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In Fear of Small Numbers, Arjun Appadurai extends his ongoing work on globalization to consider some of its harsher aspects, including ethnic cleansing and the War on Terror. Neither dense with theory nor laden with ethnographic particulars, this extended essay provides an approachable mix of both article and book.

In a cogent discussion of identity, Appadurai suggests that national communities are imagined through the rhetorics of purity, difference, and danger. Reviving a functionalist organic analogy (along with some of its weaknesses), he examines “vertebrate” forms of large-scale social organization (e.g., the nation-state) and opposes them to “cellular” forms of affiliation (e.g., terrorist organizations and Internet-based transnational activist movements). He points out contradictions between the realities of globalization, on the one hand, and the ideals of liberal social theory and the multicultural nation, on the other hand. As the “other” within the nation, minorities serve as the unwelcome embodiment of globalization, and as the alter ego of the terrorist. Frustrated over the failures of the nation-state, majorities with “predatory identities” vent their rage on minority scapegoats; state and civilian concerns unite to spark ethnic cleansing. In what Appadurai evocatively terms “fractal ripples,” national conflicts draw on global rhetoric: Internally suspicious others (minorities) merge with globally imagined enemies (terrorists). Appadurai illustrates this point vividly through the religious conflict in India and the rise of the Hindu Right in mainstream politics. He shows convincingly how the fundamentalist rhetoric of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) associates India’s Muslim population with Pakistan; global Islam; September 11, 2001; and terrorism. In a related argument, Appadurai evocatively terms “fractal ripples,” national conflicts draw on global rhetoric: Internally suspicious others (minorities) merge with globally imagined enemies (terrorists). Appadurai illustrates this point vividly through the religious conflict in India and the rise of the Hindu Right in mainstream politics. He shows convincingly how the fundamentalist rhetoric of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) associates India’s Muslim population with Pakistan; global Islam; September 11, 2001; and terrorism. In a related argument, Appadurai evocatively terms “fractal ripples,” national conflicts draw on global rhetoric: Internally suspicious others (minorities) merge with globally imagined enemies (terrorists).

By insisting on the uniqueness of current globalizing trends, Appadurai downplays parallels to violent community-building events that predate his chosen time period. For example, physical and symbolic violence in the 19th-century United States surrounded race and citizenship issues for Irish immigrants, free blacks, and Native Americans. Similarly, the “anticommunist” rhetoric and anti-indigenous counter-insurgency policies of Latin American dictatorships in the 1970–90s reveal patterns similar to the “antiterrorist” rhetoric in the post–Cold War, post–September 11 world that Appadurai discusses. Appadurai’s period blindness does not undermine his general argument about violence and identity, but it does challenge whether the phenomena he identifies are qualitatively different or new.

Appadurai does not explicitly unpack the overlapping types of violence (physical, symbolic, structural, and state imposed) that allow specialists to understand complex situations as multifaceted but seamless wholes. Appadurai’s symbolic approach gives short shrift to a political–economic analysis of material concerns, and he pays surprisingly little attention to the structural violence inherent in global capitalism. For example, he alludes to the IMF only in passing and makes no mention of structural adjustment riots directly traceable to neoliberal economic reforms. His discussion of the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center focuses on issues of religious violence, ignoring these targets as symbols of the U.S. business–military complex and its exploitative economic and political practices.

The book reveals a pro-U.S. bias on topics that a more cynical political observer might subject to closer scrutiny. Appadurai portrays the United States as an injured innocent in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, and accepts the government’s justification for the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. In his analysis of “vertebrate” states taking on “cellular” terrorist organizations, Appadurai neglects cases where the state is the purveyor of terror, such as those prevalent in colonial governments throughout history, in Latin American puppet dictatorships during the Cold War, and in emerging political trends throughout the world. Few nations are strangers to the adverse effects of globalization, and many experienced the terror-related blurring between military and civilian space long before people did in the United States; at times, such experiences resulted directly from U.S. foreign policies. On these topics, Appadurai acquits by erasing.

Despite these issues, Fear of Small Numbers makes engaging reading. Although experts may see holes in the argument, the book provides a fine introduction to the conjunction of globalization, violence, and identity politics. Not
overburdened with jargon or scholarly references, the book is accessible to readers both within and outside of academia and to an undergraduate audience. It will interest anthropologists, political scientists, policymakers, and students of conflict resolution and globalization.


LARRY MERKEL
University of Virginia

In Acts of Integration, Expressions of Faith, Ann Appleton hopes to contribute first to the ethnography of East Malaysia, particularly the Melanau of Sarawak; second to the cross-cultural literature of mental health, examining psychopathology and healing practices within an ethnographic context; and, third, to theory, providing a cultural theory of psychopathology complementary to biomedicine. The impetus for the book derives from a desire to help explain the increased prognosis of certain forms of mental illness, especially the psychosis, in developing countries. Appleton’s approach to fieldwork is intersubjective, such that her reactions are an integral aspect of the description and analysis. Of the three contributions, the first one is the most successfully accomplished, as Appleton gives detailed descriptions of various Melanau ritual activities. She builds on Stephen Morris’s earlier ethnographic descriptions and gives evidence of both continuity and change with time. As to the second contribution, Appleton continues the important conversation regarding the cultural shaping of illness and healing in Southeast Asia. The chapter detailing the careers of several healers and how they came to these careers is quite valuable.

It is in the third contribution that the book is weakest. The proposed model of psychopathology derives from a combination of the existential–phenomenological concept of Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s “being-in-the-world,” the existential psychology of Rollo May, the ritual analysis of Victor Turner and Roy Rappaport, and certain Jungian concepts. The descriptive examples chosen appear to support the theoretical explication, but there is often a lack of supportive documentation beyond the one example chosen, and sometimes an interpretive leap seems to occur such that the symbolic analysis comes primarily from the author’s experience of it and not the participants. This is exemplified in Appleton’s discussion of an exorcism on page 266. The use of the Jungian concept of “shadow” and related ideas is possibly easier to work with, but it does not provide any further advantage to the understanding of psychopathology than as the projected manifestation of what is unconscious and unacceptable that has dominated psychological interpretations of such phenomena for several generations. The argument that psychopathology is culturally constructed is not new, although an existential approach to the understanding of suffering is more responsible than a deconstructionist approach that often removes psychopathology far from the daily experience of individuals and even tends to glorify suffering. While this work argues that the preservation of tradition and a community-centered ritual life may be one protective factor in the improved prognosis of psychopathology in developing countries, it does not provide any convincing evidence for this. Two of the three cases of psychopathology that are examined in any depth are both cases of chronic illness. While these people are cared for in their families and communities and there is no evidence of the stigma associated with mental illness in various Western settings, the situation is not ideal. In the case of Katun, villagers deliberately and repeatedly intoxicate him for “entertainment” (p. 183), resulting in worsening of his symptoms and hospitalization. Maybe stigma is also culturally constructed.

This book is a worthwhile effort to contribute to the greatly needed cross-cultural and theoretical understanding of psychopathology. There is a building body of work that argues for a broader understanding of psychopathology beyond that traditionally associated with biomedicine, to which this book does make a contribution. However, to influence the larger psychiatric community, it is important that qualitative approaches be convincing and well supported. An intersubjective approach that is heavy on the theoretical and light on the descriptive data may appear to be an excuse for inadequate rigor and a lack of discipline. For instance, a symbolic relationship between madness and death is posited, but very little evidence is given to support this connection in Melanau beliefs other than that soul loss may lead to both. In addition, this book opposes the Melanau lifeworld to that nebulous straw dog, “Western society,” despite quoting Mary Douglas as to the dangers of such comparisons based on generalizations. It is time that the field moved beyond such stereotyped comparisons and examined Western society with an eye toward its diversity.

It is a shame the author did not focus more on certain details of Melanau ontology, such as why pregnant women and the recently bereaved are both seen as vulnerable to spiritual attack or a more in-depth examination of the Melanau ritual life that underlies all psychopathology. There is a building body of work on Western society with an eye toward its diversity. A detailed examination of such issues within a narrower scope may have been of more value than the broad goals that were posited in the beginning.


JOEL W. PALKA
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The Middle American Research Institute (MARI) publishes specialized monographs with new information and
important findings on Mesoamerican cultures. This volume fits neatly in the MARI mold, yet it differs from recent tomes because it has more interpretations and numerous chapters from established authors. The work is of interest to Mesoamericanists and to anthropologists studying indigenous records and emic perspectives, culture contact and indigenous agency, material culture and semiotics, and indigenous art and society. Specialists will have a greater appreciation of the work because of the nature of the data and research. Many chapters form a multidisciplinary, sociohistorical perspective on specific aspects of Mesoamerican indigenous cultures (mostly elites) in precontact and Spanish Colonial times, and they are not comparative or theoretical in nature in most cases. The strength of the volume is the presentation of recent insights on past Mesoamerican societies from a group of recognized experts on Mesoamerican manuscripts and cultures.

There is a positive trend toward creating edited volumes like this one with many concise chapters (25 here) on single topics written by specialists. The results are copious amounts of data and terse chapters that are enjoyable to read, easily referenced, and useful for decades. This book is based on a Tulane University symposium dedicated to research on Mesoamerican codices and a leader in the field, Mary Elizabeth Smith. As a colleague or mentor, Smith inspired participants to examine Mesoamerican cultures by viewing native manuscripts in a multidisciplinary mindset (art history, anthropology, and ethnohistory). Her influence unites the chapters of the volume instead of a single research topic. The structure of the book flows from precontact cultures to colonial influences.

Many books are published on indigenous Mesoamerican manuscripts and their art, writing, and cultural information, and this volume compares favorably to them. It presents codices from not one but several culture areas (Aztec, Mixtec, and Maya), it focuses on late precontact and postcontact societies, and authors accentuate indigenous culture change as internal responses to colonialism. Topics range from religion, astronomy, politics, and social organization to land disputes, architecture, and iconography. Cultural descriptions do not predominate, and neither do general theoretical discussions. The chapters are not meant to be cohesive and the drawbacks are that they can be non-integrative or have contradictory or repetitive information (which does not happen often). Some sections on calendars and contemporary cultures do not initially appear to fit, but they carry implications for the understanding of Mesoamerican manuscripts.

Chapters on Aztec beliefs, religious specialists, and ritual items are written by Elizabeth Hill Boone (male and female sages), Eloise Quinones Keber (female rites and deities), Doris Heyden (wooden ritual images), and Jill Leslie Furst (the god Xipe Totec). H. B. Nicholson debates the existence of Quetzalcoatl images in Mixtec codices. Boundaries, maps, political structure, and rulership are addressed by Joyce Marcus (Zapotec toponyms and polities) and, later, by Kevin Terraciano (Mixtec women elites and coulrels). Calendars, astronomy, almanacs, and religion are treated by Munro Edmonson (Mesoamerican calendars and the Toltecs), Gabrielle Vail (Yucatec Maya renewal ceremonies), Victoria and Harvey Bricker (Maya astronomy and water symbolism), Merideth Paxton (Maya solar and hummingbird imagery), and Susan Spiteri (Mexican calendar wheels). Presentations of material culture, iconography, and symbolism are given by Patricia Anawalt (Aztec textiles) and John Pohl (lintel paintings at Mitla, Oaxaca). Marianna Appel Kunow describes a colonial manuscript on Maya plant use, and Judith Maxwell discusses past to present Mayan languages and writing.

Discussions of iconography, meaning, and change are authored by Nicholas Johnson (Mixtec roads and narrative connectors), Ellen Baird (representations of space in colonial Mexico), Lori Boornazian (European imagery in Mexican manuscripts), and William Barnes (transformations in Mexican society and depictions of rulership). Elite genealogies, land ownership, communities, and social change are considered in chapters from Barbara Mundy (Mixtec map genealogies and land perceptions), Mary Elizabeth Smith (a Mixtec codex with changing land claims), John Monaghan (Mixtec land reform and social transformations), and Xavier Noguez (a new Techialoyan Codex from Mexico and community history).

This book is a good buy for a thick hardcover volume with quality chapters. It is well written and professionally edited. The volume also contains many (241) fine black-and-white illustrations, including maps, drawings, tables, and scans of codices. However, some images are small and dark, and rarely are arrows employed to indicate referenced icons, which will hinder the nonspecialist. Good bibliographies are given with each chapter and the index is more complete than similar volumes. Mesoamerican codices contain essential information on native societies, thus this volume is an important addition to any Mesoamericanist's library.


CHRISTOPHER KAPLONSKI
University of Cambridge

Mongolia is a country that beckons for a strong ethnography. Despite the work of scholars like Caroline Humphrey in the United Kingdom and talented younger anthropologists like Manduhai Buyandelgeriyn in the United States, Mongolia remains relatively unnoticed on the anthropological radar screen. I had high hopes that Ole Bruun’s ethnography of “a contemporary community of nomadic livestock herders” (p. vii) would help raise Mongolia’s profile. Unfortunately, while the book holds much promise, weak editing keeps it from realizing its potential.

Precious Steppe is a relatively straightforward account of life in the countryside of Mongolia. Approach as such,
the book is a useful addition to the literature, particularly in dealing with daily life and local-level politics, but one that must be read with some caution. Bruun, editor of two previous volumes on Mongolia, sets out to provide an overview of life in the Mongolian countryside since the collapse of socialism in 1990. He examines a range of topics, including social structure, the revival of Buddhism, gender relations, and the migration of herders to the capital.

The first part of the book introduces us to Bruun’s research site and the daily life of the nomadic herders. Chapter 3, in particular, offers a strong account of the complexities of herding and subsistence in the countryside through sketches of families and herding groups in his research site. Sadly, the subject implied in the subtitle, “the pursuit of the market,” is never addressed to the depth one would hope. Attempts by the herders to engage the changing dynamics of life in Mongolia are absent from most of the book. The accounts of herders moving to the city (ch. 7) and some of the issues faced in development (ch. 8) do address these issues and are the strongest parts of the book, as they illustrate the challenges facing herders in their struggle to deal with the collapse of socialism and the heavily subsidized rural economy it had engendered.

Despite the strengths of the book, it is unclear who would benefit most from reading it. The very range of topics covered means few are given the depth of attention they deserve. A lack of strong editing will confuse the non-specialist reader and frustrate those who are familiar with Mongolia. Bruun insists on calling the collapse of socialism in 1990 “independence” (pp. 40, 46, 121, and 219, among other places) but never explains why. This terminology is used by some Mongolians (although less frequently today than in the early 1990s) to highlight the colonial nature of their relationship with the Soviet Union between 1921 and 1990 but belies the fact that Mongolia was independent throughout the socialist period. This is never explained. Similarly, Bruun refers to “the Ninth Bogd Khan, the last reincarnation of Mongolian kings” (p. 124). This is a misunderstanding of a popular, but inaccurate, Mongolian title for a line of Buddhist incarnations, only one of whom briefly ruled Mongolia in the early 20th century.

Precious Steppe is inconsistent in its use of detail intended to bolster Bruun’s arguments. To take one example, on page 97 he writes, “people talk a lot and the atmosphere in the ger [the Mongolian felt tent] is generally relaxed, without strict rules of conduct between the sexes or generations,” but he notes on the following page that “the joyful atmosphere... is shaped by conventional patterns of avoidance” (p. 98). Finally, the need for tighter editing is reflected in issues such as nonstandard transcriptions (“Djenghis Khan” for “Chinggis Khan”), misattributed terminology (dalai is a Mongolian word, not Tibetan), and the fact that an endnote in chapter 4, referenced only as “Christopher Kaplonski, homepage,” is in fact quoted verbatim from my website without proper citation.

Despite repeated references to history and change, the book is infused with a sense of ahistoricity, invoking the concept of the “timeless nomad” Bruun elsewhere argues against. This is particularly notable in his use of Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer’s Mongolia’s Culture and Society (1979), which focuses predominantly on early-20th-century Inner Mongolia. Its use as a reference for contemporary Mongolia is problematic, particularly in such a time of massive upheaval as Mongolia’s postsocialist experience has been.

In short, despite a wealth of detail about Mongolian culture and life in the countryside, it is unclear to whom Precious Steppe may unequivocally be recommended: Anthropologists who are unfamiliar with Mongolia may be misled by errors and inconsistencies, while anthropologists who are familiar with Mongolia will be frustrated by the potential the volume shows but never quite manages to realize.

REFERENCE CITED

Hyer, Paul, and Sechin Jagchid


JOSH WISNIEWSKI
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From 1970 onward, Ernest (Tiger) Burch has been an influential authority shaping the character of ethnographic knowledge on Northwest Alaska. In the past eight years alone, he has published three major interrelated ethnohistoric reconstructions of Inupiaq lifeways (1998, 2005, 2006). Social Life in Northwest Alaska is the last piece in his ethnohistoric trilogy of life in early and precontact Inupiaq societies, emphasizing the period of 1800–48. This project, which has highlighted the organization of territoriality, began with the identification of discrete politically autonomous regional groups, whom Burch defines in deference to his knowledgeable instructors as nations. His second work focused on the analysis of relations between the previously identified nations. Finally, in this third publication, he offers a richly descriptive portraiture of social and material life. These descriptions range from the organization of settlements to kinship structure and the use and manufacture of hunting equipment.

This work, like Burch’s previous publications, is unmistakably Burch in its painstakingly detailed research drawing from wide ranging and diverse sources. These sources range from historical accounts and archival data to the field notes of earlier regional ethnographers, whose fieldwork predated Burch’s own. He also offers extensive citations of the elders (many of whom were born prior to the 20th century), whose experience and knowledge are foundational to Burch’s project. This work, like Burch’s previous publications, will no doubt become required reading for scholars of
Alaska history and students of Inuit culture, and the book can be comfortably situated in the genre of ethnohistory or Alaska studies. His discussion of material culture items including the manufacture and use of a wide range of items from skin-processing tools to water-storage containers and will be of particular value to archeologists, as well as his generously detailed descriptions of variations in seasonal round activities between different regional groups.

Burch presents us with a well-researched and authoritative characterization of historic Inupiaq social organization founded on a wide range of highly organized data. Burch’s goal of reversing the historical misperception of Inuit people as having little to no social organization (an important undertaking) has clearly been realized and should be applauded. Yet the manner in which he articulates a counterclaim in support of Inuit social organization does not take into consideration individual agency, local historicity, or expressions of territoriality that transcended colonial expansion and continue to be articulated as a context for contemporary engagements with lands and animals. Presenting his argument in this fashion, Burch undermines part of the potential impact of his project. Through his work we do not receive a more nuanced and detailed understanding of people but, rather, yet another—albeit richly detailed and excellently researched—characterization of “traditional” Inupiaq societies situated in a precontact historical ethnographic setting. But, although it is not intended, this characterization may also enforce a stereotype that indigenous people only remain “traditional” through continued replication of older patterns, thus not allowing for the flexible adaptability that remains an actively sought dimension of life for contemporary Inupiaq peoples.

Burch’s valuation of his informants’ knowledge is clearly reflected in this work as well as in his previous publications, but he does not provide an opportunity for local voices to be heard. In this work, there is no effort to explore the social and cultural factors shaping historical knowledge claims, oral or academic. Burch recognizes that dimensions of the way of life he describes were articulated both prior to and beyond the period of his temporal focus. But readers looking to learn about how Inupiaq people construct meaning in their lives and history will not find a systematic account of that here.

Burch’s work contributes much significantly illuminating data to regional research; it supplies a wide range important data that is now largely inaccessible because of the passing of elders who so generously shared their knowledge with Burch. The publication of Social Life in Northwest Alaska also represents partial closure to Burch’s larger historical project, one that has been informed by over 40 years of regional scholarship. The very extensive data, in addition to Burch’s earlier work, will serve as catalyst for sparking regional debate on the character and actualization of Inupiaq territoriality and the ethnographic characterization of Inupiaq people. As I have suggested above, it can be imagined that such debates are ones that Burch would no doubt welcome.

REFERENCES CITED
Burch, Ernest S., Jr.


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Human Remains: Guide for Museums and Academic Institutions provides a working guide for the management of human osteological collections, broadly defined. The book’s 17 chapters discuss recommended policies and procedures for human osteological collections, condition assessments, treatment, conservation, sampling, examination and analysis, handling, storage and transport, pest management, associated remains, archives and documentation, fieldwork, and health concerns for those working with human remains. They also examine indigenous or traditional treatment of human remains and value orientation of descendant communities, ethical issues relating to human osteological collections, laws regarding human remains and burials, and museum policies regarding access to and exhibition of human remains.

The volume does not address analytical or research topics, except by providing definitions of some of the more commonly employed techniques, nor does it address the complexity of managing other kinds of human biological samples or materials (e.g., tissue samples). Instead, it focuses on the management of osteological or closely related collections and their maintenance for research or other purposes. General discussions of principles are augmented by case studies, including the celebrated examples of the individual remains of Kennewick Man, Spirit Cave Man, Sarah Baartman, and Ramses I. A particularly welcome feature is a series of “inserts” in each chapter, essentially sidebars with more detailed discussion of key topics and definitions of useful terms. Also associated with the volume is a Windows-based software package (Bones, Version 1.0, which can be downloaded from the publisher’s website) to create skeletal records and basic skeletal databases.

The contributors attempt to be sensitive to the constraints faced by smaller museums or repositories (at one point they suggest either transferring remains to a larger institution or holding a unique community or international fundraiser to support preservation efforts), but some recommendations will be daunting to museums with limited resources. Vicki Cassman and Nancy Odegaard, for example, call for full condition assessment of osteological collections and provide a good overview of the sequence of steps necessary for baseline condition recording. A more rapid assessment technique not discussed is collection profiling, in
which ordinal condition scores along appropriate dimensions are systematically recorded for a standardized sample of drawers, boxes, or other storage units. While not providing the level of detail of a full condition assessment, profiling can be a useful tool for prioritizing needs and identifying threats to the integrity of collections.

Implicit in many of the contributions—and explicit in some—is the idea that human remains should be regarded as neither archaeological nor biological collections but, rather, as a different kind of collection requiring unique policies, procedures, and protocols. While the reader might quibble with some of the specific viewpoints or recommendations offered, the orientation of the volume and its emphasis on systematic, formal, and deliberate approaches to human remains is laudable. Although much of the book focuses on New World collections, it encompasses a diversity of topics from associated objects to cremations and from Egyptian mummies to the problems of frozen human remains.

Without minimizing the very real contributions of the various authors to different topics, the book’s primary value lies in two areas: (1) helping museums and repositories address issues of ethical treatment of human remains, including the incorporation of indigenous views, and (2) developing formal procedures and policies relating to the management of and access to human osteological collections. Balancing the needs of the collection from a preservation standpoint with traditional care guidelines developed by descendant communities may present its own complexities, such as minimizing processes leading to decay or loss through standard conservation procedures while at the same time allowing remains (in the words of contributors Alyce Sadongei and Philip Cash Cash) “some degree of autonomy to self-synthesize with the universe at large” (p. 100).

Some of the contributions will likely become dated, either because of advances in techniques or procedures or because of changing statutory requirements, but the lasting value of the volume will be its approach to its subject. Human Remains will be of value to a variety of audiences, including curators, representatives of indigenous communities, museum directors and administrators, conservators, collections managers, tribal cultural preservation officers, archaeologists, physical anthropologists, ethicists, and law enforcement officials. More generally, it will be of interest and note to any scholars concerned with the evolving ways that human remains are treated, managed, and contextualized.


ADRIANA GRECI GREEN
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The act was intended “to provide maximum Indian participation in the Government and education of Indian people,” by opening the “planning, conduct, and administration” of programs from federal agencies to the tribes (p. 16). Essentially, the act enabled tribes to bypass the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and directly contract with the federal government for the provision of services, especially for health and education.

All three administrations under review accepted self-determination as the direction Indian policy should take. Carter’s endorsement of self-determination was an easy choice, as streamlining the delivery of Indian programs coincided with his focus on reorganizing government. Reagan saw self-determination as a practical example of how to cut government spending and stressed that reservation economies would grow if only government was curtailed and the private sector encouraged. Bush reaffirmed that tribal governments should assume the administration of many federal programs. It becomes clear that self-determination offered politicians a convenient rhetoric of tribal self-sufficiency and autonomy, but that they did not allocate the funds to support those goals. Castile acknowledges some of Reagan’s budget cuts and mentions that unemployment in Indian country rose, but he does not detail the effect that the contracting system had on the delivery of resources to tribes. Overall, Indian self-determination fits into larger economic policies that served to diminish the government’s trust responsibility rather than to strengthen tribal infrastructures.

The book provides an overview of each administration’s limited involvement in Indian affairs (Castile reminds us that Nixon was the only president to take an interest). Indian issues were often subsumed under other policies, such as water resource development. Carter preferred negotiation over costly litigation, and he signed the important Maine Indian Claims Act (1980). During Carter’s time in office, there was some unusual pro-Indian congressional activism led by South Dakota Senator James Abourezk. Among other things, Abourezk shepherded the Indian Child Welfare Act and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act and initiated the Federal Acknowledgement Process. Reagan transferred many of the costs for Indian education and claims settlements onto the states. Bush had the privilege of signing the National Museum of the American Indian Act, the Indian Arts and Crafts Act, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, but he did not initiate them.

With regards to the implementation of self-determination policy, after 20 years tribes were only administering a third of available contracts (p. 112). Castile notes a pattern of presidential disregard for the
recommendations of government and congressional task forces, which at different times found severe bureaucratic obstacles in the BIA’s administration of the self-determination contracts as well as endemic political interference and nepotism in tribal governments. Although there is indeed plenty to criticize all around, Castile seems to internalize the argument made in some of the reports that self-determination engendered corruption because tribal governments were unable to “develop traditions of responsible self-government” (p. 114): The example provided is of Peter McDonald, former chairman of Navajo Nation (pp. 79–83). He also suggests that many applications were probably “bad—incomplete, unrealistic” (p. 113) and sees a “fearful perspective” about termination (p. 113) rather than an infrastructural problem.

This history emanates from Washington, D.C., and Castile does not delve into the background of issues or of people. He utilizes presidential papers and government correspondence but compiles much commentary from secondary sources, which he sometimes takes out of context. There is a curious jab at the authenticity of Ben Nighthorse Campbell’s tribal enrollment, which is ironic given that a photograph of Iron Eyes Cody graces the cover of the book (Iron Eyes Cody, who shed the famous tear over pollution in the Keep America Beautiful ad, represented himself as Indian although he was not). Taking Charge presumes a familiarity with federal Indian policy that will make it too dry for undergraduates, but it provides an outline of presidential and congressional policymaking and offers several reference points from which to expand. For instance, I was compelled to look up Ross Swimmer, Reagan’s Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, and found that he is presently back on the job as Special Trustee for American Indians. The value of this book, then, is also in adding some historical context to Indian policy currently under development.

REFERENCE CITED

Castile, George Pierre


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The Handbook of Oral History combines chapters written by superbly qualified scholars, each addressing their own area of expertise, to create a reference work for readers interested in producing oral history or understanding its practice. This volume provides theoretical depth, historical perspective, and cross-disciplinary critiques absent in more narrowly focused “how-to” works. The methods section is alternately thoughtful, explicit, and expansive.

The Handbook is intended as a vade mecum, a book to take along and consult. Editors Thomas Charlton, Lois Myers, and Rebecca Sharpless, all faculty members at Baylor University and affiliated with its Institute for Oral History, begin by recounting the history and progress of thought in their field, then discuss key aspects of conceptualizing, executing, transcribing, archiving, interpreting, and presenting oral history. They expand the discussion of theory by including chapters that address memory theory, life-stage theory, and communication analysis.

The Handbook is designed for a wide audience, from academics, researchers, field historians, and writers to community activists or planners. Given its scope and erudition, the book might provide the framework for a course on oral history. Despite the diversity of authors, the prose is uniformly clear and, at times, delightfully engaging. Jargon is kept to a minimum and is almost always well defined.

The authors’ summaries of current theory and debate (including legal and ethical issues) point prospective oral historians toward pertinent considerations to resolve, or at least recognize, before launching a project. The final chapters describe creative works in diverse media, enriched by the use of oral history. These works, conversely, made oral history data publicly accessible.

The Handbook benefits from the diversity of its authors. Readers are treated to a thoughtful walk through the interview process, arm-in-arm with Charles Morrissey, who contemplates, advises, and comments on a hypothetical interview—a rare treat and one worth repeating. To elucidate the concept of “embodiment.” Jeff Friedman recounts oral history processes that preceded script, set, and choreography in theatrical productions. In so doing, he illuminates core concepts driving this handbook: the temporal layering, situationally shifting subjectivity, and multivocality of narrative. Valerie Yow’s discussion of biography illustrates the utility of oral history in reconstructing the multifaceted interior lives of little-documented or misrepresented individuals. Charles Hardy III and Pamela Dean’s tale of the evolution of sound and moving-image documentaries shows the entangled influences of political, technological, and conceptual developments on those media. They also illustrate the versatility of oral history and the poignant truths it reveals even when its professed goals are subverted by reluctant interviewees.

Nonetheless, the book is long—in fact, very long—for a vade mecum. A firmer editorial hand might have shortened the volume by consolidating core themes, as most authors retold these as a way to lead into their topics. This becomes tiresomely repetitive for the reader heading from cover to cover and would probably not benefit readers or those using the book as a field reference.

The book is made noteworthy and delightful by its highly qualified authors. Unfortunately, such authors are busy people, and this may account for some chapters being drawn from work intended for publication elsewhere. Here the firmer editorial hand might have pared more deeply.

Aside from referencing one another, the authors quote, in their texts, a curiously small set of writers. Was this a simple convergence of regard, or the effect of editorial
direction, focusing attention on thinkers anticipated to be crucial to future directions in oral history?

The *Handbook of Oral History* stands as a way marker, part of a tradition in which scholars and practitioners pause to take stock of their discipline. The assembled authors explore the course oral history has taken, consider the influences that shaped its past, note its impact on sister disciplines, describe the debates it now engages, and suggest the richness and value it currently embodies and offers future generations.

The editors have assembled a book worth returning to over and over: to contemplate while planning an oral history project, to consult during implementation, and to consider when developing analyses and presentations. Individual readers will no doubt favor certain chapters over others, depending on their interest in oral history. To those chapters, readers may return to seek guidance, insight, and thought-provoking discussion.


**RACHEL MASON**

National Park Service

Reading this book was as exhilarating as taking a raft trip down the Alsek River, dodging melting icebergs and sailing under ice bridges. Like much of Julie Cruikshank’s prior work, this book centers on the stories of Annie Ned, Kitty Smith, and Angela Sidney, three women of Athapaskan and Tlingit ancestry from Yukon Territory, Canada. All three are now gone, and Cruikshank dedicates this volume to their memory. She weaves threads from their repertoires with others from scientists, explorers, and anthropologists. There are side trips along other rivers; for example, we hear that Edward Glave, who explored both the Congo and the Alsek Rivers before succumbing to disease at a young age, might have been the inspiration for Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1990).

Although this book will particularly delight those familiar with cultures of Alaska and the Yukon, it holds much interest for a broader audience. The geographical focus is the crescent of mountains and glaciers bordered by the Gulf of Alaska, fed by the Yukon and Alsek rivers. The first part of the book concentrates on indigenous stories. The second deals with explorers such as Glave, Jean-François de la Perouse, and John Muir. The third is about management regimes and the boundaries they create.

The book’s title refers to the fact that, according to indigenous oral traditions, glaciers respond to human actions and sounds. Judith Ramos, member of the Yakutat Tlingit Kwaski kwaan clan, told me about her clan’s connections to glaciers (conversation with author, November 30, 2006). Coming from the Copper River, they traveled over a glacier and saw what they thought was a rabbit. It was Mt. St. Elias, now a clan property. After they got lost in a fog, part of the clan established a village in Icy Bay. The people cooked king salmon and yelled, “Hey glacier, come and eat!” The glacier did not like such disrespectful talk and overrun the village. Cruikshank relates a similar story from Glacier Bay, in which a young woman called a glacier as though summoning a dog (p. 159). Judith’s story recalls other clan stories Frederica de Laguna collected in Yakutat in the 1950s.

In the past, coastal Tlingits and interior Athapaskans commonly cemented trading alliances through marriage. Kitty Smith had a Tlingit mother and an Athapaskan father; Angela Sidney’s mother was Tlingit, her father Athapaskan; Annie Ned’s maternal grandfather, a central figure in the coastal-interior trade network, had both a Tlingit wife and an Athapaskan one. Given the intertwining of traditions in the three storytellers’ backgrounds, it is not surprising that Cruikshank draws little contrast between Tlingit and Athapaskan views of glaciers. Nevertheless, stories such as “Falling through a Glacier,” in which a Tlingit trading partner falls into a glacier and survives, show that the relationship between groups was sometimes expressed in talking about glaciers. As Cruikshank says, colonial managers did not consult indigenous people during border disputes between Canada and the United States. It would be interesting to know how the new borders affected traditional trade networks.

Cruikshank relates how John Muir’s daring solitary glacier explorations often ignored the cautions of his Tlingit guides. His joy in such adventures elucidates how the notion of wilderness as a human-free zone caught on in the new environmental movement. Significantly, the book’s focus area has been identified as a UNESCO Designated World Heritage Site solely on the basis of natural phenomena—particularly its surging glaciers—rather than cultural factors.

The indigenous stories draw from the cold period of the Little Ice Age, roughly 1550–1850, when glaciers in the Pacific Northwest were at their maximum. The glaciers receded almost the same schedule as colonialism’s advance on indigenous cultures. The beauty of this volume comes from the way Cruikshank explores the contexts and experiences that lie behind narratives at traditional potlatches, in government reports, or in popular magazines.

Given Cruikshank’s long collaborations with Annie Ned, Angela Sidney, and Kitty Smith, I was a little disappointed not to find out more about glaciers. I wanted to hear about engendered glaciers and the relationships of glaciers with certain groups. Clearly, however, Cruikshank did not intend to develop an exhaustive compendium of glacier lore.

Cruikshank realizes that although Western managers have begun to incorporate local knowledge into their analyses of climate change and natural resource uses, they most enthusiastically embrace those aspects of local knowledge that support their positions. This book’s final section, “Entangled Narratives,” argues that local knowledge is a multidimensional process that adds recent events to older narratives, creating new understandings. The product of the
entangled narratives might be something like this excellent book.

**REFERENCE CITED**

Conrad, Joseph


**IDA FADZILLAH**

Middle Tennessee State University

Nancy Eberhardt’s book *Imagining the Course of Life* attempts something quite complex: to not only provide examples of non-Western models of “personhood” but to also demonstrate their underlying logic and strength. Her specific focus here falls on the concept of the “self” as held by the Shan of highland northern Thailand. Using in-depth field observations, interviews, local examples, and comparisons to historical Western notions of “the self” and of “human development,” Eberhardt skillfully brings into Technicolor detail Shan ideas about being human. Further, she frames these details in a way that accentuates the centrality of personhood in almost all parts of Shan village life, tying events and narratives together in unexpected and interesting ways.

This book is based on fieldwork conducted in 1990 and 1991 in Baan Kaung Mu, a village of approximately 400 people. Through this fieldwork, Eberhardt explores spiritual and physical illness, traditional Shan healing ceremonies, gender differentiation, Shan ideas surrounding human development and aging, the interface of individuals with the larger cosmos, Shan Buddhist ordination ceremonies, and indigenous psychology. She applies an ethnopsychological approach to her data, combining it with a focus on Buddhism as practiced by the Shan and with research on modern ideas of human nature in Europe and North America. Through this she attempts, and I believe succeeds, in demonstrating the essential artificiality of certain dichotomies and dualisms that exist within conventional Western notions of the “self,” including that of the individual and the community, the physical and the spiritual, health and illness, and even life and death.

One way Eberhardt herself overcomes falling back on traditional binaries is through an analysis of the body as locally conceptualized. Through various chapters, she gradually brings into view a Shan model of the physical body that is not simply a biological being but one that is medically and psychologically tied to the world of souls and spirits, luck, merit, and rebirth. This reflects the notion of a person who is not only shaped by age and gender but also whose skills and limitations are linked to a multifaceted (and yet always logical) universe. This concept eschews the traditional Western model of linear progress toward the development of self and, yet, in Eberhardt’s hands, seems to make perfect sense even to this non-Shan reader.

Emotion is one way that individuals are linked to the larger cosmos, and the control of emotion is a key element in the formation of a healthy Shan self. Shan prescriptions regarding emotional control include the following: Children must learn to control their emotions before they are considered to be adults; controlling emotions and “weak” souls can protect against soul loss and the invasion of the body by hungry ghosts; the dead at times seek to maintain ties to those they are emotionally attached to; and those who are emotionally traumatized are encouraged to become monks or nuns to regain control over their feelings and thus alleviate their symptoms.

In approaching this data from an ethnopsychological perspective, Eberhardt contributes to the existing literature on Thailand and Southeast Asia by clearly demonstrating how various elements in a culture—such as gender, religion, and kinship—are central to the creation, maintenance, and enculturation of appropriate selves. This model of “proper personhood” is presented not simply as examples or rules for appropriate behavior but also in terms of social guidelines surrounding concepts of a healthy body and mind. The various layers of Shan society are described, so-to-speak, to demonstrate the multiple ways the universe, the community, and the individual can be thrown off-kilter.

Finally, a key strength of this book is the style in which it is written. Eberhardt is exploring a highly theoretical concept and does a fine job in presenting the relevant information. In addition, despite the abstract realm of her topic, she creates a narrative of the Shan that presents the villagers as interesting individuals of all ages dealing with daily, down-to-earth issues. The reader gets a real sense of the concrete world of the Shan, as well as a clear presentation of what makes them both unique and, at the same time, very understandable. The book is a delight to read, and I would strongly recommend it to any student of Southeast Asia, medical anthropology, religion, or ethnopsychology.


**ANN L. JONES**

Iowa State University

In *Prisoners of Freedom*, Harri Englund makes a compelling argument against applying a universal standard for defining human rights and related terms. Employing ethnographic witnessing, empirical investigation, and linguistic interpretation, the author explores the abstract domains contained in the idioms of human rights and democracy, and the intersection between the contrasting idioms of class, power, and poverty in postcolonial Malawi (and Zambia) ten years after democratic transition.

In eight informative chapters, Englund presents a historical analysis and culturally sensitive interpretation of
the lingering impact of colonialism attributed to contemporary notions of “political freedoms,” liberalism, identity, and power. His purpose is to deconstruct the ethnocentric and universal notions of freedoms, governance, elitism, and empowerment. As he writes, “at the core of this book’s argument is the contention that freedom is a means of governance, a project in which subjects’ capacity for action is recognized. . . . The contention goes beyond. . . . theories that define democracy” (p. 9).

Englund compares the language of human rights documents, specifically the International Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Peoples Rights, with the languages used by the “elites” and the “grassroots.” In chapter 1, he introduces the hegemonic distinctions between “elitist” political activists and “grassroots” villagers. He refers to this dichotomy as the “dual identity” of Malawian citizenship (p. 82). This duality is pivotal to understanding the complexity in conceptualizing vague idioms of “freedom” in Malawi, as well as in other postcolonial African settings. Englund argues, “The situation of human rights was . . . embedded in historical inequalities that showed no signs of disappearing or even of becoming the objects of critical reflection” (p. 147).

While Englund provides a major focus on the role of language variations, historical events, culture and gender, and the legacy of colonialism in the civic education of Malawians, he does so in the context of presenting the case of the National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE), an NGO funded to inform, educate, and provide legal aid to Malawians regarding human rights and democratic freedoms. Instead, NICE frequently did not provide the tools needed for empowerment and equality. Englund illustrates this contradictory reality with examples that substantiate the intensification of disempowerment. He argues that the poor, uninformed Malawians are exploited by this organization in collusion with the government.

In chapter 6, the author presents a labor relations case (the majority of cases of exploitation fall into this human rights category), whereby a worker was exploited by his employer and the NICE agent who was charged to represent him. This case is an example of the many social and cultural cleavages that prevent the average Malawian citizen—the villager—from participating on an equal playing field. Englund further suggests that an important reason for this is because of the use of an individualistic, case-by-case approach in dealing with these important issues rather than employing an approach that considers collective experiences: “The individuation of grievances supported the marginalization of trade unions” (p. 168).

A reference to the “colonial mentality” is germane in understanding Englund’s thesis, which supports the nexus between the historical exploitation of the majority disadvantaged populace and the sociopolitical cleavages in postcolonial Malawi: “The parallel to civic educators’ colonial mentality was apparent in the ease with which clients as children could assume savage like qualities of irresponsibility” (p. 168). Additionally, both leadership and elitists perceived poor people to be responsible for their poverty.

This is a well-documented ethnography that illustrates problems in defining abstract idioms of expression, especially those that are assumed to be universal to human rights. This book is useful to both scholars and students interested in Africa and human rights.

There is a concern with the range and scope of variables presented in the text. Given the size of the text, although each topic is important, the compression of multiple issues can be overwhelming. The true contribution of this work is the level of scholarship and the methods used to “witness” these important historical phenomena on the African continent.


**TRACY BACHRACH EHLERS**

University of Denver

Broccoli and Desire has the makings of a timely and compelling ethnography. Ted Fischer is a prolific and scholarly writer who has done considerable work on nontraditional agriculture in Latin America, and in this book he (with coauthor and exstudent, Peter Benson) turns his attention to the linkages between broccoli farmers in Tecpan, Guatemala, and broccoli buyers in Nashville. Or at least, that is the blurb on the back provided by Stanford University Press: “Life stories and rich descriptions. . . bring the commodity chain of this seemingly mundane product to life.” When I was asked to review this book, I enthusiastically looked forward to what sounded like a vegetarian version of Fast Food Nation (2002).

Unfortunately, only half of Broccoli and Desire is concerned with the transformation of milpa into export crops. The other half deals with postwar Guatemala and a persistently difficult sociopolitico situation in Tecpan. This analysis is designed to make the reader appreciate that survival for the Maya is a complicated ongoing struggle, one that on many geopolitical levels establishes the parameters of risk and resistance. The organization might work if the two halves were well integrated, but discussion that begins in a Nashville supermarket ends up being about Zapatistas and victimization. These two pieces are certainly linked by globalization, market imperatives, and the erosion of local structures by forces beyond the control of Maya farmers, and most anthropologists are comfortable in this arena. What surprised me was the failure of the authors to carefully construct the pathway from one piece to the other and back again. After 100 pages of descriptive analysis of the conflict and violence that persists in the highlands after the Guatemalan Peace Accords, they bring us back to the same explanation offered in the book’s Introduction for why farmers are growing broccoli: That is,
it offers a feasible option through which they can realize their desires for algo mas, something better. The authors have laid out the context for making that decision in this second half, but an unexplained eschewing of hard data and an overemphasis on theory confuses the logic of their argument.

The book begins in a supermarket in Nashville where the authors try to establish links between U.S. consumers of healthy food, markets selling upscale produce, importers expanding their markets (and their profits), and Maya farmers wanting a better life. At this early point, I learned that the authors were originally going to write a straightforward commodity-chain ethnography. Extensive fieldwork has been ongoing since 2000 that would have supported such a book. Instead, Fischer and Benson shifted their emphasis to look “outward to the global trade and inward to local forms of violence and resistance” (p. 9). Perhaps this shift explains why the Nashville supermarket analysis is so thin. It is a good device but not developed enough to be a guide for understanding the linkages implied. How useful is it to know that the word Guatemala on the side of a broccoli box provides Nashville shoppers with a sense of security partly because it conjures up the memory of “faraway places?”

There are excellent, detailed sections on how farmers strategize by combining export broccoli and milpa for subsistence. Discussion of neoliberal policies and the description of the manipulation of farmers by middlemen are similarly well done. Unfortunately, these are brief respite from theory-driven discussions of the meanings of “needs” versus “desires.”

I fear that the preponderance of postmodern language in Broccoli and Desire will discourage readers searching for serious explication of Mayas and nontraditional agriculture. Earlier work by Fischer does not hint at this kind of painfully tortuous wordiness, and I am surprised to find it here.

Lamentably, “pomo-isms” are not the only excess. The writing is inconsistent and often unbearably romantic in its essentializing of the Maya. The authors lament the fact that broccoli production is eroding local norms and threatening the “very culture” of the Highland Maya. But at the same time, they describe (and seem to applaud) the evolving “desires” of their informants as they access the best that globalization of production offers them: for example, education for their children, cell phones, and high-tech information about markets.

In short, Broccoli and Desire is not a primer on nontraditional agriculture in Guatemala. It is instead a complicated treatise on webs of desire using as its leitmotif the humble broccoli. It only hints at what a fact-filled ethnography of the Tecpan’s broccoli farmers might be, and based on previous work by Fischer, that is a book I eagerly await.

REFERENCE CITED
Schlosser, Eric


ELIZABETH F. VANN
Lehigh University

This collection of chapters, edited by Karen Fjelstad and Nguyen Thi Hien, examines the place of spirit possession in the lives of contemporary Vietnamese at home and abroad. The volume developed out of a series of conversations, conference panels, and a symposium; as a result, the authors’ contributions are closely knit and work well together. Many of the chapters address broad questions about Vietnamese popular religion, but their attention is focused primarily on the Mother Goddess religion, or Dau Mau, and its associated possession rituals (len dong).

As Ngo Duc Thinh’s chapter details, the Mother Goddess religion has deep historical roots and an elaborate pantheon of spirits who communicate with the living by possessing mediums during ritual events. Mediums, most of whom are women, are associated with one or more spirits in the Mother Goddess pantheon, which takes the form of a royal dynasty. Mediums call these spirits to aid humans with promises of “blessed gifts” (loc)—offerings of food, drink, and votive items that are meant to serve the needs and wants of those in the spirit world.

The contributions to this volume reveal that Vietnamese popular religion and spirit possession rituals are experiencing significant revitalization, even though, until quite recently, the state condemned Dau Mau as “superstition.” Some popular religious practices, such as the cult of military hero Tran Hung Dau, traditionally have held more social and state legitimacy than the Mother Goddess religion. As Pham Quynh Phuong explains, practitioners of Dau Mau used to associate with the Saint Tran cult to legitimize the Mother Goddess religion as well as their own practice as mediums. In recent years, however, these dynamics have changed: As Dau Mau has gained popular legitimacy, many practitioners of the Saint Tran cult, almost all of whom are men, find that they must incorporate aspects of Dau Mau to attract followers.

As the chapters in this volume make clear, Dau Mau’s growing popularity owes much to Vietnam’s market reforms. As people’s economic circumstances become increasingly tied to market forces, many turn to Mother Goddess spirits because of the spirits’ association with prosperity. And as more Vietnamese seek the services of mediums to improve their own material well-being, mediumship and votive items that are meant to serve the needs and wants of those in the spirit world.

REFERENCE CITED
Schlosser, Eric
expressions of devotion to the spirits, others speculate that some mediums are merely after material gain. As the chapters by Karen Fjelstad and Fjelstad and Lisa Maiffret show, len dong rituals and the rumors surrounding them extend from Vietnam to Silicon Valley and back again. These discussions are an important starting point for research on the intersection of economic reform and popular religion in Vietnam, which holds considerable ethnographic and analytic promise for those interested in transition economies and the relationship between markets and moralities.

Another subject of this collection is the relationship between spirits and mediums in the construction of personhood. As the chapters by Pham, Barley Norton, Endres, Fjelstad, and Fjelstad and Maiffret show, len dong rituals provide spaces, albeit somewhat circumscribed ones, in which mediums may challenge social norms, including gender and sexuality. Most len dong mediums appear to experience mediumship as a source of personal freedom and power, even though they are called by the spirits to serve them and are thus subservient to them. While the authors who address these issues are to be commended for raising important issues regarding personhood, the attention given to them is, at points, repetitive.

In the final chapter, Laurel Kendall considers whether, and to what degree, Dau Mau is comparable to popular religious practices in other parts of East Asia. Kendall’s analytically sharp chapter helps to balance the weight of ethnographic description in this volume by raising important cross-cultural and theoretical questions about spirit possession, mediumship, and popular religion. There is much else to appreciate about this volume, including its ethnographic richness and its cohesiveness. It is also worth reiterating that most of the chapters highlight the dynamism of this religious phenomenon in the market, in gender relations, and in renewed ties between domestic and overseas Vietnamese. Given the paucity of data on the Mother Goddess religion in Vietnam, this collection will surely become essential reading for its future scholars.


KRISTINA WIRTZ
Western Michigan University

Although this book’s title and subject headings might place it on library shelves alongside work on Afro-Cuban religions such as Regla de Ocha (Santería), it instead deals with mainstream and popular Cuban Catholicism, a topic much neglected by ethnographers of Cuba in favor of those other more colorful and exotic, as well as more traditionally anthropological, topics. Another feature of author Michelle Gonzalez’s work that distinguishes it within the burgeoning bibliography on Cuban and Afro-Cuban religions is her disciplinary framework of Catholic theology, although her bibliography is broadly interdisciplinary. Her stated goal in this book is to undertake “a theological analysis of the everyday faith of Cuban Americans, informed by the political, cultural, and economic markers that characterize this community” (p. 1). Evaluating her argument requires that some discipline-specific criteria be made explicit.

Reviewing this book has provided this reviewer with a healthy foray into new disciplinary domains and a useful glimpse of how ethnographic and ethnohistorical knowledge production is taken up beyond the comfort zone of my solidly anthropological training. Those looking for an ethnographic treatment of Gonzalez’s questions will be disappointed, because ethnography this is not. Indeed, although her book’s goal and underlying thesis that Afro-Cuban culture saturates Cuban religious life might suggest a fine-grained examination of everyday religious life for everyday Catholic Cubans or Cuban Americans, there is virtually no such data. Instead, the book relies on historical, sociological, religious, and even literary accounts of Cuban life. Because she is digesting a lot of information to get to her actual points, her overview of Cuban history in chapter 4 and even her more focused discussions of Cuban-style Mariology and popular worship of the saints in chapters 5 and 6 come across as context thin and in need of more substance than the few interview-based studies and cherry-picked literary sources she cites. Her account generally provides a solid introduction to popular Cuban Catholic practices, although at moments her statements about Regla de Ocha are either oversimplified or inaccurate (Ocha vs. Ifá? Orichas vs. saints? Santería as “unsystematic?” see esp. pp. 62–63), which is surprising given what she wishes to conclude about the fuzziness between “where religions such as Regla de Ocha end and Catholicism begins” (p. 65).

So how might this book interest anthropologists of Cuban (and, more broadly speaking, Caribbean, Latin American, and U.S. Latino) religious life? Although the first few chapters of the book mainly discuss issues within various strains of Latino, black, liberation, and other (Christian) theologies, I did find some overlapping concerns in which her discussion would be of interest to ethnographers of religion. I particularly liked her straightforward discussions of identity politics in religious studies, especially the problematics of race, national identity, and cultural ownership, and the essentializing trap of “ontological blackness” (pp. 45–49). Also of much value is her insightful discussion of how to define “popular religion” in contradistinction to “official religion” (pp. 103–112).

Despite these highpoints, the promise of the book, which is an exploration of (Afro-)Cuban religiosity through the lens of Catholicism, is not fully realized. When Gonzalez does specifically talk about Afro-Cuban people’s contributions to Cubanness (ch. 4, in particular), she reproduces, rather than interrogates, dominant Cuban ideologies of racial and national identity, along with rehashing the usual limited spheres of Afro-Cuban cultural contributions (slaves, cabildos, mambises, Santería), to the exclusion of examining a much more complex religious landscape in which what is “Euro” and what is “African” are neither clear...
nor settled issues. This is ironic, given that the point of the first few chapters is to use Cuban theology to explode easy territorializations separating U.S. black (Protestant) theology from Latin American (Catholic, liberation) theology from U.S. Latino (Chicanocentric) theology. The questions in the titles of chapters 2 and 3 expose the ideologies governing these boundaries, which she thoroughly critiques: “Are We All Mestizos?” and “Are Afro-Latinos Black?”

The book, then, has an unapologetic agenda of a sort usually discouraged in anthropology, which is to challenge the current exclusion and promote the potential contributions of Cuban and Cuban American Catholics and Catholic theologians. While the disciplinary debates and proliferation of discipline-specific labels were unfamiliar to me, Gonzalez keeps the book readable and jargon free, and despite my (probably anthropology-specific) disappointments, I found much of it quite interesting. In short, the book tantalizes theologians and, more broadly, religious studies scholars, but it may be of interest to anthropologists of religion who share Gonzalez’s regional, religious, or national-ethnic focus.


**SUZANNE SCHELD**
California State University, Northridge

Urbanization is happening fast in Africa. Yet little is known about the role that Africans have played in urbanization in the past and are continuing to play in the present. Stefan Goodwin attacks this problem by addressing numerous stereotypes and misperceptions of the history of urban Africa. For example, he dismantles the undying myth that Europeans brought “civilization” and modernity to the continent by founding the most important cities. And he corrects the assumption that ancient Egyptian civilizations are not “African” because they are located north of the Sahara, a region that is assumed to have been shaped by Indian “Aryan” people rather than “black” Africans. This book corrects many problematic ideas about urban Africa by examining the history of the continent and retelling the story of urbanization from the perspective of African contributions to the development of the continent’s cities.

The book is organized into seven parts. Part 1 provides an overview and a chapter on the ecology of the continent. This chapter argues that the geography of Africa is complex and varied and that, as a result, African cities have developed in diverse ways.

Part 2 entails two chapters that argue against viewing Egyptology and the anthropology of Africa as separate disciplines. A chapter entitled “Emergence of Cities: The Centrality of Africa” (pp. 31–48) highlights African city-states that emerged with minimal influence from Egypt and played a significant role in Egyptian expansionism. The Nubian cities Kerma (emerged approximately 2500 B.C.E.) and Kush (emerged approximately 900 B.C.E.) are two primary examples (pp. 34–40). The chapter “Macedonians, Greeks, Romans, and Africans” (pp. 49–78) emphasizes the contributions Africans have made to Roman expansionism and underscores how numerous societies in and beyond Africa were intertwined in complex ways long before the European slave trade and colonialism drastically affected the continent.

Chapters 3–7 describe in broad strokes the impacts of significant historical events (e.g., jihads, slavery, colonialism, “decolonization,” apartheid, etc.) on urbanization in western, central, southern, eastern, and northeastern Africa. Each of these sections is approximately 30 pages, is accompanied by a dozen or more interesting photographs, and ends with a discussion of recent trends in several cities. For example, Goodwin highlights how, in response to “overurbanization” on the western coastline, several countries shifted their capitals inland and, therefore, have changed the dynamics of region urban networks. In central Africa the sustainability of cities has been severely challenged by poor natural resources in some cases (e.g., N’Djamena, Chad, which is located in the desert) and by civil war in other cases (e.g., since 1992, the development of cities in Angola has been thwarted by armed conflicts; see pp. 208–209). Yet urbanization is taking on a unique, transnational form between the Republic of Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo, where the “Kinshasa-Brazzaville” megametropolis is being created by Africans who have been “disciplined” by different colonial histories (pp. 211–212). The contemporary examples of recent urbanization trends seem arbitrarily selected; nonetheless, they contribute to Goodwin’s overall point that patterns of urbanization in Africa are varied, complex, interesting, and deserving of more attention than they have received to date.

An important theme that is drawn throughout the book is the role that racism has played in shaping African cities. Goodwin highlights how race was a basis in the colonial period for excluding Africans from their own towns, and how colonial forms of segregation have contributed to contemporary misallocations of resources and insecurities (p. 446). Goodwin is especially strong on the point that scientific racism in the colonial period (see pp. 440–443) has contributed to the underdevelopment of African cities. He warns readers—via an especially engaging discussion on the history of diamonds and mining in Africa (pp. 447–453)—that misunderstandings of urban Africa and its relationship to globalization will prevent the identification of appropriate solutions to the myriad of problems that African cities face today.

Overall, Goodwin’s book is an important contribution to an emerging body of literature on African cities, which seeks to revise paradigms that have constrained knowledge of Africa for so long (see Mbembe and Nuttal 2004; Salm and Falola 2005; Simone 2005). Because of its broad view of the continent and the diversity of urbanization forms that are discussed in the text, it will be important to read Goodwin’s book in conjunction with ethnographies of specific cities,
if one is after deep knowledge of a particular African city. Some of the new studies mentioned in the narrative might have been better cited. Because studies of urban Africa are undergoing a much-needed revision, it is important to be aware of the new works in addition to the classics. A few entries are missing in the bibliography (e.g., Epstein 2000 [see p. 450], Fairhead et al. 2003 [see p.135], and Roberts 2002 [see p. 452]). Apart from this, this book provides a useful overview and is a very valuable resource for students and researchers of urban African history.

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KIMBERLY EISON SIMMONS
University of South Carolina

The Devil behind the Mirror is a very impressive ethnography in its evocation of Dominican life and culture of the adjacent towns of Boca Chica and Andrés on the southern coast of the Dominican Republic. Steven Gregory offers a comprehensive examination of the interplay of the global and the local and of how Dominicans make sense of their lived experience. The reader is immediately drawn into this ethnography and into the lives and circumstances of the people Gregory describes. Sex tourism; cultural citizenship; Dominican–Haitian relations; and race, gender, and class surface as Gregory paints a picture of poor Dominicans and their struggle in the face of globalization.

In the introduction, Gregory recounts a conversation with Alberto, a tour guide in Santo Domingo. When Alberto sees a large banner advertisement for Burger King, he comments, “It does nothing for the country. It’s only a mirror. And the devil is on the other side” (p. 3). With this organizing metaphor, Gregory examines the “dissonance between what transnational capital promises and what it delivers as this tension is lived, interpreted, and acted upon in the everyday lives of working people” (pp. 3–4). The Devil behind the Mirror consists of six chapters: “The Politics of Livelihood”; “The Spatial Economy of Difference”; “Structures and Imagination”; “Sex Tourism and the Political Economy of Masculinity”; “Race, Identity, and the Body Politic”; and “The Politics of Transnational Capital.”

The ethnography is compellingly vivid in its detail. Those of us who have lived and worked in the Dominican Republic will appreciate the attention to sights and sounds as well as to the description of people, places, and the surroundings. The book also reveals what it is like to conduct fieldwork and to navigate the terrain of another culture. From choosing a research assistant and cultural consultants to convincing people that he was not a tourist to being considered Puerto Rican and Haitian, lending money, giving advice, and participating in local programs and projects (like the brief telenovela [soap opera] Gregory was part of), the reader gets a sense of what it’s like to be an anthropologist “in the field.”

In the book, Gregory tells the story of the communities of Andrés, settled as a sugar batay associated with the Boca Chica ingenio (sugar mill), and Boca Chica, which developed as a coastal resort area frequented by Dominican and international tourists. The first chapter deals with privatization of the Dominican beaches and politics surrounding the all-inclusive hotels and smaller hotels owned by expatriates. Privatization forced Dominicans to public beaches, often creating animosity between Dominicans and foreign tourists over the land and access to resources.

Although the tourist industry created jobs, many of them were low-wage jobs (housekeepers, vendors, day laborers, etc.). The large all-inclusive hotels began their own tours, making it difficult for smaller independent tour companies and tour guides to benefit from tourism. Over time, Boca Chica became internationally known as a hotspot for sex tourism and sex work, much like Sosúa on the north coast of the island, as it was marketed as such over the Internet to single men and others looking for sex abroad. Describing sex tourism in the Dominican Republic, Gregory suggests

Each year tens of thousands of North American and European men, the majority of them white, traveled to the Dominican Republic in search of women over whom they could exercise sexual and domestic discipline as potential husbands, “boyfriends.” … Through the social practice of this form of heteronormative masculinity, what I will call imperial masculinity, these men collectively constructed and naturalized ideologies of racial, class, ethnic, and sex/gender differences that both registered and reinscribed the sociospatial hierarchies of the global division of labor. [p. 133]

I would add that throughout the Dominican Republic, Boca Chica still has a reputation for sex work, child prostitution, and sanka pankies (male sex workers) and is an area often avoided by middle-class Dominicans. Also, a number of Dominican feminists challenge and openly criticize sex work, sexual tourism, and machismo in terms of sexual exploitation of Dominican women with race and class implications. Overall, The Devil behind the Mirror is an excellent book. The focus on globalization and its effects on local people, their everyday choices, and circumstances highlight some of the roots of social inequality. One of the themes that Gregory pursues throughout the book, and an important contribution to the anthropological literature, is in the area of masculinity. He gives voice to people we do not often hear from (sex workers, guides, sanka pankies, and tourists). He also sheds light on the informal networks people use to
better their situation (Dominican and Haitian alike). Looking in the mirror, albeit temporarily, one sees a reflection, perhaps a sign of hope; then one must shift the gaze to the devil behind the mirror, interrupting the sense of hope and now reflecting instead the face of despair.


**NATALIE VASEY**
Portland State University

An edited volume focusing on human life history evolution is novel. Why this is so, even within anthropology, alludes to the riddle that we ourselves are. The compendium assembled by Kristen Hawkes and Richard Paine is therefore timely and meets a major intellectual challenge. Governing most contributions is a fundamental question: Why have modern humans evolved such a remarkably slow life history pace? More specifically, the “paradoxes” or “deviations” that modern humans exhibit with respect to large ape life history patterns are the impetus for much of the research presented. Namely, more marked longevity beyond the reproductive years combined with relatively later ages at sexual maturity, shorter interbirth intervals, shorter lactation periods, and an extended period of offspring dependency. Compared to our closest phylogenetic relatives—the extinct large apes—the success of this suite of life history traits in terms of evolutionary fitness is a foregone conclusion. But which of these human life history traits evolved first? Was there one key life history stage that natural selection has acted primarily on lengthening the prereproductive period to allow skill-building that will eventually permit acquisition of nutritionally dense foods that are difficult to acquire. Long-lived adults with these skills (i.e., hunters) provide for young who are growing their “expensive” brains. This hypothesis is a new rendition of the hunting paradigm common in human evolutionary studies. In contrast, the Grandmother Hypothesis posits that natural selection has acted primarily on lengthening adult lifespan, slowing somatic aging while the reproductive system senesces “on schedule.” Higher fitness accrues to postreproductive females who invest in the closely spaced young of their children or other kin and, as a consequence, juvenile mortality is lowered.

Other contributors present research that directly or indirectly bears on the two hypotheses. Daniel Sellen discusses lactation biology, arguing that adoption of complementary foods (specially prepared, nutrient-rich foods that are introduced early in life) is a derived human behavior that coevolved with a reduction in lactation costs, permitting shorter interbirth intervals without increasing infant mortality. Barry Bogin discusses human childhood (defined as approximately three to seven years of age), a life stage not present in other social mammals. As a result of early weaning, children remain highly dependent in terms of food and protection, yet they can be provided for by nonmaternal individuals. Childhood evolved, he argues, because it provided greater lifetime reproductive opportunities to mothers and because of our faculty of spreading childcare among older juveniles, adolescents, grandmothers, and other adults, all of which result in high rates of offspring survival to adulthood. Nicholas Blurton Jones’s contribution on Hadza hunter-gatherers examines adult mortality rates, growth to adulthood, child foraging effectiveness, and fitness consequences of helping in postreproductive women. He suggests that age at sexual maturity in humans does not require special explanation among mammals, scaling predictably relative to hunter-gatherer lifespans. He notes the marked divergence between estimates of adult lifespan in archaeological populations and those of living hunter-gatherers, a topic later taken up in detail by Lyle Konigsberg and Nicholas Hermann.

Employing maximum likelihood estimates and making adjustments to circumvent serious sources of error in previous estimates of paleodemographic life tables, these authors generate life history tables for several archaeological populations and find them similar to those of extant foragers and horticulturalists. These results cast doubt on previous paleodemographic studies employing other methods, which suggest that human lifespans were shorter in the prehistoric past. Richard Paine and Jesper Boldsen reinforce this point with a series of skeletal populations from the European Mesolithic through the Middle Ages. They call into question the widespread assumption in historical demography that, prior to the 19th century, few individuals lived past...
age 50. Instead, they see evidence for escalating cycles of epidemic disease among sedentary and more densely populated Holocene agriculturalists. The demographic effects of these epidemic cycles, they argue, would be transitory and would not represent the age structure or life expectancy of Pleistocene populations.

Finally, Matthew Skinner and Bernard Wood explain what we can learn from fossils regarding hominin life history patterns in the Plio-Pleistocene. We can reconstruct brain and body sizes, which influence and scale predictably with life history traits; and we can understand dental development, which sometimes serves as a reliable proxy for certain life history traits. The life history–related data they present indicate the mosaic appearance of large body size (in *H. ergaster*), followed by significant brain expansion (in *H. heidelbergensis*), followed by fully modern dental development, known to date only in modern humans. Constraints on studying life history traits directly in fossils notwithstanding, Skinner and Wood propose that our life history pattern is ours alone, *Homo sapiens* (*sensu lato*). However, other contributors, such as Bogin, suggest that parts of the transition may have occurred in earlier members of our genus by two million years ago.

Cooperative breeding is a cross-cutting theme in this volume, an explanatory framework that could be productive in future work on human life history evolution, regardless of whether helpful grandmothers or skillful hunters evolved first. Contributors often use the term narrowly, referring to care of kin, and see this pattern of offspring care as more of a consequence rather than a contributor to our suite of life history traits. In this regard, it will be instructive to examine and compare conditions under which cooperative breeding and alloparenting occur in other primate lineages, such as the New World callitrichids and the lemurid, *Varecia*. As a primatologist trained to view our species through a cross-species lens, I found the treatment of *Varecia* in this volume compelling, illuminating directions for further integrative and comparative work.

**REFERENCE CITED**

Portmann, Adolph


KIMBER HADDIX MCKAY

University of Montana, Missoula

It is hard not to be impressed by Beti women striving to attain *mfan mot*, real personhood, in southern Cameroon after the socioeconomic and moral distintegration Cameroonian analysts experienced from the late 1980s to the ethnographic present. In this thoroughly researched and beautifully written book, Jennifer Johnson-Hanks tells the story of the path navigated by Beti women as they transition from naive schoolgirls into women and eventual motherhood. To proceed through this transition with honor, Beti women rely on their adroitness in manipulating a deck that is stacked against them in the Catholic schooling system and the Cameroon socioeconomic order. Combining her training in demography and cultural anthropology with extensive fieldwork and an obviously flawless command of the local parlance, Johnson-Hanks simultaneously describes how Beti women work the system and gives us an illuminating analysis of those qualities of the system that both define and potentiate the modern form of Beti honor.

The factors precipitating the transition from high fertility and large family sizes to low(er) fertility and smaller families are the subject of much analysis and theory in demography and demographic anthropology. No unified theory of fertility transition has yet emerged, in part because of methodological issues associated with the classic studies of fertility transition, which tend to de-emphasize fieldwork and the lived experience of people in the midst of such a transition. In a marked departure from the standard demographic methods to studying this phenomenon, Johnson-Hanks gives us a clear view into the various factors currently shaping the fertility of Beti women. Her primary focus is on the role of the Catholic education system in molding expectations of the modern Beti woman and the way that she will manage her fertility.

It is an axiom of fertility transition theory that education and fertility are inversely related. Although this relationship has been shown among most populations around the world, a clear understanding of how and why education reduces fertility has eluded us. This is true of most of the other mechanisms known to play a role in reducing fertility and family size goals as well. In this book, Johnson-Hanks marshals an impressive amount of quantitative and qualitative evidence in an elegant analysis of the impacts of education, the gender and social dynamics within the classroom, and broader society on fertility. The self-deprecating humor that is evident in Johnson-Hanks’ classroom vignettes, in combination with the compassion with which she describes the often difficult situations facing her young informants, give the quantitative patterns she reports reality and grounding in a world that readers will feel they understand after reading this book.

Theoretically, Johnson-Hanks breaks new ground. She builds on the work of other analysts who apply an “activity-in-setting,” or situated-action, theoretical framework to the study of fertility by introducing the concept of the “vital conjuncture.” Broadening the classic demographer’s conceptualization of a demographic event like birth, Johnson-Hanks explains that a birth is not simply something that happens at one point in time to one individual. Rather, it is an event that will differentially affect the lives of multiple individuals living in a social group and will open new doors of possibility at the same time that it closes others forever. Johnson-Hanks asks us to enrich our analyses of
the decisions affecting fertility trajectories by situating the events of conception and birth themselves as vital conjunctures. According to the schema Johnson-Hanks introduces in her book, vital conjunctures are points when “socially structured zones of possibility emerge around specific periods of potential transformation in a life or lives. They are temporary configurations of possible change, critical durations of uncertainty and potentiality” (p. 25). The vital conjunctures model is useful to Johnson-Hanks, as well as to other students of population, because it places fertility in its experiential context and, as the author notes herself, “offers the potential for a coherent model of fertility levels” (p. 25). Her analyses of the vital conjunctures lived by the women with whom she forged relationships in the field shed invaluable light on the utility of this approach and the importance of seeing demographic events in broad context.

The regulation of reproduction among Beti women of southern Cameroon is a marker of education, of modernity, and of discipline, all qualities that are required for a person to be “real” in this society. In Uncertain Honor, Johnson-Hanks makes an important contribution to the study of population and to our understanding of what it means to be a Beti woman with honor and style. Students and scholars of fertility will find this book invaluable for the quality of its ethnography, and for the importance of the methodological and theoretical contributions it makes to the field of demographic anthropology.


JENNIFER F. REYNOLDS
University of South Carolina

A little more than a decade ago, linguistic anthropologists despaired over the lack of suitable textbooks that did justice to the historical depth and breadth of the subfield as well as the theoretical and topical contributions made to Boasian anthropology. Happily, the situation has changed; Christine Jourdan and Kevin Tuite’s edited collection is a welcome addition to a number of texts already in circulation. It suffers from the same flaw as others insofar as it reflects more the professional biographies of contributors than a full treatment of the entire subfield. That aside, it fills an important niche in examining core issues, past and present, with an eye to future lines of intellectual pursuit.

In the introduction, Jourdan and Tuite provocatively suggest that contemporary linguistic anthropologists, much like our predecessors, must act as André-Georges Haudricourt’s passe-muraille (a person able to walk through walls), reflecting a penchant for transgressing disciplinary and theoretical barriers. We must be conversant in social and linguistic theories that often revolve around competing theoretical poles, emphasizing either universal or particularistic approaches, while we adopt either so-called scientific or critical stances vis-à-vis their object of inquiry (p. 1). Jourdan and Tuite ground these theoretical debates in five key topics of linguistic anthropology: (1) linguistic relativity, (2) language contact, (3) language socialization, (4) translation and hermeneutics, and (5) variation and change.

The chapters contributed by John Leavitt, Regina Darnell, Penny Brown, and Paul Kay squarely deal with linguistic relativity, although others implicitly adopt relativistic perspectives in their treatment of variation in sociolinguistic practices across historical sites of colonial contact (Jourdan and Elizabeth Povinelli), societal practices of child language socialization (Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin, and Povinelli) and ethnopoetics (Paul Friedrich). Leavitt and Darnell historically situate different periods in the emergence of relativistic thought in linguistic anthropology.

Brown conducts a literature review on scholarship in cognitive anthropology spanning four decades, and Kay responds to three methodological critiques leveled by John Lucy and others against the World Color Survey (WCS) results.

Christine Jourdan, Monica Heller, and Kevin Tuite all contend with the subjects of language contact, variation, and change. Jourdan’s chapter argues that the most productive way to study the genesis of pidgins and creoles is via work-related activities and their related discursive practices of translation and cultural interpretation. Heller’s chapter on bilingualism documents the ideological turn in sociolinguistic approaches to theories of language and society. Tuite’s chapter on variation and change tracks parallel theoretic debates that took place first between European historical linguists, which have now reemerged in the writing of U.S. sociophonetic sociolinguists.

Under the rubric of language socialization are two chapters, one coauthored by Ochs and Schieffelin and the other by Povinelli. Ochs and Schieffelin provide a tightly argued chapter for linguists interested in language acquisition. It cogently lays out why their “culturally organized means-ends model” also matters for young children’s acquisition of both linguistic and communicative competence. Povinelli’s chapter suggests future pathways for the study of language, subjectivity, and desire. She combines Lacanian psychology, semiotic functionalism, and performativity to examine how the prelinguistic being participates in the formation of his or her own “intimate grammar.”

Translation and hermeneutics are the central topics of the chapters contributed by philosopher Charles Taylor and anthropologist and poet John Friedrich. Taylor’s chapter examines Johann Herder’s original critique of Etienne Bonnot de Condillac’s fable and theorizing on the origin of language to suggest a constitutive-expressive theory of language that reflects how our species evolved language to transform our “understanding of self and world” (p. 45). Friedrich’s chapter examines poetic language, in the broadest sense of the term, to map out how ethnopoetics can productively remain central to anthropological endeavors.
The overall treatment of all topics is uneven; linguistic relativity, closely followed by language contact, receives the most comprehensive treatment. For example, one omitted area of inquiry that relates to many of the aforementioned topics and requires a passe-murraille is language and globalization research. Scholars must contend with global flows of labor, capital, and symbolic forms (especially language) in emergent transiodiomatic and deterritorialized discursive practices. The biased treatment is not surprising given that the editors dedicated the book to the late Roger M. Keesing, a cognitive cultural and linguistic anthropologist. Finally, I wished that some of the contributors could have better balanced their examination of linguistic and social theory, as I fear cultural anthropologists reading this collection will not necessarily come away with a renewed commitment to four-field anthropology. In spite of the uneven treatment of topics, the editors grouped together a strong set of chapters that indeed is of value to an upper-level undergraduate or introductory graduate course in language and culture.


Curtiss Hoffman
Bridgewater State College

One of the most significant developments in the practice of U.S. Northeastern archaeology since the passage of the 1989 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, PL 101–601) has been the emergence of cooperative efforts between archaeologists and indigenous peoples. Prior to NAGPRA, most archaeologists in the region had operated under the pretense of a cultural vacuum, in which the views and sensibilities of indigenous peoples were overlooked or even dismissed as inauthentic. This led to the general acceptance by archaeologists of field and laboratory practices that would today be regarded as unacceptable, especially with respect to human skeletal material and associated grave goods. NAGPRA, and its accompanying regulatory framework, gave indigenous people a significant voice on archaeological matters for the first time in their history. While some of the interactions at the outset were characterized by hostility on both sides, since the mid-1990s a more salutary relationship of mutual respect has slowly emerged. This has been of benefit to both groups, although the ultimate outcome remains to be seen and will doubtless vary from case to case.

Jordan Kerber’s anthology directly addresses and explores this relationship throughout the region (and a bit beyond with four case studies from what is ordinarily regarded as the middle Atlantic region: Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey) by means of a carefully structured pairing of voices from indigenous community leaders and archaeologists. In some cases, chapters are coauthored by representatives of both communities; in others, adjacent chapters give the differing perspectives of the two communities. This accurately represents the range of relationships. One gets a good feel for both the points of tension and the points of synergy from these case studies.

The book’s 20 chapters, by 33 authors, are organized into three broad sections: Collaboration and Regulatory Compliance: Burials and Repatriation; Collaboration and Regulatory Compliance: Sites and Places; and Voluntary Collaboration: Research and Education. In the first two sections, the two communities are sometimes engaged, sometimes at cross-purposes. Indeed, there is some insightful discussion in the chapter by Robert Dean and Douglas Perelli (“Highway Archaeology in Western New York: Archaeologists’ Views of Cooperation between State and Tribal Review Agencies”) on the alternative meanings of the word collaboration, either indicating cooperative work or co-optation of members of a politically weaker group by a stronger one. In the third section, in which the cooperation is more voluntary in nature on the part of the archaeologists, the purposes of the two groups merge and become more difficult to distinguish from one another. These studies are the most forward looking, in that they represent how the archaeological record is being integrated into indigenous education programs to the benefit of the tribe as a whole and how tribal members are becoming directly involved in archaeological fieldwork.

The anthology is comprehensive as to regions of the Northeast, and it provides an outlet of expression for the feelings of tribal members on the difficult and painful period of contact and colonization (esp. the chapter by Jack Rossen, “Research and Dialogue: New Vision Archaeology in the Cayuga Heartland of Central New York”). However, there is one area that the book does not explore: the archaeological investigation of nonburial sacred sites. This is understandable, given both the Native communities’ reticence to identify these sites for fear of vandalism, and archaeological community’s tendency to dismiss many of these sites as being nothing more than the work of post-Contact Euro-American farmers clearing fields, building stone walls, or promoting “aesthetic farm maintenance” (Nicholas Bellantoni, personal communication, 2003). However, a 2003 resolution of the joint Education and Heritage Committees of the United South and East Tribes (USET comprises 29 of the federally recognized tribes east of the Mississippi) has designated a “sacred corridor” of sites within eight towns in eastern Massachusetts. USET members and archaeologists are “collaborating” on the preservation of these sites, as well as similar sites throughout the Northeast. Shortly before his untimely death, James Petersen, to whose memory Cross-Cultural Collaboration is dedicated, was involved in the exploration of one of these sites in Rochester, Vermont, along with representatives of the Western Abenaki nation. I have also been involved with representatives of the Narragansett and Aquinnah Wampanoag nations in the identification and preservation of sites of this type in eastern Massachusetts and Connecticut, and I have presented joint papers with them at regional conferences on this
subject. I would recommend that if this anthology is revised, it should include a section on sites of this type. I would certainly recommend the book for upper-level undergraduate and graduate courses in archaeology, as well as for teachers and researchers in the fields of Eastern U.S. Native American archaeology and ethnology.


NANCY ANN MCDOWELL
Beloit College

Many populations within contemporary Papua New Guinea are in difficult circumstances, frequently as a result of the incursion of foreign or capitalist forces, but the Yonggom of Western Province, described by Stuart Kirsch in Reverse Anthropology, must be among the most seriously disrupted by the deleterious effects global powers. As one of Kirsch’s informants remarked, “mipela kisim tupela punis,” which translates as “we’ve been punished twice” (p. 175). This book is about how the Yonggom interpret these “punishments”: the devastation of their environment as a result of the Ok Tedi mining operation and the influx of refugees fleeing Indonesian forces across the border from West Papua. Sorcery and reciprocity are two deeply intertwined aspects of the world that are critical in their attempts to analyze these events and their consequences.

Kirsch’s approach to exchange is heavily influenced by Marilyn Strathern, especially in viewing exchange as a kind of social analysis. His ethnographic focus on reciprocity includes the transactions at regional pig feasts, marriage, and death, but he stresses the importance of exchanges that fail, what he calls “unrequited reciprocity” (pp. 79–80). In a sensitive and nuanced discussion of Yonggom emotions and morality, he effectively illustrates that Yonggom identify sorcerers by examining human emotions and intentionality: “That which makes persons human—social relations mediated through exchange—can also unmake them as persons through unrequited reciprocity and sorcery” (p. 120).

It is through such a lens that the Yonggom not only understand the devastating effects of the Ok Tedi mine but also the way in which they structure their political struggle against it. Although they know that physical pollution has destroyed their land, they phrase their understanding in sorcery discourse and thereby place the effects the mine has had on social relationships in the forefront. The Yonggom challenged the mining operation on this basis, and Kirsch concludes that “the distinction between limited and expanded recognition of social relationships is central to contemporary debates about compensation in Melanesia” (p. 126). The relationships the indigenous people have with land and place are defined very differently than the way in which the capitalist corporation relates to the landscape, and a distortion of these relations is a significant part of the loss that the Yonggom feel. Their compensation claims cannot be understood without acknowledging this difference as well.

In 1984, 11,000 refugees fled across the border from West Papua hoping to escape Indonesian reprisals against the Free Papua Movement and to attract world attention to their plight. Six thousand of these people were Muyu, or Yonggom people living across that border, and despite the stress it put on their hosts, they found refuge in Yonggom villages. In a detailed and sensitive exploration of the sorcery divination following the deaths of two refugees, Kirsch shows that the same frames of unrequited reciprocity and sorcery are relevant. Just as the compensation claims in the mining case were based on sorcery accusations, so the refugee divinations focus their attention on the Indonesian state as the perpetrator of sorcery rather than their fellow villagers.

A variety of related themes are explored in this book. One is the need to approach history through social ties that are mediated by exchange and transaction rather than assume difference and separation. Doing so reveals that populations such as the Yonggom have not been isolated from global currents as is often assumed (e.g., the demand for bird of paradise feathers for women’s hats at the beginning of the 20th century had a profound effect on them). Kirsch’s insights into cargo cults are considerable as well. Furthermore, he argues persuasively for the importance of the anthropologist as both scholar and activist when confronted with situations similar to the plight in which the Yonggom find themselves.

Finally, in his analysis Kirsch explores myth and ritual as a mode of interpretation. The title, Reverse Anthropology, comes from Roy Wagner who, Kirsch notes in explanation, asserted that cargo cults were the “interpretive counterpart to the study of culture, and consequently a kind of reverse anthropology” (p. 3). As anthropologists use their own culture to interpret the culture of their informants, so do their informants use their own interpretive frameworks to make sense of what appears to be the anthropologist’s world and the impacts that world has on them. Encounters with colonial agents depicted in mythology, for example, are treated as interpretations comparable to anthropological analyses of those same sacred stories. It is one of Kirsch’s main goals to illustrate how the insights yielded by indigenous analysis can have significant value in understanding contemporary debates and conflicts.


ROBERT C. MARSHALL
Western Washington University

The title Waiting for Wolves in Japan is not misleading, exactly, for the organizational structure of the book does parallel its title: Only at the very end is the wolf taken up at large and in detail. Yet the reader will find both title
and trek together evoke Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* (1994): There are no wolves in Japan now, there have been none for a century, and there is no actual plan or schedule to reintroduce wolves to Japan. John Knight recognizes that nostalgia creates a powerful pull in Japan, and so this book is much more about what is gone or just going—mixed pine-hardwood forests, foresters, farm fields, farmers, and hunters, that is, the villages and culture of upland Japan—than the anticipation of an ecological Advent. (This metaphor—“the wolf as savior, who taketh away the sins of the fathers”—is not my own, it is Japanese and developed deliberately by Knight.) We know what is gone by what has come back: wild animals, particularly the wild boar, monkeys, serow, and deer. The cute but frightening bear will likely follow the wolf soon into extinction.

The organization of the book is tidy, with an almost musical plan of theme and variations, chapter by chapter. By page 3 we learn that the wolf is gone from Japan; later, we learn that this key predator in upland Japan, the long-extirpated grey wolf *Canis lupus*, lingers on as a specter, a phantom, a fear, an inspiration, a promise, and, perhaps, even a curse—that of the final wolf killed “by a lumber raftsman on 23 January 1905 in a place called Washikaguchi on the Kii Peninsula” (p. 195). And the animals it once either preyed on or kept in abeyance are back, in numbers that astonished me, at least. Wild boars, hated by upland farmers, are evidently beyond enumeration now; monkeys are up from 15,600 animals in 1950 to 100,000 in 1999; serows (a seldom seen, high-altitude, antelopelike ungulate) went from a low of 3,000 in 1955 to over 100,000 in 1999; deer now top 300,000 nationwide. Following an introduction that reads as an elegy to the upland farm and forest, chapters on each of these animals follow, each retracing the same clear pattern and theme: In the highlands, a battle is being fought between people and “pest animals,” and the people are losing. Or at least the uplands are losing people, and forests and fields and villages, and the animals are closing in, closer and closer. Maybe the animals are even winning. Each chapter portrays the image of its animal in Japanese folk belief and popular culture, its documented effects on upland farm and forest, and the reactions and responses of the people there—namely, farmers, foresters, and hunters—all of whom are aging rapidly with no one to follow after

Yet what makes this book truly valuable is its vivid countertheme: that none of this is as simple as it seems or sounds, none of it. Knight gives us all the complexity in human–wild animal relations he can collect: His roundup of published and personal Japanese sources is comprehensive. The wild boar, hated by the farmer for its destruction of fields, is esteemed to excess by the hunter, who is often an upland resident and even often a farmer as well. The monkey, an inhuman pest if ever there was one, is almost more-than-human, and no one can bear to kill one or even see one suffer. Folk wisdom may hold monkeys to be good to eat, but for upland farmers and hunters they are better to think, especially about what it means to be human. Deer destroy the forest and the forester hates them for it. But hunters deride the deer as game hardly worth the chase, and, anyway, the forest the deer destroys is merely plantation cedar and cypress, which no one has the energy to thin any more. If all the aboriginal forest had not been converted to commercial plantations, the deer, serow, and bear would not damage the villagers’ backyard woods and adjacent farm fields, and serows and monkeys would stay far away. But animals have no real home in these false forests anymore, nor do people. Perhaps the great fear villagers’ show at the rare appearance of a bear in their midst is testimony to the recognition that upland culture and society is hemorrhaging its last life. No one can staunch the bleeding, and Knight does not hold out hope that the wolf—a reintroduced foreign wolf after all—can either.

**REFERENCE CITED**

Beckett, Samuel


**DAVID BURLEY**

Simon Fraser University

*The Archaeology of Oceania* is the eighth offering in Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology. An introductory leaf identifies this volume as part of “a series of contemporary texts, each carefully designed to meet the needs of archaeology instructors and students” with “newly commissioned articles by top scholars.” As proclaimed on its rear-cover promotion, it is a “state-of-the-art introduction to the archaeology of Oceania” that is marketed as “essential reading for all those studying the Australasian and Pacific regions.” In spite of this hoopla—undergraduate instructors beware—a text this is not. And neither does it serve as an introductory volume to the archaeology of Australia and the Pacific Islands.

The volume consists of 18 chapters by 26 authors. Beyond an initial overview by the editor, Ian Lilley, chapters are categorized into Australia, the Pacific, and Politics. Lilley’s goals are in contrast to those of the publisher as given above. Rather than an introduction to the region, his objective is to present “new discoveries, conceptual innovations, and the dynamics of postcolonial realpolitik” (pp. 1–2). And, rather than “top scholars,” he solicited “early to mid-career researchers” (p. 1), albeit several fall easily into the former. He ultimately assembled an interesting set of chapters that in some cases challenge orthodoxy, in others give new insight, and in still others address fundamental issues now coming to the fore. The value of the book, then, is in its contribution to archaeology in Oceania, rather than this pretentious claim of being the archaeology of Oceania.

Lilley’s introductory chapter is the only major attempt at regional synthesis, which is needed for the volume as...
a text as well as a context for the chapters to follow. A 21-page summary of Australian, Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian archaeology expectedly must be selective and not without gaps or imbalance. At times these problems are infuriating, especially in Polynesia, where Lilley’s expertise is weakest. Notwithstanding others that could be highlighted, a noteworthy example is his audacious assertion that “Smith (2002) has deconstructed conventional models of West Polynesian prehistory, and especially the ‘phylogenetic’ model of Ancestral Polynesian Society promoted by Kirch and Green (2001)” (p. 19). Here he summarily dismisses what many consider to be the most methodologically innovative and significant contribution to Oceanic archaeology to date, Kirch and Green’s *Hawaiiki, Ancestral Polynesia: An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (2001). Not inconsequently for me, this also dismisses a core component of my own course on Oceanic archaeology: linguistics and prehistory.

Part 1, the Australian chapters, range from Pleistocene settlement patterning to Holocene stone tool production to three contributions on rock art. The latter are important for their collective illustration of ideological, epistemological, social, and other aspects of prehistoric and historic aboriginal peoples. The Pacific chapters in part 2 deal first with Near Oceania with two offerings on Pleistocene archaeology in the Bismarck Archipelago, one on early agriculture in New Guinea, and one on Melanesian archaeology through the keyhole of Western Solomon Islands. Notwithstanding Tim Denham’s admission that his New Guinea chapter was written in 2002 (p. 180), both it and Richard Walter and Peter Sheppard’s on the Solomons are truly substantive and informative beyond particularization. Both are supplementary readings I intend to assign to future classes. The remaining Pacific chapters are a mixed lot, including a brief “alternative” view of Lapita, an examination of the potential for Polynesian ethnoarchaeology, two on late chiefdom developments in Hawaii and the Marquesas, and a single contribution on Micronesia. Glaringly absent in all of this are any chapters on Fiji–West Polynesia, where the Lapita diaspora ends, where ancestral Polynesian societies emerge and disperse, and where one of the most complex political entities in the Pacific developed. Part 3—Politics—starts with a truly perceptive review of archaeology, colonialism, and political implications for Kanak society in New Caledonia. In contrast, however, the following chapter on the UNESCO World Heritage List nomination of Levuka, Fiji’s colonial capital, seems oddly out of place. The final chapter provides insights and personal discourse by indigenous archaeologists from Tahiti, Australia, and New Guinea. In discussion of their intermediary position between Western scholarship and indigenous society, they provide a highly appropriate conclusion.

*The Archaeology of Oceania* is neither a text nor a reader that I can recommend for student purchase. In light of other volumes on the market, I also cannot recommend it to colleagues looking for a basic guide. The book, nevertheless, incorporates a range of useful and constructive chapters that cumulatively contribute to scholarship. In this it is a credible and informative addition to the Oceanic bookshelf.

**REFERENCE CITED**


**LISA MARIE ANSELMI**

Buffalo State College

*Measuring Time with Artifacts* is an amalgamation of seven chapters that have previously appeared as articles in journals and that have now been “updated, corrected and edited” (p. x). To this, new introductory and conclusion chapters have been added. R. Lee Lyman and Michael J. O’Brien’s stated reason for researching the history of archaeology is to “[figure] out how we as archaeologists know what we think we know about humankind’s remote past” (p. x). This book could then be seen as their effort to disseminate what they have learned in one cohesive mass.

The introduction to the volume offers the reader insight into the authors’ motivations and theoretical perspectives for the following chapters. This is, of course, the function of any introduction. However, it is particularly important for a text in which the chapters started their intellectual lives as stand-alone journal articles, so that “each chapter can stand more or less on its own” (p. 3), as the authors propose. The authors are to be commended for the clarity of language evident here.

The authors organize the chapters into three sections. The first of these is dedicated to the ontological foundation, as Lyman and O’Brien see it, of the methods to be discussed in the subsequent chapters. The short (four-paragraph-long) introduction to this section is extremely useful in the sense that it clearly identifies the authors’ position in favor of using a Darwinian approach in the study of cultural events. The single chapter in this section highlights the replacement of the Darwinian evolution model by the cultural evolution model within the discipline during the 1950s by comparing the perspectives of several researchers, notably Alfred V. Kidder, Franz Boas, Alfred Kroeber, and Leslie White.

The second section focuses on the epistemology (“how methodology is driven by theory”) or methods used to define and structure the measurement units with which archaeologists described cultural evolution and change. The first of the four chapters in this section focuses on the use of “cultural traits” as units of cultural transmission and, in the authors’ view, the inherent pitfalls in this approach. The next chapter underscores connections between the disciplines of paleontology and archaeology and the dating schemes used by each. For paleontology, Lyman and O’Brien highlight biostratigraphy with its roots in the
method developed by Charles Lyell; for archaeology, superposition, and stratigraphic excavation, the direct historical approach and frequency seriation with emphasis on frequency seriation in this chapter. The third and fourth chapters of this section review the specific contributions of two influential archaeologists—A. L. Kroeber and James Ford. The third chapter concentrates on Kroeber’s interest in culture change and his use of frequency seriation and time-series analysis. The authors also explain the differences between these two analytical techniques. The fourth chapter outlines Ford’s use of what the authors have labeled elsewhere as “artifact (bio)stratigraphy for purposes of cross dating” (O’Brien and Lyman 1999:209) with respect to his 1936 chronological analysis of pottery types recovered from the lower Mississippi Valley.

The third section of the book focuses on the epistemology of artifact-based chronometers. The first chapter here describes in detail the direct historical approach and several ways in which it was used. Of importance is their emphasis on specific historical analogy and general comparative analogy: what these are and how each has been used archaeologically. The next chapter discusses the roots, from Manuel Gamio, Alfred Kidder, and N. C. Nelson onward, of stratigraphic excavation as employed by American archaeologists. Lyman and O’Brien emphasize that the so-called stratigraphic revolution should be seen as less of a change in excavation technique and more of a change in how archaeologists “began using observed shifts in the frequencies of artifact types to measure time” (p. 206). The ninth chapter examines the graphic representations used to show culture change. Lyman and O’Brien begin by clearly defining the key terms as they were first used in conjunction with several chronometric techniques and critiquing several modern interpretations of same. As in earlier chapters, their discussion is heavily based on comparisons between specific analyses and graphic results, in this case those completed by Ford as compared to those by Paul S. Martin and John B. Rinaldo.

The final chapter serves as a concise conclusion for the current text and illuminates another motivation in the rewriting of these chapters: for use as a textbook. Many, this reviewer included, will not agree with all of the arguments or the agenda of Lyman and O’Brien, but discussions of these facets of the text would serve as effective foils for other viewpoints in a graduate-level course on the history of the discipline.

REFERENCE CITED
O’Brien, Michael J., and R. Lee Lyman

Managing Migration: The Promise of Cooperation.

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This book provides a relatively jargon-free introduction to the contemporary global phenomenon of migration. Although readers with an interest in the anthropological study of migration may be disappointed by the lack of qualitative data, the book is aimed at a policy audience and seeks to examine how “migration affects development and development affects migration, so that bilateral and regional dialogues can explore ways of managing migration for mutual benefits” (p. 24). Given that the book is based on short site visits (between one and six days in length) to nearly a dozen countries between 2000 and 2004 undertaken by 20 members of the Cooperative Efforts to Manage Emigration (CEME) project, it compiles a plethora of data in a remarkably fluid format.

The book consists of nine chapters organized into three sections. Parts 1 and 2 make up the bulk of the book, with chapters 2–4 presenting key concepts related to migration and chapters 5–8 dealing with case studies. The book revolves around two key concepts: the need for governments (1) to attend more seriously to the rights of migrants and (2) to cooperate much more extensively on mechanisms for managing migration. The authors argue that states and migrants would benefit from exchanging more information about how migration mechanisms work, including with regard to recruitment of migrants, remittances, and patterns of migrants’ return or ongoing ties to their countries of origin.

Frustratingly, the authors cite a wide range of facts without extensive analysis. For instance, chapter 5, in just 49 pages, includes sections on Turkey, Romania, Slovakia, the former Yugoslavia, Italy, Albania, and Austria. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 provide more depth with their focus, respectively, on European–African relations, the Americas, and “global migrants”—primarily from the Philippines and China. While the text reads like a compendium for comparative issues in migration, the authors would have done better to examine fewer regions from a more critical perspective. Managing Migration is the most successful in the few instances where it draws on ethnographic and sociological findings. For instance, in chapter 7, reference to Peggy Levitt’s work, The Transnational Villagers (2001), adds a compelling layer to the discussion of migration out of the Dominican Republic. Likewise, chapter 8 is brought to life with the vivid example of Mr. Yu as a person whose migration has benefited China and is likely to benefit Canada (p. 216).

More significantly, in a number of places the authors provide vague sources or none at all for their data (i.e., pp. 48, 95, 107, 119, 160, 192). One footnote indicates that “some 70,000 Filipinas per year leave and 95 percent go to Japan as entertainers with 3-month contracts” (p. 222, n. 7). Unfortunately, given a lack of citations, it is difficult to follow up on this or other information. When the authors do refer to qualitative data, reference to how it fits into the methodology employed for the project is often elided. For instance, in several places the authors refer to “one informant” but there is no indication of the sample the authors
may have drawn on in conducting interviews (i.e., p. 221). Overall, the book would have benefited from engagement with relevant ethnographic literature on gender and migration, such as Nicole Constable's work, including *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: An Ethnography of Filipina Workers* (1997); Rachel Parreñas's *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes* (2005); and Denise Brennan's *What's Love Got to Do with It? Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic* (2004).

Despite these qualifications, *Managing Migration* does present an overview of migration patterns that would be useful for those who are beginning to make sense of contemporary migration. The authors provide clear definitions of some key terms, such as *refugee*—as defined by the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and 1967 Protocol—and they offer a critical assessment of how this definition might be usefully expanded (pp. 59, 63). While they do not provide such a carefully weighed assessment of the term *trafficking*, they productively treat trafficking in humans as part of global migration processes and recognize this phenomenon as integrally linked to global inequalities, rather than simply because of the growth of criminal elements.

The text could be appropriate for undergraduate courses on migration, globalization, and civil society. It could also serve as a comparative primer for professionals who seek to become familiar with the growing sphere of migration concerns, including discussions around trafficking, refugees, and asylum issues.

**REFERENCES CITED**

Brennan, Denise

Constable, Nicole

Levitt, Peggy

Parreñas, Rachel


**NICHOLAS A. HOPKINS**
Jaguar Tours, Tallahassee, FL

The somewhat pretentious subtitle of this new presentation of a collection of Colonial Kaqchikel (Mayan) texts—“the definitive edition”—is not without justification. This is by far the most detailed analysis and discussion of these texts yet to see print. Four introductory chapters place the Kaqchikel in historical context (pp. 3–9), discuss the documents and their histories (pp. 11–22), comment on the language of the documents (pp. 23–68), and compare this translation project to its antecedents (pp. 69–73). Following charts of Kaqchikel rulers (pp. 74–76) and a bibliography (pp. 77–80), the texts themselves are presented, with analysis (part 2, with new pagination, pp. 1–691).

The text collection begins (pp. 1–463) with the Xajil Chronicle, probably a redaction of precontact documents, which relates the legendary origins of the Kaqchikel at Tulan (along with other Mesoamerican peoples) and traces their history from there through the establishment of their capital at Iximché about 1470 C.E. and on to the arrival of the Spanish and the beginnings of the colonial period, ending around 1620 C.E. This is the principal document of what has been previously published as the Annals of the Cakchiques, which also includes a set of family histories and land disputes involving the families of the chroniclers: the Pakal Documents (1581; pp. 464–488), the Q’ebut Genealogy (pp. 489–494), the Q’eqak’uch Genealogy (pp. 495–507), the Don Pedro Elias Martinez Chronicle (1584; pp. 508–539), Accounts of Disputes 1580s–1591 (pp. 540–570), Contribution Records (1560s–1590s; pp. 571–575), and the Marriages of Francisco Diaz (1583–1600; pp. 576–580). At some time during the colonial period, all these documents were collected and retranscribed in a single hand by an anonymous chronicler.

Another collection of documents follows, the Xpantzay Cartulary, comprised of five documents and a complaint presented in a land dispute in 1659. Several hands are apparent, and some of the documents are copies of earlier ones. Four appear to be redactions of pictographic texts (cartographic histories). In the order and with the titles of this presentation, the documents are Lands and Boundaries of the Xpantzay (1581; pp. 581–591), Origins and Lands of the Xpantzay (1524; pp. 592–608), the Complaint (ca. 1658; pp. 609–615), the Xpantzay Genealogy by Alonso Perez (1554; pp. 616–648), the Xpantzay Genealogy by Felipe Vásquez (1602; pp. 649–657), and Wars of the Sotz’il and the Tuiche’ (1554; pp. 658–691). (The 1524 document is referred to in the introductory material as “The Origins and Lands of the Sotz’il Amaq’.”)

The presentation of the documents is consistent throughout. A four-line format presents a transliteration of the colonial text into modern Kaqchikel orthography (line 1), a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown (line 2), a morpheme-by-morpheme glossing (line 3), and a free English translation that follows the Kaqchikel syntax as closely as possible (line 4). A list of the abbreviations used in glossing morphemes is prefaced (p. ix).

This massive amount of material is a linguist’s delight: There are several hundred pages of Colonial Kaqchikel text, which are transcribed, analyzed, translated, and commented on; constant footnoting adds valuable information to the texts themselves. In a work of this magnitude it is easy to find things to quibble about, but overall this volume earns the designation “definitive.”

With an appetite whetted by this feast, the reader can imagine an even more perfect repast. I would have liked a more ample discussion of the grammar. The chapter entitled
“Linguistic Commentary” is just that: a commentary on text structure and discourse style, as well as the evidence for historical changes in Kaqchikel and the influence of foreign language contact (especially Nahualt). A straightforward outline of Kaqchikel grammar would have been helpful. The list of abbreviations for grammatical categories (p. ix) is presented alphabetically, and the symbols used are not always intuitively satisfying: What is the difference between morphemes represented by capital letters and those that are not? Why is intransitive verb IV but transitive verb VT? Some abbreviations that appear in the text are not in the list (e.g., TR and TV, in the opening lines of the first text). The mixing of glosses and abbreviations in line 3 of the text presentation takes some getting used to; basically, major roots and stems are glossed, and other morphemes are identified by abbreviations, leaving it to the reader to determine the grammatical class of the glossed item.

The volume could have been better edited. In the footnotes, for example, I counted 22 errors in the first one hundred notes. These include misspelled (or incorrect) words, punctuation errors (usually involving commas), missing words, and surplus words that should have been deleted. In the bibliography, there are two entries with no date or incomplete date and eight references that lack page numbers (i.e., errors in 12 percent of the entries). One expects dred notes. These include misspelled (or incorrect) words, punctuation errors (usually involving commas), missing words, and surplus words that should have been deleted. In the bibliography, there are two entries with no date or incomplete date and eight references that lack page numbers (i.e., errors in 12 percent of the entries). One expects better from a major university press.

Quibbles aside, this is a major contribution to Mesoamerican scholarship. It is an excellent example of interdisciplinary cooperation between a linguist and an ethnohistorian, aided by numerous students and workshop participants and benefiting greatly from the input of professionally trained native linguists. This project is also ultimately one of the fruits of a number of institutions, beginning with the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín in the 1970s, a project that recruited North American linguists (including Judith Maxwell) to train the native linguists who went on to form the core of the Academia de las Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala and other indigenous activist organizations. A workshop at the Maya Meetings at Texas provided the context for the beginnings of this translation, the collaboration between the authors was furthered by their mutual employment at Tulane University, and critical funding was provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities. A dozen individuals are credited with important contributions as well. All deserve sincere congratulations for a job well done. This work sets new standards for scholarship on colonial materials.


J. JEFFERSON REID
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Folsom by David Meltzer will be read by archaeologists of the Native American past with admiration and amazement, although postmodernists may wonder why it is shelved in the anthropology section in those book stores that still have one. Anthropology is a big tent, and Folsom is a big book! All educated Americanists should know the basic facts surrounding the archaeological remains found at Folsom, New Mexico, in much the same vein that Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, is to be known as a special place on the historical landscape. Folsom is, as the subtitle proclaims, “A Classic Paleoindian Bison Kill.” Few archaeological discoveries have broken through the cant of myth and speculation to reconfigure scientific knowledge of the past as did Folsom. Because Folsom the site is a special place, so too is Folsom the book, and it is within this generalist framework that I tell about its significance.

Among the book’s dedicatees are George McJunkin, Joseph Cramer, and Ruth Cramer. The Folsom story begins with McJunkin, the former black slave, cowboy, and self-taught naturalist who first reported bones sticking out of a newly cut arroyo. It was in 1926, after McJunkin’s death, that J. D. Figgins of the Colorado Museum of Natural History began excavating the bone bed. The following year, Figgins excavated a complete spear point embedded in the ribs of an extinct species of bison, a classic image that dons Folsom’s jacket cover and is easily the most-published photograph in U.S. archaeology. This association of spear point and bison bones was the first conclusive demonstration before an incredibly skeptical and cranky scholarly community of the coexistence of humans with extinct animals of the terminal Pleistocene. (Arizonans hasten to point out that, also in 1926, Byron Cummings found artifacts at Double Adobe in southeastern Arizona in a layer below mammoth bones. Unfortunately, the deposition was secondary, and the artifacts were grinding tools, hardly the weapon of choice for hunting elephants.)

The Folsom discovery, therefore, was the empirical breakthrough needed to substantiate claims for the early presence of people in the New World. Meltzer provides historical, geological, and theoretical context for this signal moment in New World prehistory. As is often the case, the solution to one hotly debated intellectual issue merely raises many additional questions, and the peopling of the Americas continues to be a major research topic, both in terms of the timing of the first “Americans” and the route that they took.

This is where the Cramers enter the story. Joseph Cramer is a retired petroleum geologist with a lifelong interest in archaeology, especially the peopling of the Americas. He and his wife Ruth decided to address the question by providing generous endowments to establish five research programs focused exclusively on Paleoindian archaeology and geology (Argonaut at the University of Arizona; Sundance at the University of Nevada, Reno; North Star at Texas A and M; Odyssey at the University of Kansas–Kansas Geological Survey; and the Quest program at Southern Methodist University). The Quest program at SMU, endowed by the Cramers and directed by Meltzer, supported Meltzer’s reinvestigation of the Folsom site between 1997 and 1999 and...
his thorough analysis of the artifacts, fauna, and archival documents of the 1920s excavations. To quote George Frison: It is the “long overdue final report on the Folsom site” (back cover).

Meltzer writes exceedingly well, making his narrative accessible to the widest possible audience. The technical discussions, many with coauthors, are strictly for the specialist. The general reader is directed to chapter 1, “Introduction: The Folsom Paleoindian Site,” and to chapter 2, “Folsom and the Human Antiquity Controversy in America,” and then should skip to chapter 8, “Artifacts, Technological Organization, and Mobility,” and conclude with chapter 9, “Folsom: From Prehistory to History.” The specialist will need to purchase Folsom as the essential reference on geology, ecology, fauna, and artifacts of the most famous Paleoindian site in North America. Judging from the jacket cover and contents, this book has been approved already by such Paleoindian luminaries as George Frison, David Hurst Thomas, Robert Kelly, and Michael Collins as reviewers and Vance Holliday, Todd Surovell, and Lawrence Todd as contributors. I echo this chorus of scholars in praising Meltzer’s Vance Holliday, Todd Surovell, and Lawrence Todd as con-


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This collection includes important studies that significantly advance the study of traditional knowledge. Unlike many an “edited volume,” all chapters are thorough, data rich, and creative. They are important contributions to a fast-moving field.

Traditional ecological knowledge is now bureaucratized and acronymized to “TEK,” or sometimes “TEKW” (“W” for “wisdom”). Acronyms, of course, label a field as bureaucratically pigeonholed. This book stands squarely opposed to the sort of mindless, dismissive, cut-and-dried treatment of “TEK” that has often resulted from such regimenting.

Most chapters deal with First Nations of western Canada. Two do not: James McGoodwin summarizes his more general work on fisheries; David Griffith gives a masterful summary of his work on coastal North Carolina. The people Griffith studies are “white” but live in long-established, traditional communities that have their own “TEK.” These two articles fit with the book’s other theme: fish and sea life. Most chapters concern these, but again exceptions exist, notably Paul Nadasdy’s excellent account of how local people—both Native and white—were usually ignored by bureaucrats counting mountain sheep in northwest Canada.

The main theme of the book is the use or misuse of TEK for managing resources in the contemporary world. Typically, bureaucrats either ignore it or use a decontextual-ized, rationalized, static form of it. All chapters of the book criticize such cherry-picking. A mindless “critique” would stop there, but Menzies and his colleagues go on to make really thoughtful points about what is wrong with the bureaucratic approach. Obviously, TEK is part of local culture, and ripping it from its context loses much. More interesting, because far less explored, is the topic of how much TEK can change and modernize. Assuming it is static or frozen is a serious mistake. Thus Menzies, in a truly thought-provoking chapter, shows how modern commercial mushroom hunting by First Nations people in British Columbia has grown naturally from local environmental knowledge, even though intensive mushrooming is totally new there. Chapters by Kimberly Brown and Caroline Butler report on recent changes in fishing. Nancy Turner and Helen Clifton do the same for seaweed gathering. TEK survives and adapts under drastically changed and depleted conditions.

This in turn leads to a focus on education, another area seriously neglected in most TEK research. Gloria Snively reports on a successful program to keep knowledge alive among the Kwakwaka’wakw. John Corsiglia provides valuable insights into training the young and passing on wisdom in northern British Columbia.

The book is not without some flaws. The authors try their best to avoid essentializing “TEK” and making facile distinctions between it and “Western science,” but they do not always succeed. In fact, local knowledges differ greatly from one another. Moreover, all local knowledge is influenced by far wider currents; the authors of this book could have benefited from reading the literature (from Boas to William Fitzhugh) on diffusion of knowledge throughout the North Pacific world. Conversely, science studies by such scholars as Bruno Latour and Paul Rabinow have shown that international lab science has its own rich contexts, local cultures, and emotional and intuitive aspects. If bureaucrats convert such science into frozen, cut-and-dried “facts,” they are being proper Weberian bureaucrats, not scientists. After all, they do the same violence to TEK. The worst bit of essentialization comes in John Corsiglia’s otherwise excellent chapter; he opposes TEK to the science of what he calls EBS, “empire-building societies.” Unfortunately for this claim, it comes just after David Griffith has brilliantly shown that settler societies can and do develop their own TEK in due course of time, and after Paul Nadasdy has shown that white hunters and outfitters stand (at least sometimes) with Na-
the pitfalls. As such, it is extremely valuable and should be widely read.


MARK P. LEONE
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What is the place of things in our lives? How important are they? What is their tie to words? To thought? How do we answer these questions?

Lynn Meskell and her graduate students give us good answers to these questions, enduring as they are. This book is the result of a gathering to deal with the nature of material things, under the term materialities, which is enjoying currency now but frequently needs both definition and exemplification. The book has both.

Archaeologies of Materiality has three strengths. First, there is a lot of theory for us to find out how to think about things and materiality. Second, because most of the authors are graduate students who are used to pushing ideas as far as possible, we learn the limits of the idea of materiality. And, third, there is some good archaeology, made better by very smart young professionals using difficult ideas toughly.

Felipe Gaitán and Daniel Miller struggle with where things fit for humans. For them, the made world is a paradox. They say that most of what we see is stuff that goes away, or should go away, or should not even exist. Things are often so trivial, like discarded toothbrushes, that they invite ridicule in their triviality, or are so evanescent because nothing much lasts long, or are so toxic, like idols, that they are forbidden in Islam and Judaism. For Miller, it is the West that forever subordinates things to words. He accepts this subordination. Reading him, one wonders whether greed and fear could exist without things. Can thoughts, including feelings, exist apart from material life? Can anyone resolve this paradox?

Among others who try are Carolyn Nakamura and Matthew Palus. They remind us of what we already know, but they do so in original and appealing ways. Nakamura writes about magical deposits under the floors of houses in Babylonia under Assyrian rule in the first century B.C. and earlier. She produces a chapter on magic that is so conscientious, that she tells us that magic is all about hiding the fact we control the gods. We project their future operation by defining what they are supposed to do based on what they did and created. Magic hides us as the gods’ makers. Well, I already knew that—we all have since graduate school—but it always comes as a surprise, so we need constantly to be retold. And, moreover, we did not know it from Assyrian ruins.

Palus asks why historical archaeologists are more likely to focus on insulators and postholes than on electricity, on pipes and fixtures rather than on gas light, and on conduits rather than on fresh water and sewerage. Electricity, light, and water are materialities, not processes. His archaeologi- cal problem is neither insulation nor poles, the usual narrow materials of historical archaeology, but the larger question of why electric light and all its materials—from bulbs to generators, wires, and power-generating dams—made slow, not fast, progress across the United States. What had to happen to make people want electric light? He suggests that the answers lie in how the body had to be decoupled from electricity and recoupled using light as a way of facilitating work.

At the end of the volume, Daniel Miller reminds us that in the West, and certainly in word-dominated anthropology, material is just a clue, not the whole. It is, nonetheless, essential; he tells us that we fear to know this. Therefore, gas, water, sewerage, and electricity are marginalized in our fields, out of their own importance. In saying this, he must disagree with Meskell: Her key definition of materiality early in the book is that it is the objectification of the thought world; here Miller says it is its own world with its own definitions.

The world of things defines the limitations of our own. We see this argument in the chapters by Lindsay Moira Weiss and Karen Holmberg. Weiss describes how South African rock art cannot be categorized. The “settler project”—that is, the colonizing West—cannot adequately count it, map it, or understand it very well. The same might be said of all rock art. We see this same inability to comprehend rock art in rural Panama through Holmberg’s chapter. The status of a site with rock art is an odd archaeological event because, through Holmberg, we see that the failure is not the inability of science, or of the West, which is normally how we see artifacts in archaeology. It is our confrontation with materials of such complexity and scope that we understand, through our confrontation with them, that the built world is our master. It conquers us. So it is, even though we built it. As Miller and Nakamura suggest, its importance is so great we must deny it.

But we do not have to deny how much Meskell has done for her students and they, in turn, for us. I recommend this primer for materiality to all archaeologists.


ERV CHAMBERS
University of Maryland

Some of the more interesting research into the social and cultural consequences of tourism is being done in geography, and this volume, edited by Claudio Minca and Tim Oakes, represents their discipline well. Although the contributors include sociologists, and one lone anthropologist, most of the chapters were written by cultural geographers, with a strong emphasis on cultural theory and postmodernist critique. Interestingly, it is difficult to distinguish the contributions by discipline, lending some credence to the notion that in approaching complex subjects such as
tourism, common theoretical interests prove more significant than disciplinary background.

The “paradoxical” approach of the volume addresses directly some of the more equivocal aspects of social inquiry into tourism. Is tourism as a subject about mobility or about rootedness? Most of the authors, and certainly the editors, indicate that it is about both, but they also suggest that it is important that we break away from those frameworks, which have been overly built on contrasting the mobility of modern societies with the boundedness of societies that were presumably more traditional. Such frameworks, according to Minca and Oakes, have encouraged us to focus too greatly on travel as representative of a postmodern identity that is between places rather than found in place. The editors have sought to bring theories of “place” more significantly into the theorization of travel and tourism.

To the paradoxes suggested by trying to account for the relationships between mobility and rootedness, the editors add several others. There are, for example, the paradoxes inherent in any consideration of authenticity and inauthenticity, of the “real” and the “fake,” as these apply to the tourist experience. And there are also the paradoxes that seem to arise when we try to distinguish too closely between insiders and outsiders to the tourism experience. The idea of “place” itself introduces other paradoxes, as it does in a consideration of the ways in which the places of tourism are both built on their commodification and also subversive and resistant to becoming commodified.

While Travels in Paradox is largely theoretical, its contributors do touch ground in particular locations from time to time, providing insight into some of the kinds and places of tourism. Soile Veijola explores issues related to “Heimat” (homeland) tourism in a consideration of her own negotiations of mobility and belonging when she returned to the Finnish countryside of her childhood. Pauline Raento and Steven Flusty situate three Italian-themed casinos within the place-based ideology of Las Vegas and the American West. Sex tourism involving European women and Egyptian men is theorized by Jessica Jacobs. Tourism is reinterpreted as postcolonialism in Claudio Minca’s discussion of narratives associated with a Moroccan square. Politically charged souvenir dolls form the backdrop for Steven Flusty’s interpretation of the globalization of the Zapatista revolution in southern Mexico. Kathleen Adams explores the ambiguities associated with travel in dangerous places, most notably East Timor. In a thoughtful essay, Tim Oakes compares the travel experiences of U.S. tourists and others (including Chinese tourists) in a Miao village in southern China.

Travels in Paradox can be overly cute and tending toward hyperbole on occasion, but it is still well worth reading. It could be appropriately used in a graduate course devoted to tourism and should be useful and thought provoking to tourism and travel scholars in the social sciences. For the most part, the chapters are experiential and personal, with the authors placing themselves as participants in tourism as well as observers of various acts of tourism (another paradox?). I did wonder through my reading whether the ambiguities that the editors and authors described so richly were as much representative of paradoxes as they were associated with a failure to identify and theorize the distinct conditions under which different types of tourism might occur. The tendency to generalize discussions of the consequences of tourism from a single case to all cases is a major problem in tourism research, and this volume seems no better or worse in that regard, with some rare and positive exceptions, such as Oakes’s comparative piece on tourism in a Miao village (as mentioned above). It is worth bringing up the near-heretical notion that words like travel and tourism might not be useful analytical categories at all, as each seems to exclude much more of the whole than it can possibly include.


C. MELVIN AIKENS
University of Oregon

In this book, Koji Mizoguchi, one of Japan’s most energetic and internationally minded young archaeologists, takes up the issue of how the Japanese past is variously interpreted by people in the present. He takes as his point of departure the global process of internationalization and homogenization in today’s world and focuses on how and why this process relates to archaeological practice and interpretation in Japan. It is a thoughtful book that offers a little more clarity about their chosen pursuit to all archaeologists, not just those with interests in his country.

Chapter 1, “Introduction: Archaeology in the Contemporary World,” sketches a scenario of archaeology in contemporary Japan. It discusses problems with the “theme park” restoration and interpretation of Yoshinogari, a very large third-century C. E. Yayoi site in central Kyushu, and considers the “discursive space” within which dialogues and negotiations between archaeologists, politicians, developers, local residents, environmental activists, and others have taken place. It is one example that illuminates much about modern archaeological practice generally in Japan. Chapter 2, “Modernity and Archaeology,” defines modernity in terms of worldwide nationalization, industrialization, commodification, bureaucratization, citizenship, deconstruction of kinship and local ties, secularization, and institutional segmentation and specialization. Chapter 3, “Communication, Sociality, and the Positionality of Archaeology,” develops the idea that archaeology by its nature emphasizes place, time, and continuity and thus offers “what is required for the transcendental guarantee of the internal homogeneity of nation-states” (p. 52). Thus, archaeology “tacitly but significantly contributes to the maintenance of the [illusory] sense of the internal homogeneity of the nation-state of Japan” (p. 52).
Chapter 4, “Nation-State,Circularity, and Paradox,” expands on this use of archaeology in three case studies. The first case takes up the redefinition of the Japanese state after the Meiji Restoration of the Emperor System in 1868. To resist colonization of Japan by Western powers, the Meiji leaders acted boldly and swiftly to modernize their country, importing “modules of modernity”—transportation systems, compulsory education, governmental structures, and so on—from the United States and Europe. To hold the country together amidst so much change, the Emperor was cast as the great “father” of the nation, and the people as his loving “children,” responsible for following his wish that they do what was required. Archaeology was called into play to demonstrate the unity of the country and the centrality of the Imperial Family, which had led it continuously from the beginning.

The second case analyzes two versions of a sixth-grade textbook drawing that depicts a social encounter in the third-century C.E. country of Yamatai, somewhere in southwestern Japan. This little country is noticed in the Chinese Weizhi, and the account has long been an important part of the Japanese historical narrative. Mizoguchi discusses how and why a textbook illustration pertaining to life in Yamatai was revised in its second edition, at the behest of a special committee of the Ministry of Education. The scene is of a family kneeling and bowing at a roadside as a small procession of obviously elite individuals passes. Mizoguchi points out a number of small modifications to the later illustration, which transform an original scene depicting a quite egalitarian commoner family bowing before haughty elite passers-by, into one of a more hierarchical commoner family in which the status of the father was elevated, and the relationship between commoners and elites became one of mutual affection and respect. Mizoguchi identifies the action of the education committee that carried out this revision as “creating an image of the past which reflects one’s desire for the future” (p. 102).

The third case addresses archaeological continuities among Kofun burial mounds and continuity of the Imperial genealogy from mythical times to the present. Mizoguchi points out what has been long known to archaeologists, that the “official” identification and ordering of “imperial” tombs by the Imperial Household Agency does not conform at all well with modern scholar’s concepts of how the emperor system came into being through a long process of interaction and competition among regional chieftains. Paradoxically, however, the popular presentation of imperial mounded tombs continues to serve in support of the age-old continuity of the emperor system.

Chapter 5, “Fragmentation, Multiculturalism, and Beyond,” comments on the modern storm of endless argumentation in journals, symposia, electronic web logs, and chat rooms that constitutes current archaeological discussion about relativism, multiculturalism, political correctness, anxiety, cynicism, multivocality, “somaticized archaeology,” and more.

Finally, the title of chapter 6, “Conclusion: Demands for Problematising and Explaining One’s Position All the Time,” encapsulates Mizoguchi’s perception that current archaeological theory and interpretation is a battlefield of challenges and responses. It also is a statement of what he advocates for future scholarship, which is precisely that we continue along this strenuous path. Mizoguchi sees the quest for improved clarity and understanding as unending and, thus, concludes in his distinctive way with a postmodern expression of what serious scholarship has always been about.


Nicholas Gessler
UCLA Human Complex Systems Program

There are too many good ideas in this volume. Chief among them is the call to give the new advances in complexity and chaos a larger role in our discipline. To do so, the contributors offer, as a solution to the “crisis of representation,” a description of how those fields might positively influence explanations couched in the old familiar languages of discourse, the serial and linear arrangements of words. This has value, although it neglects the fact that complexity and chaos owe their development to the new (if 1950 still qualifies as new) languages of computation, the parallel and nonlinear execution of procedures. The authors’ contributions are a good beginning, but the world of the “new sciences of complexity” is vastly larger than they envision and its relevance to anthropology much greater. It is on this omission that I will focus.

Editors Mark Mosko and Frederick Damon assert in their preface:

Anthropological arguments put forward by both defenders and critics of science have presupposed definitions of “science” that have been demonstrably obsolete for at least a quarter of a century; that is, since the development of “chaos theory”—the analysis of complex dynamical systems. As long as we fail to take stock of these revolutionary implications…for comprehending human social life…judgments over the “scientific” merits of the discipline…must be regarded as tentative, if not irrelevant. [p. x]

Irrelevant would be my editorial choice. Marilyn Strathern begins her prologue, saying, “Words exist in complex relations with one another.” She continues, “A discipline is no more and no less than the effort to describe …[and to] have an effect, one has to learn how to ‘do’ words” (pp. xii–xiii). And so, it seems, we are to deal with the chaos and complexity of words rather than the larger world of works. Mosko continues the theme in his “Introduction: A (Re)Turn to Chaos: Chaos Theory, the Sciences, and Social Anthropological Theory,” presenting a thorough narrative description of complexity, sensitivity, nonlinearity, attractors, and fractals. His discussion is far ranging, suggesting reciprocal contributions between chaos–complexity and anthropological theory. The reliance on the verbal is
amplified and folded back on itself in Roy Wagner's ending critique. But neither a "turn" nor a "return" will get us to this new territory. What is needed is an alternative route.

Six closely argued case studies follow in which algorithms and fractals are insightfully teased out of narrative explanations of culture, including Jack Morava's "From Lévi-Strauss to Chaos and Complexity"; Charles Piot's "Fractal Figurations: Homologies and Hierarchies in Kabre Culture"; Damon's "Pity" and 'Ecstasy': The Problem of Order and Differentiated Difference across Kula Societies"; José Antonio Kelly's "Fractality and the Exchange of Perspectives"; Christopher Taylor's "Fluids and Fractals in Rwanda: Order and Chaos"; and Mosko's "Peace, War, Sex and Sorcery: Nonlinear Analogical Transformation in the Early Escalation of North Mekeo Sorcery and Chieflly Practice." These form the body of the text, but the paratext dominates the work.

Wagner has the last word in the storm of contradictions that may drive the enterprise to founder on the rocks. His "Afterword: Order Is What Happens When Chaos Loses Its Temper" must, by his own measure, provide us with great insight, for he claims that "the wisest philosophers of all are not the ones . . . who reveal the truth . . . but those . . . who make a secret of it, and then keep on making secrets" (p. 207). As for the contributions, Wagner explains that "the ‘cultures’ modeled in this volume are neither de-2

scriptions of ‘how the natives think’ nor evidences of how the anthropologists think about them, but secrets developed around an enigma that attracts all those who might elicit it" (p. 208). If we were to believe his concluding gloss—that "very few anthropologists, and no major theorists in the discipline, are concerned with prediction, replication of results, and the material or statistical realities of the societies they study. And for a very good reason: they do not study society at all, but the representation of society" (p. 211)—it would be truly disappointing. Evidently, his last word required yet a further explanation, for we find in his Addendum, "Much of my prose seems to be about itself in a kind of free-associational word-play. It is not. It is about Chaos" (p. 248). Precisely how it is about chaos is a secret we are not told.

What is glaringly missing is any mention of the new philosophies, epistemologies, and languages of computation without which the “new sciences of complexity” could not exist. The “crisis of representation” in anthropology cannot be overcome by constraining descriptions to words alone. Descriptive theories expressed in computer languages can do many of the things that natural language can—understand, analyze, and generate new narrative—and they can do so in surprisingly creative ways. Moreover, computation can do much more than natural language. Once a complex theory of interacting agency is described as algorithmic process, a wide variety of entailments of that program can be generated. Such a theory may be enacted and “what-if” scenarios may be performed by modifying its objects and interactions, thereby defining spaces of both possible and impossible consequences. All the steps in the entire process are capable of being known. Engaging in experi-

ment, the artificial world may be poked and prodded to its breaking point, or, alternatively, that world may be built to learn and organize itself, to coadapt to its surroundings and evolve.

Computer simulations offer new solutions to problematic aggregate concepts such as “culture” and the difficulties of unifying different scales of analysis such as “the individual and society.” Computer languages overcome the difficulty of reductionistic discursive explanations by offering constructionist models in which local and global phenomena are intimately entwined. They are at once analytic and synthetic. Although the popular mantra is the string of words “the whole is greater than the sum of its parts,” the half-century of progressive work on emergence cannot be understood in terms of natural language alone. It can only be fully understood through hands-on practice with the “source codes” of computer languages, which are nothing more and nothing less than the details of social interaction that anthropologists are best suited to observe. Social scientists who aspire to a more comprehensive view of what is new in the “new sciences” should look into the proceedings of the hundreds of conferences on evolutionary computation (e.g., genetic algorithms, evolutionary programming, and genetic programming), artificial life (e.g., parallel processing in nature, complex adaptive systems, and multiagent modeling), and artificial societies and artificial culture (e.g., Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation). Fifty years after the advent of the computer, it is time to pay attention. To riff on Strathern’s pronouncement for this larger context: “To have an effect, one has to learn how to ‘do’ code” (p. xxx).


**HENRY J. RUTZ**

Hamilton College

The founders of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 created a strong secular state that emphasized the rights and duties of individuals toward the state. State ideology defined the secular morality of families and their place in society; asserted a claim to the first duty of youth, which was to protect the republic; created a universal persona of what it meant to be a Turk; stipulated proper surnames and dress in public; and promoted and controlled a state civic culture of social solidarity that was more important than the individual. The state guided development in every sector of the economy through the instrument of state enterprises and protectionist policies. In 1980, the state turned toward neoliberal ideology and economic policies that favored open trade.

Fast-forward to the decade of the 1990s, to a neoliberal economic and political regime, and to Istanbul. The political space–time of this book is the privatization of state ideology and practice as a method for addressing larger issues of state-centric power and negotiation over the public sphere of everyday life. This more personal approach to
political ideology and power, the author argues, has helped to sustain a new political anthropology by exploring the cultural and personal politics of everyday life as these affect the power of the state.

The qualifying clause—namely that personal politics must be shown to affect the state in demonstrable ways—is crucial to the importance of this research strategy. It requires attention to emotion and sensibility, an awareness of context and meaning in a variety of complex settings, and an understanding of the significance of historical events. The persona of the author therefore also is relevant to the success of the enterprise. Esra Özyürek is Turkish, nurtured in an Istanbul home frequented by visits of second-generation Kemalists like her parents. She graduated from an Istanbul elite middle school that emphasized Western foreign language and culture and from Bogazici University in Istanbul, where her professors taught in English and came from backgrounds similar to hers and her parents. Her stated source of inspiration is her parents’ lives juxtaposed to her lifetime of connections in Turkey.

During the 1990s, Islamists launched a public challenge to the hegemonic state ideology of Kemalism. Kemalists countered by defending Mustafa Kemal Ataturk’s foundational principles, in the process reinterpreting the relationship between the state, the family, and individuals. Özyürek argues that the Kemalist political, intellectual, and army elite, as well as their citizen supporters, utilized market-oriented symbols of neoliberalism, along with powerfully authoritative measures, to defend their ideology and position in opposition to political Islamists. This process of internalization, privatization, and personalization of the state occurred not only within families and individuals but also through public displays and performance.

Chapters are organized around themes and different bodies of “evidence” that build strong support for Özyürek’s main thesis. The first two chapters draw on interviews with members of the foundational generation of the republic and on three exhibits of the early republic organized by private institutions to support claims about privacy and personalization of the Kemalist state tradition. Both chapters lead to issues of nostalgia and its political uses. In the third chapter, regarding the commodification of state iconography, Özyürek turns to the way in which memorabilia showing Ataturk in his private life, or images of him in advertisements, began to appear for the first time in the commercial marketplace. Previously, Ataturk only appeared in public in official statues in front of every school, on every civic square, in every office and home in the country, and in photographs on official occasions of every kind dressed in the appropriate uniform. This privatization and personalization of the iconic founder of the republic allowed individuals to control some of the symbolism of the state.

Republic Day celebrations used to be organized by the state and had become humdrum occasions that emphasized state symbols. The day was organized around official events and parades. In a chapter exploring the symbolism and practices of the 1998 Republic Day celebrations, which coincided with the 75th anniversary of the founding of the republic, Özyürek explores the significance of civilians organizing the event in defense of the secular state. Islamists and Kemalists turned the celebration into a political competition over differing interpretations of the foundational principles of the republic. Many people celebrated the day by going to the beach. The last chapter is devoted to the negotiation of differing Islamist and Kemalist politics and issues about the limits of legitimacy in a public struggle that extends beyond symbolism to the realities of who will rule the Turkish Republic.

For this reviewer, the most interesting and exiting part of this book is Özyürek’s ability to interweave very specific analyses of apparently disparate and absorbing phenomena into her own metadiscourse of nostalgia for the modern. Her exploration of scholars’ use of nostalgia leads to a theory of nostalgia as being an integral part of the construction of what it means to be “modern.” Özyürek traces the development of interconnections between nostalgia and privatization as they shape and transform a local political culture, and she argues that they are among the powerful driving forces behind neoliberal ideology that turn objects, relations, and concepts into commodities and transform political expression by converting it to an issue of personal interest. I recommend this book to students of advanced undergraduate and graduate courses in political anthropology and area courses in the near east, and to researchers in the fields of secular and religious debates and the politics of culture.


MARCIA MIKULAK
University of North Dakota

Forsaken Females is coauthored by Andrea Parrot, a professor in the Department of Policy Analysis and Management, and Nina Cummings, a health educator, both from Cornell University. In a cross-cultural body of research, this text examines the educational, religious, traditional, and family structures that predispose women to experiencing violence. An important work, this book is partitioned into three main caveats: (1) the demarcation and explication of the context in which violence against women occurs; (2) the practices used to perpetrate such violence; and (3) the consequences and potential solutions to the brutalization of women.

The demarcation, explication, and contextualization of violence against women demands a breadth of reflexivity quite difficult to achieve. Sensitive to the ever-present and ongoing debates of cultural relativism versus egocentrism, the authors argue the merits of potential universal truths that challenge human rights abuses, despite cultural diversity. While arguing the importance of understanding cultural perspectives on constructions of gender, identity, and power, the authors skillfully elucidate the role culture also
plays in forming behaviors that perpetrate violence against women.

From the perspectives of human rights workers and survivors and victims of violence, *Forsaken Females* considers both the historical and current dimensions of violence against women, covering such topics as feticide, genital cutting, sexual violence, trafficking of women, honor killing, and intimate partner violence. The authors theoretically embrace a broad definition of violence and examine a spectrum of behaviors that inflict, impose, brutalize, and oppress its female victims, both within the private domestic sphere and in the larger social territory of the streets and market places around the globe. Parrot and Cummings further extend their analysis of violence against women to include the cultural and political domains of repressive states, dictatorships, civil unrest, war, urbanization, and globalization.

According to the authors, violence against women is documented in early Greek writings, reflected in the biblical creation story, is contained in the Code of Hammurabi, and in almost all other cross-cultural constructions of gender that are infused in legal codes, laws, and normal discourses of everyday life. While such historical records document imbedded gender inequalities and treatments, they do not go far enough; that is, the lived experience of violence is often left to historical imagination, and the very definition and experience of violence can remain uncontextualized. In this volume, the authors provide testimonials of female victims of violence and give voice to the brutality they experience. Yet the authors provide a careful analysis of the cultural causes that generate both perpetrators and their victims. Hence, this research identifies a variety of important cultural contexts and practices that produce and encourage violence against females, both young and old.

Understanding the nature and experience of such violence requires a gendered analysis that links behaviors with cultural practices. While violence is frequently perpetrated by males against females, it is also true that females participate and perpetuate violent hegemonic practices that oppress themselves. Parrot and Cummings argue that the body of current data about violence against women has been gathered principally by nongovernmental and human rights organizations, and, as such, it has resulted in a lamentable lacuna within social science literature on the causes and consequences of violence, brutality, and victimization of women from a gendered perspective. Such analysis can inform and influence policymakers about the cultural complexities that perpetuate violence against women and promote legal, social, and political remedies that sensitively and effectively move toward a decline in gendered violence.

One of the very valuable contributions of this volume is the examination and analysis of varied forms of violence perpetrated against women cross-culturally with an eye to institutions of marriage, gender roles, employment, and social position. Violence against women is becoming an international concern; indeed, such visible human rights organizations as Amnesty International (AI) are currently involved in stemming the tide of violence against women around the world. Between November 25 and December 10, 2006, AI initiated 16 days of global activism, bringing attention to the plight of women suffering gendered violence.

While some of the cases of violence against women are underanalyzed in this ambitious work, it is nonetheless an important collection, bringing to light a body of cross-cultural practices that provide evidence of global violence against women. This welcomed body of work calls on various disciplines within the academy, principally the social sciences, to engage in the study of the ongoing pernicious violence against females of all ages, found mainly within patriarchal social systems across the globe. *Forsaken Females* should be required reading for all students, activists, and academics who seek to carry out research on the causes of violence against women and who intend to work internationally, particularly within the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, women’s studies, and political science.


**BARRY D. SOLOMON**
Michigan Technological University

Constance Perin’s *Shouldering Risks* uses intensive case studies of four incidents and other “events” at three nuclear plants in the United States to try to answer the question of what kind of problem it is to reduce the risks of operating a nuclear power plant. As a cultural anthropologist based at MIT since the 1980s, Perin’s work is an ethnographic study of 90 power plant operations workers involved in these events, but one written largely in the language of industry specialists. After opening with brief highlights of the last 25 years of nuclear power from a safety perspective, half of the six chapters are comprised of overly detailed case studies from three points of views. The last two chapters return to the basic question.

The nuclear power industry has a culture of control and safety that focuses on the measurable, such as failure and accident-risk probabilities, and on managing such things while neglecting cultural and contextual dimensions of risk handling and reduction. Chapter 1 highlights four major power plant accidents (“shocks”), with the first two receiving the greatest attention: Three Mile Island in 1979; Chernobyl in 1986; Tokaimura (Japan) in 1999; and David-Besse (United States) in 2002. Through previous study, Perin learned that this industry tends to view safety and accidents in two categories: nuclear and nonnuclear (industrial). Perin, however, argues that the two are linked. The “trade-off quandary” between safety and meeting the production schedule while controlling costs is highlighted here, and it is a problem that has become more pronounced since electric utility deregulation and restructuring began in the United States in the mid-1990s. What is especially
It has been said that nuclear power production is a much more complex technology than generation from fossil fuels or hydroelectricity. In chapter 2, Perin discusses a power plant that experienced a seemingly simple leaking valve in the containment area. Despite the root cause analysis pointing to management failure, not all plant workers agreed. This vexing event was neither a nuclear or personal safety matter, and it took several tries by the company to fix and appreciate the problem. A lack of holistic thinking and a prevalent compartmentalization or “parts template” contributed to the conundrum. A nighttime reactor “trip” (emergency shutdown) and security lapse at another plant is the subject of chapter 3. Following the shutdown, the control room operators had trouble pinpointing an electrical ground so repairs could be made, because of improperly labeled circuit breakers, although inadequate management oversight was again blamed. The security lapse involved a contractor who should not have been given access to the facility (he failed drug and alcohol tests), which in the end took two months to sort out. In chapter 4, Perin describes a plant where workers accidentally found a “hot spot” on a transformer, yet it took 26.5 hours before the plant shutdown because of a built-in production bias.

So what does this mean for nuclear power operations? In chapter 5, Perin contrasts three logics of control at work in this industry, which often clash: calculated logic, real-time logic, and policy logic. Real-time logic puts intentions into real world context, whereby plant operators must often deviate from formal practices. The principle of “doubt and discovery” becomes important to real-world problem solving, yet the case studies demonstrated a bias against such practice. Moreover, the nuclear industry is dominated by engineers and biased against social and behavioral sciences and qualitative assessments, so real-time logic has barely been studied. As the last chapter points out, discounting qualitative or “soft” knowledge limits the scope of evidence event reviews consider and impoverishes theories of risk estimation and risk handling. The suggested solution is to maximize both specialists’ exchange and analysis of information.

Shouldering Risks is a rich piece of fieldwork on the culture of safety. Scholars interested in complex systems and risky technologies will especially welcome its prescriptions for improved operations as well as regulatory oversight. Although the author’s use of technical jargon and stilted prose will narrow the book’s appeal in social science courses, its insights for management and industrial engineering are immense.


GENE AMMARELL
Ohio University, Athens

Anthropologists have long attended to the importance and practice of hunting in small-scale societies. Meanwhile, ethnographic studies on Bornean societies have tended to focus on swidden farming, while among foraging societies, Penan groups in Sarawak, Malaysia, have received considerable attention. Filling a significant gap, this volume represents the first ethnographic study of hunting in a Bornean society and the first study of the Western Penan of East Kalimantan, Indonesia. Based on 26 months of intensive fieldwork between 1991 and 1993 plus additional visits in 1993 and 2000, this is a richly detailed and compelling ethnographic account of hunting knowledge and practice of a contemporary seminomadic, small-scale society. Rajindra Puri carried out his research among the Penan Benalui of northwestern East Kalimantan (Central Borneo) whose ancestors migrated to Lurah River Valley from Sarawak in the late 19th century under the patronage of sedentary swidden farmers known as the Kenyah Badeng. Puri’s research extended over four Penan settlements, basing himself in a mixed foraging and swidden community located near a Kenyah village at the mouth of the Lurah River.

In addressing questions concerning the current significance, past persistence, and future prospects of hunting among the Penan, this book makes two major contributions. The first is in the wealth of information Puri gathered on the ethnobiological universe of Penan hunters. Presented here—both in the text and in 70 pages of appendices—are commonly captured animals, mostly mammals, as well as other species of plants and animals apposite to hunting technology; their names in Penan, Kenyah Badeng, Indonesian, Latin, and English; and as local uses for each species (more detailed notes, including cataloging information, is provided for mammals). It should be added that this work is especially significant given the paucity of data on the total biological environment of Borneo. Not an end in itself, however, Puri’s study of Penan knowledge of plants and animals is understood as foundational both to Penan practices of animal capture and to our understanding of it. Hence, the more formidable task the author undertook and his second major contribution was to actively participate in hunting activities, often under what were clearly extraordinarily difficult and even dangerous conditions. By apprenticing himself to local hunters, Puri was able to learn with great subtlety how Penan environmental knowledge was put into practice. Noteworthy, too, is the author’s assumption here of the long-term interaction
between human inhabitants and the plant and animal communities, something that is often overlooked in accounts that simply reduce small-scale societies to destructive occupants of the natural environment that they inhabit.

In the first chapter, Puri positions his work theoretically within ecological anthropology. Drawing on the work of anthropologists such as Maurice Block, Robert Borofsky, Frederick Barth, and William Laughlin, he argues that specialized knowledge is best understood to be both declarative (i.e., taught verbally as in folk categories) and procedural or tacit (i.e., learned through imitation or experience as in skills, habits, and performances). The remainder of the monograph is a carefully crafted expression of this, providing the reader with both the terms and categories that ethnoscientists have seen as foundational, as well as the procedural knowledge that anthropologists, like their subjects, can only learn about through careful observation and active and creative engagement.

With each chapter building on its precedent, the text narrows continuously from the natural and social history of the region and its inhabitants to the environmental context of hunting, nonhunting dimensions of the Penan economy, and finally to the particularities of hunting itself. The concluding chapter not only summarizes the major points of the book but also looks to the future of the Penan through current trends in the political ecology of the region. In the end, the author suggests that even under the influence of “Indonesian” social norms and government policies, new economic opportunities, and the intervention of the state in land use (conservation management plans, including the establishment of the Kayan Mentarang National Park), Penan hunting will persist into the foreseeable future; however, the number of expert hunters will likely decrease as new generations increasingly engage in the broader political economy. At the same time, their “vast storehouse of environmental knowledge” may be used and expanded through their engagement in both “old and new forest-based activities”: for example, collecting forest products for commercial and conservation purposes, guiding researchers and tourists, working as park rangers, or carrying out research in the nature reserve.

This fine-grained study is an updated and more reflexive version of Puri’s dissertation with the welcome addition of lengthy passages from his field notes introducing each chapter. These passages are well-chosen examples of how Puri actually gathered his data and his often-precarious participation in Penan life. On the down side, I found that the book suffers from certain structural problems that better editing could have overcome. Overall, it reads too much like a dissertation with unnecessarily redundant chapter introductions and summaries. More frustrating, however, the fine set of maps and figures included in the text are not listed in the front of the book, nor are page numbers given when maps and figures are mentioned in the text. Likewise, there is no author index, nor are authors mentioned in the general index. Finally, while the book is admittedly about hunting and while hunting is most often carried out by Penan men, we get a rather unsatisfying glimpse of the contributions of women to the economy of the Penan. These criticisms aside, Puri’s monograph is a remarkable achievement and one that will be of great interest to those concerned with hunting in small-scale societies. Indonesian ethnobiology, conservation biology, human cognition, and Bornean societies.


ANN GRODZINS GOLD
Syracuse University

Deepa Reddy is grappling with a very difficult problem, and her book is a troubling and upsetting read. It is a flawed work in more ways than one. Many readers will find it politically objectionable, and it is also poorly organized and often murky. Nonetheless, Reddy’s claims are provocative. She argues passionately for a deep, logical link between Hindu nationalism, or Hindutva, and medieval Hindu traditions of bhakti, devotion or love. Thus, her book is not just about why nice, intelligent, educated, and thoughtful people whose natures are not full of hate might be drawn into the worldview of Hindutva; it also attempts to root this phenomenon, so bewildering to many intellectuals, in deeper soils of South Asian religiosity. Reddy’s claims are made in a personal voice, so that even though their broader implications are in my view unconvincing and discountable, her introspective report of the attraction of Hindu nationalist positions for a sensitive, musical, feminist anthropologist like herself demands our attention and prohibits any out-of-hand dismissal of her work.

Reddy’s project began as a delimited study of the ways that “ethnicist tensions” and the politicization of religious identities had “filtered into and transformed the politics of women’s activism” (p. xxi). She ended up with a far broader project: a meditation on the nature of Hindutva as “ethnicism.” Ethnicism is Reddy’s key term, one she adopted as a way to talk about “a phenomenon loosely called ‘Hindu nationalism.’” She writes, honestly enough, “I look to the idea of ethnicism first to avoid some of the harshness and historical particularity of words like ‘fundamentalism’ or ‘fascism’” (p. 26). Reddy claims that she seeks to use ethnicism as a mechanism of discursive distancing, a standpoint, a place from which to speak” (p. 26). Standpoint is the crucial word here, for Reddy’s book is in many ways a positioned apologia, sometimes eloquent and sometimes garbled, for the attractions of ethnicism as she herself experienced them. Much of this is related as a kind of “autoethnographic” record of the author’s discoveries of her own feelings (such as her emotional reaction to the incorporation of broken Hindu structures into Islamic or colonial buildings).

Reddy is a bona fide anthropologist; her research and writing were supported by Wenner-Gren and the American
Association of University Women while she pursued graduate study at Rice University. Unfortunately, however, her book offers no well-developed ethnographic account either of feminist activism or of Hindutva. Reddy did her research in South India. Although her in-laws’ home in Bangalore was her emotional base and the source of much that she learned, her official fieldwork site was Hyderabad. What remains of her initial project on the women’s movement is contained in the largest and central chapter, titled “Cultures,” which traces the histories of two women’s groups, “Anveshi” and “Asmita,” located in Hyderabad and its twin city Secunderabad, respectively. For Anveshi—currently a “Resource Center for Women’s Studies,” which evolved from the well known Stree Shakti organization, once “synonymous with women’s activism in Hyderabad” (p. 71)—Reddy traces a shift from activist to academic orientations and practices. She also attempts, in a far less even-handed fashion, to consider the “complexity” faced by feminism when it must attend, accommodate, and respond to the push and pull of compelling identities beyond gender—including caste, class, community, and religion.

Chapters 4 and 5, “Ethnicist Genealogies” and “Ethnicism as Critique,” are the most revealing and disturbing. Reddy sometimes seems a little like a naïve Alice in Wonderland, following diverse guides into realms and discourses of Hindutva, tumbling headlong down ideological rabbit holes and drinking rhetorical potions without analyzing the possibly toxic chemistry. In chapter 4, Reddy elaborates the idea, gathered first from a military speech, that patriotism is “the complete immersion in something larger than oneself” (p. 127). She compares this overwhelming sensibility (still following her informants) to India’s famous female poet-saint Mirabai’s all-consuming love for the deity Krishna and then, oddly enough, to Jacques Cousteau’s love for the ocean. These insights lead to one of her culminating claims: “The fundamental relationship of citizenship to the nation is one and the same, in nationalist-ethnicist imagining, as that of devotee to deity” (p. 183). Of “ethnicism” Reddy writes in her penultimate paragraph that it is “not . . . that thing from which we can easily distance ourselves and claim no responsibility in creating” (p. 188).

Her book as a whole offers bold testimony to the undeniable if partial truth of this statement. Although Religious Identity and Political Destiny cannot serve as a suitable resource for most teaching and research, it demands attention as a document: to recoil totally from its content is to shun insights into a phenomenon far more easily rejected than comprehended.

This book will be reviewed in many languages. As the contributors note, one of the problems with the English-language literature in anthropology is that it has tended not to translate the worldwide work of anthropologists into English, thus suffering from an impoverished notion of the possibilities of the discipline as well as a hegemonic and myopic view of its epistemological genealogy. The purpose of the project reflected in this volume is not only to point out the core’s provincialism (p. 13) but also to help foster a truly global conversation among anthropologists. The book is situated within a larger conversation that may be followed or joined by consulting the website of the World Council of Anthropological Associations (http://www.wcana.net) and the World Anthropological Network (http://www.ramwan.org). This collection is the outcome of a 2003 seminar in Italy sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, on which Gustavo Lins Ribeiro (University of Brasilia, Brazil) served as an advisory council member. The World Anthropologies Network, organized by Arturo Escobar and several colleagues, paralleled the founding of the World Council of Anthropological Associations.

The only critical points I have to make about the volume are inevitable with projects that arise from seminars organized through what some would call “elite mechanisms,” however successfully inclusive, critical, and generative in perspective. What voices and perspectives might not be included, given the selection of individual representatives of national (or, sometimes, continental) anthropological conversations? How might there have been deeper engagement of other, ongoing attempts to facilitate worldwide conversations among anthropologists—for example, the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences and the World Archaeological Congress? This volume is constructed in a way that encourages such engagement (including through the abovementioned websites), so even in making these points I do not claim that they did not occur to the editors or contributors themselves.

This book makes a fascinating and vital contribution to global conversations about and within anthropologies, a word more suitable, as the authors point out, than the singular anthropology. Rather than posing it as a question, the project represented in this volume acknowledges the always-political dimension of anthropological accounts. The volume provides a much-needed discussion of hegemonic narratives of the history of the discipline and contributes toward the writing of “histories of those ‘anthropologies without history’ ” (p. 19) that are consistently omitted from texts claiming to be comprehensive histories of anthropology. Like Editor Faye Harrison and her colleagues in Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further toward an Anthropology for Liberation (1991), these authors call for “more heterodox initiatives of scholarly networking and publishing” (p. 5). This would involve not only translation, which would facilitate global conversations in anthropology tremendously, but also the acknowledgment of differential power relations and access to resources among...
anthropologists and actions to democratize disciplinary practices. This volume calls for attention to questions that arise outside of hegemonic anthropologies (p. 18); it challenges simplistic constructions of an anthropology of the global North and anthropology of the global South by detailing the ways that training practices, as well as anthropologists, have traveled transnationally in all directions, and the ways in which both hegemonic and alternative traditions of anthropology are represented within every nation that has academic training in anthropology.

Anthropologists in the volume write from and about anthropologies as taught and practiced in a mix of nations and regions: Japan, Siberia, China, Mexico, France, Spain, postcolonial Africa (one author writes from Cameroon, but authors from other nations in Africa could have been included), the United Kingdom, the Andes (the author writes from Peru), Australia, India, and Brazil. Johannes Fabian, a transnational scholar like many in the collection, writes the concluding chapter: a set of questions for the ongoing project. This book should be translated widely and could serve as a text in anthropological training programs in many nations because it provides critical transnational and intranational perspectives on universal—particular concepts and analyses; four-field and subfield traditions; academic and applied distinctions; and the relationship between national (or, in some cases, imperial) projects and anthropologies. Paul Nchoji Nkwi argues that in many postcolonial African states, for example, national governments have only tolerated the training of anthropologists as development anthropologists; anthropologists, in turn, work with governments in implementing policies and projects related to social and economic development and do not stigmatize politically engaged work as “atheoretical.” Shinji Yamashita discusses the academic division between folklore (nationalist) and anthropology (internationalist) in Japan; Josephine Smart documents the parallel division in Chinese academic contexts between ethnology (nationalist, and favored by the state) and anthropology. All of the authors provide refreshingly political assessments of the history of the discipline of anthropology situated within changing national regimes. Anthropologists in and of the United States have much to learn from the authors’ attention to the “geopolitics of knowledge”; we could, for example, similarly situate the history of U.S. anthropology within the context of national political projects: eugenicist-phase anthropology; depression-era nationalist anthropology; internationalist, developmentalist Kennedy-era anthropology; and more than two decades of neoliberal capitalist-era anthropology. This volume facilitates, and is a resoundingly welcome contribution to, world anthropologies.

REFERENCE CITED


TIMOTHY P. DANIELS
Hofstra University

This stylish and passionate book revolves around the life histories of seven ethnically diverse residents of East Harlem, including the author. Russell Leigh Sharman skillfully uses these life histories to discuss city-level and supramacro-level (national and transnational) conditions that shape life experiences and changes in East Harlem as well as microlevel social interactions within the neighborhood. He tells the story of this part of uptown Manhattan beginning with the Italian influx in the early 20th century through successive waves of African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, West Africans, Chinese, and ending with the most recent arrivals, upwardly mobile whites.

Sharman offers a brief preface rather than a theoretical introduction. He describes his entrance into the neighborhood, focused on establishing an art education organization, in the late 1990s as part of the process of gentrification. His inability to shake being associated with the group of whites securing overpriced apartments jolted his awareness of how his neighbors were also categorized and, thus, inspired this book. In this preface, he asserts that each individual is “connected to a particular identity, bound by geography as much as genealogy” (p. xiii). Shortly thereafter, he announces his guiding principles in reference to poverty and gentrification, race, gender, ethnic identity, and urban space with little to no explanation. Instead of developing these ideas, he explains his minimalist approach as an attempt to not lose sight of the experiences of individuals and to privilege ethnography over theoretical abstraction. Rather than losing the empirical thread of informant’s stories in theories detached from reality, he aims to follow these threads and themes within them, such as education and public housing, to historical and social contexts, drawing on scholarly and archival data along the way.

The chapters of The Tenants of East Harlem consist of one describing the built environment of East Harlem and seven telling the diverse life stories. The first chapter sets the tone for the rest of the book with its vivid and literary ethnographic description. In it, Sharman states his idea of two narratives, one inscribed in the built environment and the other of people’s lives, and their interconnectedness. One of the most important contributions of this book is his careful attention to the transformations of the built environment for roughly a century, from reformed tenement buildings to massive housing projects to three-story buildings with high-priced apartments. Sharman intentionally organizes the rest of the chapters of this book, except for the final one on his story and urban “renewal,” around essentialisms such as “the Puerto Ricans” and “the Chinese” to challenge people’s assumptions. His telling of life histories is sensitive to individual constructions of identity and relevant historical
events, and the book is full of ethnographic description of social contexts in the neighborhood. Another important contribution of this book is the way in which the author connects individual life histories to broader social and historical processes that affected the lives of many people in their respective cultural categories.

The major weaknesses of this book are to be found in the lack of theoretical analysis and cultural depth, and sketchiness in terms of describing current social contexts outside of the immediate neighborhood. There are many ethnographic monographs produced nowadays that maintain an ethnographic focus while also speaking to theory. What Sharman describes as his “guiding principles” is contradicted in some cases by his ethnographic details. For instance, one of his principles is that race and gender are individually constructed and socially constrained, but throughout the text there are instances of people being socialized into racially and gender-biased ideas with broad social sharing. They appear to also be socially constructed and individually negotiated. There is also a need for greater cultural depth in describing people’s conceptions of, and claims over, urban space. The construction of difference in relation to “Latino-ness” between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and “Blackness” between West Africans, African Americans, and West Indians requires more cultural analysis. Moreover, what are the differences between the “Italians,” still resident in the neighborhood, and the “white” newcomers? Is the category “Italians” a vestige of a time when southern Italian immigrants were not yet “white,” and is the distinction nowadays related to class differences? Providing more ethnographic description for other social contexts in the city in which local tenants live out their lives would provide more ethnographic texture.

This book is useful for undergraduate courses on race and ethnicity and on urban anthropology, and its clear, literary, and often witty writing style will prove popular with students. But I would recommend that it be used together with more theoretical texts.


**RAMINTA DANIULAITYTE**
Wright State University

*Diabetes among the Pima* undertakes a challenging task: the exploration of the Type 2 diabetes epidemic among the Pima Indians of Arizona, who are considered to have the highest prevalence of Type 2 diabetes in the world (with about 50 percent of the adult population afflicted). The ethnographic and anthropological focus of the study promises to be an insightful and significant contribution to research on diabetes, a rapidly growing health problem around the world. The author focuses on prenatal diabetes, “the relatively unknown version of this disease” (p. 25). This seemingly narrow focus has far-reaching implications in preventing “all Pima diabetes” because prenatal diabetes, besides immediate health consequences, afflicts both mothers and fetuses by increasing their susceptibility to Type 2 diabetes later in life.

The first half of the book builds on participant observation, interview data, and some survey research to understand why some of the pregnant women did not comply with medical recommendations regarding their blood glucose monitoring and control. The author first explores obstacles to treatment from the patient’s point of view, including cultural and economic barriers, and interpretive differences in relation to pregnancy, diabetes, and risk. Next, the author describes health care provider views and experiences, including their cultural competency and differences in communication styles, and goes on to critique existing treatment and prevention policies among the Pima and other Native American groups.

The second half of the book goes back to situate the current problem of Type 2 diabetes among the Pima in the historical and political processes of colonization and modernization. A few chapters are devoted to the exiting theories of diabetes etiology, anthropological contributions to the field, and an epidemiological description of Type 2 diabetes in the United States. The author goes back briefly to the ethnographic data to explore dietary practices among the Pima, and to reflect on participant views of diabetes as a collective and yet a very private experience.

The book draws on a wide range of medical anthropology and other social science studies that deal with issues of patient compliance, biomedical hegemony in patient-provider relationships, cultural construction of medical knowledge, structural inequalities, and other sociocultural issues in understanding health and disease. The book has an applied anthropology focus and reflects on potential points of intervention to improve treatment and prevention efforts among the Pima. However, the book’s clarity and its theoretical and practical value are somewhat diminished by poorly developed organizational structure of the presented material and several problems related to conceptual–interpretive and methodological issues.

First, although the book aims to reveal “cultural conflicts behind prevention and treatment adherence,” no conceptual definition of culture is provided. This is unfortunate, considering that the concept of “culture” has received a plethora of often inconsistent interpretations, especially in the area of health service delivery research.

Second, the book omits the issue of gender relationships. Although the author admits that absence of men’s perspectives was one of the study’s biggest weaknesses (p. 23), gender issues could have been explored as they emerged from the women’s interviews and experiences.

Third, information on methods had to be more complete and consistent. For example, the author does not explain how many interviewees had prenatal diabetes. Furthermore, it would have been helpful for the reader to learn...

ANNETTE HEMMINGS
University of Cincinnati

Learning Difference is a fascinating book delving into the formation of race at Roosevelt High, a multiracial high school heralded for its academic excellence and racial harmony. There is nothing new about the racial divides that the author, Annegret Daniela Staiger, uncovered despite the school’s positive image in the district. Other school ethnographers have noted how the educational advantages of middle-class White students are reinforced through tracking, and they have documented the symbolically charged and at times violent conflicts between racial groups. What is original is the theoretically fresh analysis of how African Americans, Cambodians, Latinos, whites, and other students engaged in “racial projects” by which they actively shaped racial orders. Rather than study two groups (Blacks and Whites), Staiger examined the relational identity work, boundary maintenance, and jockeying for dominance among multiple racial groups and how these phenomena were colored by discourses that fell along a discursive continuum of “whiteness” and “blackness.” Her theoretical framework—racial formation theory—provides much-welcomed new insights into well-documented patterns. Staiger also managed to build a conceptual bridge between macrolevel structural inequalities and microlevel meanings and institutional structures. This is an especially notable feat made possible by rigorous fieldwork both in and out of the research site.

The chapters presenting findings focus on how racial formations were structured within academic tracks, affected by interracial schoolyard tensions, and performed by boys through expressions of masculinity. The chapter on academic tracks describes how institutionally produced discourses whitened and blackened students. A discourse of protection shielded the mostly white students in the GROW gifted program from the mostly black students in the Business and Technology Academy (BusTech) at-risk program. GROW students, including those of color, were whitened against a backdrop of nonwhiteness and nongiftedness. BusTech kids were blackened and caught up in a program culture imbued with the discourse of acting white (ala Ogbu and Fordham) with its collective ethos of opposition. They played with racist stereotypes through signifying and other racially affirmative means.

The schoolyard chapter describes everyday interracial politics that came to a head during a race riot that began with a fight between African American girls and a group of Latinos. Interviews about the incident revealed a hierarchical political configuration with African Americans at the top with their conspicuous clothing styles and intense policing of racial boundaries. Cambodians, who were in conflict with Latinos, were the “Blacks of the Asians.” They forged alliances with dominant African Americans that were more culturally symbolic than socially authentic. Latinos were the most vulnerable group in the schoolyard, and throughout the state, where there was a movement to pass a proposition drastically limiting social services to undocumented immigrants. They gravitated in their racial alliances toward white students who, ironically, were most representative of the groups supporting the proposition.

The chapter on how boys performed masculinities through racial matrices is intriguing but does not go far enough in the coverage of gender dynamics and influences. Staiger focuses on four male African American, Cambodian, Latino, and white cliques. She describes in rich detail how racial discourses gave rise to niches of masculinities within each group that enabled performances of dominance. These performances revolved around men’s relationships with women, other men, and within collectives. Some were disturbingly violent or even deadly, such as those among Cambodian boys who gauged their manhood by fighting, killing people, and otherwise “putting in work” in local gangs. Masculinities constructed around men’s relationships with women were blatantly manipulative. African American boys looked up to “pimps” who garnered money more about who those 63 interviewees were in terms of their demographic, social, and health-related characteristics.

Fourth, some of the important arguments are not well grounded and supported with the ethnographic data. At times, the author seems to rely more on literature reviews than on her own ethnographic observations and discoveries. For example, the author indicates that in some Native American groups, slimness may be perceived as a sign of weakness or poverty (p. 115). It would have been important to know Pima views on this issue.

Fifth, several important studies have been omitted from the literature review. For example, research on Type 2 diabetes among the Pima Indians in Mexico could have been very relevant to the discussion about genetic and environmental factors in the etiology of Type 2 diabetes. In addition, the literature review misses a plethora of studies that have used a cognitive anthropology approach to explore diabetes-related knowledge (see, esp., research by S. Weller, R. Baer, L. Garro, etc.). This research could have been useful when interpreting some of the most intriguing findings of this ethnography: the fact that Pimas do not talk about their health issues with their family members or friends, and that many tend to have, as the book suggests, a very limited and “murky” knowledge about Type 2 diabetes, despite its long history and high prevalence in the community.

Despite these limitations, the book is an important contribution to the literature on an increasing trend of Type 2 diabetes among the Pima and around the world. It is a valuable resource for students, researchers, practitioners, and policy makers from a broad range of health-related fields.
and other resources from women and “players” who had multiple sex partners. Women in this and other examples are positioned as docile or generally going along with how boys used them to bolster their manhood. The performances of girls are excluded in this chapter, which is unfortunate because such exclusion presents an incomplete if not skewed view of how gender is woven into racial formations. Those of us who have conducted ethnographies in urban schools know that girls do not necessarily play along with boys and, in fact, often fight back by tapping into discourses of masculinities and race as well as femininity in their own formations.

Be that as it may, Learning Difference is exceptionally good school ethnography. Staiger brings hidden forces to the surface that are not easily seen in classrooms and schoolyards but that nevertheless seethe through the ways in which different racial groups fashion their relations with schooling and one another. This book is a must read for anyone interested in how race is actually constructed and played out in public high schools.


**PATRICIA J. HIGGINS**
State University of New York, Plattsburgh

This ambitious book portrays the culture of Iran in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, especially as lived and expressed by the generation born since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979. The author seeks to show interconnections between phenomena as diverse as classical Sufi literature; 20th-century Iranian intellectual trends; images and film promoting the goals of the Islamic Republic; memoirs and testimonials by Iranian soldiers of the 1980s war with Iraq; reflections of now-mature veterans of that war; secular, urban, middle-class youths’ behavior in public and in private; youths’ reflections on their behavior; and the political reform movement of the late 1990s. The format intersperses discussions of philosophical and analytical concepts from Iranian and Western intellectual traditions with excerpts from the author’s diary and field notes; entries from the journals of college students; fictionalized stories and vignettes involving characters and events the author invented (“within historic and ethnographic facts based on my research,” p. 16); and summaries of classical Persian literature and contemporary Iranian films.

The book is based on two related projects. The first is the efforts of the author, as a young woman who grew up in the United States, to learn Persian language and culture during a year’s stay with her uncle in Iran. The second project is ethnographic research when she was slightly older, better grounded in the language and culture and trained in anthropology. The focus of the ethnographic research was a question that has also drawn the attention of social scientists, politicians, and the general public in Iran: Have the efforts of the Islamic Republic to create a new Muslim identity in Iranian youth succeeded? To address that question, the author applies what she learned from her extended stays in Iran (1993–94 and 2000) and much study (and periodic visits) between and since. Her answer seems to be that the Islamic Republic has not been very successful in such identity creation, at least not among the urban, middle-class youth whom she studied. She seeks a broader, more nuanced understanding, however, “to meditate on the many possible meanings of reality for the young Iranians,” “to look at how the Islamic republic [sic] was constructed, sustained, consumed, and transformed,” and “to narrate the political poem of the Islamic republic [sic] through the lens of anthropology, framed by the mystical allegory of the journey” (p. 5).

Initially, the chapters on the use of images to consolidate power and on the war as experienced at the front and on television (with extensive discussions of Sufi and Shi’a literature and philosophy) seem only distantly related to the topic of contemporary youth. Those images and that literature and philosophy, however, formed much of the context in which this generation matured, as did the inconsistencies between public and private behavior and contradictions between state and family values also described. The author argues, further, that the identity issues of contemporary youth are expressions of the tension between self-annihilation and self-construction that is part of the mystic’s journey, a tension being experienced now not only by youth but also by the nation as a whole.

While the book is engaging, with its frequent first-hand accounts and largely first-person format, I found the juxtaposition of times, places, and voices sometimes difficult to follow. I also found the extensive footnotes distracting: 40 pages of notes, some more than a page long, some repetitive, follow the 217 pages of text. Some text is repetitive as well, and other text seems to presume that one has read the notes. More substantively, general statements are not always well supported, and some seem to contradict the ethnographic evidence presented. For example, descriptions of the ways in which urban middle-class youth work around the system, the extent to which they participate in a youth culture, and the support they receive from their parents and families seem to belie the statement that “the movement of a strong Islamic public policy grinding against a strong private sphere has left most youths confused and alone” (p. 207).

Nevertheless, the book is successful as a portrayal of turn-of-the-century Iranian culture. The author’s extension of her studies from urban, secular, middle-class youth to veterans of the Iraq war, the testimonials of martyrs, and films and visual images, as well as to literature and intellectual traditions, give this book both a breadth and a depth not matched by other accounts of contemporary Iran. How to study culture on a national scale, and present the results effectively, have long bedeviled anthropologists. Hence, to have done this so well is no small achievement.

WILLEKE WENDRICH
University of California, Los Angeles

Egypt has long been considered a separate archaeological realm. Its idiosyncratic chronology, reckoning time by dynasties mentioned in ancient textual sources rather than archaeological eras; its emphasis on internal developments rather than external relations; its perceived lack of archaeological method and theory; its attention for temples, tombs, and monarchs rather than dirt archaeology all contributed to this isolated position. That lingering image for the most part has been invalid for the last 30 years. David Wengrow’s overview of the archaeology of early Egypt is a reflection of changed interests and a broadly engaged interaction with archaeological theory and interregional archaeology. The title of the book places Egypt firmly in Africa, where it belongs. The emphasis on Egypt in its regional context includes both East African and South West Asian relations, which can be attested as early as the Egyptian Neolithic.

In beautifully written English, Wengrow explores the archaeology of early Egypt in 11 chapters. The first part of the book concentrates on the transformations in prehistory, while the second part centers on state formation under the title “The Making of Kingship.” The book provides an excellent, readable summary of a quite disparate literature and provides the reader with an up-to-date bibliography, which also includes many of the original late-19th- and early-20th-century excavation reports.

The best feature of the book is its seamless integration of theory, description, and interpretation. To compare this book with other publications that have appeared in recent years immediately shows its unique approach. The summary of excavation results of Egyptian prehistory written by Béatrix Midant-Reynes (English translation published in 2000 by Blackwell) is an excellent work of reference, but the book does not entice one to read it from cover to cover. Wengrow manages to pull the excavation results into a riveting account that involves not only the domestication of plants and animals and the transition from hunter-herders to pastoralists and agriculturalists but also social relations, embodiment, gender issues, and belief systems. It is a well-rounded overview and in many cases a reinterpretation of well-known objects and assemblages.

The book will surely provoke discussion in the field, not only because it takes such a clear theoretical stand but also because it gives such a broad overview that the nitty-gritty details are often glanced over. The representation of the different “cultures” in the Nile Valley and beyond is necessarily brief but in many cases also shallow. Thus, the discussions on the relation of the Nile Valley cultures, the Fayum, the Western Desert, and sites such as Merimde Beni Salame are not represented with sufficient detail. The book, therefore, sometimes runs the risk of presenting an image that seems clear cut and nicely fitting the theory, but that, in reality, is much more complex. A shocking omission in part 1 of the book is all the well-published work that has been done in the past 30 years in the Eastern Sahara–Western Desert of Egypt by the Arid Climate, Adaptation and Cultural Innovation in Africa (ACACIA) team from Cologne, Germany, the Dakhla Oasis Project, and the projects working on the Kharga Oasis prehistoric remains. The Combined Prehistoric Expedition working in the Bir Kiseiba–Nabta Playa region is mentioned briefly, but the great strides that have been made by comparing the lithic and pottery assemblages from the Western Desert and the Nile Valley are not even mentioned.

Much of the focus of the second part of the book is directed towards a presentation and, in part, reinterpretation of the beginnings of Egyptian centralized society. Wengrow has a talent to draw well-known objects, contexts, and discussions in a different light. An example is his reinterpretation of the ivory and bone labels found in tomb U-j, the earliest form of ancient Egyptian writing that has survived (p. 206). Rather than focusing solely on the shape and development of the individual signs, or interpreting the writing as “administrative” recording of content and origin of products with which the tomb was furnished, he attempts to reconstruct the context of the living event: the burial as a social gathering, in which several persons inscribe signs on large bone slabs, which were subsequently broken into individual labels. Evidence for this has been observed by others, but Wengrow manages to give it the added meaning of a “ritualised coming together for an act of commemoration” (p. 207).

This is the type of approach that is on one level representative of where the field is going but that is also a stimulating force through its sometimes provocative presentation of well-accepted “facts.” Hopefully the book will furnish a great deal of discussion.


DIANE A. BALLINGER
University of North Texas

Lori E. Wright’s book presents a synthesis of method, theory, and data for an important Mesoamerican population, the Pasion Maya. Her conclusions demonstrate that it is simplistic to assume that the Maya collapse of elite culture at the end of the Late Classic Period was solely the result of environmental degradation and that the collapse was caused by political and economic change. Wright uses the osteologists’ toolkit of analytic techniques to confirm her hypotheses, a method often necessary for skeletal remains that are scant and fragmented. Preservation in tropical climates
is often bad. Osteologists working in these areas must use an array of methods on the analysis of any skeletal series. Wright fully explains each method, making them easy to replicate in future studies. She organizes the chapters so that the book is clear and easy to read. Each chapter can stand alone or be used with others as teaching material in undergraduate or graduate courses on the ancient Maya. It is an excellent reference for those working in the Maya area because of the synthesis of methods and the lack of osteological and paleopathological information from the Pasión River area.

The volume contains data for comparison; excellent reviews of the literature; and a well-supported argument against environmental models of collapse of the ancient Maya. The book is well illustrated with tables, figures, and charts of statistical results, both multivariate and univariate, and includes variable lists and diagrams. Although this work shows its dissertation roots, it is full of valuable facts that add to our growing knowledge base on the lifestyle of the ancient Maya.

Isotopic analyses show the differences in diet breadth across the Maya heartland and that there was adequate animal protein in the diet. In addition, Wright found that diets were socially and regionally heterogeneous. Results of paleopathological analyses demonstrate that levels of bone infection and anemia were high in the Pasion Maya populations analyzed but not high enough to prevent the growth of large populations in the Late Classic. Furthermore, expected chronological trends associated with increasing dependence on maize as a food crop do not occur. Changes in mortuary treatment reveal that social changes were taking place at the end of the Late Classic. These data require that regional differences be recognized and present a more complex picture than scholars previously have thought to occur.

The strength of the book is the integration of the literature for each method into each chapter with statements of current views and opposing models; the proper use of statistical methods in analysis; and a carefully drawn conclusion. Wright reiterates the plea to be more selective in the application of the biological data relating to disease, diet, and paleopathology because of the inherent problems of drawing general conclusions from small, fragmented samples. These problems can be overcome if enough small samples are gathered and combined for a regional analysis as has been done for other regions. Thus, the publication of comparison data from even small sites in Maya region is important to area scholars.

Wright’s data has led her to conclusions that differ from that collected at other Maya sites, such as Copán. Copán, however, is a site on the eastern periphery of the Maya area and may have significantly different disease and nutritional patterns. The conclusions drawn by Wright show that the “collapse” of the ancient Maya in the Pasion region cannot be explained simply as being because of environmental and ecological factors and that social and political factors may be primary causes instead. The conclusions reached concerning the social complexity are that the burials examined “are derived from a complex, hierarchical social system” (p. 73) and that this is true even of burials of nonelite individuals. Social complexity probably existed at several levels as it does in many societies and results from a variety of causes that arise at the same time. Wright gives us an excellent template for future work. This book belongs on Maya scholars’ bookshelves because it demonstrates the amount of potential information available from small, fragmented samples of human remains recovered from archaeological sites.


HAENG-JA SACHIKO CHUNG
Hamilton College

Christine Yano’s second book explores the Cherry Blossom Festival (CBF) pageant in Hawai’i. Yano discusses “racial, gendered, geopolitical desire” in the multilayered Japanese American “histories, institutions, and communities” (pp. 1–3). She interviewed numerous CBF contestants, organizers, and members of the general public; analyzed contest souvenir books, media coverage, and other ethnic pageants; and conducted participant-observation as a consultant to the pageant (pp. 9–10). Yano balances celebration and critique of communities while maintaining her own integrity and responsibility by engaging with multiple methods and perspectives (e.g., Japanese, U.S., native, and anthropologist).

“Niceness” is the central theme. A CBF pageant values “a young, middle-class woman” with “humility, self-effacement, empathy, helpfulness, gratitude, and courtesy in a deeroticized, depoliticized manner” (p. 4). A Queen is “the spectacle of the ordinary in an extraordinary setting” (p. 234), epitomizes “the emotional configuration and practices of hostess” (p. 237) by smiling, and represents the image of model minority. By contextualizing the “nice girl” (or “the performance of niceness”) within the theoretical concepts of “race” and “ethnicity,” “emplacement,” and “banality” (cf. Hannah Arendt’s “banality of evil”), Yano illuminates how Japanese Americans situate themselves within the larger mainstream community. Banality, though, has some danger to silence critique and obscure inequalities (pp. 5–6, 235–246). For example, Japanese Americans “have shown social conservatism” on interethn and racial relations as they attain “the comforts of middle-class American dream” (p. 197). Yano ties in the Japanese American community and the CBF Queen by arguing that both embody the “nice girl” who is feminized, depoliticized, and smiling her way to a benign place (p. 4). “Niceness” contains some poison.

As for the body of the book, comparative analysis is one of its strengths. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 not only contrast Japanese Americans with other ethnic groups (e.g., Korean and Chinese Americans) but also investigate the heterogeneity within the Japanese American community (e.g.,
Japan’s Mainland called Naichi and its periphery Okinawa). Close examination of various beauty pageants (e.g., Miss America) enables her to map the inter- and intraethnic cooperation and tensions (pp. 46–47, 60–61). Chapters 4, 6, and 8 present the extensive dialogues between the former CBF Queens and Yano. In her interviews, Yano successfully excavates both their horror stories (e.g., crank calls, rumors, panoptic scrutiny, generational gaps, and ethnic and racial tensions) and positive experiences (e.g., “do our best, be our best, show our best” and exposure to “Japanese culture and heritage”). Chapters 5 and 7 further explore the transformations of CBF by focusing on the struggles and controversies over reform: namely, its treatment of culture and blood-quantum requirements used to exclude mixed-blood people. As interethnic and interracial marriages increase, the definition of Japanese American changes. However, loosening the requirement of 100 percent Japanese ancestry to 50 percent for contestants in 1998 caused heated discussions “behind closed doors” (p. 188) among “the Japanese American community in Hawai‘i” (p. 188) because the CBF used to focus more on an idealized homogeneous Japan than heterogeneous Japanese American reality. Imagined Japan “drawn from the past and the distant” “is more easily woven into an identity because of its distance” (p. 202, 201) from messier everyday life. Therefore, constructed Japan becomes handy as Japan “recedes into a more remote past for succeeding generations of Japanese Americans” (p. 202). Many CBF participants are proud of, value, and use the “essentialized” Japanese culture for their own sense of empowerment.

This phenomenon needs further attention. How do we reconcile the existing tensions between problematic (or Orientalized) essentialism and “strategic essentialism” (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak)? How do race and ethnicity affect these tensions? Because “the distinctions between race and ethnicity are typically blurred” while each concept is assumed to signify something different, Yano ambitiously proposed to formulate a unified race–ethnicity scheme. Yano certainly attempts to work on the race–ethnicity scheme by paying attention to “skin color, hair, and shape of eyes, as well as cultural features of values, ethos, language, food, and religion” (pp. 4–5). However, the scheme is still under development. Instead of dismissing CBF’s use of Japanese culture as “singular, essentialized, ahistorical, and decontextualized” (p. 200), further ethnographic exploration and careful analysis of the mutual effects of “culture,” “race,” and “ethnicity” are needed.

Yet this book is a valuable addition to the field. I recommend this accessible, rich ethnography to not only scholars and students of Japanese (American) studies, ethnicity–race, and gender but also to those who are interested in performance, citizenship, and diaspora. Numerous fascinating photographs of the CBF Queens and beautiful design of the book make lively and lovely additions.


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The 13 contributors to this volume, part of the University of Michigan Press’s Comparative Studies in Society and History series, center their attention on a wide span of theoretical and methodological concerns related to the issue of comparison. While anthropologists and historians have long prided themselves in the long history of comparative analyses and methods in their respective disciplines, this volume reminds readers that what is being compared and for what purposes are fundamental epistemological questions that to this day defy straightforward answers.

In the introduction, Editor Aram Yengoyan provides an overview of how comparisons have been approached by anthropologists and historians. Lingering and problematic issues include the cross-cultural comparison of categories, the tension between the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of comparative endeavors, and whether single or multiple case studies have the best potential at spawning valid cross-cultural generalizations.

Contributors to the first section cast their conceptual net very wide, as this section’s title (“On Thinking Comparatively”) suggests. André Burguière traces the influence of the Annales school—and, specifically, its focus on mentalités—on the emergence of one variant of “anthropological history” (p. 31), or historical anthropology. George Steinmetz’s chapter argues that conceptual rigidity has hindered a Marxist understanding of the spread of “New Social Movements” in Europe, especially in Germany. Raymond Grew’s chapter emphasizes that “what is it that historians should compare” (p. 98) not only remains elusive but also that such an undertaking is far less a methodological enterprise than many believe it to be. Yengoyan ends this section by focusing on “five distinct modes” (p. 144) of comparison in anthropology and by underscoring that comparison often entails a translation of concepts and categories across time and space.

The second section (“Comparing Globally”) groups chapters that illustrate the promise of case studies for the understanding wider, global contexts and processes. Mary Beard focuses on why Sir James George Frazer’s The Golden Bough (1911–15) achieved such popularity—the “Craze for Frazer” (p. 168)—throughout the British Empire. Chris Gregory focuses on the rise and fall of the “cowrie-shell bubble” (p. 194) during the early phases of European colonial control in Africa. Michael Geyer and Charles Bright move away from colonial contexts to explore structural and historical analogues between the U.S. Civil War and the 19th-century German wars of reunification, emphasizing how both took place “within global patterns of endemic violence” (p. 229).

Contributors to the third and final section (“Making Discoveries”) focus on what Yengoyan, in the introductory chapter, calls “curious findings with unanticipated implications” (p. 22). Michael Adas’s chapter critiques diffusionist models of Western science in colonial settings and stresses the agency of colonial subjects by highlighting the “critical
and diverse roles played by Indians in promoting, modifying, and resisting the interchange of science . . . between metropole and colony” (p. 309). John Borneman contrasts European and U.S. horse-breed classificatory schemes, arguing for “the totemic nature of horse-breed categorization in America” and implications for national identity. Beverly Heckart compares the reconstruction of two European cities (Avignon in France and Worms in Germany) during the 30 years after World War II to suggest that architectural motifs in both reconstructed cities reveal pan-European cultural symbols and “the memory of a shared European past” (p. 392). Finally, Jack Goody and Cesare Poppi cast their sights on the stark differences in the ritual embellishment of Anglo-American and Italian cemeteries with the objective of sketching “some of the correlates of the difference in the use of fresh flowers” (p. 422).

As might be expected, this book’s chapters raise many more questions about—rather than provide ready answers to—the thorny methodological and theoretical challenges that invariably accompany cross-cultural and historical comparisons. Further, given that there is probably no piece of anthropological or historical research that is not comparative in one way or another, many readers may wonder why these and not other essays were selected for inclusion in this volume. Nevertheless, this is a provocative collection that deserves to be read by graduate students and seasoned professionals in cultural anthropology and social history.

REFERENCE CITED
Frazer, Sir James George