

Book Reviews

Review Essay

Histories and Anthropologies of Citizenship

Holston: *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. James Holston. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. 396 pp.

Insurgent Citizenship is not a modest book. Part historical synthesis, part ethnography, and part moral argument, its specific aim is to explain the origin, function, and significance of Brazil's notoriously unequal citizenship regime. In exploring these particulars, James Holston also seeks to develop a new analytical vocabulary of citizenship and to incorporate both urban social movements and popular legal consciousness into emancipatory paradigms of historical change. None of these tasks is easy, and *Insurgent Citizenship* will provoke vigorous debate. But Holston has set the terms for such debate with force and intelligence, and his book will surely be an enduring touchstone for scholars of law, social movements, and urban development.

Insurgent Citizenship adopts a historical approach for anthropological ends. While the bulk of the book is devoted to historical synthesis, that history's express purpose is to illuminate Holston's ethnography of contemporary city building, property conflict, and citizen activism in São Paulo's working-class periphery. Thus, although individual chapters ruminate on the philosophy of citizenship, analyze the citizenship regimes bequeathed by the French and American Revolutions, and trace Brazil's histories of political enfranchisement, land law, labor law, and urban development, they all converge on a single goal: explaining the complex interweaving of inclusion and inequality, public and private power, and law and illegality that characterizes so much of contemporary Brazilian life.

The kernel of Holston's argument is the notion that Brazil is characterized by a form of "differentiated citizenship," "universally inclusive in membership and massively inegalitarian in distribution" (pp. 7, 197). Those attributes, Holston argues, have been present since Brazil's inception and have been remarkably stable in Brazil's transitions from colony to nation, empire to republic, slave to wage economy, liberal to welfare state, and rural to urban society. Much of that endurance is rooted in the predictable trio of economic exploitation, political coercion, and violence. But the tools that sustain it, in Holston's view, have to do also with a distinctive use of the law and legal institutions. Brazil's elite have become masters at perpetuating "the misrule of

law," a "system of stratagem and bureaucratic complication deployed by both state and subject to obfuscate problems, neutralize opponents, and, above all, legalize the illegal" (p. 19). Unlike so much of Marxist legal theory, which seeks exploitation in the law's letter and function, Holston looks instead to the law's misfunctions, which he paints as tools deliberately used by the powerful to deny rights to the poor and powerless.

In discussing the origins of differentiated citizenship, Holston's analysis glances from the histories of slavery and abolition to those of political enfranchisement, labor struggle, and populist co-optation. When writing about the law's misrule, Holston's focus both narrows and deepens. In the book's conceptual heart, Holston analyzes the evolution of Brazil's bewildering property regimes and their enduring impact on the two working-class São Paulo neighborhoods in which he has conducted extensive ethnographic research. Both neighborhoods are part of São Paulo's vast periphery, a patchwork of irregular subdivisions, land invasions, and favela settlements that has housed most poor Paulistanos since the mid-20th century. Holston focuses chiefly on a subgroup of the neighborhoods' occupants: working families (not generally dirt poor) who purchased property for which sellers had no secure claim. Crooked land grabbers then challenged residents' hard-earned status as property owners, plunging them into a morass of legal claims and counterclaims from which few emerged with clear title.

It is in this morass that Holston grounds his claims about the misrule of law. The tortured history of land claims in these neighborhoods leads Holston to the conclusion that the Brazilian legal system "is a resource deployed to paralyze conflict until an extrajudicial solution can be found, to pad usurpation with enough layers of complication to keep it profitable for usurpers until its utility is spent or it becomes a fait accompli, to humiliate adversaries with less power to manipulate the system by forcing them to submit to the law, and to subjugate citizens" (p. 229). Used thus, in Holston's view, the law became a weapon deployed against the weak and lost any possibility of functioning as a legitimate or efficient mediator of Brazilian social relations.

Ironically, it is also in the morass of urban property relations that Holston finds a thread of redemption. Unlike scholars such as Manuel Castells, who have found urban rights movements lacking in revolutionary potential, Holston sees in them a process of consciousness raising. Aided by sympathetic lawyers and raised by a tide of democratization that they themselves helped to generate, Holston's working poor become aware of their differential citizenship through their prolonged and frustrating struggles for land rights and city services. This sometimes resulted in a new sense of citizenship, grounded not on normative associations between rights and moral or civic virtue but, rather, on a sense that residents of the periphery "have earned their rights and respect by building the city and paying its bills" (p. 263). Just as importantly, Holston's protagonists learn through their land struggles to use the ambiguities of the law in their favor, stalling and delaying unfavorable judicial decisions in hopes that the reality of their settlement will eventually prevail over the land grabbers' manufactured claims.

The triumph of such "insurgent" forms of citizenship is anything but certain, and the book's final section analyzes the coincidence of widespread "incivility," generalized police and gang violence, and the rise of democracy. Such "disjunctures" in Brazilian democracy seem to spring from the uncomfortable mingling of old hierarchies and new rights, and it is not clear which will prevail. Still, Holston's general assessment is hopeful: "under the sign of the city, the very same factors that produced this entrenched regime mobilize an insurgence of citizens . . . who, in the process of building their residential spaces, not only construct a vast new city but, on that basis, also constitute it as a *polis* with a different order of citizenship" (p. 313).

If there is a note of caution to be sounded about *Insurgent Citizenship*, it lies at the juncture of history and anthropology. One of this book's compelling qualities is its ability to tether an abstract argument about the nature of citizenship to a compelling tale of oppression, consciousness raising, and (possible) redemption. And, yet, some of the story's magnetism may be a partial consequence of method. Holston's characterization of the past does not for the most part depend on the archival pursuit of common people, who might speak with the force and clarity of his modern informants. His interpretation depends, instead, on secondary sources: most precisely on a prominent strand of Brazilian historiography that emphasizes continuities in systems of class and racial oppression over time but is only shallowly rooted in historical research capable of showing the law's workings in their full complexity. Historians of this mold have rarely asked the sorts of questions Holston posed of his ethnographic present; given Brazil's persistent inequities, they took it as self-evident that the poor and powerless had been ineffective in their interactions with formal law and politics. This strand of interpretation has been especially prominent in São Paulo, where one version of the Partido dos Trabalhadores' triumphal narrative hinges on a vision of the past as a wasteland of oppression and cooptation.

And, yet, as more and more historians have pursued concrete questions about the nature of legal engagement among Brazil's poorest people—questions similar to, and sometimes inspired by, Holston's—a new vision has begun to emerge.¹ Once the past is interrogated with an ethnographic eye, it appears that poor and middling Brazilians have long engaged legal ambiguities to their advantage, that they have often employed a language of rights, and that the links between city building and citizenship so beautifully elucidated by Holston have parallels in the early decades of the 20th century.

This newer historiography reinforces much of what Holston writes about the nature of Brazilian law. The property conflicts Holston observed in São Paulo's periphery, for example, are uncannily similar to others documented throughout rural and urban Brazil in the 19th and early 20th century, right down to the functional role of irresolution in their denouements. But what does it mean for Holston's vision of historical change if poor Brazilians have long attempted to use that irresolution to their own benefit? What if "insurgent" citizenship is in fact cyclical, cumulative, or simply episodic, a feature as deeply ingrained as oppression in Brazil's legal order? We will not, in all likelihood, know until Holston's incisive ethnographic approach to recent decades is applied with equal vigor to the country's more distant past.

Brodwyn Fischer *Department of History, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60201*

NOTE

1. A good sampling of this new literature is Lara and Mendonça's *Direitos e justiça* (2006); see also French (2004), Caulfield (2000), Motta (1998), Mattos de Castro (1995), Mattos and Lugão Rios (2005), Fischer (2008), and Duarte (1999, 2009).

REFERENCES CITED

- Caulfield, Sueann
2000 *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Duarte, Adriano
1999 *Cidadania e exclusão: Brasil, 1937–1945* [Citizenship and exclusion: Brazil, 1937–1945]. Florianópolis: UFSC Press.
2009 *Neighborhood Associations, Social Movements, and Populism in Brazil, 1945–53*. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89(1):111–139.
- Fischer, Brodwyn
2008 *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- French, John
2004 *Drowning in Laws: Labor Law and the Brazilian Political Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Lara, Sílvia Hunold, and Joseli Maria Nunes Mendonça, eds.
2006 *Direitos e justiça no Brasil: histórias plurais* [Rights and justices in Brazil: Plural histories]. Campinas: UNICAMP/CECULT.
- Mattos, Hebe Maria, and Ana Lugão Rios
2005 *Memórias do cativo: família, trabalho, e cidadania na pós-abolição* [Memories of captivity: Family, work, and citizenship after abolition]. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

- Mattos de Castro, Hebe Maria
1995 *Das cores do silêncio: os significados da liberdade no sudeste escravista* [Colors of silence: The significance of liberty in the slave southeast]. Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional.
- Motta, Márcia Maria Menendes
1998 *Nas fronteiras do poder: conflito e direito à terra no Brasil do século XIX* [On the frontiers of power: Conflict and property rights in 19th century Brazil]. Rio de Janeiro: Vício da Leitura.

Single Reviews

Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought, Society, and Evolution

Nicole Boivin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 269 pp.

Susan D. Gillespie
University of Florida

The leitmotif of Nicole Boivin's book, *Material Cultures, Material Minds* is that the idealist–materialist, mind–body, and culture–nature dualisms fundamental to modern Western thought still weigh heavily in contemporary social science analyses, despite various attempts over the last several decades to overcome them. The author argues that well-meaning analysts continue to fall back on dominant representationalist or social-constructivist approaches, intending to allow for worldly engagement and embodiment but nevertheless neglecting the physicality and sensuality of the material realm that has shaped humanity since before the dawn of our species. Thus, the book is less about “the impact of things” in human history and society and more about how the materiality of things, from the environment to the body, while recognized as essential, is still being marginalized. The coverage is broad rather than deep, the objective being to call attention to the material aspects of human social and cultural existence by bringing together wide-ranging literatures that have grappled with either side of the mind–body duality. These include symbolic anthropology, cognitive science, phenomenological philosophy, studies of the body, practice theory, material-culture studies, cultural ecology, culture and technology, and molecular and Darwinian evolution as these have been utilized in anthropology, archaeology, and related disciplines.

Four lengthy content chapters follow the introduction. In chapter 2 Boivin reviews the history of the linguistic or representationalist bias in Western thought and sociohumanist studies. Having set up this up as the major problem, studies on the other side of the duality that have brought attention to how the sensual, emotional, and aesthetic properties of the material world have shaped human experience are examined in chapter 3. Boivin then investigates the more challenging topics of the active or agentive qualities of matter and the expanded role of ancient and modern technology that is now being recognized as influencing human society and history. With this background, the impacts of materiality

on the course of human biological and cultural evolution are discussed in chapter 5. Humans are recognized as having co-evolved with other species, including those that are normally thought of as having been passively “domesticated.” Boivin reviews studies showing how human biological and cognitive evolution has been shaped by the accumulating materiality of constructed ecological niches, resulting in humanity as a “self-made” species.

The strengths of this book are its very accessible language, broad coverage, and many examples from case studies, including the author's ethnoarchaeological and geoarchaeological research in rural India. It is very appropriate for classroom adoption and would be appreciated by anyone wanting a comprehensive and thoroughly explained introduction to this complex subject. Other reader-friendly touches are the many illustrations and the brief historical overviews of key topics such as Saussurean semiology, Marxist materialism, cultural ecology, Darwinian evolution, technology and culture studies, and postprocessual archaeology. The author draws extensively on a sample of salient writings for each subject rather than attempting an intensive or synthetic review. The cited literature is necessarily selective and not always up to date for each topic. Readers with some expertise in materiality may be disappointed on this last point, but they are bound to find something of interest because of the multiple and diverse topics from a variety of disciplines that are uniquely examined together in one volume.

The author meets her stated objective of providing an exploratory survey of the extent to which the material world, including human creations, have impacted the human mind, society, and evolution and how they continue to do so today. In the concluding chapter, Boivin calls for additional studies of the physical aspects of materiality as they have shaped human practice and thought, recognizing the need to avoid the specter of technological or ecological determinism that still haunts social sciences while at the same time not giving unwarranted precedence to the mental or social over the material. The author eschews selecting any particular theory or method to unify mind and matter and instead advocates a diversity of approaches, anticipating that the most successful

will be interdisciplinary. The ever-present stress on the critique of existing literature does leave the reader wanting more than just the offered hints of pathways to overcome the dualism. For example, more on semiotics and less on semiology would have been welcome, along with additional coverage of neurophenomenology, Gibsonian affordances,

niche construction theory, and actor-network theory. Having laid this groundwork, Boivin has set the stage for a subsequent book that looks more specifically at the different ways the physical world and the human mind come together in social practice, with increased attention to how those processes have effected historical and material change.

Pillars of the Nation: Child Citizens and Ugandan National Development

Kristen Cheney. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. 299 pp.

Sverker Finnström

Stockholm University and Uppsala University

Kristen Cheney's book on child citizens in Uganda consists of seven chapters plus an introduction and an epilogue. The first chapter discusses global rights discourses and the intersection between UN agencies and Ugandan authorities. Subsequent chapters deal with primary school pupils in the capital Kampala, urban children's thoughts on identity and rural life, child returnees from the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels in northern Uganda, and finally constitutional reforms and a Kampala primary school choir's rehearsals for a national festival. Hereby the book moves from hope, worries, and frustrations to despair and back to hope again. It is a nicely structured narrative.

With a background as a development worker, and primarily building on fieldwork conducted in 2000 and 2001, Cheney provides important insights into today's interplay between the local and the global. Especially stimulating are the discussions on children's active agency in the formation of their political identities, a theme present throughout the book. The critique of UNICEF as operating on a Western essentialist model of childhood is equally imperative, but Cheney tends to fall into an opposite trap—that of overrelativizing the Ugandan army's argument that enemy soldiers remain enemy soldiers even if they are children. Still she has a point. As anthropologists, I believe we must try to understand the reasoning and humanity of our informants, whoever these informants are.

Cheney's Kampala bias remains a notable trace throughout the book. When discussing the war in northern Uganda, Cheney calls the Acholi language "Lucholi," a Bantuization and a parallel to Luganda, the language of the Baganda people in the Buganda kingdom, central Uganda, where Cheney mostly worked—a petty detail perhaps but a telling one. Somewhat related to that, after a brief treatise, the word *tribe* is uncritically reproduced but not consistently problematized as one might expect from an anthropologist. Uganda is indeed ethnically diversified, and *tribe* is today an emic Ugandan term. Yet I am reminded of Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o's recent frustration over the frequent use of this very term, which he regards as the main obstacle in the way of a meaningful illumination of political dynamics in contemporary Africa.

In the war-torn north, Cheney did her research in affiliation with World Vision, a Christian international organization, and interviews with former child rebels were done under World Vision supervision. The children's testimonies are painful reading, indeed, but Cheney also notes that, in the presence of aid workers, these children sometimes actively embraced, even performed, an identity as child soldiers.

Whereas Cheney frames any misconduct on behalf of the sitting government in Kampala in terms of a difficult maneuvering in our contemporary global times, the gross violence committed by the LRA is given more of a culturalist explanation, as a "fundamentalist" (p. 217) version of Acholi cultural life. For example, Cheney reproduces Museveni's explanation justifying the several thousand child soldiers under his command in the 1980s: back then, in central Uganda, it was allegedly about providing for the basic needs of orphaned children. But when it comes to the massive abductions of the LRA, counted in tens of thousands, Cheney falls back on "local cultural expectations of children's behavior" (p. 188) as what enables rebel leaders to coerce Acholi children to do their bidding, quoting an online human rights report: "Elders are older people with authority; they carry sticks, as do teachers, and require respect from young people" (p. 187). In her discussions of Kampala teachers' caning of students, no such culturalist explanation is given. Anyway, such a norm about respect, elderly people, and (walking) sticks seems almost universal in its vagueness. It can also be noted—and here I am realistic not apologetic—that, as the conflict dangerously expands in time and space, the LRA rebels do not hesitate to abduct children in south Sudan and northeastern Congo as well.

In the short epilogue, Cheney notes that Museveni's international star status has become tarnished, yet her praise of him as a visionary who in 1986 ended civil war and government abuse overshadows the book. "Uganda has risen from the dark night of postcolonial civil conflict to become a shining star among nation-states in Africa," declares the book's opening sentence. Few academics working on Uganda would agree with this, instead noting that since Museveni's military takeover, Uganda has seen the birth of some 25 different insurgencies all over the country. To quote one of my Acholi informants, a woman: "We are told by Museveni that the Lord's Resistance Army belongs to past governments. But the Lord's Resistance Army children are born under Museveni's rule" (field notes, July 19, 1998).

Rancheros in Chicagoacán: Language and Identity in a Transnational Community

Marcia Farr. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. 312 pp.

James H. McDonald

Southern Utah University

¡Que vivan rancheros! Marcia Farr provides a welcome, insightful analysis of an important segment of rural Mexican society that does not fit comfortably within either scholarly analysis of Mexican rural society or the Mexican social imagination. With this in mind, Farr seeks to illuminate rancho culture through a detailed analysis of language and identity, thereby providing a useful addition and corrective to our understanding of rural Mexico.

Rancheros are pervasive across the highlands of West and Central Mexico, and in Farr's case focus is on a community in northwestern Michoacán with a long-standing migratory relationship with Chicago. Rancheros are mestizo smallholder farmers who value private property, independence, and progress and who have a strong market orientation. They prove their worth through hard work, bravery, self-reliance, and honor. Because they frequently live on the agricultural margins, many make a living as ranchers or dairymen, running their herds on overgrazed rangeland supplemented with meager crop production to feed their cattle. Driving through rancho country in the highlands of west and central Mexico, one cannot miss the early-morning ritual as farmers milk small herds of 20–25 cows by hand out in the campo, regardless of the weather. For many rancheros, it is a hardscrabble existence that often results in migration northward in search of better economic opportunities.

Farr begins by exploring the reasons for the paucity of research and popular interest in this tough, independent culture. Rural studies in Mexico, she observes, have largely focused on the peasantry or *ejidatarios* (recipients of state-held lands as part of Mexico's postrevolution land reform), indigenous or otherwise. In terms reminiscent of Renato Rosaldo's critique of anthropology's ethnographic mapping process in *Culture and Truth* (1993), Farr notes that rancheros fall short of the threshold of ethnographically acceptable difference supposedly characteristic of peasants, *ejidatarios*, and Indians who are imagined to operate on some level outside of or in resistance to the capitalist system. Rancheros, on the other hand, are clearly market-oriented capitalists—albeit ones in a marginal and highly disadvantaged position. Their position as small, capitalist farmers renders them supposedly too familiar to be appropriate ethnographic subjects. From the perspective of Mexican social ideology, rancheros are erased in a binary construction that emphasizes Spanish–urban–high status versus Indian–rural–low status. And in popular discourse, they are commonly disdained by urban society as backward cowboys or hillbillies.

Farr goes on to argue convincingly that rancho culture and identity are inscribed in three common forms of

language use—frankness, respect, and joking—which are grounded in an ideology of liberal individualism. Frankness (*franquez*) reflects blunt and bold honesty. It contrasts with the language and behavior of deference commonly associated with the rural poor as well as with the language of courtesy and diplomacy associated with the urban elite. Speaking with respect (*respeto*) underscores the rancho emphasis on age- and gender-graded social hierarchy. Yet respect also implies that rancheros interact as equals, with survival grounded in networks of reciprocity. Closely associated with respect and reciprocity is honor, for it is a code by which one expects to be treated and should treat others. *Relajo*, or joking, is probably best understood as playful verbal jousting. Just as with Keith Basso's *Portraits of "the Whiteman"* (1979), here, too, joking can be a dangerous business (after all, no one wants to be accused of showing a lack of respect). Participating signifies social closeness and trust while playing with and challenging the social order. As such it tests recipient's mettle, resilience, and quickness to engage with an appropriate comeback while maintaining composure. It is the art of confident verbal self-defense and self-assertion. Rancho identity is expressed through these forms of talk, and Farr's analysis additionally shows how these have been modified and adapted by migrants living in Chicago. As such, they maintain their rancho distinctiveness.

The arrival of Farr's book is especially timely for a number of reasons. First, with current, heated political battle in the United States over immigration policy and reform, we are reminded that the rancho heartland has long sent waves of poor job seekers northward through well-established networks of chain migration. So while Farr occasionally refers to rancheros as "middle class," many live in grinding poverty with few economic options other than migration to the United States. Second, Farr's book underscores the tremendous irony in the debate about globalization and development in rural Mexico. Ironically, rancheros are strongly capitalist in orientation, thus supposedly preadapted to the post-NAFTA world. Yet, like many other small, rural producers, they have struggled mightily in the face of new internal market demands and global competition. The weight of Mexican agrarian policy, with its bias toward large-scale producers, is now coming to its final accounting as scores of small farmers are forced off the land into migratory circuits. Thus, third, Farr puts a face on the economically displaced. Politicians and policy makers would be well-advised to read this book to understand more about the creative, resilient, and hard-working people who have come to the United States searching for new livelihoods and who have helped create Chicago's vibrant, dynamic Pilsen neighborhood—Chicagoacán.

REFERENCES CITED

- Basso, Keith
1979 Portraits of “the Whiteman”: Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols among the Western Apache. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosaldo, Renato
1993 Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis. Boston: Beacon.

The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes

Neal Ferris. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009. 226 pp.

Kurt A. Jordan

Cornell University

The archaeology of Northeastern American Indian communities after their confinement to reservations has become a major research focus in recent years. This volume makes a key contribution to that effort as well as to the archaeological study of colonialism more broadly. Neal Ferris’s emphasis is on what can be described as radical continuity, with a focus on enduring aspects of Native lifeways. This position critiques not only the dated acculturation paradigm, which thankfully appears to be nearing dead-horse status, but also newer approaches that view the political, economic, demographic, and technological changes experienced by Native communities after European colonization as decisive breaks with the past.

Ferris concentrates on what he terms “changed continuities” in Native lifeways rather than on a reified or essentialist traditionalism. He advocates a long-term perspective that views Postcolumbian developments in light of enduring cultural practices, placing particular emphasis on settlement and architectural forms, subsistence organization, and use of the landscape. Ferris claims that most social change took generations to enact and that Native traditions powerfully enveloped outside influences, facilitating the survival of distinct indigenous communities into the present.

To support these theoretical claims, Ferris provides three case studies from post-American Revolutionary Native communities in southwestern Ontario, each increasingly constrained by Euro-Canadian settlement and bureaucratic interventions. The three groups had very different relations to the land despite their spatial proximity, and their historical trajectories overlap and diverge in interesting ways. Ferris first examines Anishnabeg Ojibwa communities near the Sydenham River as their mobile farming-hunting-gathering subsistence system was transformed by Euro-Canadian encroachment. The second case looks at refugee Delawares (originally from eastern Pennsylvania) who founded the planned Moravian community at Fairfield in 1792. The third examines politically powerful Six Nations Iroquois who were settled along the Grand River in 1784. Ferris interprets the move to the Grand River as a reoccupation of ancestral territory, as Six Nations populations included descendants of

Neutral and Huron Iroquoian people who previously had lived in that region.

Archaeological data—particularly from the Bellamy, Fairfield, and Mohawk Village sites—are employed to good effect. These sites were dug decades ago, and some of the data are problematic. Despite the limitations imposed by recovery methods, poor documentation, small sample size, and household-cycle concerns, Ferris is able to squeeze a remarkable amount of information out of these older excavations, and his reanalysis is compelling. Greater emphasis is placed on textual sources, an appropriate move because each group was well-documented by diplomats, missionaries, census takers, and other observers. An archaeological sensibility infuses Ferris’s treatment of the texts, which focuses on material practices. Even using documents where colonizers ideologically claimed that Native practices were dying or dead, Ferris is able to substantiate clear-cut continuities with past subsistence systems and uses of space. Ferris’s methods of textual analysis—especially the quantification of seasonal activities from multiple sources (e.g., fig. 3.3)—should become a model for subsequent researchers.

There is a marked tension in the work between focus on continuity and the study of disruptive colonialism. The former wins out, which is important to Ferris’s point that Native communities resisted, and continue to resist, colonial impositions. However, the book also provides tools for studying colonialism, usefully defined as the period in which “the Colonial state really began to *ignore* the autonomy of Aboriginal nations” (p. 28). The case studies emphasize the constraints that Euro-Canadian settlement, ecological change, and reservation boundaries placed on Native communities. Ferris also introduces the well-turned concept of “catastrophic bureaucracy,” encompassing “various State actions of good intent, self-serving interest, incompetence, indifference, racial bias, strategic disruption of sovereignty, neglect and deceit” (p. 59).

The “changed continuities” perspective is an important and necessary one, given that it explains the enduring indigenous presence that models of decline or acculturation render as puzzling or artificial. While the “changed continuities” concept is valuable to think through, I am not convinced it provides the last word on the vexing problem of describing transformation over time; in some respects it

appears difficult to find any Native practice that couldn't be classed as changed continuity. Ferris's emphasis on the flexible reproduction of traditions is fascinating, but it obscures smaller-scale changes that would have been crucial to the daily lives of Native people in the past and appears

to overlook numerous well-documented examples wherein thoroughgoing social change took place very quickly. In short, this book should be on the shelf of every archaeologist studying colonialism, but readers may not agree with everything they find in it.

The Modern Period: Menstruation in Twentieth-Century America

Lara Freidenfelds. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 256 pp.

Patricia Whelehan

SUNY Potsdam

Lara Freidenfelds has a B.A. in Anthropology and a Ph.D. in the History of Science, focusing on women's health. Freidenfelds has written a short book—199 pages of text and 43 pages consisting of acknowledgments, an explanation of interview methods, notes, and an essay on sources and index—that is an informative and intellectually dense treatise on the changes in the “management of menstruation” in the United States during the 20th century. Her book is unique in its focus on 20th-century approaches to menstruation in contrast to much of the literature on the subject, which addresses 19th- and early-20th-century treatment of this topic. This book is appropriate for 400-level undergraduate and master's-level research courses in women's health and women and gender studies.

Structurally, the book is organized around themes. There are five core chapters in addition to an introduction and conclusion that discuss “Before Modern Menstrual Management,” “The Modern Way to Talk about Menstrual Management,” “The Modern Way to Behave while Menstruating,” “The Modern Way to Manage Menstruation,” and “Tampons.” These thematic chapters explore shifts in “managing” menstruation but not menstruation itself over the course of the past century among primarily Caucasian, first- and second-generation Chinese from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, and African American women. There are also quotes from men who identify with each of these groups. The book has extensive first-person accounts of Freidenfelds's interviewees' inter- and intragenerational experiences with menstruation and menstrual management. Freidenfelds uses qualitative-research methodologies reflective of her undergraduate anthropological background.

Although there is no bibliography, the notes accompanying each chapter are thorough, incorporating resources from feminist theory, history of science, anthropology, and medicine. Freidenfelds's “Essay on Sources” clearly situates this book and her core theses in the interface of the literature on industrialization, consumerism, disposability of resources, scientific medicine, and the movement from agrarian to urban environments and the cultural shifts accompanying these changes.

Freidenfelds discusses the management and structure of menstruating women in the context of women's entry into the industrializing work force and schools that required women to be clean, efficient, effective, reliable, and to hide any sign of reproductive and sexual adulthood such as menstrual blood. The industrialized, mechanized workplace was accompanied by the progressive movement of the early 20th century, designed, in part, to move people into the middle class. Efficiency also entailed a move toward disposability and consumerism as witnessed by the shift from reusable rags and cloths to collect menstrual blood to the increasing range of disposable products available to women today. As Freidenfelds states, “modern modes of management . . . substituted for making radical change” (p. 232) in women's lives and opportunities.

For these changes in menstrual management to occur, medical and educational shifts about women's bodies and the place of menstruation in women's lives and the public sphere were also necessary. Freidenfelds details the new approaches in medicine and in the public and industrial hygiene movements toward menstruation that allowed and encouraged women to work, study, play, and have sex without interruption during menstruation. These shifts were deftly managed by the menstrual-product industry to emphasize cleanliness, freedom of movement, and productivity. Freidenfelds's ability to make clear and succinct connections among these various groups reflects her command of the subject and literature.

There are a few missing points, however, that I would have liked to have seen addressed by this book. First, the book contains excellent pictures of industry's and Kimberly-Clark's promotion of earlier menstrual products but does not depict more recent campaigns of menstrual products, such as tampon products and their messages emphasizing cleanliness and freedom. Second, anthropologically, it would have been helpful to discuss the largely mainstream U.S. approach to menstruation relative to that of indigenous societies. Third, there is general acceptance of and little critical analysis of premenstrual syndrome (PMS). The late-20th-century preponderance of data on this clinical condition could have been related to earlier medical discourses on women's moods, behavior, and limitations while menstruating as well as locating PMS as a psychiatric—not medical

or gynecological—condition in medical texts. Fourth, while briefly discussing Seasonale to suppress menstruation, Freidenfelds could have seized the opportunity to discuss that while menstrual management has shifted dramatically over

the 20th century, attitudes toward menstruation as something potentially problematic has not. Overall, however, this book achieved its goals and makes a significant contribution to the literature.

Dilemmas of Modernity: Bolivian Encounters with Law and Liberalism

Mark Goodale. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. 245 pp.

Bret Gustafson

Washington University in St. Louis

Mark Goodale's *Dilemmas of Modernity* is a thought-provoking contribution to anthropologies of law and of the Andes. Goodale argues that liberal legality provides a "framework" (of emancipatory ideas) that mediates between Bolivian modernity—a "pattern of intention"—and vernacular (il-liberal, premodern) legalities. This liberal legality—rooted, it is argued, in the 1825 constitution—is the "basic social mechanism through which subjectivity [in Bolivia] . . . is given its fullest meanings" (p. 45). The book aims to bring Bolivia and its students into the fold of Enlightenment liberalism, notwithstanding historical deviations, non-Western cultural matrices, or misguided utopias sought by locals or observers. Law is examined on its own terms, detached as "ideas" with autonomy from sociohistorical process and the political economies of cultural production. While rightly identifying law as central to Bolivian social life and its study as neglected, this approach, like the discourse of liberal universalism itself, rests on procedures of detachment that produce a moralizing philosophy rather than a sociohistorically grounded ethnography. The author's voice overshadows others: for example, only two other persons in the book are named. The ethnographic outcome is tantalizing but thin, despite the stated commitment to "engaged" ethnography over ten years in Sacaca, a Quechua and Aymara town in highland Bolivia.

In chapters 1 and 2 (nearly a third of the book), Goodale defends the conceptual approach to legality and modernity, arguing for the study of "the social force of ideas" (p. 39) rather than the study of law as social process. Chapter 3, the richest section, offers a mapping of Sacaca's legal universe, sketching legal actors, practices, and relations. Chapter 4 discusses gender and law, juxtaposing theories of Andean "gender complementarity" with realities of gendered violence and inequality. Interesting data are offered on gendered access to law, yet there is little engagement with deeper histories, lives, or intersections between gender, race, and indigeneity, all central to any interpretation of Andean cultural politics. Explanation is derived from moralities ascribed to actors (a judge displaying pornography, abusive husbands, or, as foil, the liberal anthropologist). In one instance, the author recounts rescuing a woman from a husband's beating, describing this gesture as that of a "progressive, educated man, with feminist training." This liberal sensibility is said

to "[represent] the future for every man (and woman)" in the region (p. 86). The reader is offered this somewhat troubling reflexivity (and violence) as a juxtaposed cotheorizing of law between researcher and subject. The author rhetorically asks whether he "[was] liberalizing [the abusive husband] at the end of [his] well-worn Timberland boot?" (p. 87).

Chapter 5 examines actors that influence liberal legal discourse: a grassroots lawyer and priests associated with NGOs. These cases show how local human rights discourse rises and recedes—not as something new but, rather, as a discourse that is "returning" to Bolivia thanks to these local agents, transnational development, and global human rights discourse. Chapter 6 defends the "utopian liberal optimism" that the idea of development inspires in Sacaca. The author questions skeptics of development (and liberalism), suggesting that development and modernity are experienced as desirable but elusive (and illusory) signs of grandeur. Highlighted as evidence are the TV consumption of professional wrestlers, Bart Simpson, and Japanese anime, the (f)utility of latrines, and monuments to development projects—all "discursive signposts" through which locals imagine a kind of "modernity" that is incomplete yet emerging. The conclusion examines the election of Evo Morales. The author argues unconvincingly that this watershed can be explained based on the analysis of liberal legality offered in preceding chapters. Yet there is limited purchase to be had on recent events or on understanding how places like Sacaca are interconnected with national transformations.

Despite limitations, the text merits reading and debate: Bolivia's liberal legal tradition is downplayed (or critiqued) by analysts who engage indigenous and other cultural utopias. Yet Goodale's privileging of liberal legality is sustained through analytical erasures and sheds little critical light on law as—or in relation to—multiscalar social processes. There is no consideration of the gendered, racist, and classist projects of neocolonialism and resurgent liberalism itself, the indigenous challenge (or its legal manifestations), or broader Andean shifts. The "unfolding of the Bolivian modern" may be "shot through with dilemmas," yet Goodale's normative return to "universal moral principles" against "tradition" provides little bearing for recharting the ethnography of law and politics in the Andes. For teaching, the length and illustrations are a plus, though the writing style will challenge undergraduates. There are an inordinate number of typographical errors.

Spirits and Letters: Reading, Writing and Charisma in African Christianity

Thomas Kirsch. New York: Berghahn, 2008. 274 pp.

Kristina Wirtz

Western Michigan University

Literacy practices are more often associated with bureaucracy than with spirituality, an oversight that Thomas Kirsch attributes to anthropologists' continuing assumption that disenchantment is inevitable, such that charismatic authority must disappear under institutionalization. In *Spirits and Letters*, Kirsch challenges this evolutionary progression, predicated as it is on a diametrical opposition of charisma to bureaucracy. The book's title refers to St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians, which states: "The letter kills, but the spirit gives life" (p. 2), a precursor perhaps to these Weberian biases. Through a meticulous ethnography of reading, writing, and speaking practices in a Zambian Pentecostal-charismatic church, Kirsch shows how bureaucratic and charismatic performances enable one another. Indeed, church leaders embody both kinds of authority: being an officeholder in the church and being spiritually gifted are mutually reinforcing roles. Detailing how the terms *spirit* and *letter* are also complementary within practices of reading the Bible, Kirsch challenges distinctions between oral traditions and "religions of the book" as well as questions pernicious assumptions that Africa is the site of orality but not of homegrown literacy practices.

Much of the contrast between literacy and orality rests on the assumption that written texts are innately more fixed than oral texts, but this may not always be the case: there are the physical challenges of termites, humidity, hungry goats, and paper scarcity. Indeed, most lay members of congregations do not even own a Bible. And there are the interpretive challenges of multiple Bible versions in several languages and of dozens of Christian denominations offering different modalities of interpretation through sermons and pamphlets, reaching different scriptural conclusions. The Bible possesses a sanctity that protects it from the ultimate fate of most paper in the toilet, but the many contingencies mean that the Bible as physical artifact and as scripture is best understood not as a stable text but as a promise, always just out of reach.

As the metaphor of *Spirits and Letters* suggests, the relations between material and conceptual realms require examination. In this regard, the Bible is both a material object and the repository of "Truth"; as a Peircean sign, however, it is fundamentally triadic, requiring the mediation of what Kirsch calls literacy enablements for the relationship between words and the Christian "Word" to be revealed. In exquisite detail, he shows the reading and writing practices

that constitute multiple religious literacies even within a single congregation. These include the triadic relationship of people–objects–spirits, idealized in the case of scriptural interpretation as reader–Bible–Holy Spirit, but also involve hierarchical relationships among congregations and leadership, additional reading materials such as pamphlets and reports, and even other spirits that can lead the devout person astray. Literacy enablements consist of configurations of people–objects–spirits that provide spiritual mediation of literacy practices and material mediation of spirituality. Out of these processes, the Bible emerges as both an object of interpretation and a token of unquestionable spiritual presence.

In demonstrating how religious authority ultimately derives from this interplay of inspiration and formalization, Kirsch argues for a processual view of bureaucracy as a "precarious and ambiguous" performance (p. 183) involving bureaucracy's "public and almost theatrical presentation" (p. 239). Bureaucracy is façade, not structure, in which a façade is the visible part of a building that conceals the structural elements beneath. But rather than equating superficial with spurious, he instead argues that bureaucracy-as-façade is integral to church organization: bureaucracy as proscenium, then. Bureaucratic procedures conceal as they reveal. For example, in tracing the circulation of written artifacts up the church hierarchy from local branch leaders to the central church leadership, it becomes apparent that the seemingly meticulous record keeping that formalizes denominational cohesion also serves to obscure potential tensions between these levels. Also part of the story are the ways in which this paper trail runs parallel to but opposite a flow of spiritual authority down the chain of command, thereby reinforcing the claims to leadership of local church officeholders.

Displays of bureaucratic procedure also conceal the church's charismatic practices to make it palatable to the Zambian state. Kirsch provides historical context on colonial church and school literacies, contemporary experiences of the state, and attempts to conform to what are locally understood to be its bureaucratic imperatives. There are tantalizing clues about how this rich analysis might be extended to more fully consider connections to other circuits involving moral discourses of spirits and letters: the perspectives of traditional healers and witches, for example, and the ways in which local discourses articulate with national and transnational discourses of religious propriety and morality via the Zambian state and via denominational headquarters outside of Africa.

The Politics of Women's Rights in Iran

Arzoo Osanloo. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. 258 pp.

Ilana Feldman

George Washington University

In this timely and engaging book, Arzoo Osanloo explores the discourses and practices of women's rights in Iran. As she explains in the preface, she seeks to move beyond stale stereotypes of Muslim women as victims in need of saving. Further, her project is not primarily to evaluate the state of women's rights in Iran but, rather, to examine—from the perspectives of women themselves—the place of debates about women's rights in the Iranian political landscape. A key question that Osanloo explores in the book is: How did women's rights re-emerge as a legitimate subject of political debate after having been deemed “un-Islamic” in the aftermath of the 1979 revolution? To explore this question, Osanloo identifies a number of key “dialogic sites” (p. 12) where the meaning of terms like *human rights* and *women's rights* are being worked out in practice. These sites include Qur'anic study groups, Tehran's family courts, lawyers' offices, and Iran's official human rights commission. The bulk of the fieldwork for the book was conducted during Muhammad Khatami's presidency, a reformist moment that changed the tenor of public discourse in a number of arenas. Although Khatami was followed in the presidency by the conservative Mahmoud Ahmedinejad, women's rights remain a subject of discussion in Iranian politics.

The opening chapters of the book describe the historical, social, and regulatory conditions for current debates about women's rights. The 1979 Islamic Revolution of course produced tremendous changes in each of these areas. Osanloo's discussion highlights the importance of tracing ongoing changes within the current Islamic order. A common description of the effect of the Revolution on law in Iran is the replacement of civil law with *shari'a*, Islamic law. Osanloo underscores that the story is considerably more complex. She describes the Islamic Republic's version of modern legality as “the bureaucratic rationalization of a political and religious space through the promulgation of a hybrid legal system, Islamico-civil law” (p. 64). What this hybrid order looks like has changed over time. Laws pertaining to women's status are one key site of this dynamism. Among Ayatollah Khomeini's early legal reforms was the repeal of the Family Protection Law [FPL], Shah-era legislation that gave women enhanced protections in marriage dissolution.

This decision represented one moment in an ongoing process of legal reform in the area of family law, a process that led by the mid-1990s to the reinstatement of most of the provisions of the FPL, now justified in relation to *shari'a*, as well as the introduction of new protections. Osanloo shows clearly that a simple binary of Islamic versus secular provides an inadequate account of law in Iran.

Simplistic categorizations of women's statuses and lives under the Islamic Republic are equally insufficient. The sensitive and detailed ethnographic accounts of women maneuvering through the legal, social, and discursive spaces available to them are a great strength of *The Politics of Women's Rights in Iran*. Osanloo introduces the reader to women who are at the forefront of making claims using the language of women's rights, including renowned attorneys, as well as to ordinary women who are trying to make their way through a complex legal system and sometimes difficult social environment to improve their own lives (through divorce, education, and career advancement). These ethnographic sketches highlight the diversity of women's experiences and the multiplicity of ways the conditions of the Islamic Republic have impacted their lives.

Osanloo also explores the variety of factors that have led the Iranian government to take up women's rights and human rights as matters of concern. She notes the long tradition—both colonial and developmentalist—of judging the modernity and legitimacy of governments in terms of their attitudes toward women's rights. Even as the Islamic Republic saw itself as standing in opposition to many secularly defined legal traditions, Osanloo shows how deeply engaged it is with an international order that is largely derived from such traditions. She quotes a member of the Islamic Human Rights Commission who explains that because Western countries use the language of human rights to talk about Iranian laws, Iran needs to answer in terms that these countries can understand: “Our Islamic system concurs with Western notions of human rights, but our human rights do not necessarily come from these Western philosophies” (p. 176).

As Osanloo's research shows, and as she argues explicitly, the binary oppositions (Islam vs. modernity being chief among them) that frame the punditry of commentators such as Thomas Friedman and David Frum not only lead to shoddy analyses but also are politically dangerous.

Speaking with the Ancestors: Mississippian Stone Statuary of the Tennessee-Cumberland Region

Kevin Smith and James Miller. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009. 243 pp.

Timothy R. Pauketat
University of Illinois

Not long ago, Detlef Gronenborn (2006) noted that archaeologists in eastern North America had not theorized much about ancestors, in contrast to their European colleagues. This was a result, he noted, of their social-evolutionary obsessions with societal organizations: chiefdoms, chiefdoms, chiefdoms. Thus, the title of Kevin Smith and James Miller's new book might seem like a real departure, a turn away from standard Mississippian constructs (corn → chiefdoms → cosmology). It is not (see pp. 9–10). Such a turn might yet happen, but this is not what Smith and Miller seek to do.

In other words, *Speaking with the Ancestors* is not a wide-ranging, theoretical exploration of ancestor veneration in the eastern Woodlands. Readers seeking this must go elsewhere—or perhaps write it themselves. Smith and Miller's book is, instead, an empirical review of an important subset of inalienable objects from the middle of the Mississippian world.

Yet, while not a theoretical study of pre-Columbian ancestor veneration, this is an important and nicely produced contribution to southeastern U.S. archaeology. Smith and Miller present an inventory of 48 sandstone, limestone, and marble statues from the Tennessee-Cumberland region, each carved in a similar style and most depicting gendered ancestral figures. Smith and Miller's central concern is to track and document the statues, the first of which turned up in the late 18th century almost as soon as settlers moved across the Appalachian Mountains and several of which ended up in Thomas Jefferson's Monticello cabinets. Fully 119 of 179 text pages are devoted to descriptions of the statues and the histories of their discovery.

Importantly, Smith and Miller's study lends support to some basic and all-important inferences. These objects were depictions of apical ancestors who were probably, as the authors note, "merged . . . with supernatural characters" (p. 174). Indeed, it would be difficult to dispute this claim given the weight of the statuary evidence, although it is nevertheless tentatively advanced by Smith and Miller. Of course, scholars have known for some time that small to medium-sized carved statues of human or superhuman characters—made from wood, pottery, or stone—were associated with mortuary contexts dating to the 11th through 17th centuries C.E. The authors of this volume review this general association and some of the other statuary known from the eastern Woodlands.

Beyond this, Smith and Miller's study permits additional inferences. For instance, most Tennessee-Cumberland style

carvings appear to have been made by different artisans in each locality across a region that stretches from the Cumberland River's confluence with the Ohio River south to the well-known Etowah site in Georgia. Individual artisans in specific localities within this region probably made both the pieces of any given pair of statues; sometimes they might also have produced multiple pairs. The statues were clearly not produced in one locality and traded across the region. Nevertheless, it seems possible that the entire Tennessee-Cumberland stylistic area might have been historically or even ethnically related (as opposed to adjacent regions).

Interestingly, not all portions of some statues received equal attention by the carvers. Bodies often lacked details, leading one to wonder if some of the statues were kept clothed inside of their respective mortuary temples. Presumably, like similar sacred objects and bundles known from various historic-era indigenous peoples in North America, such objects were not so much representations of ancestors as much as they were actual ancestors—or at least the containers for ancestral spirits that were treated as living beings by attendants (see p. 167). The authors do not delve into such issues much, which would require wading into the contemporary literature on personhood, materiality, and animism. However, the contextual associations and depositional details of some statues should lead to some other productive inferences, pending additional contextual details in the future.

Why were some objects damaged? Why were others buried face down? Do certain gender-ambiguous statues correspond to depictions of transgendered beings or shamans? How different were these stone characters from other Mississippian statuary? (answer: very different). Answers to such questions must also await the sort of theorizing that Gronenborn noted has been rare in North America's eastern Woodlands. But Smith and Miller have given us the necessary empirical foundation to begin such theorizing.

REFERENCE CITED

- Gronenborn, Detlef
2006 Ancestors or Chiefs? Comparing Social Archaeologies in Eastern North America and Temperate Europe. In *Leadership and Polity in Mississippian Society*. B. M. Butler and P. D. Welch, eds. Pp. 365–397. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper No. 33. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.

Island of Shame: The Secret History of the U.S. Military Base on Diego Garcia

David Vine. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. 259 pp.

Katherine McCaffrey
Montclair State University

“Between 1968–1973,” begins David Vine’s powerful new book, *Island of Shame*, “in a plot carefully hidden from the world, the United States and Great Britain exiled all 1,500–2,000 islanders to create a major U.S. military base on the Chagossians’ island, Diego Garcia” (p. 1). Some residents, who were vacationing or receiving medical care in far-off Mauritius, were simply barred from returning. Others were driven off island by British policy, which reduced food and medicine shipped to Diego Garcia. On U.S. military orders, the rest of the Chagossians were deported on overcrowded cargo ships and dumped on the docks of Mauritius and the Seychelles. As the last islanders waited to be removed from their homeland, they watched British agents and U.S. troops round up their pet dogs, gas them in sealed sheds, and light their corpses aflame.

This appalling introduction to a little-known chapter of U.S. imperial hubris sets a tone of measured outrage that distinguishes this fine new ethnography. Vine’s book is meticulously researched through ethnography with displaced islanders in Mauritius and Seychelles; archival research in the British Public Records Office and the national archives of Mauritius and the Seychelles; and interviews with military analysts and governmental officials in Washington, D.C. Vine was recruited by a Chagossian exile group to document their sad history and advocate for their right to return home. This book represents the best of engaged anthropology, as it elucidates a case of compelling public interest, advocates for a vulnerable population deserving recognition, and maintains the most rigorous scholarship and lucid prose.

The events described in the book’s opening began a pattern of mistreatment of residents who obstructed the U.S. military’s plan to run the planet from Diego Garcia. In an era of decolonization, U.S. military strategists saw a new significance for remote, sparsely populated island possessions, from which they could locate their bases with the least amount of resistance and “political headache” (p. 42), assessed one candid military analyst. Diego Garcia, unfortunately for its residents, possessed the key features military officials deemed essential: “Our military criteria were location, airfield potential, anchorage potential,” wrote Stu Barber, the architect of Diego Garcia’s seizure.

Barber continues, “Our political criteria were minimal population, isolation, present [administrative] status, historical and ethnic factors” (p. 61). Vine demonstrates how the Navy established a global network of bases through the strategic acquisition of island territories to function as the fulcrum for U.S. global domination.

Military expansion was accomplished through deception. To facilitate the residents’ expulsion, the British created the colony in 1965 using the Queen’s archaic power of royal decree to separate Diego Garcia from Mauritius, in violation of UN decolonization rules. The United States and Britain signed a secret agreement in 1966, with no congressional or parliamentary oversight, authorizing the United States to establish the base. The only inconvenience left to address was the resident population.

Vine unearths startlingly brazen correspondence between U.S. and British government officials who debate circumventing the troublesome Article 73 of the UN charter, which assigns rights to permanent inhabitants of colonial territories. Some argue for rejecting Article 73 outright; others suggest treating the Chagossians as a “floating population.” One official concludes, “We must surely be very tough about this. The object of the exercise was to get some rocks which will remain *ours*; there will be no indigenous population except seagulls.” Another retorts, “Unfortunately along with the Birds go some few Tarzans or Men Fridays whose origins are obscure, and who are being hopefully wished on to Mauritius etc. When this has been done, I agree we must be very tough” (p. 91).

To say that the Chagossians were evicted from their homes does not fully describe the loss—physical, economic, social, emotional, and psychic—the population experienced when they were deposited into abject poverty in the slums of Mauritius. There was no resettlement or compensation. Vine sensitively describes the devastating loss to Chagossians and its physical manifestation, *sagren* (profound sorrow), that claims the lives of the exiled.

Today Diego Garcia is a multibillion-dollar base used most recently to launch the bombardment of Iraq and Afghanistan. It is also a reputed black site for extrajudicial interrogations of “high-value” detainees. Vine’s important and timely book sheds welcome light on this dark chapter of U.S. military history, questioning the way our military operates and its impact on civilian populations.

Modern Noise, Fluid Genres: Popular Music in Indonesia, 1997–2001

Jeremy Wallach. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008. 344 pp.

Henry Spiller

University of California, Davis

Jeremy Wallach's *Modern Noise, Fluid Genres* investigates how Indonesian popular music (in particular, three broadly construed genres: *dangdut*, Westernized *pop Indonesia*, and underground rock) contributes to ongoing dialogues of conflicting modernities in Indonesia. This well-conceived book is unusual among popular-music studies in its resolutely ethnographic approach. Taking issue with the conventional scholarly tendency to analyze popular music solely as a mediated commodity, Wallach explores "the cultural spaces, the social relationships, and the shared experiences of participants" to reveal "how musical objects and performances acquire particular meanings through specific activities and interactions, from shopping in a record store to hanging out with friends to performing onstage" (p. 251). The richness of the ethnographic detail is one of this book's many compelling features.

Wallach develops a nuanced taxonomy of Indonesian popular music genres not by describing them in isolation but, rather, through an exploration of spaces wherein people engage in music-related activities. Sites include cassette retail outlets, recording studios, on-location video shoots, and places where people "hang out" as well as what Wallach describes as "formal" contexts (in the sense that there is a demarcation between audience and performers), including *acara* (large-scale events organized by ad hoc committees) and performances by *pengamen* (street musicians).

For the most part, Wallach's field sites are located in and around Indonesia's eminently diverse capital, Jakarta. He characterizes Jakarta as "two cities"—one focused on reciprocal economy, the other on high-technology consumerism—that epitomize competing Indonesian approaches to modernity. Wallach sets up these two approaches as a binary that his ethnographic subjects negotiate daily, exemplified as shopping malls versus traditional markets, restaurants versus food stalls, Indonesian versus local languages, English versus Indonesian, and nostalgia for the Sukarno era versus a preference for Soeharto's New Order policies. Through their choices, Wallach argues, individuals situate themselves within complex discourses of local, regional, national, and global identities.

Such stark binaries rarely survive scrutiny, of course, and Wallach uses them only as a springboard for investigating the subtle distinctions among the varieties of music that confront Indonesians. He uses four principal theoretical approaches to make sense of the proliferation of genres and subgenres of Indonesian popular music at the turn of the 21st century.

The first probes the articulation between local, national, and cosmopolitan identities. Popular music, Wallach asserts, helps in "negotiating between local, global, and national appeals to affective allegiance in the lives of Indonesian" and establishing each imagined community's "phenomenological realness" (p. 250).

His second approach pays homage to a long anthropological tradition of investigating the heightened "sociality" of Indonesian cultures. Wallach makes a case that sociality inflects all popular-music activities in uniquely Indonesian ways. He argues that imported practices such as moshing, stage diving, and violence in videos reinforce Indonesian values of collectivity. "Dance moves thought to signify violent individualism and alienation in the West are communalized in the Indonesian context and appear to index intense collective sentiment more than individual angst" (p. 236), he writes.

Wallach's third approach looks at the construction and maintenance of class divisions and engagement with ideologies of Indonesian nationhood through the symbolic manipulation of popular music genres (in particular *dangdut*, underground, *pop Indonesia*, and various subgenres). He marshals his data to create a nuanced analysis of this process, the gist (if not the subtlety) of which he encapsulates as "the inclusive Sukarnoist collectivism of *dangdut*, the oppositional consciousness of underground music, and the cosmopolitanism of Indonesian pop" (p. 264).

Finally, Wallach examines the hybridity of Indonesian popular musics. The complexity of modern Indonesian identities clearly mirrors the complexity of the Indonesian popular music scene, shoring up his argument that Indonesians cannily create popular music hybrids by strategically juxtaposing disparate musical elements to comment on larger social issues and effect "alternative ways to be global cosmopolitan subjects" (p. 258).

Wallach's *Modern Noise, Fluid Genres* is a welcome addition to the sparse literature on Indonesian popular music. Through perceptive ethnographic description and astute theoretical analysis, the book ably demonstrates both that an ethnographic approach can enrich the study of popular music and that the social interactions around popular music are a fertile site for anthropological studies of modernity. Wallach substantiates his conclusion that popular music, in Indonesia at least, represents a quest for "a truly modern, culturally authentic community—national or otherwise—that grants recognition to all its members" (p. 257). Along the way, he treats readers to a compassionate, sympathetic, and, at times, very entertaining glimpse into the lives of ordinary modern Indonesians.

The Mermaid's Tale: Four Billion Years of Cooperation in the Making of Living Things

Kenneth Weiss and Anne Buchanan. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009. 305 pp.

John H. Relethford

State University of New York College at Oneonta

One thing that has always struck me about the history of evolutionary thought is that the basic concepts of population genetics were developed before the discovery of DNA and the subsequent development of molecular genetics. Population genetics was based on a classic “black-box” approach, demonstrating possible evolutionary trajectories based on the interaction of the evolutionary forces without having to know what genes were or how they worked. The elegance of this approach appealed to me when I first learned it in graduate school, and it still appeals to me. However, much has been added to the study of molecular genetics since the development of population genetics, to say the least. We are now in the position of being able to peer more deeply into the various black boxes and consequently are finding new ways to look at evolutionary change from a broader view.

Kenneth Weiss and Anne Buchanan develop such a view by examining the nature of life from three perspectives. One is the long-term evolutionary perspective that has been the dominant view in biology since Darwin's time. The authors note that examining change on the evolutionary scale often obscures important changes occurring at other scales, such as the developmental scale that affects cellular development and differentiation within an organism. The rapid pace of discovery in molecular genetics has provided a clearer understanding of how developmental genetics works in relationship to evolution, a field usually referred to as “Evo-Devo.” Weiss and Buchanan advocate including a third perspective dealing with the ecological setting within which development and evolution take place. The book focuses on these three different scales of analysis by way of an “EcoDevoEvo” perspective.

The authors' proposal for an integrated perspective goes beyond just an appeal to consider the different time scales of developmental and evolutionary change in an ecological context. They also argue that there are similar principles that act on natural phenomenon at different scales, such as inheritance with memory, modular organization, contingency,

and others. The first few chapters of the book outline these general principles. The second part of the book looks more closely at processes and interaction at the developmental and ecological scales and shows how simple processes can combine to produce biological complexity (and why some forms of complexity, such as the mythical mermaid of the book's title, could not come to be).

The third and final section of the book returns to a nuanced and fresh view on evolution, particularly the role of natural selection in producing evolutionary change. The authors make several telling points. The typical model of evolutionary change resulting from natural selection operating on very small differences in fitness over time is not an appropriate model in many cases. Fitness differences are often so small that random factors, such as genetic drift, play a more important role. Our clearest evidence of selection occurs when there are major differences in fitness values, and that might actually be rarer in nature. Weiss and Buchanan argue instead that much of selection is actually conservative, weeding out harmful mutations, and perhaps could better be described as a process of “failure of the frail” rather than “survival of the fittest.”

In the final chapters, all of these ideas (and many others) are tied together to present a view of evolution based on cooperation rather than selection (thus explaining the book's subtitle). The authors are not referring here to conscious cooperative behavior but, instead, the way that different components in a system must work together to survive, whether the system is a cell, an organism, or a species. Both development and evolution are therefore necessarily conservative, as a coordinated system can tolerate only so much change at any point in time, yet both are still capable of generating diversity. Another lesson from the final chapters is that perhaps we have focused too much on the competitive implications of Darwinian evolution, both in science as well as in sociocultural inferences, and that a fresh perspective on cooperative interactions is needed. Overall, this is a very interesting book and is recommended for those with an interest in evolutionary theory. It does not focus specifically on anthropology but has many implications for our understanding of human variation and evolution.

Households and Hegemony: Early Creek Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital, and Social Power

Cameron Wesson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. 228 pp.

David Hally

University of Georgia

The traditional view concerning the way aboriginal societies in the southeastern United States changed following European contact is that their complex sociopolitical organization was destroyed almost immediately and native peoples were eager to adapt European trade goods because of their perceived technological superiority. Cameron Wesson, in his new book *Households and Hegemony*, does not believe that this is an accurate characterization of postcontact Creek cultural transformations. Working within an agency–practice theory framework, Wesson argues the following: (1) only the larger, more complex chiefdoms disappeared early; (2) chiefs were able to hold on to much of their political and economic power well into the 18th century; and (3) European trade goods such as iron axes, glass beads, and silver ornaments were sought after because they could be used in competition for prestige and power within the rapidly changing Creek society.

These arguments are developed in three chapters and tested against archaeological evidence in the fourth. In chapter 1, the author summarizes the agency and practice theory that guided his research and explains why a household perspective offers the best way to investigate Creek responses to European contact. Ethnohistorical evidence is mustered in chapter 2 to provide a base-line ethnography of the historic Creek against which to evaluate changes in their culture following contact. Important here is Wesson's argument that social and political power in aboriginal chiefdoms was based on a prestige-goods economy in which elite were able to control access to the "esoteric goods and knowledge necessary for social ends" (p. 33). As the author correctly points out, the accuracy of his baseline ethnography is compromised to some degree by the fact that evidence is drawn from ethnohistorical documents spanning the 16th–19th centuries, the period during which rapid culture change was taking place.

In chapter 3, Wesson uses ethnohistorical evidence to reconstruct how Native–European interaction effected Creek culture change. At the time of initial contact in the mid-to-late 16th century, European epidemic diseases had a devastating effect on aboriginal populations and caused most Mississippian chiefdoms to collapse. He argues, however, that some smaller simple chiefdoms may have survived beyond this period well into the 18th century. He also argues that chiefs were able to retain political power for some time following contact by continuing to control the distribution of surplus foodstuffs and prestige goods—the latter increasingly coming to include European trade goods. Ultimately, the rise of the deerskin trade in the late 17th century made

European goods available in such large quantities and to such a wide cross-section of Creek society that nonelite individuals were able to accumulate them and use them to compete for higher status within the indigenous community and in so doing undermine the basis for elite authority.

In chapter 4, the author tests elements of this ethnohistorical reconstruction using archaeological evidence from a series of pre-Creek (Shine II phase, C.E. 1400–1600) and Creek (Atasi phase, C.E. 1600–1715, and Tallapoosa phase, C.E. 1715–1830) towns located along the Tallapoosa River in Alabama. Two tests stand out in their apparent strength and clarity. The proportion of burials with indigenous and European prestige goods and the frequency with which such grave goods occur in individual burials increases through time. This is interpreted by Wesson as reflecting a decline in the ability of elite to control access to prestige goods, the hoarding of such goods by nonelite, and increased use of them by nonelite in status competition. In the second test, subfloor pits are found to first appear in Atasi phase houses and to increase markedly in frequency during the Tallapoosa phase. Wesson interprets this as reflecting attempts by households to conceal their food supplies as chiefs were losing their ability to control food surpluses.

The ideas developed in this book are important for understanding how Mississippian chiefdoms were impacted by European contact and how native peoples responded to these forces of change. As ethnohistorical accounts of the Natchez, Apalachee, and Timucua clearly demonstrate, social ranking, political centralization, mound construction, and the institution of divine chieftainship persisted in some native societies into the 18th century. Wesson's reconstruction of how and why Creek society changed is reasonable and worth pursuing in future research. Unfortunately, problems with supporting evidence and the way it is presented undermines the credibility of his conclusions.

The author frequently presents supporting ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence in brief summary statements accompanied by bibliographic references to fuller expositions. Because the latter are often contained in unpublished conference papers and contract reports, small circulation in-house publications, or large published volumes lacking page references, it is difficult for the reader to independently evaluate the validity and strength of the author's arguments.

Wesson assumes that all grave goods he identifies as "high status" had the same meaning and function in Creek society and that access to all such grave goods was controlled—at least initially—by chiefs. However, because the kinds of high status items occurring in Atasi and Tallapoosa phase burials are not identified, it is not possible to evaluate the validity of these assumptions. Furthermore, 16th-century

aboriginal society in northern Georgia recognized a variety of ranked statuses—for example, warrior grades and ceremonial offices—and some of these and the material objects used to mark them appear not to have been controlled by chiefs (see, e.g., Hally 2008). The evidence for hoarding, indicated by the occurrence of ten or more “high-status” artifacts in a burial, is also weak because it is not clear how the author is counting them. Are ten marine shell or glass beads evidence for hoarding or does a string of beads count as a single high status item? The difference is significant for interpretation.

Wesson’s interpretation of subfloor pits as representing an attempt to hide foodstuffs from demanding chiefs is also open to question—but for a different reason. Subfloor pits are uncommon, if not totally absent, in late prehistoric

domestic structures across the south Appalachian region. They do occur, however, in 18th- and 19th-century Creek and Cherokee domestic structures. Because sweet and Irish potatoes have been introduced into the region by this point in time, a viable explanation for subfloor pits of the kind found in Atasi and Tallapoosa phase structures is that they functioned as root cellars. Failure to consider possible alternative explanations is one of the dangers inherent in research that is too closely tied to one theoretical position.

REFERENCE CITED

Hally, David J.

2008 *King: The Social Archaeology of a Late Mississippian Town in Northwestern Georgia*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.