The book focuses on the SAWP’s relationship to multiple communities in Tlaxcala whose residents predominantly work in Ontario’s horticulture industry and make up a significant portion of SAWP’s participants in Mexico. Although 17 percent of SAWP participants hail from the Mexican state of Tlaxcala, these participants are scattered throughout Tlaxcala’s municipalities and constitute small percentages within these populations. In 2001 and 2002, Binford, with the aid of an interview team, collected close to 200 interviews with former and current migrant workers. In addition, Binford conducted fieldwork in southwestern Ontario in August and September 2003. The ethnographic research is supplemented with quantitative data and interviews with employers, administrators, public officials, labor organizers, NGO representatives, and academics.

Organized into seven chapters, this book offers a comprehensive overview of the SAWP in Canada and Mexico. Chapters 1 and 2 trace the historical development of labor market complementarity in Ontario and Tlaxcala during the postwar period. Chapters 3 and 4 are the most compelling chapters because they speak to the racialization and structural violence embedded within the SAWP. Chapter 3 uses brief case studies to examine the reasons behind Tlaxcalans’ migrations. Money for housing construction, household maintenance, and educational expenses were primary reasons. Mexican migrants sacrificed time with their families to be able to send their children to school and improve their children's future economic stability. Migrants also were reassured by the Mexican government’s oversight of the SAWP program. Chapter 4, co-authored with Kerry Preibisch, looks at the racialization of the SAWP and how Mexico came to be invited to participate and, eventually, dominate this program. Employers and administrators relied on similar discourses about “natural” abilities and docile, efficient labor that permeates the maquiladora (assembly) industry to justify worker placement and employer abuse. Chapter 5 shows that the SAWP may ease the economic burdens of migrant households, but because of its short contracts (with an average contract period of five months), this program does not eliminate poverty and, thus, makes very little impact on Mexico's long-term economic development. Chapters 6 and 7 place the SAWP in broader context. Chapter 6 discusses the SAWP in relation to Mexican migration experiences with labor organizing in the United States. Because a number of his informants participated in the SAWP and the United States’ H-2A visa program, Binford compares the development of both programs and their histories with labor organizing. Chapter 7 engages with debates over post-national citizenship and its inclusive practices. Binford questions these laudatory narratives by pointing out that TFWPs are popular because they “manage” migration and create a docile, disposable labor force within a global labor market, thereby curtailing rights and mobility simultaneously.

This book does a wonderful job of connecting the macro and microprocesses that underpin and structure an international division of labor. It contributes greatly to scholarship in migration, labor and social movements, household economies, agrarian studies, and political economy. Although migration to the United States looms large in the Mexican imagination, Binford demonstrates that Canada plays an important role in shaping Mexican households and structuring Mexican foreign relations. One of the book’s strengths is the case studies of Mexican migrants. It is unfortunate that they were limited to one chapter. Binford references the gendered aspects of this labor migration but does not look at female migrant participation in the SAWP. How do these women navigate gender relations and household dynamics at home and while in Canada? Finally, Binford suggests that participation in the SAWP has led to the transnationalization of Mexican households, but that this process is not mirrored in local communities. More discussion of this intriguing claim would have enriched his analysis and added a new dimension to studies of transnationalism.


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In the expanding field of bioethics within medical anthropology, studies have primarily focused on the so-called technologically advanced global north, or Christian-majority societies. Less attention has been paid to the comparative study of how scientific technologies are made and engaged with in majority Muslim societies outside of the north, where the constitution of biomedical expertise and practice sits within specific politicoethical histories. Soraya Tremayne and Marcia Inhorn’s edited volume offers a valuable contribution to this scholarship by approaching Islam not as a monolithic universal object of analysis but, rather, as a malleable constellation of “discursive traditions” (Asad 1986) that operate along multiple logics. The volume, which centers on the contemporary Middle East, argues for a nuanced and complex reading of Islamic politics and ethics across space and time. It hones in on the controversial and timely subject of assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs), technological advances “designed to create human life” (Tremayne and Inhorn, p. 1). The volume
frames the rise and proliferation of ARTs in Middle Eastern states around current Islamic debates over life, juridical processes of ijtihad (reasoning), and the lived experiences of Muslim patients who struggle with infertility and seek out ARTs. Conventional anthropological concepts of “kinship,” “embodiment,” and “subjectivity” are cast in new light here, as the contributors examine with great breadth and scope how practices such as gestational surrogacy (Naef), human embryonic stem cell research (Saniei), or the usage of “extra embryos” (Houot) are legally negotiated and rendered meaningful in everyday life. By putting the conceptualizations of Islam at the center of analysis, the volume extends the study of biopolitics in the Middle East in a pathbreaking way.

Prefaced with an impressive glossary of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish terms, followed by a comprehensive introduction by Inhorn and Tremayne, the volume consists of three parts that move from the study of religious legal concepts to an “Islamic Biopolitics” in the Middle East. Part 1 is titled “Islamic Legal Thought and ARTs: Marriage, Morality and Clinical Conundrums” and grounds readers with a necessary focus on early Islamic legal texts within both Sunni and Shia traditions. Concepts such as nasab (paternal lineage), huquq (rights) of the fetus, and muta’ (temporary marriage arrangements in Shia Islam) are analyzed alongside innovations in ARTs using a historical–anthropological approach, revealing the reinterpretation of notions of paternity, marriage, subjectivity, and family. Readers gain an understanding of how kinship, a central theme in anthropology, is contextualized through legal discourse that, as Eich (ch. 1) argues early on, is rooted in history, differentiated by sect and, hence, not “one thing.” Emphasizing early Islamic texts, the contributors in this section masterfully illustrate how the discursive analysis of Islamic law informs contemporary struggles and debates around ARTs within predominantly Muslim populations.

Part 2 focuses exclusively on Iran and is titled “From Sperm Donation to Stem Cells: The Iranian ART Revolution.” Tappan, Tremayne, Naef, and Saniei collectively argue that the distinctions between Shia and Sunni Islam on questions of kinship and the body and the specificities of Iran as an Islamic Republic further complicate Islamic bioethics as a field of inquiry, as explicated in Erami’s introduction. In these chapters authors draw on ethnographic evidence gleaned from case studies and vignettes with patients and families impacted by ARTs, revealing the social effects engendered by new reproductive technologies. Compellingly, we learn to what extent some of these effects have nonemancipatory potential for the people involved. This is what Tremayne calls the “down side” of ARTs in Iran. For instance children born from sperm donation are often rejected by their social fathers, reflecting a staunch reinforcement of local patriarchal values (p. 147). Similarly, the narratives articulated by gestational surrogates in Naef’s chapter reveal how women regulate the patriarchal rules of kinship in Iran by engaging in a form of “uterine kinship,” at times out of a combination of financial need and altruism. And Tremayne and Naef draw on interviews with ART consumers and their doctors to show how reproductive technologies, in practice, are always embedded within broader sociocultural contexts and systems of gender and class inequality. Part 3 traces the complex social arrangements or “hybridizations” attached to the circulation of ARTs across the Middle East, extending existing anthropological theories of biopolitics and globalization in fascinating ways. The focus here is on the question of what it means to do an “Islamic Biopolitics.” In an insightful introduction, Brotherton stresses how this section works against the construction of a neat, coherent narrative of Islam or the state, aptly invoking Anna Tsing’s metaphor of “friction” to describe the messiness of global ART flows. In chapter 8, Inhorn, Patrizio, and Serour compare case vignettes to illustrate how ART bans propel new forms of human strategic resistance, most notably in the form of “reproductive exiles” who stealthily traverse transnational landscapes in their quest to conceive. We learn that the Catholic Church boasts the world’s most restrictive laws against ARTs, rooted in the Vatican’s view that human life begins at the moment of conception. The recent Catholic ban on all ARTs has led Italian nationals to engage in “reproductive tourism” (p. 243) elsewhere, while some predominantly Muslim countries have shown increasing tolerance toward them over time. The findings in this chapter interestingly defy conventional “East/West stereotypes” (p. 243) attached to Islam and Christianity. Clarke’s subsequent chapter critiques the very idea of “Islamic Bioethics” as an object of anthropological investigation. Instead questions of politics, rather than exclusively religion, guide his examination of in vitro fertilization in Lebanon. He contends that bioethics in the Middle East always map onto particular legal and political regimes, and that the political therefore should remain central to the study of ARTs. In the volume’s final chapter, Gürtin extends this critical approach into contemporary Turkey, showing how the Turkish state’s positionality vis-à-vis Europe has shaped how experts understand notions of culture, secularism, and religion alongside their own Turkish subjectivities in negotiations over ART regulations. ART social practices and ethics, therefore, are attached to tropes of technological progress and culture in ways quite specific to Turkey.

In summary, this pioneering volume offers a robust contribution to the fields of medical anthropology and religious studies. It historicizes ARTs within Sunni and Shia Islamic traditions while situating grounded results within a broad comparative ethnographic framework. For instance, Clarke appropriately highlights the importance of analyzing “the political” in relation to these variations in Islamic bioethics. This raises the question of how we also think of
Islamic Bioethics in conjunction with “the economic”—with markets and market-driven practices and logics, including pharmaceuticalization and the neoliberal restructuring that continues to transform states and healthcare regimes across the south. Because the volume initiates a new theoretical repertoire for critical medical anthropologists and scholars of Islam, this book proves to be a much-needed theoretical springboard for anthropologists interested in issues regarding human life itself—from children’s rights to technoscience to neoliberal regimes and subjectivities.

Reference cited

Asad, Talal

Silencing the Sea: Secular Rhythms in Palestinian Poetry.

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The general objective of Silencing the Sea is to gauge the multiple causes, effects, and ramifications of the major shift in modern Arabic poetry from the traditional mode of metrical and rhythmic arrangements, which tend to be declamatory and public, to more private and personal modes of composition, primarily in free verse and prose poetry. Historically, the traditional criteria of quantitative metrical measures of canonical prosody had informed poetic composition in Arabic from pre-Islamic times to, roughly, the middle of the 20th century. How this drastic shift affected longstanding definitions of poetry, and its social, political, public, and private bearings is a major concern of this study. Strictly ethnographic in character, approach, and methodology, the study carefully steers away from any mention of the constitutive literary, artistic, and aesthetic dimensions of poetry. Furani’s primary interest lies more in what the interviewed poets themselves have to say about their craft, its perception by fellow practitioners, and its reception by the steadily shrinking public rather than in what actual poems say or do. (There are serious consequences to this approach, both methodical and conceptual, some of which I will touch on briefly later.)

Structurally, the book is divided into four sections, each consisting of three chapters of varying length, in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. A general historical scheme seems to orient (but does not govern) the progression, or rather flow, of the narrative. Similarly, although Palestinian poetry figures prominently in the title of the book, it by no means restricts the range of the discussion. Rather, Furani skilfully uses every opportune moment and leeway in the narrative of his interviews with poets to launch interrogations of the theoretical, historical, intellectual, cultural, and political background that situates the present discussion in a broader, more inclusive context. Thus, modern Palestinian poetry, in all its trends and orientations, is appropriately situated within the larger germane contexts of modern and classical Arabic poetry, Arab culture, modern Palestinian history and identity—enmeshed as both are in Israeli machinations of occupation, expulsion, denial, and subjugation—and, ultimately, modern (and modernist) Western poetry and its formative influence on modern Arabic poetry. The book’s extensive footnotes and bibliography attest to this broad range and overarching perspective.

In some fundamental respects, the study is irreducibly interdisciplinary, as it broaches various issues and concerns that cannot be subsumed under a single discipline, let alone a myopic or narrowly defined one. The evident scholarly erudition of the author, and the generally apt, often nuanced style in which the book is written, contribute much to the daunting effort of netting together elements from widely disparate fields and disciplines into a fairly coherent and fluid narrative. This is not to say, however, that the research methodology and the underlying theses that inform the argument are immune to criticism. Both, in fact, present conceptual and procedural challenges that warrant further examination.

The moving force propelling the methodology of this field research is unmistakably the interview format; the sum of the garnered interviews makes up the core of the study. For this purpose, Furani interviewed various poets, mostly Palestinian, some of whom reside in Israel; others in the occupied West Bank; as well as a few Arab poets, primarily from Egypt and Jordan, the only two Arab countries he could legally visit because of his Israeli “citizenship.” The interviews themselves seem to have been conducted informally, mostly in cafés or at the homes of the poets themselves; those with the Egyptian poets were held in Cairo on the margin of the annual Cairo Book Fair. No transcripts of the interviews are included in the book, only the author’s summary impressions and recollections of the interviews, which, in any case, are more in the nature of informal conversations than stringently planned and fully structured interviews consisting of preprepared questions to which the interviewees respond. Much in line with the new paradigm of ethnographic and anthropological fieldwork, Furani methodically narrates the minute details of his comportment: the time and place of each meeting; the duration and circumstances thereof; the setting, ambience, surroundings, food and drinks served, and so forth. Whatever this informal approach lacks in structural rigor it makes up in dramatic vibrancy and narrative