant to be stand-alone articles rather than part of a themed symposium or publication. But these are minor irritations from a volume that should be on every public archaeologist's shelf.

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Single Reviews

Righteous Dopefiend

Philippe Bourgois and Jeff Schonberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009. 392 pp.

Javier Auyero
University of Texas, Austin

Nothing this reviewer could say would do justice to what is undoubtedly a tour de force into the lives of homeless drug addicts in contemporary San Francisco. The product of more than a decade of ethnographic fieldwork, this book describes (both with words and visual images) a heartbreaking and disturbing world, revealing the lives of those who love, suffer, and die there.

Social suffering has recently gained a long-deserved attention in the social sciences, particularly in anthropology and sociology. Its causes and forms have been scrutinized from a variety of theoretical perspectives and in a wide array of empirical universes. And yet, we still lack systematic accounts of the lived experiences of suffering, of what that destructive "against-us" experience does to human beings. *Righteous Dopefiend* comes to fill this void—providing vivid, luminous, and jarring examinations of what homelessness and addiction do to people and of how these individuals make sense of their dependence and destitution.

The authors take us into the heart of a continuum of structural, symbolic, everyday, and interpersonal violence as experienced by homeless addicts to describe and explain the logic and dynamics of their addiction. And they do so by carefully navigating between the two extremes (traps would be a better name) that normally tempt students of subaltern groups: miserabilistic and populist interpretations. Under the spell of the first, we are inclined to see the dominated, the excluded, as victims of an all-powerful system. Under the influence of the second (more popular these days among academics), we tend to read into every action of the dominated an act of heroic resistance of a people untouched by domination. And yet, the authors tell us, Edgewater addicts are neither victims nor heroes; they are complex, contradictory human beings, victims and victimizers at the same time who live (and die) under conditions (both material and symbolic) not of their own choosing. Creatively adapting several key social-scientific concepts and sensitizing notions (moral economy, habitus, "gray zone"), the authors manage to explain this suffering as a product of the intersection of structural forces and individual actions.

As an ethnographer, I truly admire the nerve the authors have shown—that is, their guts. They have been "there," enduring what the homeless endure. They drank, ate, and slept among them. And they are now back to tell us (and as importantly, show us, with the use of long, detailed testimonies and penetrating photographs) what they've seen, heard, and smelled. "Good enough" reconstruction is a crucial accomplishment of this book for two reasons. One, because these days many an ethnographic text tells more than

shows—abusing, on many an occasion, the author's authority and the reader's trust. And two, because the authors, I think rightly so, never made the effort to hide themselves: they were there with the sufferers, just as they are now here with us, their readers.

But this is not only an ethnographic text seeking to make suffering visible. An exercise in what the authors call "critically applied public anthropology," the book ends with a set of very concrete and highly informative recommendations (from short to long term) that, if taken up by policy makers, would dramatically reduce the plight of the subjects of this book and of many an urban outcast.

In its practical execution, its narrative form, its political implications, this is an impeccable ethnography that will surely inform the shape and form of future research on and discussions of urban marginality.

Fighting Like a Community: Andean Civil Society in an Era of Indian Uprising

Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 256 pp.

Edward Fischer
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The best ethnographies have a way of shifting the kaleidoscopic lens and making us view things in new and complicated ways. In his new book *Fighting Like a Community,* Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld does just that. He argues that internal pluralism, rather than shared values, has driven the politics and successes of Ecuador's indigenous movement—and may well prove to be its downfall as well. Studies of Latin American indigenous movements have tended to focus on an ethnic politics of solidarity in confronting political-economic structures. Colloredo-Mansfeld challenges this view for the Ecuadorean case, compelling us to look at indigenous movements and identity politics in a novel way.

This book is successful in showing how the politics within subaltern groups may interconnect with, as well as repel, the politics of external domination in unanticipated ways. It clearly shows for the case of the Ecuadorian Andes that communities have appropriated state ideals of organization and control (list making, councils, territorial jurisdiction). Rather than locking in state power, this form of "vernacular statecraft" has worked to manage internal differences and set the foundation for national political action through collective struggle.

The argument develops in three parts, beginning with descriptions of the careers of three men whose histories and moral commitments significantly overlap and diverge. These personal stories illustrate individuals' capacities within Andean communities to pursue different moral projects from one another and simultaneously create new assets for their communities, remaking Indian identity in the process. As we gradually discover, this revelation of the enduring significance of Indian communities is critical to understanding how communities provided motivation and means for the Ecuadorean indigenous movement's first uprising in 1990.

When Colloredo-Mansfeld shifts from personal histories to the meat of political struggles through which discontinuities give way to common ground, the narrative gains momentum. Part 2 shows how conflicting values held by individuals are worked out in different contexts ranging from community works projects to community intervention in matters of crime and punishment. In each case, people relied on and shaped particular techniques of community politics, appropriated from the state, to help maintain linkages between individuals and households. The main strength of this argument is that it rectifies to a large degree a rosy depiction of "community" in the Andes and romanticized notions of "the subaltern" and "indigenous activism." Colloredo-Mansfeld is strongest here when he exposes the internal politics of communities, making important contributions to contemporary debates over change and continuity in indigenous communities and the role of civil society.

Part 3 expands on the perspective of community fights to examine how the same techniques of community politics enable indigenous people to take on state agencies and defend indigenous self-determination. In the context of national protest, pluralism emerges in action beyond local community and councils, merging massed communities. And still communities lie at the heart of the protests, for the "power [to mobilize] . . . develops and flows among communities," where organizational capacity and political consciousness are widely distributed in a nonhierarchical fashion (p. 179). Colloredo-Mansfeld recognizes, however, that this power comes at a cost.

Narrative stories are interwoven with literature review and theoretical argumentation, which engages the reader's imagination and sustains it until the very end. Rather than overwhelming the reader with "thick" theory, Colloredo-Mansfeld effectively builds up his theoretical points from thick ethnographic description. The book could have more fully addressed gender politics. It suggests that men and women have different experiences of Indianness and local politics, but its stress on male perspectives in the case studies implicitly leaves to future research a more explicit

discussion of internal conflicts between men and women, and among women, and how these articulate or disarticulate with more pervasive political-economic structures. This point of critique notwithstanding, Colloredo-Mansfeld provides an illuminating account that breaks new ground theoretically through an approachable writing style.

Through fine-grained descriptions of the internal intricacies of politics and disunities of value orientations in indigenous communities, Colloredo-Mansfeld is able to capture more fully the complexities of motives and to offer a realistic view on challenges to organizing. This book makes a key contribution to the anthropology of indigenous movements in Latin America while speaking to timely debates in anthropology, sociology, and related disciplines about the constitution of civil society, the way liberalism and democracy sometimes coexist only uneasily with strong communitarian ideals, and the role of class and culture in indigenous movements. Colloredo-Mansfeld allows us to move beyond a rhetorical recognition of the interlinked economic and political battles of diverse collectivities to a more rooted grasp of their dynamics, which are taking place at multiple levels.

Latino Spin: Public Image and the Whitewashing of Race

Arlene Davila. New York: New York University Press, 2008. 211 pp.

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Anthropologist Arlene Davila's *Latino Spin: Public Image and the Whitewashing of Race* is a fresh analysis of the torrential discussion of what the growing Latino presence in the United States means for "America," Latinos themselves, and the politics of race. Davila pulls the complex representations of Latinos into a common set of themes to argue that, rather than overthrowing traditional hierarchical notions of race, Latinos are simultaneously being assimilated into the U.S. racial hierarchy (and not at the top) while also being cautioned against developing an alternative racial consciousness.

Davila rightly points out this discussion is coming simultaneously from discourse communities within the "Latino" community as well as the broader press, mainstream media, and presidential campaigns like the one run by George W. Bush in 2004. From Mexican political pundits to Cuban advertising firms, there is a race to define *Latinos.* One can find no more competing images than between Gregory Rodriguez's *Mongrels, Bastards, Orphans, and Vagabonds: Mexican Immigrants and the Politics of Race* (2007) and Junot Díaz's Pulitzer-winning *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* (2007), both of which deal with "race." Rodriguez wants to place an image of Latinos, and especially Mexicans, as happily taking their place in the U.S. mainstream and middle class and in so doing bringing their own "racelessness" to the project. For Rodriguez, Mexicans, by consequence, are "ethnics" awaiting assimilation, which mirrors a strain of the sociological literature making the same argument (see Alba and Nee 2003). On the other side of the debate are novelist Diaz and anthropologist Davila, who argue that while Latinos are not a "race," they are racialized. Their view is shared by a host of political scientists, sociologists, and legal scholars (also see Gomez 2008; Hattam 2007; Telles and Ortiz 2009).

Davila investigates how in modern advertising and in political campaigns there is an attempt to portray Latinos as proper patriotic "Americans" who fit into a right-wing model of the model immigrant. This comes with the implicit suggestion that Latinos will vote Republican, start businesses, buy consumer products, and in other ways behave like proper middle-class (white) U.S. citizens. Looming on the opposite end are media and public portrayals that emphasize Latinos as a "problem" and focus on undocumented immigration, crime, and other "pathologies" that supposedly are endemic to Latinos. Rather than see these representations as polar opposites, Davila shows how they work hand in glove to discipline Latino agency.

In her examination of the public image of Latinos, Davila provides us with the understanding that the vindicationists who emphasize how conservative Latinos are and highlight their middle-class status are, in many ways, an extension of the discourses that construct Latinos as a problem. In response to racist attacks, these commentators both inside and outside of the community want to capitulate to the "norms" of middle-class white citizens and place Latinos within that frame. Davila deftly captures the bind Latinos face. They must either choose assimilation to a standard they will never meet or be publicly demonized (consider, e.g., Arizona's new immigration law).

Davila explores the problem in all of its layered complexity. In her chapter entitled "The Times-Squaring of El Barrio: Mega Projects, Spin and 'Community Consent,'" she illustrates the way the forces of gentrification are using this logic to displace Latinos and "sanitize" communities. Showing that she is unwilling to simply praise the institution of ethnic studies and the academy, Davila also turns her attention to one of her academic homes (other than anthropology): ethnic studies/Latin@ studies. She demonstrates the difficult conundrum of how ethnic studies, while providing a space for scholars of color, is often treated by university administrators as a separate and unequal space within the university. Davila not only challenges university administrators but also scholars within ethnic studies for reifying the separate but equal status.

This book stands as a powerful caution to those trumpeting postracialism in the wake of the Obama election. One minor criticism is that while Davila plays down the breathless referrals to the Latino vote, it is apparent that Latino voters in key states in the Southwest—New Mexico, Nevada, and Colorado—helped swing those critical states toward now-President Obama. Further, a Latino electorate motivated by the anti-immigrant attacks from the right may have a substantial effect in the midterm elections in November of 2010.

At the same time, the overtly racist reaction of Glenn Beck of Fox News and the Tea Party movement as reaction to the prospect of Puerto Rico statehood again shows the one-step-forward, two-steps-back dance that has characterized the racialization of Latinos. Davila identifies one often-unstated part of these representations: the admonition that Latinos should not adopt an oppositional racial consciousness like African Americans but, rather, should as proper ethnics assimilate.

Latino spin is a useful guide to this public discourse and is even prescriptive. Davila gives us a solid template from which to interpret the likely public response to the 2010 Census: media outlets will trumpet the growth of Latinos and their assimilation into the middle class, the right will be apoplectic about the growing Latino threat, and "Latino spin" will continue.

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Producing Success: The Culture of Personal Advancement in an American High School

Peter Demerath. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 224 pp.

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Anthropologists have often asked: "What role does education play in culture?" In *Producing Success,* author Peter Demerath inverts this query and asks: "What role does culture play in education?" From that question, he launches into an examination of stratification, inequity, class-based identity, and advantage—issues long central to anthropological inquiry. In his four-year ethnography of Wilton Burnham High School (WBHS) in Wilton, Ohio, a suburb of Columbus, Demerath looks through education to examine the cultural allocation of values. He reveals and interrogates "advantage" as a well-constructed and established product of cultural arrangements and "class-cultural" processes.

In *Producing Success,* Demerath seeks to reveal and explain "the interconnected set of meanings, beliefs, and practices" (p. 2) that undergird a cultural system through which advantage is constructed. By focusing on the ways in which multiple actors, both in and outside of WBHS, construct advantage, the author casts a unique lens on the role of U.S. schooling in the perpetuation of social inequality. He offers insights into "the hidden assumptions, beliefs, and concerns" (p. 6) of the striving middle class. In doing so, Demerath provides a much-needed counterbalance to the abundant explanations of school failure in which the schooling experiences of those who are not members of some amorphous advantaged middle class are compared with the experiences of those who are.

Anthropology and education, with its abundance of school-based ethnographies, has often, and correctly, been criticized for its near exclusive focus on schooling, but *Producing Success* reconnects schooling to the larger cultural processes of education and shows us that good ethnographies, educational or otherwise, provide an analysis that explores the complexities and indeterminacy of human life with historical, political, and social considerations. By situating Wilton High within a web of relations with the community, Demerath exposes the "Wilton Way"—the practices and ideologies of advantage and achievement circulated among the parents, students, school staff, and members of the Wilton community that legitimize privilege and expectations of success.

Central to the "Wilton Way" are the "preoccupations with socioeconomic status and class mobility and associated beliefs concerning the naturalness and ubiquity

of competition" (p. 33). "Wilton's class ideology, use of community resources, conceptions of personhood, and purposes of school" are inextricably linked in a cultural system, in which the community invests private resources into the school in return for added value to the community and in which parents leverage both school and community resources. Some parents even secure "special-education" status for their children, ensuring unwarranted services such as additional tutoring for optimum performance and leading one special-education staff member to reiterate what she characterized as a classic quote: "There are no average kids in Wilton" (p. 56).

Parts 1 and 2 of the book focus on the ongoing production of institutional and individual worth and emphasize competitive success. From the school's slogan "Where Excellence Is a Tradition" to a variety of innovative institutional ways created to recognize "the substance or appearance of success" (p. 64), Wilton accentuates students' accomplishments. Everyone who receives above a 4.0 grade point—ten percent of the senior class in one year of the study—graduates as a valedictorian, and the importance of maintaining self-worth is so cherished that a "Celebration of Excellence" medal and ribbon is awarded to each graduate.

However, for those who succeed and those who do not, there are high costs. As detailed in part 3, adapting to the nearly unregulated competitive practices at WBHS resulted in grade inflation, cheating, stress, fatigue, illness, alienation, and disengagement. Drawing on the experiences of eight focal students, this ethnography provides a glimpse into the ways in which race and gender complicate the class cultural processes in the community and the school. The "Wilton Way" certainly contributes to "the achievement 'gaps' between students from different backgrounds" (p. 175), suggesting that the cultural system itself may be the primary advantage for students who succeed and, paradoxically, the greatest disadvantage for those who do not.

Demerath's cultural analysis is somewhat confused by his casual use of terms, including *student culture* and *school culture*—phrases more often found in educational research outside of anthropology. As well, his occasional comparisons with a Papua New Guinea community in which he had previously lived and conducted research do not necessarily evoke a "cross-cultural view" (p. 6); nonetheless, these interjections add intersubjectivity often lacking in educational ethnographies. These minor concerns noted, *Producing Success* provides a unique, complex, and intriguing look at a cultural system aimed at constructing advantage that challenges readers to consider "how public schools articulate with the competitive requirements of [U.S.] society" (p. 182).

Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule, 1917–1967

Ilana Feldman. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 324 pp.

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In 1930, while the British ruled Palestine as a Mandate Territory, a group of Gazan notables penned a letter to the British high commissioner for Palestine, complaining of their mayor's deficient leadership: "The mayor of Gaza is kept occupied with his own private business to an extent as to neglect the interest of the town . . . Winter is well in season, the roads are in a deplorable state. . . . The mud in the streets actually makes it impossible to walk, while due to the hopeless lighting system, it is an actual danger to be outdoors at night" (pp. 50–51). This call for better local government, which is at once an illuminating portrait of everyday life in Gaza during mandate period, is but one of the archival documents that anthropologist Ilana Feldman analyzes in her historical ethnography of the "everyday work of rule" in Palestine in the periods spanning the British Mandate (1917–48) and subsequent Egyptian Administration (1948–67).

In this monograph—one impressive in its meticulous attention to historical detail, its artful melding of ethnography and history, and its skillful engagement with a wide range of scholarly literatures—Feldman contends that the case of Gaza does much to illuminate both an understudied aspect of Palestinian history (more on this below) and the often fragile and makeshift nature of government bureaucracy per se. *Governing Gaza* is, at its core, a study of ordinary domains and acts of government that might escape notice among scholars for whom the state is conceptualized as a rational and all-knowing aggregate. Rather, joining a growing body of anthropological scholarship on the state and governmentality, Feldman deftly uses her archival and ethnographic materials to substantiate her claim that government should be understood as a "regime of practices" whose authority rests in the daily and highly quotidian "form, shape, and habits" of these practices.

Governing Gaza is a work of both history and ethnography. The bulk of Feldman's ethnography was conducted with retired civil servants in the Gaza Strip; she employs these interviews to complement and complicate her analyses of 50 years of Gazan government as manifest in the archives it generated. Part 1 studies "practices and procedures of rule," beginning with an analysis of the accumulated documents, repetitive filing procedures, and archives that were

both produced by government and productive of it—bodies of material that Feldman posits as important "actors in the bureaucratic field" in their own right (ch. 2). Chapters 3 and 4 investigate the habits of civil servants and the ordinary course of this career, arguing that both domains of everyday government practice, including debates about the work and identity proper to this position, were implicated in the production of governmental authority. Part 2 focuses on services provided by these governments to Gazans in their 50 years (e.g., housing, education, and religion), with a particular emphasis on service provision in the midst of varying historical crises—the massive Palestinian dispossession of 1948 being paramount among them. Drawing on Foucaultian analytics, Feldman urges us to understand "crisis servicing" for the ways in which it "highlights the practice of an ethic of care that governed relations among people and between people and government" (p. 125). The latter half of the book is framed by what Feldman terms "tactical government"—a term that, after Michel de Certeau, designates both the instable and temporary nature of the governments in question and the daily work of which their authority is comprised.

In the pages of this deeply scholarly volume, one also finds new accounts of Palestinian national history. In chapter 7, for example, one learns about the ways that the Gazan teachers negotiated the relationship between "nation" and "citizen"—a relationship that vacillated as did the political moment in question. Contrary to conventional accounts of nationalism and citizenship, Feldman suggests ways these fields were decoupled in the Gazan instance—a decoupling evident in the struggles of local Palestinian educators against the highly politicized curricula of both the British and Egyptian administrations. And yet, for scholars primarily invested in questions of Palestinian nationalism or in delineations of history that strictly follow the fault lines of the Palestine–Israel conflict, this book will disappoint. But this is precisely its strength. For although Feldman's study is a rigorously historical one, it charts Gazan history differently. As she notes from the beginning: "My primary interest here is not the significant dates, battles, and political maneuvers in Gaza's history, but life in the in-between: the time and space between such dramatic events" (p. 2). Indeed, Feldman rejects not merely conventional framings of Palestinian history but also classic forms of historical framing more generally, as much of her inquiry is organized along thematic or argumentative lines—this in an attempt to argue "government" differently. What *Governing Gaza* provides is not merely the ethnographic and historic basis for a rethinking of the very notion of "government"—a shift from an aggregate institution to a body of ordinary practices—but also a vision of everyday Gaza that most scholars have neglected.

The Captive and the Gift: Cultural Histories of Sovereignty in Russia and the Caucasus

Bruce Grant. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 188 pp.

Dale Pesmen
Independent Scholar

The Captive and the Gift is presented as an ethnographic rethinking of histories of Russian relations in the Caucasus, a territory stretching from Russia almost to Iran that encompasses, among other regions, Ossetia, Ingushetia, Dagestan, Chechnya, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

It is an ambitious venture, but Bruce Grant achieves even more—and does so with masterful scholarship and in accessible terms. By examining a wide range of narratives and events and the roles they play in the lives of empires, Grant reveals a fascinating view of sovereignty being negotiated. He draws on interviews in Azerbaijan and elsewhere, historical research, literature, media, and film; readers with many interests will find this fascinating. He is not only fluent in his material, it is clearly very alive for him, as comes across in a particular freshness of the writing; ready to be surprised, he thoughtfully interprets interlocutors' words, recontextualizes works of art, finds a historian's comments "ginger" and centuries-old inscriptions and military aphorisms newly "canny." Although focused on the past two centuries, Grant is in no way stingy with lucid forays into more remote times. His familiarity with his topics helps him vividly present a symbolic economy reliant on intertwined "sleights"—of history, power, gender, and exchange.

Grant demonstrates how Russian and Caucasian histories of encounter share a "remarkably plastic" language as well as "the artful use of the gift," which "has morphed across time and space with telling resonance" (p. 157) and in which giving and taking both confused and were confused.

Beginning with Aeschylus's tale of the "masculine, mountainous" Caucasus, wherein Prometheus, bringer of imperial, civilizing gifts, knowing beforehand that he will be punished, nevertheless "gives of himself for this greater cause," Grant traces related imagery through time. "One of the most popular myths of the Russian colonial encounter repeatedly casts the victor/colonizer as captive" (p. 16); bodies, given and stolen, invested with any number of religious, economic, cultural, and colonizing missions, became "prominent signs of sacrifices made for the advancement of the newly captured lands" (p. xvii). Such narratives of

"hospitality on a federal scale" (p. 41) were a context for the Caucasus' incorporation into the USSR and remain popularly voiced now.

Fyodor Dostoevsky wrote that Russia's civilizing mission would "lift our spirit . . . give us dignity and self-consciousness" (p. 92). In the work of writers, including Leo Tolstoy, Mikhail Lermontov, and Alexander Pushkin, whose characters are so resilient and accessible for reinterpretation, Grant shows the "gift of empire" as a gift first and foremost "to oneself." He also discusses the media, in which mentions of male and female "Captives of the Caucasus" refer both to the generations of films he examines and to actual kidnappings that continue "as the area continues to know this . . . strangely suturing kind of violence" (p. 161).

Captives were also "good to think" on Caucasian terms, Grant shows, such that Russia's mythography of the good prisoner "entered a fertile landscape where idioms of ritual lending, borrowing, and outright seizure of bodies had a long tradition" (p. 17). "What ethnographic records of the transformative traffic in sons, daughters, and lone wolves suggest is that any persons who entered the space of the Caucasus . . . would be defined as much by the terms of others as by their own" (p. 90). Grant picks through this tangled "Caucasian knot," "a pattern of mutual meprision" in which "all parties found their political capacities and military practices transformed by mutual appropriations" and "questions of cause and effect were . . . increasingly difficult to answer" (p. 35).

Grant cites work by Franz Boas, Marcel Mauss, Bronislaw Malinowski, Annette Weiner, Georges Bataille, and many others, but one of the most valuable aspects of this ethnography only begins with its succinct review of thought on the gift. Citing Pierre Bourdieu on the ambiguity and "euphemized, binding violence" of gift giving, Grant continues: "The magic of the gift is that it suggests a generosity that is seemingly among the most natural of human drives, the innocent desire to help" (p. 157). This suggestion, however, often dissimulates power and selfhood and sets up auspices for violence.

If "self-giving" has been especially generative in Russian political arts, in part because of the roles "altruism" and "generosity" play in the culture of soul (p. 50), these images, practices, and sentiments are certainly not only persuasive in Russia or in the past. Grant points to current uses of this same language in gestures of statecraft closer to where he lives, rhetoric proclaiming that, rather than being occupiers, the foreign powers had been invited in to protect and help residents establish their own governments. Grant has shown amazing vision in identifying the "Caucasian captive," a subject that can be far more revealing about here and now than Kula or potlatch can.

Early in his discussion, Grant disagrees, as critics of Mauss began to do long ago, with seeing gifts as exercising only calculated, mercantile functions. He doesn't follow that theoretical critique far in terms of his own ethnographic discovery, but I don't blame him; it represents a major challenge. We get better and better at discovering what we don't see, how we are blind to it, and how "seemingly natural" sentiments are made to seem natural, hijacked, and exploited. Most such descriptions, even when indicating something vastly more subtle than calculation or mercantilism, do end up, at least in part, as gestures of unmasking some species of false consciousness. But if the meanings of, for example, *generosity* and *kindness* are not entirely exhausted by the fact that they can be found to be complicit in ulterior agendas, might these persistent languages of our everyday delusion have something genuinely new and surprising to teach in addition to that? Grant's work would represent an extremely generous context for such an endeavor.

Cuba: Religion, Social Capital, and Development

Adrian H. Hearn. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 232 pp.

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Cuba: Religion, Social Capital, and Development attempts to reconcile the relationship between "emerging Cuban grassroots initiatives" (p. 4) and the "intended omnipresence of the central state" (p. 5). In other words, Adrian Hearn is concerned with civil society, Cuban style. Specifically, how can civil society blossom under one-party communist rule?

Hearn recognizes that Cuba's public sphere remains politically constrained by state-controlled publishing, public broadcasting, and protest. His focus, therefore, is on more nuanced and complex interactions that highlight the spaces and social networks in which, arguably, there is greater fluidity and negotiation between state and nonstate actors. He argues that his field research was unfolding at a time when Cuba's political and economic reality were in flux and spheres of religious and political activity were brought into unprecedented contact, collaboration, and alliance. Specifically, Afro-Cuban religious leaders and communities became key players in mobilizing, being mobilized, and decentralizing state projects. These included projects related to health education, housing construction, and the commercialization of religious exotica. In turn, these religious leaders and communities came to benefit from state funds and legitimization. Hearn frames this new alliance as a type of social capital and argues that it forms the basis of Cuban civil society.

Hearn's impressive, long-term research uncovering these evolving networks unfolded while he was living in two

impoverished and physically crumbling Afro-Cuban Santeria temple houses, first in Old Havana (2000–02) and then in Santiago de Cuba (2005–06). His place of residence, particularly after his initiation as a ceremonial *batá* drummer, convinces the reader of his access, immersion, and high level of participation in the communities he describes. But his research also extends beyond these walls. He includes some case studies of Christian communities. He also describes interviews that he conducted with international delegations of development workers and politicians, often in exclusive hotel lobbies and bars.

The main focus, however, remains the Afro-Cuban religious communities. The book describes a series of consequences that follow from Cuba's engagement with a global market—unavoidable after the Soviet Union's collapse. It highlights a recurrent pattern in which communities attempt to maintain internal bonds while they simultaneously forge external links with the state and international players. The first chapter focuses on the tourism promotion, in particular how Cuba has commercialized *Santería* performance, tradition, and practice for a broader audience and to increase revenue. Chapter 2 explains how Afro-Cuban religious communities have decentralized health and welfare projects in the poorest sectors of Havana. It also uncovers how urban development institutions approached Afro-Cuban religious leaders known for their strong networks of support, friendship, and kinship to join them in their fight against local problems (drugs, prostitution, and housing decay). Chapter 3 extends the question of collaboration to international NGOs, which have grown in importance in Cuba's economic landscape since the 1990s—although the central government regulates their activity if they are not embedded within the administrative structure of the state. Hearn dwells on the linguistic and conceptual ambiguity of a "civil society," the ultimate role of which in Cuba "endorses state stewardship over community interest and national sovereignty" (p. 131). The final chapter asks if the state can maintain both legitimacy and authority in a context in which it increasingly must provide financing, administrative liberties, and ideological flexibility in return for political loyalty and social welfare services.

What is perhaps most novel about the ethnography is its active interest in confronting historically contentious and politically charged issues regarding Cuba's central state and public sphere, contemporary identity as a socialist state, and in doing so primarily from a bottom-up, ethnographic perspective. In challenging commonly held assumptions about ideal forms of citizen participation, Hearn raises questions about how citizens' interests can be served outside a standard democratic framework—and, more specifically, in a repressive one.

Overall, the book contributes to anthropological thinking on variants of civil society and of the importance of social capital in economic development. That said, although his brief case studies provide a series of sketches that support his argument and his text is peppered with field note excerpts, the ethnography is thin in that it sometimes lacks the vivid imagery, dialogue, and richly contextualized detail that gives the reader a sense of having lived with Hearn in Havana and Santiago.

Finally, in future research in this area, it would be crucial to see more clearly how the tensions between "stewardship," state funding, and state suppression are interpreted by citizens at large, including by Cuba's growing middle class. Their voices, no less Cuban, are not heard here. Because much of their capital comes from family remittances from abroad, they are less dependent on state funding, less interested in state legitimization and stewardship, and less interested in collaborating with the state at all. Their vision of civil society, in other words, is not the fluid, negotiable, and frankly murky civil society *a lo Cubano* that Hearn describes here; it is broader, more traditional, and separate from the state.

Despite these criticisms, Hearn's book adds new ethnographic details to the ongoing conversation about the nature of contemporary Cuban political life. Cuba specialists across the disciplines should benefit from reading this book, as should scholars of civil society and comparative politics and any upper-level undergraduates or graduate students contemplating fieldwork in Cuba during this era of gradual and often confusing change in the meaning of Cuban citizenship.

Alien Ocean: Anthropological Voyages in Microbial Seas

Stefan Helmreich. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. 403 pp.

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"There is yet another world to be discovered—and more than one! Embark, philosophers!" When Friedrich Nietzsche published these lines in *The Gay Science* in 1882, the sea was the way into foreign, yet to be explored and exploited, worlds. The sea—and those living overseas—evoked images of heroic journeys, land taking, and colonialism. And, of course, the possibility of cultural critique (as it was later practiced by generations of anthropologists, many of whom began their ethnographies with stories about stormy oceans journeys).

But what does the sea stand for today, more than a century after *The Gay Science*? In the age of Gaia? At a time when oceanographers are busy sequencing the ocean's genome?

And what is—or could be—the sea's place in and for anthropology? An anthropology that has decoupled itself from its heroic endeavors overseas? That has deterritorialized—liquefied—the locally contained cultures it once studied?

The beauty of Stefan Helmreich's new book, *Alien Ocean: Anthropological Voyages in Microbial Seas,* is that it courageously faces these fascinating questions. In seven chapters—they evolve around meaning-producing microbes in the mud of Monterey Bay; the impact of lateral gene transfer on images of the tree of life (and Schneider's account of kinship); the emergence of marine biotechnology; Hawaiian debates about what constitutes local nature and culture; sound- and mediascapes of the sea; submarine fieldtrips to the seafloor; and the relevance of marine microbiology for finding extraterrestrial life—Helmreich travels the sea and explores the various forms of life that live in, on, and with it.

It is worth asking how Helmreich, conceptually speaking, manages to transform such a diversely inhabited thing like the ocean into an object of anthropological inquiry. And worth asking it is because *Alien Ocean* is the scholarly outcome of Helmreich's second project, the second project of an anthropologist who was among the first to be trained in the anthropology of science and technology—that is, trained after the critique of the 1980s, at a time when anthropology has itself begun to "embark" and explore new terrains, facing new technical and conceptual challenges. What is at stake in Helmreich's book, this is to say, is not just the ocean and its role in a post-1980s anthropology of fluid cultures but as well the question of how a new generation practices anthropology today. So what kind of anthropology does *Alien Ocean* offer?

At first glance, the book equals an ethnographic account of a "paradigm shift"—a shift away from the rather descriptive oceanography of the past and toward what "is increasingly described as microbial oceanography" (p. 2), where before the ocean was inhabited by individual organisms, the application of genomic sequencing and data analysis has had the effect that "life is becoming unmoored from the boundaries of the organism into networks of connection. . . . Marine microbiology has fishes, jellyfish, and microbes transmogrified into a web of genetic text" (p. 8).

I write "at first glance" because the book does not offer—and is not intended to offer—an ethnographic report of this in-itself-fascinating transformation. It is neither written as an epistemological study of how oceanographers today, after the sea has become a microbial habitat, think of the sea, nor as an inquiry into experimental systems and how they produce new knowledge. Likewise, the book is not a sociological analysis of the newly emergent field of marine microbiology. No account is given of the gradual and generational growth of social networks along which ideas traveled, were taken up, or refuted.

Instead, *Alien Ocean* offers a culturalogic variant of anthropology. Oceanography, for Helmreich, is a deeply cultural undertaking. It exists—and can only exist—as embedded in a contestable symbolic order and set of power relations. The task of the cultural anthropologist is to travel these webs of meaning and to show how contingent and contested their production is, whether in Monterey labs, in Hawaiian biotech conferences, on vessels in the Sargasso Sea, and so forth.

It is only consequential that Helmreich introduces his book as "a contribution to symbolic anthropology, the study of what Clifford Geertz called 'webs of significance . . . the layered multiple networks of meaning carried by words, acts, conceptions, and other symbolic forms' " (p. 28). Although Geertz—together with Victor Turner the most often-quoted anthropologists in the book—conducted fieldwork to study locally contained cultures (what was once called "the native point of view"), Helmreich (inspired by the writings of Haraway and cultural studies in general) conducts fieldwork to immerse himself in the baroque flows of meaning in which the humans and nonhumans that inhabit the sea live and are meaningful.

As it is impossible to comprehensively map these semiotic webs—there are too many and each one of them is open ended—these explorations need a particular form. And this form, for Helmreich, is association. Ceaselessly he weaves associative links—and thereby maps the culture within which the ocean gains form today—between such diverse things as cultural theory, research vessels, oceanographers, whales, Gaia, blonde-haired undergraduates named Frieda and Emma, venture capitalists, cheese, archae, evolutionary theory, currents, high vents, DNA, Hawaiian natives, Moby Dick, and so on.

Among Helmreich's most potent methods to spark associations is his effort to read oceanography through anthropology and vice versa. This cross-reading works fascinatingly well largely because oceanography and anthropology as we once knew it share a common language. From the oceanographer's point of view, the ocean is a "primitive world," inhabited by "primitive life forms," that are essentially "alien to us." As oceanographers study "their" aliens in ways that recall how anthropologists once studied or invented theirs, much of the critique articulated in anthropology is applicable to oceanography and vice versa.

Alien Ocean—an "empirical itinerary of associations and relations, a travelogue . . . which mixes up things and their descriptions" (p. 23)—presents the reader with a quite fascinating, if at times exceedingly flamboyant (for not every association is a good one), culturalogic account of the ocean and of how anthropology today might be practiced: "anthropology as cultural critique and association" (p. 312). That other kinds of anthropology exist goes—almost—without saying.

Online a Lot of the Time

Ken Hillis. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 316 pp.

Dawn Nafus
Intel Labs

Online a Lot of the Time takes a critical look at digital multimedia environments, such as webcams operated by gay men and Second Life, a website where people create avatars of themselves and design or customize the digital environments that those avatars inhabit. Ken Hillis takes "virtualness" as itself an interesting problem, which is a significant development from earlier sociological works that have either deemed virtualness to be empty hype (Woolgar 2002) or willed it away through assertions that "real" community making is taking place in otherwise "virtual" spaces (Rheingold 2000). Hillis does not try to parse what is real and what is not but instead weaves together facets of ritual, late-capitalist consumption, notions of the fetish, and problems of meaning creation at the interstices of text and graphical form to surface a perspective on how and why these media inscribe modes of representation and narrative in the way that they do.

One might suppose that user-driven media, as opposed to print or broadcast, would demand an ethnographic account. These are, after all, ordinary people creating representations of themselves and each other, conversing and interacting in ways that circumvent more institution-driven modes of media production. Yet this is decidedly not an ethnographic work. Hillis claims it to be an interdisciplinary piece, but the evidence comes via the close textual read rather than participant-observation, and the style of argumentation can be frustratingly recursive. In principle the work tackles similar terrain as Tom Boellstorff (2009), such as online personhood and temporality, but because of these disciplinary differences, Hillis is less concerned about the immediate experience of online life and more concerned with where these practices sit in the context of wider media trajectories.

The real strength of the work lies in the sustained historicization of "virtual" life and Hillis's perspective on the temporalities that are at stake in online life. On these counts, there are some real delights to be found. To take the first, a common refrain in the scholarship on new information technologies is that the technology being examined is, in some sense, not new. But Hillis does not stop at earlier computer-driven precedents. The Bible, he notes, is a work suffused with the leaky boundary between text and graphical form. In chapter 4, Hillis unpacks the notion of the "middle voice" as a form of 19th-century writing that muddles character's subjectivities with those of authors, suggesting a precedent for the way in which contemporary avatars, which are readily consumed, exchanged, and transformed, muddle the traces and connections between author and representation. This is not mere acknowledgement of a precedent, though. The extensive care he gives to this kind of historicization offers the reader a sense of how these new media could only have been products of a Western cultural imagination.

In chapter 5, Hillis turns to the issue of what it means to be visible as a gay man on the Internet, aptly observing that there is a dual-edged, partial invisibility in the turn to new media as a tactic for articulating gay or queer voice. The audience for webcams of gay men is, after all, other gay men—hardly a politics of defiance. Even participants themselves reject the notion that community building might be rendered through webcams. Yet Hillis notes that this is a "twofold psychic survival . . . a turning away from and moving on from the perennial lack of progress rooted in a politics based in attaining full recognition from those who may never be prepared to grant it" (p. 222). This tactic, Hillis observes, echoes other ways in which the future never quite arrives in a neoliberal world focused on the immediacies of perpetual skin-deep consumption. Although his claims are occasionally sweeping and some of the theoretical choices are at times jarring—Michel de Certeau's (1984) work, for example, is strangely missing from the discussion of tactics of queer representation—on the whole there are nevertheless worthy insights to engage readers throughout the work.

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Needed by Nobody: Homelessness and Humanness in Post-Socialist Russia

Tova Höjdestrand. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 231 pp.

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The collapse of the Soviet Union made visible aspects of Russian life that had been hidden during the final decades of Communist rule. One of these was homelessness. In Soviet times, closely regulated access to urban housing and tough policing had removed undesirables from cities and masked what homelessness existed. When the regime fell, control weakened and migrants from former non-Russian Soviet republics and dying Russian villages, plus isolated lonely people who were swindled out of their apartments and ex-cons who had lost residency rights, swelled the ranks of the homeless.

The homeless in Russia were even more excluded and at risk than their counterparts in most Western countries because a person's access to welfare services was based on a residence permit *(propiska).* Without this permit, a homeless person faced an almost insurmountable barrier to retaining "humanness." It is around this struggle to remain "human" and not acknowledge oneself as a stigmatized *bomzh* that the Swedish scholar Tova Höjdestrand's marvelous book *Needed by Nobody* revolves. The term *bomzh,* although close in sound to our "bum," is actually an acronym composed of the first letters of an official label: ***b**ez **o**predelënnogo **m**esta **zh**itel'stva* (lit., without a specific place of residence).

Höjdestrand conducted her fieldwork in St. Petersburg at the end of the 1990s and divided her time between Western-financed agencies established for the homeless, government offices, and the Moscow railway station, a major gathering spot and work site of the homeless. The 1990s were a time of economic and political transition in Russia and a liminal period as well for the homeless, for these years offered a large number of "refuse" spaces and microenterprises that could accommodate and sustain the homeless. Höjdestrand analyzes these spaces and opportunities with remarkable insight and subtlety, as she unpacks the meaning of interactions between the homeless and employers, the public, the police, sadistic youth gangs that sometimes competed with the homeless for space, and janitors who monitored apartment house attics, basements, and stairwells where the homeless spent the night.

Networks of family, friends, and coworkers sustain Russians and allow them to function effectively. A common characteristic of the homeless is the absence of such ties. Many of Höjdestrand's subjects began as orphans and had few ties to begin with; others were set adrift through personal conflict, death of close ones, or loss of family contacts during incarceration. Personal-support networks operate via reciprocity. If Höjdestrand's informants started out with ties to relatives or friends, they soon lost them because of their inability to reciprocate with goods or favors. Homeless parents often abandoned their children to orphanages and in time severed ties altogether on the excuse that they could not offer their children gifts or monetary support and felt ashamed. At the root of many a homeless person's troubles was alcoholism. Although Höjdestrand is aware of this, occasionally she seems willing to accept her informants' excuses that they drank out of grief over their personal losses.

Most fascinating and original is Höjdestrand's analysis of personal relations between the homeless. Although the homeless sought companionship, they could not help being suspicious of one another as untrustworthy "others" because their chaotic and unscheduled lives rendered their relationships fragile and contingent. Höjdestrand examines shared sleeping arrangements, trade-offs of food, drink, and sex, and other forms of reciprocity and finds in them "neededness" but not friendship. Tellingly, the homeless did not refer to one another by nouns (friend, buddy) but by function: "We help one another." Indeed, she found that the same people who would offer help at one moment might, at the next, steal from and demean homeless companions as bomzhi and worse to produce a continuous leveling materially and emotionally. Höjdestrand observes that the homeless seemed to have two incommensurable subjectivities: while homeless, they might do vile things to companions and later, if they escape the homeless life, feel untroubled about such acts because they are able to impute them to that other (formerly homeless them), not the persons they are now.

This study is full of wonderfully instructive observations on the tactics that the homeless used to retain human dignity—to be "somebody" rather than "anybody." So long as they could con the police, fleetingly corner a resource, maintain a minimally clean and alert appearance—in short, as Höjdestrand writes, "do self-respect"—they could be "human." To succumb to "dirt"—that is, to cease to care about one's appearance—led to degradation and death.

A brief review cannot do justice to this superb study. Although focusing on a small population, Höjdestrand offers deep insight into Russian norms and behavior and illuminates her observations by comparisons with the treatment of the homeless elsewhere. This book should be read for its perceptive view of Russian life and incisive analysis of the mental world of the homeless.

Mothers and Others: The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding

Sarah Blaffer Hrdy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. 432 pp.

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Almost 40 years ago, playwright-anthropologist Robert Ardrey (1962) popularized Raymond Dart's the "killer ape" hypothesis to account for human divergence from other primates. Hunting, including the drive to vanquish members of one's own and related species, and the development of lethal weapons were seen as the driving engine of human evolution. We seem to have come full circle as it is Sarah Blaffer Hrdy's contention that what sets *Homo sapiens* apart is our profound sociality. To dramatically illustrate this point, the book opens with the reader asked to imagine a full airplane on a long journey with the human occupants peacefully ignoring the numerous total strangers in close proximity. Now consider . . .

> traveling with a planeload of chimpanzees. . . . Any one of us would be lucky to disembark with all ten fingers and toes still attached. . . . Bloody earlobes and other appendages would litter the aisles. Compressing so many highly impulsive strangers into a tight space would be a recipe for mayhem. [p. 3]

Not only is conviviality and mutual support distinctly human in Hrdy's view but also the fact that these traits "emerged in African [hominims] hundreds of thousands of years before inventive, symbol-generating, and talkative humans did" (p. 66).

In spite of the book's subtitle—*The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding*—Hrdy does not spend a great deal of time discussing relevant psychological principles such as *intersubjectivity* and *theory of mind*; the reader whose interest is piqued might find Phillipe Rochat's (2009) *Others in Mind: Social Origins of Self-Consciousness* more fruitful. What Hrdy does focus on is a subject she "owns"—namely, allomaternal care or cooperative breeding. In *Mothers and Others,* Hrdy extends many of the key ideas and issues introduced in her landmark *Mother Nature* (1999). The argument begins with the long period of dependency by human juveniles, which, unlike the chimpanzee case, does not act as a brake on fertility. On the contrary, fitness is enhanced as mothers are relieved by others of the burden of child care, enabling shorter IBI and higher fertility.

Hrdy here advances beyond earlier discussions of this phenomenon to posit that distributed care of infants and toddlers may have selected for greater cooperation and altruism among humans. She cites numerous examples of food sharing, for example, as a hallmark of cooperative breeding species. Further, "among the higher primates, humans stand out for their chronic readiness to exchange small favors and give gifts" (p. 25). The killer ape is not entirely absent from this narrative, as the author acknowledges widespread evidence of internecine conflict but sees these cases as exceptions rather than the norm. To this end, Hrdy gives far more attention to relatively egalitarian, nonaggressive African foraging societies. Unfortunately, however, this relative neglect of other social systems undermines her argument regarding the ubiquity of cooperative breeding. That is, I took away the message that we should not necessarily expect to see a heavy reliance on allomaternal care outside the aboriginal model. My reading of the literature, however, suggests that the distributed care of the young is very nearly universal. To mention just one recent study of Pashtun nomadic pastoralists, the author describes routine care by nonmothers, including (paternal) grandmothers and fathers (Casimir 2010).

Anthropologists have attempted to construct a *dramatis personae* of alloparents beginning with Herbert Barry and Leonora Paxson's (1971) survey, which found that infants and toddlers were highly likely to be in the care of alloparents, especially older siblings. This is a prominent theme in *Mothers and Others*: while sibcare is relatively neglected, grandmothers and fathers each get a chapter of their own. Hrdy reviews the work of Kristen Hawkes and colleagues (Hawkes et al. 2000) and others on postmenopausal women as critical caretakers of the young, but I found particularly novel and interesting the discussion of fathers. Although acknowledging the potential for fathers to function as caretakers of the young, most of her arguments suggest that males are often, if not mostly, a liability. She debunks the theory of the father as great hunter–provider engaged in a "sex contract" with the child's mother, trading sexual access for high-quality protein. Men are not consistently successful as hunters; they do not exclusively provision their own mates and offspring; and whether off hunting or herding or going walk about, men are often or usually absent from the domestic scene. Even among tamarins (Hrdy's discussion of other cooperative breeders is one of the book's distinct strengths), fathers scale back their involvement in child care if other alloparents are available (p. 172).

According to Hrdy, "What mothers and infants most urgently needed a male for was to protect them—not just from predators but from conspecific males" (p. 148). This assertion draws on extensive research, including Hrdy's early work with Hanuman Langurs, showing how vulnerable youngsters are to the attacks of ambitious males. Similarly, among chronically aggressive communities such as the Ache, fathers may play a protective role. Ultimately, however, Hrdy concludes that "human males may nurture young a little, a lot or not at all" (p. 162). Of course this high variability

virtually insures that mothers will go to considerable lengths, including manufacturing multifathered chimera children so as to attach themselves and offspring to supportive males.

Another theme that Hrdy brings to the fore in this work is the actions of the child in soliciting attention and resources from the mother and others. Aside from passive features like neotony, Hrdy and others (Povinelli et al. 2005) argue that the "precocity" displayed in studies of infant cognition signal the presence of Machiavellian intelligence. The infant rapidly develops the capacity to "read" cues given by significant others and to alter its behavior accordingly. So, in addition to the mother "marketing" her baby to others by decorating it and insuring that its bowels are empty, the child can deploy resources that make it more attractive to allomothers. Of course, lusty bawling and stranger anxiety may indicate that the child prefers its mother's care. In any case, these early emerging abilities mature into the kinds of interpersonal social skills that are critically important in securing the assistance of others. Higher social rank is closely associated with infant survival.

Hrdy fills such a large canvas that I can't hope to offer more than a partial glimpse here. I will mention, however, one omission that I hope she will address in her next volume. That is the other side of the coin—or, better, the other side of the blank check. I'm referring to the widely acknowledged tendency for parents to limit their investment in children—indeed, to consistently invest less than the child desires (Trivers 1974). I believe this calculation extends to alloparents. One of the most widely observed phenomena in studies of childhood is "toddler rejection" (Weisner and Gallimore 1977:176). Often the entire community collaborates in sending the message that the party is over and that the child must begin to take greater care of its own needs, including locomotion.

In conclusion, though, *Mothers and Others* is an important work that should add further impetus to the growing attention being paid to childhood in anthropology, and it should be required reading for childhood scholars.

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Aging and the Indian Diaspora: Cosmopolitan Families in India and Abroad

Sarah Lamb. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009. 360 pp.

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Sarah Lamb's *Aging and the Indian Diaspora* makes a valuable contribution to the large and growing body of anthropological and sociological literature on changing trends in the situation of the elderly and cultural conceptions of ideal aging in contemporary India. The work is based on extensive open-ended interviews and participant-observation with elderly urban, Hindu upper-caste, middle-class residents of Kolkata (formerly Calcutta, the capital of West Bengal), some living in old-age homes and others living alone—except for servants—typically because their highly educated, professionally trained children live elsewhere in India or have emigrated abroad. Lamb also draws on data gathered in the course of many years of research among aging Indian immigrants living in the Bay Area, California. The book's central focus is on changing relationships—and

changing conceptions of the kind of relationships that ought to exist—between aging parents and their adult children mainly as seen through the eyes of the former.

The book begins with a discussion of "the near flood of old age homes" that has arisen in India's major cities in recent years (p. 57). Christian organizations had set up a few charitable institutions for destitute old people, especially those of mixed Indian and European ancestry, as early as the late 19th century. But most of the newer homes, which began to appear in the 1980s and have multiplied exponentially since then, are designed for a distinctly middle-class, paying clientele. Only those with substantial assets or a regular income from pensions or other sources—such as remittances from offspring living overseas—can afford the fees.

Lamb finds that this type of facility, although modeled on those long familiar in the West, becomes thoroughly Indianized once transposed to its new cultural environment. Whereas in the United States old-age homes stress the maintenance of independence and an active lifestyle for the elderly, the managers of the Kolkata homes attempt to enable their residents to live in a way that conforms to Indian cultural notions of old age as a time to withdraw from active engagement in the concerns of the world and be "served" and cared for by others—ideally one's own children. For those who have no family or those whose family cannot or will not live up to their caretaking obligations, the home's employees aim to be as satisfactory a substitute as possible. There is indeed considerable stigma associated with living in an old-age home because of a perception that one has been "dumped" there by unfilial and unfeeling children. Yet residents often rationalize the circumstances in which they find themselves, accentuating the positive rather than dwelling on their negative aspects.

Other elderly women—and a few men—whom Lamb came to know live alone in their own homes, depending on hired servants for housework, cooking, and other personal needs. Most are not childless but, rather, have children living abroad or elsewhere in India. Like many residents of old-age homes, these old people typically display considerable "agency" in adapting to their unconventional living situation and "very purposefully and strategically" fashioning independent lives for themselves and their adult children rather than representing themselves as helpless victims of a disintegrating family system.

Lamb also discusses the experiences and attitudes of elderly Indians who have moved to the United States to be close to their offspring, focusing on the changes in family dynamics that occur when parents join the U.S. household of a married son or daughter rather than having their son bring his wife to live in their home in conformity with "Indian tradition." She outlines the contrasting attitudes and policies of India and the United States toward the question of who should be responsible for an elderly person's support: adult children or the state. Indian immigrants to the United States have not been reluctant to take advantage of state-provided social services for senior citizens, Medicare, or SSI (Supplemental Security Income) payments intended for low-income elderly persons, regarding their acceptance as appropriate within the context of our society's different cultural model of elder care and often rationalizing it as a just return for the high taxes that their professional offspring regularly pay into state coffers.

Aging and the Indian Diaspora is lucidly written and solidly argued. The author makes abundant and appropriate use of extended quotations from her interviews to illustrate her points, and the book is greatly enhanced by numerous photographs. It should enjoy a wide readership among scholars of cross-cultural gerontology, as well as among those concerned with issues of family change among middle-class diasporic communities in the contemporary world. The book is also very well-suited for classroom use, especially in advanced undergraduate courses on either of these topics.

Women and Islamic Revival in a West African Town

Adeline Masquelier. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009. 376 pp.

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Based on theoretically informed and empirically grounded research, *Women and Islamic Revival in a West African Town* sketches with great historical depth a vivid account of the ethnographic present in Dogondoutchi, a provincial town in southwestern Niger inhabited by the Mawri people. Although focused on a small Sahelian town, it has much wider applications, offering a window onto the impact of reformist Islam and global processes of social transformation on local traditions and touching on questions about how Muslim identities are (re)negotiated in daily life, who holds the authority to determine "true" Islam, and how foreign imports (e.g., fashions and notions of romantic love derived from Latin American television dramas and Indian films) reconfigure womanhood in Muslim terms.

Whereas anthropological scholarship on Islam in Africa often opposes Sufism and reformism, Masquelier points out that this simplifies the fluid nature of Niger's religious landscape. Dogondoutchi residents select from both traditions to forge new Muslim identities. This becomes evident in the case of Malam Awal, a Sufi preacher trying to reform the local practice of Islam. Although Awal's teachings resemble

those of the *Izala,* his sermons vehemently criticize these reformists while also condemning the fraudulent practices of traditionalist clerics. Masquelier's portrayal of the charismatic preacher counters the argument that Muslim saints, often described as "quintessentially traditional religious figures" (Soares 2005:79), have become irrelevant with the emergence of Islamic reformism. Although the book seeks to transcend the conventional Sufi–reformist dichotomy that has guided previous analyses of Islam in Africa (p. 14, 24), the author at times reifies this dichotomy herself, explaining Awal's success in terms of Izala reformists' undermining of the legitimacy of Sufism and Sufi practices (p. 134).

To elucidate the conditions under which Malam Awal's *Awaliyya* order could gain ground in Dogondoutchi, the author maps the town's rich religious history. Throughout the 19th century, Dogondoutchi remained largely insulated from Islamic influence. French colonial policy, however, unwittingly paved the way for the spread of Islam in the region. Consequently, Dogondoutchi residents massively abandoned spirit-centered forms of worship (*bori*; see Masquelier 2001) in the early postcolonial period. Although the ensuing Islamic revival led increasing numbers of residents to convert, it did not homogenize local forms of religious experience. With the deregulation of Niger's one-party regime in the early 1990s, a public sphere emerged in which Muslims conversed and argued about what it meant to "be Muslim." These debates opened the way for new religious figures publicizing their own version of Muslim "authenticity." Awal was one of these figures who entered the discursive arena in the late 1990s. By rooting his message in a concern for the preservation of local "customs" (e.g., he did not deny the existence of spirits), he endeared himself to a population that had grown wary of the radical Islamic reformism prevalent in Niger.

Senior women in particular were so drawn to the outspoken preacher that his opponents called him the "teacher of women" (p. 244). By addressing women's concerns about marriage, domesticity, and "proper" dress and comportment, Awal offered them a way out of the awkward position they faced as guardians of the traditional order and subjects of the new reformist discourse on gender and morality. Thanks to their seniority—and the relative independence from household chores and child rearing that it implied—female elders were able to contribute substantially to the growth of the Awaliyya order. Paradoxically, the same women were also responsible for its downfall in mid-2000. After initially approving of Awal's implementation of marriage reforms that facilitated wedding transactions, they came to resent the preacher's involvement in the marriage economy when they realized that it robbed them of their opportunity to create social capital by means of their daughters' wedding gifts. Attempting to regain control over the matrimonial economy, they eventually turned their backs on the preacher. This shows that women in Dogondoutchi are not passive pawns in the ideological battles among dissenting Muslim factions, a perception often upheld in popular and academic literature on women in Muslim societies; rather, they contribute actively to the construction of Muslim identity.

Women and Islamic Revival in a West African Town can be read as an account of how women negotiate their place as mothers, (house)wives, and daughters in an increasingly complex religious field (p. xxii). Unlike Saba Mahmood's *Politics of Piety* (2005)—the heretofore seminal study on an Egyptian female piety movement but one that gives a rather idealized picture of women's role in the Islamic revival—*Women and Islamic Revival in a West African Town* documents how women actually engage with Islamic revivalism in their everyday lives and refashion their Muslim identities. But while Masquelier's book maps the personalized ways Mawri women go about living a Muslim life, it falls short in its description of the gendered dimension of Islam because it portrays men primarily as religious authorities without considering how ordinary men, in their multiple roles as fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons, constitute themselves as pious agents.

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Archaeology as Political Action

Randall H. McGuire. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. 312 pp.

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Author Randall McGuire frames this important and remarkably well-written book as a self-critical examination of his efforts to use archaeology as political action. The book's three case studies clarify what political action entails. They include a class-based analysis of archaeology as a profession, an overview of the Trincheras Tradition archaeology project along the Mexico–U.S. border, and an account of

archaeology and activism surrounding the 1913 massacre of striking coal miners at Ludlow, Colorado. All current and aspiring archaeologists should read the first case study, an updated version of a 1999 publication coauthored by Mark Walker. Political action here takes the form of an examination of how "fast capitalist" principles of flexibility, profit, and hypercompetition have eroded the traditional career model of apprenticeship—which promised advancement opportunities for junior archaeologists—and created an exploited proletariat of field technicians and adjunct professors earning less than a living wage with little hope of promotion. Further attention to sexism and classism in the (sometimes-recent) history of archaeology may raise the question of whether the apprenticeship model was ever a valid characterization of archaeological career opportunities. In the Trincheras project, political action involves (1) an international collaboration that seeks to eliminate traditionally imperialist interactions between U.S. and Mexican archaeologists and (2) a transborder consultation with the Tohono O'odham that seeks to challenge the colonial relations that often characterize interactions between archaeologists and natives. At Ludlow, political action consists, among many other things, of educating the middle class about the violent (and enduring) history of class conflict and the contemporary struggles of workers and their families to engender support for the labor movement. In these case studies, political action consists of three steps that McGuire glosses as archaeological praxis: learning about the situation, critiquing it, and acting to change it.

Although McGuire maintains that *Archaeology as Political Action* is not a cookbook for praxis, the book amounts to much more than a commentary on specific research projects. Indeed, the 98 pages that precede the case studies offer many valuable insights, beginning with the inherently political nature of archaeology. McGuire admits that archaeology does not shape economies, write laws, or imprison people. However, in very clear language, he debunks the myth that archaeology could somehow be apolitical. Archaeology contributes to powerful ideologies such as colonialism, nationalism, and capitalism and either reinforces or contests the status quo. McGuire challenges archaeologists to determine where we fit in this struggle and to change our conduct if we find that we are on the wrong side.

McGuire anticipates several difficulties that arise from the recognition that archaeology is always already political. The thorniest difficulty concerns the status of knowledge claims. If we gain knowledge of the world through experience, and if our experience is shaped by our class, gender, ethnic, and historic positioning, how can our knowledge stand above sectional interests and speak decisively about what happened in the past? McGuire's answer avoids both objectivism and subjectivism by tacking among four criteria: coherence, correspondence, context, and consequences. Although one cannot predict what combination of these criteria will work best, McGuire emphasizes correspondence: the degree to which observations correspond to the real world. Archaeologists' authority derives from the finely honed craft of evaluating which ideas fit with the archaeological record. For McGuire, abandoning this authority forfeits archaeologists' ability to speak truth to power.

Another difficulty regards deciding which side of power is the wrong side and, more broadly, which of the many struggles to prioritize. McGuire's responses prioritize class struggle, but he values any analysis that begins with the lived experience of the oppressed. In other words, McGuire recognizes and encourages the contributions of engendered, indigenous, queer, and other archaeologies, thus making the book more than another mere Marxist treatise. More importantly, he recognizes that many aspects of identity cross-cut class. This means that power relations are confusing and multifaceted, making it harder to know who is on the wrong side or if the sides are ever stable. McGuire acknowledges that this kind of complexity led to undesired outcomes in the Trincheras project. McGuire advocates for a more humane world, although we can expect notions of humanity to differ across time and space, problematizing a universal understanding of the humane as that which is not alienated. He also prioritizes advocacy for communities that organize for social, political, and material causes but not psychological or emotional causes. This distinction unnecessarily dichotomizes and minimizes aspects of experience: psychological and emotional life can be important aspects of alienation and emancipation.

Two final insights align the book with positive trends in archaeology. First, McGuire promotes collaboration with stakeholders as a basis for political action. Second, he espouses a critical stance toward agency, embracing a thoroughly relational approach that embeds transformative action in collectivities. Overall, McGuire gives careful attention to an impressive array of timely topics. The book could become a pillar in seminars on archaeological method and theory.

The Edge of Islam: Power, Personhood, and Ethnoreligious Boundaries on the Kenya Coast

Janet McIntosh. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 344 pp.

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Confronting a publication industry eager to sell books about Islamic extremism, Janet McIntosh provides a critical contribution to studies of an Islamic "Other" through attention to the ways the category of religion emerges through cultural patchworks that are remarkably different from our own. Based on the author's fieldwork experience in Malindi, Kenya, from the mid-1990s through 2004, *The*

Edge of Islam offers rare appreciation of the ways Islam, as a faith and practice, coheres across deeply fraught ethnic boundaries that inform the daily lives of Swahili and Giriama communities (the latter figured historically as Mijikenda). With special attention to ritual practices that include spirit possession, divination, healing, figurations of madness, and symbolic pollution, McIntosh engages the reader with a range of broader theoretical investments in questions of global capital, class, ethnicity, and syncretism. Amidst elegant narratives of Kenyans' daily struggles to cope with modern change, observations on cross-cultural patterns in the social and ethnic imperatives of religion ensure the book's contributions to diverse anthropological debates.

Central to the book's framework is a distinction between hegemony and ideology. Although categories of ethnic identity are similarly situated within fields of economic and cultural subordination that are hegemonic or "taken for granted," each ethnic category is also marked ideologically through self-conscious and explicit expressive repertoires. The distinct contribution of this approach is developed through a critical uptake of "syncretism," a concept that McIntosh views as overly indebted to Western assumptions about the fundamental unity and coherence of persons and religious traditions. Examining historical transformations in the relations between Swahili and Giriama communities in particular, McIntosh takes to task Western accounts of Swahili syncretism that emphasize its essential logic of accommodation and permeable fluidity in diverse settings. Given colonial and postcolonial economic and racial privileges that have accrued to Swahili populations in Kenya, privileges that have been refracted and essentialized in new ways through Muslim reform movements (esp. Ahl al-Sunna) in East Africa broadly, Swahili affiliations present Malindi informants with registers of modern personhood that are decidedly more accessible to some than to others. In its broadest terms, *The Edge of Islam* deftly navigates questions of Islamic authority, including distinctions between scripturalism and bodily practice, virtuous inwardness and pragmatic communalism, rationalism and madness. The leverage of such a perspective comes from the book's sustained attention to differences of lived spatiality, whether construed through complex labor transformations, residential patterns, or nationalist discourses of citizenship that are structured by enduring boundaries of ethnicity, status, tribe, and race.

One of the potentially more generative concepts in the book is what McIntosh calls *polyontologism,* a term designed to trouble Western ethnocentric assumptions about the ways identity and cultural affiliation work in diverse settings. Introduced in chapter 3 in an extended treatment of discourses of religious conversion, McIntosh employs the term in demonstrating how a category of religion, Islam in this case, is always produced in relation to multiple qualities of being, none of them neatly aligned with the other, their inequality and hierarchy crucial to the ways religion works for practitioners. The rewards of such an approach are presented through detailed ethnographic attention in chapters 3–5 to ritual and linguistic practice. In the former case, McIntosh accompanies informants into a dank cave that proves home to spirits and squeaky bats alike, using the ritual to consider how spirit possession, as well as narratives about spirit possession, align Kigiriama speakers in relation to the hegemonic expressive vocabularies of Swahili communities. Along with attention in other chapters to rituals of Falak-text divination and healing, McIntosh draws on her linguistic expertise to show how speakers employ code shifting and switching to engage multiple qualities of being simultaneously. Rather than supplementary to pre-existing ethnic or religious categories, these codes are constitutive of the nature of ethnicity and religion.

In the final chapter, *The Edge of Islam* focuses on Arabic, a language so important to Muslim diasporas of diverse ethnicities, although again in different and hierarchized ways. I found McIntosh's concept of "polyontologism" especially useful given a tendency in many sociolinguistic studies of Arabic to locate questions of language ideology firmly within state domains of language and educational standardization. With the same stroke, McIntosh strikes a bold and generative path toward exploring the religion beyond the bearings of state-centric reform movements (such as the Muslim Brotherhood.) Informed by dominant material and symbolic currencies that define ethnic communities both within and across state boundaries, Arabic and Islam prove not only "sacred" but also increasingly strange and fraught, whether for disadvantaged Giriama Muslims or for Swahili Muslims themselves who face new forms of exclusion in postcolonial Kenyan political arenas and cycles of global tourism.

The Patriotism of Despair: Nation, War, and Loss in Russia

Serguei Oushakine. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 299 pp.

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Serguei Oushakine of Princeton University is well-known to the Slavist scholarly community as a deep and sensitive researcher of contemporary Russian culture. He authored the book *The Field of Gender* (originally titled *Pole pola*), published in Russian in 2007, as well as numerous articles on subjects varying from recent Russian documentary films to Soviet children's culture. Oushakine's rare ability to connect

contemporary social theories with close analysis of post-Soviet Russian cultural facts truly stands out in his latest book *The Patriotism of Despair*.

Based on fieldwork in the author's native town of Barnaul in the Southern part of Siberia (not far from Russia's borders with China, Mongolia, and Kazakhstan), Oushakine's new monograph interprets the notorious post-Soviet "identity crisis"—the concept widely used and even more widely misunderstood in contemporary Russian studies—not as the nostalgia for the Soviet identity (which had already crumbled back in the 1970s–1980s) but as the collapse of the Soviet social semiotics and the lack of new shared "positive values." Hence, a whole range of questions are examined in *The Patriotism of Despair*: Why did the collapse of the Soviet Union become "a major geopolitical disaster of the century" not just for former KGB apparatchiks such as Putin (who authored this formula) but for millions of former Soviet citizens and even for their children, who can hardly (if at all) remember Soviet life? What are the new forms of communality that have already formed on the ruins of the Soviet symbolic order? And finally (although this question is never formulated explicitly), why did the democratic revolution of the late 1980s to early 1990s fail so miserably in Russia of the 2000s?

The Patriotism of Despair focuses on the post-Soviet "attempts to articulate a new life in terms of absence" (p. 2). It explores new languages of social communication that stem from the trauma of the collapse of the Soviet social order: these "new languages were profoundly pessimistic; loss was their beginning, their driving force, and their destination" (p. 4). Oushakine demonstrates how people "filled up the vacant place left behind by the collapsed socialist order" (p. 2) by creating new forms of collectivity and communality—what he calls "communities of loss, which simultaneously acted as the primary author and as the main target of narratives about suffering" (p. 5). He detects these communities of loss in various aspects of the post-Soviet life: in the self-organization of veterans of the Chechen wars (left without state support or even state acknowledgment of their veteran status) and of mothers of soldiers killed in these wars and in the army, but also among post-Soviet "neocoms"—a young generation of communists and ardent leftists—and among social scholars, creators of the quasiscientific, frequently openly racist discourse of the "Russian tragedy" that attempts "to reformulate the Russian past along lines of ethnic distinction" (p. 6).

All these (and many similar) social constructs, on the one hand, present a direct—and frequently painful—reaction to the collapse of the Soviet symbolic order and Soviet vision of national history and its values as well as the absence of a developed network of social institutions that could have accommodated these traumas; hence, communities of loss. On the other hand, "communities of loss repeatedly pointed to the untranslatability of the shared substance that bound them together," their members insisting on "the unique nature of suffering associated with Russian's recent history" (p. 7); hence, the peculiar understanding of patriotism, frequently equated with isolationism and colored in messianic tones, characteristic to all these phenomena.

There is yet another quality that unites these communities and discourses: they all, implicitly or explicitly, internalize the logic of violence—either through commitment to violent ideologies (imperial, anti-Semitic, or racist) or through the valorization of military violence as a transcendental "moment of truth" generating human and social bonds (among veterans) or producing death-centered cults and rituals (among soldiers' mothers). Furthermore, Oushakine's analysis testifies to the fact that the valorization of suffering—national or individual, mythologized or experienced—is merely the flipside of the valorization of violence. This is why ethnocentric theories of the "Russian tragedy" inevitably transform into justifications for racism and anti-Semitism. For a similar reason, veterans of the Chechen war, driven by "pedagogical fantasies of war-oriented patriotism" (p. 189, as Oushakine sarcastically notes), create army-style boot camps for delinquent teenagers, failing to notice that for the sake of "enlightenment," they offer same brutal practices that have ruined their own lives. These "communities of loss" emerge in Oushakine's book as an illuminating metaphor of the post-Soviet society at large.

"If the post-Soviet period can teach us anything, it is, perhaps, that during times of comprehensive social and political transformations culture matters more than ever" (p. 4), writes Oushakine in the very beginning of his book. Following this principle, the author of *The Patriotism of Despair* implicitly provides his own explanation for the burning question about the reasons for the failure of the Russian democratic revolution that started in the late 1980s. Not economical or political but cultural deficiencies are responsible for the success of Putin's neotraditionalist politics and mass longing for the Soviet-time's idealized "order." More specifically, the intelligentsia that apparently took the lead in the democratic revolution failed to produce a viable system of new symbols and new positive values, and without it the society remained locked in narratives and practices of loss and negativity—in "the patriotism of despair." One may ask whether there are alternative post-Soviet practices that at least attempt to seek positive values and or even manage to overcome "the patriotism of despair." Yet, this is a question for a different book, which can be written only in dialogue with Oushakine's seminal research. *The Patriotism of Despair* will surely become a landmark study for future scholars of the postsocialist, or more broadly, post-traumatic, post-catastrophic historical conditions.

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Arguing with Tradition: The Language of Law in Hopi Tribal Court

Justin B. Richland. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 187 pp.

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With the publication of his powerful new book, *Arguing with Tradition,* linguistic and legal anthropologist Justin Richland firmly establishes his reputation as a distinctive voice both within and across several leading-edge fields of inquiry in contemporary sociocultural anthropology. The book is that rarest of accomplishments among new works in anthropology that seeks to strike that fraught balance between the epistemological ambiguities of ethnography, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the ever-present demand by readers, colleagues, editors, and others to draw out what can often be only the thinnest of strands of cross-subdisciplinary and interdisciplinary relevance.

In his study of the languages of law and indigeneity within the Hopi Tribal Courts of northeastern Arizona, Richland manages to simultaneously make signal contributions to legal anthropology, linguistics and linguistic anthropology, Native American studies, indigenous studies more broadly, the historiography of Native American studies, and the political economy of marginality, all the while integrating each argument and substantive contribution through a chapter-by-chapter narrative that is judiciously cited, compellingly written, and refreshingly modest in its formal scope (although not, as I try and show below, in its consequences).

From the late 1990s to the early 2000s, Richland conducted ethnographic and linguistic research on the Hopi Indian reservation, which he found to be a remarkably dynamic location in which indigenous identity, autonomy, the meanings of tradition, and political power were being articulated and contested in large part through the local Tribal Court. Richland devotes considerable critical historical and historiographical attention to this complicated and even ambiguous institution in a way that adds up to an important contribution to our understanding of U.S.–Indian relations and the role that law has played in the shaping and misshaping of Indian identity and the consolidation of federal policies of control and management.

Yet at the heart of *Arguing with Tradition* is the careful ethnography of the language of dispute in the day-to-day workings of the Tribal Court itself. In this Richland pushes back, with care and intellectual appreciation, against the substantial legacy of tribal legal studies in the United States that has been, as he argues, narrowly focused on either structuralist interpretations of tribal jurisprudence (through published legal opinions) or the role of law within the broader political relationships between tribes and the federal government. By contrast, Richland's study draws from the broader fields of the "ethnography of communication," "conversation analysis," "practice theory," and other "discourse and practice-centered approaches" to make the process of meaning making the indispensible epistemological anchor of his legal anthropology. The insistence on law-in-practice in the Tribal Court is also shaped by something else: Richland's belief that no amount of interpretative analysis can compensate for an inattention to the complexities of agency. As he argues, in his critical review of the field of tribal legal studies, "Missing is the measure of human agency that, while necessarily shaped by the nature of preexisting material, political, and semiotic systems, nonetheless accrues to tribal social actors at particular moments of tribal social life when they confront each other" (p. 21).

In the end, Richland discovers that actors in the Hopi Tribal Court "argue with tradition," which has a double meaning: first, that the court, and the language of law more generally, is a primary means through which what it means to be Hopi is negotiated; and second, that what it means to be Hopi must be understood as a process of internal contestation that takes place on what Richland calls the "dialectic edge of a political economy of culture difference" (p. 3). His ethnographic and theoretical mapping of this dialectic edge is a major achievement.

The American War in Contemporary Vietnam: Transnational Remembrance and Representation

Christina Schwenkel. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009. 280 pp.

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During his visit to Vietnam in 2000, U.S. President Bill Clinton referred to the conflict that Americans call the Vietnam War as "what you call the American War" (p. 5). As Christina Schwenkel recounts in *The American War in Contemporary Vietnam,* such polite acknowledgment of discrepant histories faltered when Clinton countered a Vietnamese official's accusation of U.S. imperialism by reaffirming his

predecessors' desire to contain communism. This episode aptly previews the daily struggles and reconfigurations of memory that Schwenkel astutely chronicles in Vietnam. Arguing that transnationally circulating memories and forms of knowledge dialectically generate "recombinant history," Schwenkel explores how U.S. and Vietnamese ways of representing and commemorating the past have been imbricated in economic and political relations between the two countries since the 1990s.

Drawing on ten years of extensive multisited ethnography, each chapter explores a particular context in which memory is portrayed and reconfigured. Chapter 1 considers bilateral memorial projects such as peace parks, in which Vietnamese participants tend to reject U.S. veterans' interest in reconciling with the past in favor of calls for friendship to generate future prosperity. Chapter 2 expands on the theme of reconciliation by exploring how a 2000 exhibit in Ho Chi Minh City of wartime photos by U.S., revolutionary Vietnamese, and nonrevolutionary southern Vietnamese photojournalists raised dilemmas about the representation of suffering and the contemporary politics of commemoration.

A second pair of chapters considers how war is memorialized in the landscape through practices of consumption and materiality. Chapter 3 focuses on how war tourism and merchandising have produced a "selective re-Americanization of the postwar landscape" (p. 83). Particularly illuminating is the discussion of the two different reconstructions of the Cu Chi tunnels northwest of Ho Chi Minh City. The "authentic" site caters to foreigners, while the other has cafés and activities to lure Vietnamese consumers more interested in leisurely consumption than revisiting war. Chapter 4 traces financial and aesthetic debates over whether recent memorial projects in Vietnam properly represent Vietnamese identity.

The final two chapters focus on conflicts between Vietnamese and U.S. memories. Chapter 5 explores how Vietnamese curators alter displays to appeal to foreigners yet are critiqued by U.S. visitors for displaying "propaganda." Chapter 6 traces debates about the treatment of U.S. POWs in the "Hanoi Hilton." Schwenkel argues that recent accusations of U.S. acts of torture in Abu Ghraib have prompted a resurfacing of Senator John McCain's allegations of torture by Vietnamese. Vietnamese have responded by invoking their tradition of humanitarianism—a fascinating example of how political claims can morph into essentializing cultural rhetoric.

Schwenkel's exploration of diverse ways of documenting and representing the past effectively decenters both U.S. and Vietnamese celebratory narratives to show that "history making in Vietnamese public spaces is a relational and uneven process of historical *co-production*" (p. 205) that is profoundly hierarchical. Schwenkel links the penetration of U.S. capitalism to its empire of memory, with Vietnamese using selective incorporation and recombination as a strategy to contain it. Her multisited fieldwork lucidly illuminates these transnationally mobile dynamics of memory, but this may limit a sense of the social, cultural, and economic contexts that have spurred particular individuals to engage in memory work by organizing a reconciliation project or working at a museum. Another concern arises from Schwenkel's consideration of how and why memory shifts over time. Although she eloquently illustrates these dynamics for the McCain torture controversy, interest in other forms of memory, such as GIs' Zippo lighters or revolutionary photojournalistic images, might have similarly fluctuated since the mid-1990s. Exploring this further would likely have enhanced Schwenkel's analysis of how economic opportunities and global interactions lead to "asymmetrical remaking and rearranging" (p. 13) of memory and might have allowed her to be even more specific about how scholars should understand the workings of memory at the nexus of neoliberal globalization and market socialism. Finally, it is important to note, as Schwenkel does, that the discussion focuses on dominant social imaginaries, with less attention to nonrevolutionary Vietnamese and to U.S. citizens who are neither officials nor male veterans.

Given current exhortations for U.S. citizens to heed the lessons of Vietnam, Schwenkel's book provocatively shows the complex dynamics through which such lessons are crafted and remade. With its wide-raging fieldwork and deft integration of insights from the literature on the politics and dynamics of memory, *The American War in Contemporary Vietnam* will be an important source for scholars of memory, war, tourism, and visual representation. It will also spark classroom discussion of how contemporary economic and political circumstances shape the lessons we take from the past.

The Archaeology of American Labor and Working-Class Life

Paul Shackel. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009. 176 pp.

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This book is a recent addition to the series, "The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective," which offers topical forays into the archaeological study of the U.S. past. Works in the series engage current archaeological research and present analytical frameworks for understanding its relevance for contemporary scholarship. *The Archaeology of American Labor and Working-Class Life* offers readers a concise and comprehensive review that brings together the best of contemporary scholarship on the archaeology of labor and

working-class life and connects case studies using important themes that offer new directions for scholarship, teaching, and thinking about labor and heritage.

This book offers an excellent introduction to the topics of industry, labor, and working-class life, and as such it would make a sound choice as reading material for students and others wishing to enter into the literature. The emphasis on heritage studies makes this work relevant for those working in contemporary communities with an industrial past (or present), and the rich interplay between history and archaeology makes this book germane for a broad interdisciplinary audience. The real significance of this book lies in the scope of the materials presented and the fundamental choices made in constructing a narrative about labor and the working classes. These choices set a new agenda for the archaeology of industry and industrial communities and demand a new approach toward the ideas of "labor" and "working-class" when thinking about the U.S. past.

These perspectives are illustrated using archaeological examples in a chronological narrative. Author Paul Shackel traces the beginnings of industrial capitalism and demonstrates how this shift in economic structure had significant impacts on landscapes, labor, gender roles, and living conditions and how the conditions of labor and the effects of capitalism changed over time. The book brings the U.S. industrial past into the present with an exploration of how labor and industrial heritage are commemorated at a time when contemporary industry is in a marked state of decline. This narrative contains two important themes that help to define the archaeology of industry in broad and useful terms.

Archaeological approaches to industry have long been divided between studies of industrial workspaces that are interpreted as sites of technological history and studies of domestic spaces that offer opportunities to study the social dynamics of working-class lives. This book blurs these traditional analytical boundaries in significant ways. Shackel presents the U.S. industrial landscape in an inclusive fashion that incorporates home and factory as well as public spaces, commercial spaces, and other settings that were engaged by working people in their daily lives. This landscape was simultaneously shaped by broad trends in social, economic, and political thought and by the daily lived experiences of individuals. The industrial landscape is presented as a series of significant social spaces that function in considerations of power, resistance, and identity, which demands a more comprehensive analytic on the part of archaeologists studying industrial communities and sites. This approach also has significant implications for heritage studies as contemporary communities struggle with how best to interpret, preserve, and share their industrial past.

The terms *labor* and *working class* conjure particular images in U.S. popular consciousness and among contemporary scholars as well. Most typically, archaeological studies of labor and working-class peoples have focused on sites of U.S. industry and organized labor. Shackel deliberately expands the definition of "who is a laborer" beyond those working in factories or participating in unions. Laborers are individuals who share a particular position in a capitalist system, whether they are unionized factory workers, slaves, marginalized immigrants, or independent mining prospectors. Although these individuals all had radically different experiences, they all shared the experience of being laborers. Defining *laborers* and *working-class peoples* in broad terms offers the possibility of rewriting the categorical ways that archaeologists often construct analyses of identity. Being a worker is one of many facets of an individual's experience, and Shackel offers direct ways to consider the ways that race, ethnicity, and gender intersect with experiences of labor and class. This approach invites archaeologists to consider labor not only as a social activity that shapes daily life but also as a component of identity that intersects with an individual's gender, race, age, and ethnicity.

This work takes the archaeology of industry out of its analytical silo and engages questions of labor and the lives of laborers in broader contexts. These approaches expand the analytical possibilities of industrial sites and also encourage archaeologists working in many contexts to consider the usefulness of labor as an essential element in understanding the U.S. past.

We Will Dance Our Truth: Yaqui History in Yoeme Performances

David Delgado Shorter. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. 390 pp.

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David Delgado Shorter's *We Will Dance Our Truth* is a finely crafted, insightful examination of the ways in which Yoeme individuals understand and articulate their identity, tribal history, and cosmology through narrative and ritual performances. The book is based on 15 years of research in northern Mexico's Yoeme (Yaqui) communities and the careful reinterpretation of previous ethnography about this indigenous group. Shorter ambitiously seeks to demonstrate how Yoeme place making, dance, and oral traditions disrupt Western notions of writing and history.

The book is organized into two parts. Part 1 focuses on stories that frame Yoeme cultural persistence and boundary making in the wake of Spanish contact and Jesuit

missionization. Shorter shows that the past, read through the lens of narratives like the talking-tree prophecy, can be seen from a different perspective, one that "wrestles Yoeme agency from Eurocentric histories of the Americas" (p. 117). Part 1 also delineates storied understandings of a distinctively Yoeme cosmography—the *yo ania* (ancient world), *sea ania* (flower world), and *huya ania* (wilderness world), precontact realms that are physically located within the contemporary Yoeme landscape.

Part 2 examines the ways Yoeme rituals map history, truth, and social-spiritual relationality. Shorter's ethnography is particularly effective here, as he contests colonial-era claims of the wholesale "conversion" of indigenous communities and pushes the reader to recognize certain types of performance as "non-Western mappings" (p. 284).

Although many Yoemem (Yaquis) identify as Catholic, theirs is a thoroughly syncretic Christianity. Numerous narratives emplace Christ in Yoeme territory before his death, and aboriginal flower imagery permeates Yoeme Christian ceremonies. Chapter 5 focuses on the persistence of the pre-Christian deer dance, originally performed in preparation for the hunt. Deer hunts are now rare, yet Shorter contends that the dance thrives because it provides spiritual "sustenance for Yoeme communities" (p. 215). The deer dancer brings the flower world into view and figures centrally in Lent's rituals and the celebration of Christ's empty tomb. Shorter persuasively argues that notions of "sacrifice" and "kinship" embodied in the deer dance make Catholicism comprehensible within a Yoeme cosmological framework.

Further, Shorter proposes that Yoeme burial rites, the All Saints' Day *animam miika* (offerings to the souls), and Sunday *konti* (surrounding) processions are forms of "indigenous cartographic practice" (p. 283). These ceremonies allow living Yoemem to commune with the departed, unite church groups with aboriginal ritual societies, and invoke the presence of ancestors to reassert landownership. Shorter convincingly challenges us to "imagine a map that appears only when danced, that realizes the mythology of our people, and that explains a community's past and future" (pp. 284–285).

Given this book's focus on ritual and embodiment, it is curious that the author does not engage more directly with performance theory itself. Performance scholars have exposed the gaps in traditional symbolic analyses and have shown how performances work to enact memory, elicit participation, and produce cultural realities. Although Shorter does highlight Della Pollock's performance approach to history and footnotes other relevant theorists, students with an interest in performance studies may yearn for a more focused commentary on the literature and its potential to enhance our understandings of Yoeme expressive culture. Overall, however, this omission is minor and does not diminish the book's substantial theoretical contribution.

Finally, a word about writing. Shorter is clearly concerned with issues of representation and voice, and he effectively combines a variety of writing techniques to decenter his own ethnographic authority. Theoretically informed chapters are interspersed with field notes and transcribed interviews that give the reader a sense of the messiness and uncertainty implicit in ethnographic research. Shorter presents the words of his Yoeme interlocutors with profound respect and makes frequent reference to Yoeme scholar Felipe Molina, whose mentoring, friendship, and mediation facilitated Shorter's project and enriched his insights in unfathomable ways. Reflexive, powerfully descriptive excerpts from Shorter's field notes transport the reader to the Yoeme homeland. We accompany Shorter and Molina as they hike into the mountains searching for a handprint left by Jesus, as they recognize the sea ania in a brilliant profusion of desert flowers, and as they struggle to comprehend an elder's experience of the yo ania. These images are breathtaking and convey with eloquence the awe and gratitude inspired by such moments.

The Yoemem are clearly the heroes of this book, yet Shorter has also provided us with a meticulously researched, accessible work that packs a strong theoretical punch. *We Will Dance Our Truth* is an indispensable addition to Yoeme scholarship and an utterly compelling read.

Reconstructing Racial Identity and the African Past in the Dominican Republic

Kimberly Eison Simmons. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009. 160 pp.

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Kimberly Eison Simmon's *Reconstructing Racial Identity and the African Past in the Dominican Republic* is a fresh contribution to an emergent wave of studies of Blackness that balance demystifying race with treating it as a dynamic, highly variable, and durable system of beliefs and signs that people put to many uses.

Simmons's study of race and Blackness was carried out in the Dominican Republic. Her approach exemplifies what a good study of race ought to do: illustrate how race works at the level of persons and groups; ground race in history, politics, and power; demonstrate how and why race changes

over time; lay out how race is socially constructed and used in different contexts; identify racial reference points; and relate the argument to the author's own experience of race.

Simmons, an African American woman, incorporated her own racial experience into the narrative, enriching the book's comparative frame. For instance, Simmons's experience with her own hair (straightening; having "good" rather than "bad" hair) and her knowledge of African American color discourse demonstrates similarities and differences between race work in the United States and the Dominican Republic (hereafter, DR). Dominicans and U.S. citizens recognize many shades of skin color. In the DR, the named shades are part of a racial continuum from light (valorized) to dark (devalorized). Their racial system emphasizes mixture, allowing for many recognized variations between Black and White such as Indio (Indian) and Mulato. Differently, in the United States, there is limited discourse for situating people between Black (dark, devalorized) and White (light, valorized).

Simmons revealed how race was historically, socially, and politically constructed through institutions and through elite hegemony. She focused on three eras: 1900–30, the Trujillo era (1930–61), and the post-Trujillo era through the present. During the first era, there was an outmigration of Spanish Creoles and an inflow of dark-skinned Haitians, and Blackness was devalued in favor of ideologies of mixed race and Whiteness. During the second era, President Rafael Trujillo initiated a transformation in racialization by using government power to exalt "Hispanidad," "Indio," and Whiteness. This discourse connected the Dominican Republic to Spain and further devalued Blackness. Simmons says a sanctioned connection to Blackness was denied to Dominicans by the government rather than they themselves denying Blackness. Although this is accurate, there is considerable evidence in the book of Dominicans denying a connection to Blackness. The present era involves competing racial tendencies. There remains a reluctance to admit Blackness into the government's authorized discourse, for example, by not allowing Mulato as a racial category (Mulato explicitly concedes a relationship with Blackness). Nevertheless, a growing number of Dominicans are discovering Blackness, willing to self-identity as Black or acknowledge the African-related aspects of their heritage.

We know that race is learned. Therefore, we must identify how people are socialized into race knowledge. Simmons shows us how ostensibly innocuous activities such as conversations in hair salons transmit racialized information. Racialization requires reference points. For many Dominicans, Blackness is associated negatively with Haiti, inferiority, and poverty. Especially, Dominicans fear being "Haitianized." During the post-Trujillo years, African Americans have become a salient reference for Dominicans, a result of extensive migration to the United States and of access to media that communicate information about Black history and culture.

Continuous variation in phenotypic traits means that racial categorization is always contestable. Simmons gives us vivid examples of imprecision in racial categorization, such as her observation of how government officials assign people a racial identification for their national identity card. With the exception of very light- and very dark-skinned individuals, the officials are wildly inconsistent in their racial identification of applicants. Simmons also asked people to identify the skin color of individuals in still photographs. This exercise also showed inconsistency in racial and color designation. However, Simmons did not explicitly make the point that people's assessment of Blackness is mediated by context and consideration of facial features, hair texture, body structure, dialect, and cultural knowledge (nonetheless, several vignettes in the book illustrate my point). Although imprecision and ambiguity are among the reasons to reject racialized science, they do not invalidate race as a belief system used by people.

A brief discussion of the author's findings in relation to race theory would have made this fine study more valuable. Nonetheless, the book is clearly written and organized; it is brief; and it addresses the major nodal points of a good study of race. I value the author's discerning choice to focus on race at work rather than harp on "denaturalizing" it. The book could profitably be used in any course focused on the Caribbean, race, or gender. I plan to use the book in my undergraduate introduction to anthropology course. *Reconstructing Racial Identity* is a valuable contribution to the scholarship on race.

Yeshiva Fundamentalism: Piety, Gender, and Resistance in the Ultra-Orthodox World

Nurit Stadler. New York: New York University Press, 2009. 196 pp.

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Nurit Stadler, in her new book *Yeshiva Fundamentalism: Piety, Gender and Resistance in the Ultra-Orthodox World* (2009), examines a contemporary generational struggle over the meaning of masculinity and piety among ultra-Orthodox Jewish men in Israel. *Yeshiva Fundamentalism* is an intriguing book that raises thought-provoking theoretical and methodological issues for those interested in Jewish ethnography and, more broadly, in the unexpected rise of nonliberal religious movements in recent decades.

The subjects of *Yeshiva Fundamentalists* are *haredim* (Hebrew, lit., "those who tremble before God"), religiously

stringent Jews who came from eastern Europe to Israel to rebuild their communities after the decimation of the Holocaust. Stadler focuses on elite male (Lithuanian) haredim, those who organize their lives around a *yeshiva,* an institute of higher learning, devoting themselves to Torah study. Their wives, forbidden from studying Torah, work to support their husbands and raise the children. Today's emphasis on long-term Torah study for all males, though, is an innovation, because in the prewar years only elites and prodigies were able to study in yeshivas (p. 8). Haredi fundamentalism emerged simultaneously with the Zionist state, where universal haredi male study has been supported by government stipends for Torah study and exemption from the mandatory military service.

The main argument of *Yeshiva Fundamentalism* is Stadler's claim that, over the last two decades, there have been rumblings of dissent among the younger generation of haredim, who are increasingly rejecting the "other-worldly" piety of the older generation, a piety based on "male asceticism and the devotional study of texts" (pp. 4–5). According to Stadler, as a result of their interaction with wider Israeli society (glossed as "modernity" or the "secular state"), younger yeshiva students are beginning to express a desire for a "this-worldly" piety. They articulate, for example, an interest in the military and more heroic forms of masculinity, a desire to support their families by working outside the yeshiva, and a wish to become more involved fathers and husbands at home.

Unable to enter the yeshiva as a secular Israeli woman, Stadler came up with an unusual, and problematic, methodology. She and a young yeshiva student she met put together religious texts that raised issues of work, studiousness, gender, and marriage. Then they discussed these texts with other yeshiva students in their homes to elicit reflections on male haredi life (p. 14). When we hear from the students, their voices are compelling, although Stadler too often summarizes what they have told her (e.g., p. 105). To supplement the interviews, Stadler analyzes manuals written for yeshiva students, children's literature, and popular haredi-produced texts, DVDs, and cassettes. This material is potentially rich, though we learn little about who the producers of this media are or their relationship to the competing older authorities.

The book includes chapters devoted to sexuality, work, militarism, the family, and volunteerism. Stadler concludes that yeshiva students want a piety that is more "heroic, profane, militaristic" while "experiencing religion as individualistic, domestic and popular" (p. 159). However, she documents that it is only in the spheres of the domestic and volunteerism that changes have occurred as yet.

Chapter 7 on haredi volunteerism is the strongest, describing a haredi-run organization founded in 2003 that is devoted to preparing the bodies of Israeli victims of terrorist attacks for a Jewish burial. In this chapter, we hear from many of the volunteers, as Stadler shows how young haredi men are changing their relationship to the state as well as creating a pious masculinity that is based on heroism, military training, and skilled professionalism.

Theoretically, Stadler draws on the comparative study of fundamentalism, an approach that attempts to create a generalized framework for defining certain kinds of contemporary religious movements cross-culturally. This approach has limitations. For example, Stadler lists scripturalism, separatism, the rejection of modernity, and institution building in Israel (p. 7) as definitive of haredi fundamentalism, including almost nothing about the increasing power of Israeli haredim in national politics or how changes to haredi masculine piety might challenge scripturalism as definitive. More importantly, Stadler's approach assumes rather than investigates key concepts and categories, such as "modernity," "the secular," "the religious," and "resistance," something with which feminists and anthropologists of religion have become increasingly concerned. At times, Stadler simplifies or misrepresents bodies of scholarship, attempting to fit them into her fundamentalist framework (e.g., p. 11) or to (unnecessarily) distinguish her argument from prior work on Israeli haredim (e.g., p. 158).

Despite these theoretical and methodological shortcomings, *Yeshiva Fundamentalism* offers an intriguing argument about change in communities predicated on traditionalism. Stadler provides glimpses into the dynamics of masculine piety as well as into the interaction between what many now call nonliberal religious movements and secular modernity. These are all issues that should certainly spark further conversation.

Judging Mohammed: Juvenile Delinquency, Immigration, and Exclusion at the Paris Palace of Justice

Susan Terrio. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009. 368 pp.

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The now-famed film *La Haine* (lit., "Hate") spread the word 15 years ago, but media coverage of the 2005 "riots" in France's *banlieues* (urban peripheries) made certain that people around the world knew about the unrest in French society. Susan Terrio's book, *Judging Mohammed,* provides a timely, insightful, and ethnographically rich analysis of contemporary France by focusing on those who are most often blamed for the unrest: youth of immigrant origin. With an ethnography of juvenile courts, Terrio brings a new and

innovative perspective to the anthropological literature on France; thus far, anthropologists have focused on issues such as Islam in France, the relationship between France and its former colonies, and the "sans papiers" (undocumented). Terrio's book succeeds in telling several important stories: that of racism and exclusion, the translation of transnational regimes of security and risk into the French context, and the critical role played by "culture" in the courtroom.

Judging Mohammed convincingly argues for and documents the rise of a punitive model of juvenile justice in France, one that echoes the contemporary U.S. model. This represents a shift from the previous emphasis on rehabilitation and prevention. Terrio is careful not to suggest a simple or straightforward adoption of this punitive model from the United States. She gives a more subtle account, demonstrating that while the Socialists did take a delegation in 1998 to New York to admire Mayor Giuliani's zero-tolerance policing, the French legal system is still very different from the U.S. one, insofar as it is primarily concerned with the public good and the protection of the social order. Terrio argues that juvenile law has been firmly grounded in French penal law in more or less punitive ways depending on the period, but she nevertheless depicts the significant dangers of this latest incarnation, based on a neoliberal logic of policing, security, individualism, and responsibility. The shift to this model is justified by what is seen as a new form of delinquency in France—"a delinquency of exclusion"—which Terrio argues is a coded reference for youth (primarily boys) of marginalized Muslim families originally from North and West Africa. The concept of "delinquency of exclusion" understands this underclass as violent, backward, and barbaric—so different from their so-called "French" counterparts that there is no hope of their rehabilitation. Indeed, here Terrio shows that—in the name of human rights and the protection of the vulnerable in certain neighborhoods (interestingly, she reveals that the police increasingly claim themselves as the "victims" of these "delinquents")—these French children of largely immigrant parents are treated more as adults who must be held responsible for their choices than as children who still have a hope of changing, developing, and reforming under the right conditions.

One of the most important contributions of *Judging Mohammed* is its rich, evocative ethnography, and the reason is that there is still no other accounting for race in France. That is, the republican rejection of racial categorization stems from the belief that recognizing race will produce racism. For reasons of egalitarianism, then, public bodies have until recently refused to recognize or document racial or ethnic difference. Terrio eloquently demonstrates how this silence nonetheless constitutes a formidable obstacle to addressing inequality and discrimination. In fact, *Judging Mohammed* is perhaps the only way to get a sense of how many youth of immigrant or minority backgrounds are in juvenile courts, detention centers, and prisons; there is no way to document it other than ethnographically. Terrio had exceptional access to courtrooms and practices of deliberation, and her writing does this rare access justice.

If the book demonstrates the still–largely unspoken place of race in French society, it documents the explicit role of culture in the courtroom. Terrio shows how a "culture of poverty" argument, while long discredited in the United States, is still alive and well in France; youth of immigrant origin are seen as having "culturally deficient value-systems" (p. 90). Cultural explanations are offered for delinquency, displacing any discussion of structural inequalities. Terrio shows how in the courtroom, culture was treated in one of two ways: either it was stigmatized and criminalized or it was medicalized and treated through the services of ethnopsychiatrists. Either way, culture was seen to determine practice in a nonnegotiable way, making rehabilitation an increasingly less viable penal strategy.

Terrio makes clear that youth of immigrant origin in France today get served "a minor justice." Anyone interested in the anthropology of law, citizenship, and social justice will find this a compelling, informative book.

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Envisioning America: New Chinese Americans and the Politics of Belonging

Tritia Toyota. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009. 256 pp.

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"Why shouldn't Chinese Americans, who now compose the largest part of the Asian American community, independently seek their own agenda and be open about it?" Tritia Toyota asked the many politically active naturalized Chinese Americans in attendance at the 2003 board retreat of the Chinese Americans United for Self Empowerment (CAUSE). At this meeting, the board members of this Southern California–based political-advocacy organization were intent on changing its name from "Chinese Americans . . ."

to "Asian Americans United For Self Empowerment" in an effort to make the organization more inclusive—the term *Asian Americans* already sanctioned by the U.S. Bureau of the Census by mid-1970.

Toyota embarks on a quest to answer this question by following two national (although subaltern) discourses. One is centered around Chinese and Japanese Americans who arrived prior to the 1960s and were subject to U.S. exclusion acts and WWII internment camps. This generation of immigrants also came of "racialized age" in the social and civic activist era of the 1960s energized by the Civil Rights Movement. The other discourse is product of what Toyota calls the "transnational-knowledge class" of Western-educated students and professionals who came to the United States from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan in the 1970s in pursuit of their (Chinese) American Dream and to reclaim the economic, political, and social mobility hindered by restrictions imposed by the Chinese state.

These two important narratives are delineated through Toyota's insightful research within the Asian American community of the pre-1960s so-called "American-born Chinese" (ABCs) discourse and the post-1960s discourse of the foreign-born, naturalized activists. She finds that these two profoundly different discourses are bound to a common origin (Chinese ethnicity) and the common imposition of a racialized identity (and marginality) in U.S. soil. Toyota argues that this racialized identity is based on "ambivalence toward deep-seated suspicions [by White America] about Asian Americans and in particular Chinese Americans . . . as ambitious, clanish, two-faced, and non-English speaking" as expressed by a white-respondent poll of the Committee of 100 who "did not want Asian Americans as bosses or neighbors" (p. 4).

Toyota indicates that this deep-seated suspicion prevented and continues to prevent Asian Americans from attaining their rightful place in society as U.S. citizens. She traces this challenge to a conflation of nativity and ethnicity that prevents the mainstream United States from bestowing full membership to any individual or group that does not comply with the standards of color of U.S. citizenship and that prevents every nonwhite individual from fully becoming a member of U.S. society (nation). Through her interviews and participant-observation, Toyota dismantles the notion inherent to the "American Dream" that full membership will be bestowed to those who successfully attain the material symbols of belonging such as a solid career, education, or a successful business. Although fully attained by the majority of the new activist elite, these material symbols prove insufficient toward their efforts of attaining full membership in U.S. society, thus informing their decision to become active in the negotiation of their political representation.

Toyota's focus on the interaction between the ABCs and the new activist elite whose transnational ties and political experiences abroad are still present in their minds becomes the foundation of an ongoing (re)creation of political identities and communities that combine the experiences of the Civil Rights era and the experiences of living in totalitarian regimes at a transnational level. The end result is an impressive political understanding (not without conflict) that is guiding the construction of a panethnic sense of belonging within the Asian American community. This has the potential of allowing this community to counteract its racialized marginalization as foreign entrepreneurs suspected of pursuing non-U.S. interests—with one voice—by getting involved in local politics and supporting their own representatives in local government elections and on community boards.

The limit of Toyota's study is her focus on the elite of Asian activism. The masses of poor and more aggressively marginalized Asian Americans are not part of her research nor are they part of the elite discourse or political activism. Moreover, there remains the question of whether the children of this new political elite will follow into their parents' footsteps. Research done by Mary Waters (1994) and Johanna Shih (2002) on African Americans and Hispanics respectively seem to problematize the salience of nativity or ethnicity in the second-generation as U.S. values (and the benefits or discrimination accrued by their parents' generation) seem to slow down the drive or chances of becoming first-class citizens in the face of continuous discrimination based on poverty and color or cooptation of the privileged few.

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Bulletproof: Afterlives of Anticolonial Prophecy in South Africa and Beyond

Jennifer Wenzel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 328 pp.

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Jennifer Wenzel's book *Bulletproof* offers a genuinely new approach to an anthropology of reading, a work of ambitious scope and meticulous research that examines multiple historical and literary accounts of Xhosa prophecies leading to the 1856–57 cattle killing in the Eastern Cape of southern Africa through the lens of each moment's cultural and political perspectives. The book ranges freely across the disciplinary boundaries that have made prophecy a difficult form of discourse to square with the implicit rationalism in postcolonial studies' commitment to tear down the master's house with the master's tool, in bell hooks's words. Drawing on historiography, literary analysis, immensely detailed archival research, and theories of millenarian aspiration and its disappointments, Wenzel shows how the same prophetic utterance took on radically different ends over the 150 years after its delivery by a young girl named Nongqawuse, who declared, like similar prophets within the same decade, that her ancestors had appeared before her and announced that if the amaXhosa would slaughter their most precious possessions, their cattle, the ancestors would return, driving out the invading white colonizers.

Although this work may most immediately resonate with literary scholars, it is clear that *Bulletproof* is in direct conversation with anthropology, particularly the work of Karin Barber, Bhekizizwe Peterson, and others on African popular literacies and the work of David Scott on temporal experience and genre in historically situated accounts of revolution. A demanding read, the book presents tremendously detailed detail and subtle analyses of texts ranging from letters between colonial administrators to newspaper editorials, and its very scope is both its greatest strength and its greatest challenge to readers. Yet *Bulletproof* proves an exemplary model of the revelatory insights and innovative methodologies that the most rigorous interdisciplinary work can yield. It will be invaluable in thinking about the unfolding longue durée of modernity in southern Africa, particularly with respect to the question of giving full attention to shifting and enduring forms of the enchanted, prophecy, and accounts of ancestral encounters within this modernity.

Wenzel traces the way Nongqawuse's prophecy resonated in multiple texts both in and beyond South Africa. She begins with 19th-century colonial and mission accounts (the latter by both white and black writers), paying particular attention to the elite New Africans' political and literary movement of the early 20th century. In the 20th century, antiapartheid protest writers are compared with a multiplicity of authors in the anxious years of impending transition and a postapartheid present in which both the globalized dreams of transformation (growing out of solidarity movements during the antiapartheid struggle) and the local ambiguities of racial identification pose tough questions on the what work literature can do in coming to terms with the disjunctive temporalities of the hoped for, the remembered, and their interarticulations. She proposes that rather than considering prophecy as an exclusively anticipatory gesture, the validity or success of which depends strictly on the prophesied events coming to pass, we can more adequately grasp its potential by considering the ways prophecy reorients its addressees toward time, whether in remembering a moment of anticipation, anticipating a moment that will be remembered, reconsidering an event that may have been interpreted in one way from a new perspective, or as a well of dwelling in a present where hopes for the fulfillment of millenarian revolution seems tragically anachronistic.

She introduces and convincingly demonstrates that a notion of "unfailure" allows us to understand how subsequent generations can mine prophecy for a retrospective anticipation connecting early resistance with their own contemporary struggles, many decades after it is clear that Nongqawuse's prophecy of ancestral return is not to be fulfilled literally. The concept of "unfailure" also reveals that there is something very productive in the unfinished structure of prophecy, an openness to future work which the bounded teleological imagination of a revolution (in this case the coming of democracy in 1994) might otherwise foreclose. This is a tremendously useful concept, and one that takes seriously the culturally, temporally, and politically situated meanings that readers and writers within and beyond South Africa have made of the cattle killing since the mid–19th century.

Occasionally Wenzel's reliance on the Frankfurt school's theories of history distracts us from her careful attention to the interpretive and creative impact of the works at hand, but this, along with her closing discussion of U.S. author John Edgar Wideman's novel *The Cattle Killing,* shores up another essential claim of the book: that Nongqawuse's 1856 vision should matter not only within but beyond South Africa. *Bulletproof* succeeds brilliantly in making it matter to us now.

The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact

Michael V. Wilcox. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009. 334 pp.

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In the last half-decade, a healthy debate has begun about the potential of the emerging paradigm of Indigenous archaeology. Defined as an array of archaeological practices undertaken by, for, and with Indigenous communities in ways that challenge the discipline's historical political economy and expand its intellectual breadth, Indigenous archaeology is paving new pathways to restructure the relationship between the field and the communities it studies.

To date, most publications on Indigenous archaeology have been programmatic statements—concentrated on the philosophical, ethical, and historical problems that are prompting researchers to directly engage with descendant communities. These writings provide a necessary theoretical foundation, but some critics have suggested that Indigenous archaeology has not—and, perhaps, even cannot—meaningfully contribute to on-the-ground archaeological practice. Michael V. Wilcox's latest contribution is a decisive reply to this criticism (and others), providing an in-depth case study of how Indigenous archaeology profitably reframes major archaeological and historical questions.

Wilcox takes as his subject the infamous revolt of 1680, in which Pueblo communities throughout the U.S. Southwest united to violently cast out Spanish colonialists. Although focused on this singular historical moment, Wilcox challenges three leitmotifs that are typically used in popular and scholarly narratives of the Pueblo past: the discontinuity between ancient and modern Pueblo peoples, the explanation of demographic collapse through disease, and the rapid acculturation of Pueblo peoples and their loss of traditional lifeways. Wilcox flips the Pueblo Revolt's narrative coin, reversing the terms of debate from one of collapse to one of survival. Rather than asking how conquest triumphantly suppressed Pueblo traditions, Wilcox works to understand how the Pueblos have persevered despite nearly 500 years of colonial oppression. This new account explores the mechanisms of Pueblo cultural continuity, how colonial violence profoundly impacted Pueblo populations, and the ways in which Pueblo peoples actively resisted rather than easily capitulated to European conquest.

This weighty task is accomplished in eight brisk chapters. The first three chapters lay out Wilcox's theoretical perspectives, with special attention given to the concept of Indigenous archaeology, the construction of the "invisible" Indian in 20th-century archaeology and borderlands studies, and recent theories of ethnicity, which help explain how Pueblo identities evolved in response to the Spanish total war of "fire and blood." In the next four chapters, Wilcox delves into the documentary and archaeological record, demonstrating that starting with different premises allows for new kinds of understandings of Pueblo diplomacy. Drawing from colonial documents, Wilcox convincingly illustrates how Spanish colonial policies constituted a tyrannical violence that dramatically impacted Pueblo communities and ultimately led to the Pueblo "war of independence," as many Pueblo descendants think of the revolt today. Spanish colonial force was intended to divide and subdue the Pueblos, but Wilcox reveals how, ironically, the violence instead incited a pan-Pueblo identity that enabled the unified revolt to effectively transpire. This book also uncovers the idea that, while we may think of Puebloans as basically sedentary, they employed migration and movement as an express political strategy. Fascinatingly, Wilcox explains how both aggregation and dispersal were used to deflect colonial violence: some Pueblos gathered together in large numbers to constitute a sizeable force, others established small scattered communities to create social distance from colonial authority. The final chapter brings us back into the present, discussing the implications of repatriating archaeological knowledge, things, and places to living Pueblo peoples.

Despite its many strengths, the book has several shortcomings. Many readers will be distracted by the slipshod editing, for instance. Chapter 7 has the most straightforward archaeological content, but the evidence presented is sometimes only suggestive of Wilcox's conclusions. This is in large part because of the fact that the data presented are mostly derived from archival sources, unpublished maps, and field notes. Although Wilcox is to be vigorously commended for resuscitating these nearly lost sources of information, readers may wonder what more could be said about these archaeological sites if they were revisited, remapped, and resurveyed.

Also, Wilcox's own language at times undermines his arguments. For example, the book is configured around the idea that Pueblos readily "abandoned" their homes during colonial conflict. But in practice the "abandonment" of one pueblo often meant reinhabiting another previously "abandoned" pueblo. Other "abandoned" pueblos have been actively remembered through oral traditions, pilgrimages, and rituals. *Abandonment,* by colloquial and legal definition, means not only to cease living in a place but also to surrender one's claim to it. This language of *abandonment* continues to mask Pueblo people's complex

historical land use and continuing, living collective memory.

In the end, the book estimably ushers in a second phase of Indigenous archaeology's development. Moving beyond paradigmatic declarations, Wilcox vividly displays the ways in which Indigenous archaeology can help contest entrenched ideas and histories. This nuanced reading of the Pueblo Revolt turns Indians from passive and uniform actors frozen in time into real people with agency, diverse lives and dreams, and a remarkable capacity for survival. Wilcox masterfully achieves this transformation without romanticizing Indians—and without reducing the Spanish to mindless imperialists bent on fulfilling a preordained conquest. In short, the book superbly contributes to a significant reworking of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt as it is commonly known and narrated.

Catching Fire: How Cooking Made Us Human

Richard Wrangham. New York: Basic Books, 2009. 320 pp.

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It seems rather odd that fire qua fire has long been neglected by physical anthropologists. Archaeologists and paleontologists note where and when and whether a fire has taken place, cultural anthropologists discuss the symbolic and social meanings of fire, but physical anthropologists have tended to overlook it. Now there are two books tracing the biological importance of fire in hominization—*Fire: The Spark That Ignited Human Evolution* (Burton 2009) and Richard Wrangham's *Catching Fire: How Cooking Made Us Human.* Both were published in 2009, and the latter, by Richard Wrangham, is the subject of this review. The format of the book permits it to be popular as well as "academic," with chapter notes in the back to support and elaborate undocumented statements in the text.

Wrangham's book has its origin a decade ago when he joined five colleagues in a much discussed article, "The Raw and the Stolen," published for comment in *Current Anthropology.* There the ideas presented in this recent book were adumbrated. The thesis is simple: that what made humans human was the cooking of food in "controlled" fire, somewhere around 1.9 mya with *Homo erectus.* The scenario includes the origin of the sexual division of labor and the very nature of sociality in the human line. In the 207 packed text pages of the book, however, neither the act of cooking nor the meaning of *controlled* is defined. Is *control* in *Catching Fire* the manufacture of fire, the confining of it, or merely nurturance? The reader must intuit *cooking* in Claude Lévi-Strauss's terms: the act of transforming raw food items to cooked ones. What was being cooked were high-calorie foods like tubers, corms, and bulbs dug from deep within the ground. These require a digging tool of some sort to retrieve them but do not require cooking, as nutrient is available even in raw starches, for example, in potatoes (Milton 1999). Indeed, William C. McGrew, in a commentary on the earlier article notes that transformation of food—that is, "cooking"—does not require fire. Food can be pulverized, toxins soaked out, or proteins denatured by marinades (McGrew 1999). The value of cooking, Wrangham tells us, however, is to increase the Glycemic Index, releasing more energy. Two pages are devoted to how foods might have been cooked on the basis of traditional cultures. This activity, which is so central to the book, deserves a bit more detail. The manner of preparation, as Wrangham himself notes in the final chapter, will affect the value of the nutrients. Were food items steamed in leaves? Roasted on stones? Thrown into the fire? Would not the grit of phytoliths (Chandler-Ezell et al. 2006) have left marks on fossil teeth?

Cooking was an asset, Wrangham suggests, relieving ancestors from having to pound their muscle meat as habilines are thought to have done in their developing acquaintance with stone tools. Wrangham suggests that somewhere around 2.6 mya, *H. habilis* "captured" fire and noticed as tools were made, the sparks that resulted from stone on stone. The availability of pyrites, he notes, was necessary in this. Flammable material would have to have been readily available. According to habiline teeth, they were eating much the same plant materials as had been Australopithecines. It is not until *H. erectus,* about 1.9 mya or so, that "cooking started." Wrangham compiles impressive evidence of this. It comes from anatomy and is supported by the fact that chimps prefer cooked food: the digestive tract, the teeth, general body size, and lack of dimorphism (a singular difference in the evolution of hominins) all suggest an adaptation for cooked food. Moreover, cooking itself created communal activity, as food was prepared for a group (see "The Married Cook," ch. 7). Because there is cultural evidence that sociality is not necessary—in traditional societies, some members cook, others watch, and who gets to eat when and with whom is highly variable—Wrangham poses the question of why, then, is the "culinary project" so often social (p. 154)? He replies that it is because the cook is so easily exploited by malingering and marauding males who were "determined thieves" so that a female would have decidedly needed a male protector (p. 177). Or would she? This update of "man, the hunter" has been seriously debated. Why would cooked food be more able to be stolen than raw food—assuming food is scarce at all (Milton 1999)? When would the differentiation have begun between males foraging for themselves and becoming dependent on females who tend fire?

The last chapter of *Catching Fire* ("Epilogue: The Well-Informed Cook") seems to have little connection to the book; rather, it discusses modern food habits and the consequences of them—especially obesity. He examines the Atwater system of analyzing food contents by their components and suggests that a new system is very much needed in light of modern food chemistry. Certainly this is interesting material but rather at a distance from the origin of cooking and its influence on hominization. I also find it curious that there is no discussion of insects in the diet. McGrew has written extensively on the value of insects. They are a readily accessible packet of fats, carbohydrates, protein, fiber, and a host of vitamins—not the least of which is vitamin B12, which primates cannot manufacture. Termite mounds often burn, and termites in any case are relished by all primates. Some insects are drawn to fire, others are cooked in embers of natural fires; either way, there would have been an abundance of these and a habit of eating them over the millennia. If ancestors were able and willing to pound meat to make it more chewable, a ready supply of nutrient in an insect package might have been more economical, and experience with insects in smoldering embers might well have been a prelude to the concept of cooking, as I suggest elsewhere (Burton 2009). And like traditional hunters, grazing takes place all day long as the hunters stalk or walk toward their prey. Whatever can be easily caught—whether small mammals, reptiles, amphibians, and of course invertebrates—is food as well. Certainly the amount of energy in a storage organ is sustaining, although it is not nutritionally balanced. But it was the meat-eating habits of habilines that morphed into cooking, and this precondition is supported by Wrangham's use of circumstantial material. Unfortunately, as *Catching Fire* went to press, new finds and new descriptions of known fossils were being published. Bipedalism, for example, is now known to have preceded *Homo* by millions of years, hence new possibilities of the evolutionary trajectory are envisioned.

Wrangham cites S. J. Gould's calculation that it takes between 15,000 and 20,000 years for genetic changes to make the transition between one species and another. However, there is another system that works in concert with genes, providing more rapid change. This burgeoning field of epigenetics gives flexibility to the faithful replications of the genetic system. Natural selection is slow, but epigenetics is rapid, contextual, and probably transgenerational (e.g., Morgan and Whitelaw 2008). Wrangham's reference to natural selection to explain the evolutionary changes resulting from cooking would have been enhanced with mention of the dynamics of epigenetic processes silencing genes and shifting expression of the genome.

Regardless of flaws, Richard Wrangham has amassed material from a variety of fields and has logically constructed a scenario that, if contentious, certainly makes for good reading.

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New Masters, New Servants: Migration, Development, and Women Workers in China

Yan Hairong. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 328 pp.

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Yan Hairong, in *New Masters, New Servants,* aims to unpack, challenge, and critique Chinese neoliberalism in the sphere of labor discipline. Yan identifies the new forms of techniques, rationality, and tactics of governance and discipline as the power of the hegemonic "keywords" or "catachresis" such as *development* and *suzhi* (quality), created in and constitutive of the postsocialist reform. Produced by political and social processes, these keywords "legitimately and actively participate in the expanded discursive reproduction of sociopolitical reality" (p. 95). Yan locates these keywords in the ethnography of rural migrant domestic maids in urban China and examines how these keywords shape the women's everyday existence. Yan argues that although the power of the hegemonic discourse has impressed onto migrant domestic maids' "formation of their subjectivity," their subjectivity

cannot be "reducible to effects of power" (p. 24). Yan foresees a remaking of a future politics of collective agency among migrant women.

This book is based on Yan's 15-month field research between fall 1998 and spring 2000. Yan notes that during this period, she accompanied migrant women from villages in Anhui Province to the city of Beijing and conducted interviews. Data in this ethnography is drawn from her interviews, migrant women's own writings, and migrant women's stories constructed in the media.

Yan argues that central to a neoliberal governmentality is the cultural production of the keywords and the separation of the political from the economic sphere. Through depoliticizing development and producing and managing new laboring subjects whose value and worth are predicated on the market and development, the state displaces dangerous factors in the free labor market, undermines class consciousness and collective social agency, and ultimately maintains its legitimacy and social stability.

Yan observes that the postsocialist market reform reconfigures rural–urban relationships and spawns an "emaciation of the countryside," "a process of violence that appropriates economic, cultural, and ideological value from the countryside" (p. 44). Yan asserts that as a result of the rise of the city and the violence in the discourse on modernity and development, the countryside is devalued and deprived of state involvement, and the desire of rural youth is reoriented toward the city life.

Yan critiques the cultural production of suzhi, or "quality," as a new form of value to development and the market economy, "transvaluated as greater productivity and profit in the field of economy" (p. 123). Yan argues that by recoding the economic poverty as cultural poverty—that is, poverty within human subjectivity itself—"not only are culture and subjectivity reterritorialized into the field of Development; they are now placed at its very center as the objects for improvement, and they are held directly responsible for holding back economic forces" (p. 122). In this discourse, transformation of consciousness is "the key to solving the problem of Development" (p. 123).

By coding labor mobility as suzhi mobility and by predicating development on human suzhi, exploitation of migrant labor is masked and shielded. Yan posits that migrants were convinced that their labor migration would benefit transformations of rural consciousness, improve their suzhi, enhance their self-development, and advance their chance of class mobility. By reorienting the agency inside rather than outside of themselves, they reproduce hegemony.

This book is theoretically and politically engaged, unraveling layers of neoliberal logic in current China. The argument could be enhanced through cutting down repetitions and removing contradictions in the book. For instance, in parts of the book, Yan argues that migrant women in her research frame their experiences with the dominant regime of value and subsume their experiences under the dominant framework of development as the economic law. She writes: "It is within the dominant discourse of the development that migrant women acquire their ideological value and struggle for an articulation of their subaltern experiences and vision" (p. 243). The desire of migrant women, as Yan asserts, dances with the dominant "disciplinary gaze" as both "a source of discipline and joy" (p. 208). However, in other parts of the book, Yan presents a contrary argument, asserting that migrant women refuse to subsume their experiences under the dominant discourse of development (p. 246). Positing two contradictory arguments in a single monograph not only confuses readers but also complicates, challenges, and ultimately calls into question the "totalizing and individuating effect" of the dominant discourse of development (p. 192) that the author painstakingly theorizes throughout the book.

These caveats stated, this book should be welcomed by a wide array of scholars who have an interest in topics such as neoliberalism, migrant labor, domestic labor, and capitalism in China and beyond.