

– the bodegas, bars, and repair shops, the basement where one volunteer brews beer. Entangled in the fabric of urban living – the aesthetic of a squat and the pace of a street corner – Abadie's ethnography unravels the complex logics of this 'weird type of work' (p. 46), and describes an ethos of paid clinical volunteerism that problematizes neat equations between liberalization and social fragmentation.

Situating clinical research within everyday life raises critical questions about the *labour* of the research subjects and its attendant occupational hazards. This analytical tack aligns Abadie with a burgeoning social-scientific literature that explores the range of productive activities that generate biomedical value and draws out the finer linkages between global markets, pharmaceutical research, and population health. Like Abadie, several authors have convincingly argued that, rather than an aberration, the paid volunteer is an archetype of the post-industrial 'preariat': uninsured and dependent on irregular employment, the guinea pig's subject-position 'is not one of shared social identification, but rather one of desperate individuation and alienation' (S.K. Rajan, 'Biocapital as an emergent form of life: speculations on the figure of the experimental subject', in *Biosocialities, genetics and the social sciences: making biologies and identities* (eds) C. Novas & S. Gibbons, 2002, p. 173).

Abadie's ethnography nuances these theoretical formulations. After several chapters devoted to healthy volunteers, the book shifts its focus to HIV patients enrolled in later stages of antiretroviral testing. Initially, the inclusion seems counterintuitive – what insight can desperate patients provide into the processes of professionalization? However, against the backdrop of West Philly, a number of illuminating connections emerge between these groups of research subjects, commonalities that are not circumscribed to trial type or motivation. Abadie's informants' life-stories – which, thankfully, he excerpts at length – describe forms of coping – with disease, poverty, solitude, pain – and the kinds of solidarity that can form around the practices that allow one to 'get by' in an American city. Robert Helms, the editor of the e-zine *Guinea Pig Zero* and organizer of research 'walk outs', provides Abadie with some key examples of the normative dimensions of these survival strategies. He embodies 'the anarchist ideal of living beyond a commodified, market-driven society' (p. 36). Juxtaposed with the forms of empowerment achieved by HIV volunteers, this

anarchist ideology of commercial volunteerism projects a rather unexpected subjectivity that cuts across emergent labour markets and communities of care.

Unfortunately, Abadie does not pursue these provocations, and in the final chapters returns instead to the well-ploughed concepts of informed consent and coercion. His policy recommendations – that paying subjects is a necessary evil and better regulation is needed – do not do justice to the various social processes of commodification his ethnography lays bare. This is where his continual insistence that his book is the first of its kind becomes a blind spot: taking more cues from the vast sociological literature on participation in commercial clinical research might have inspired a more nuanced conceptualization of the financial and moral values of 'guinea pigging'. It may have also forestalled Abadie's metaphorical reading of his informants' self-descriptions, allowing him to take seriously the experimental connections between actual *guinea pigs* and *lab rats*, on the one hand, and their human counterparts, on the other. A greater appreciation of the continuities between human and nonhuman research subjects would have helped retool his ethical analysis and shift attention from the formal procedures of risk communication to the productive connections between pre-clinical and clinical research.

Despite these limitations, however, Abadie's book is a rich resource into the subjectivity of the research volunteer, and will be of particular use for students and researchers trying to come to grips with the hidden social consequences of the much-vaunted 'bioeconomy'.

ANN H. KELLY *University of Exeter*

INHORN, MARCIA C. *The new Arab man: emergent masculinities, technologies, and Islam in the Middle East*. xxii, 404 pp., tables, illus., bibliogr. Princeton: Univ. Press, 2012. £24.95 (paper)

'It's not having children that defines manhood. It's his mentality, his personality, his understanding. There are some men who consider themselves men through their sexual relations, but not me. The way a man treats his wife doesn't even really define his manhood. I treat my wife on an equal basis, as a friend'. This complex and nuanced response from a Syrian interviewee captures much of the motivation for Inhorn's exploration of what she describes as emergent masculinities in the Arab world. The response itself goes against much of the received

wisdom about what Arab and Muslim men are – uncaring, lascivious, misogynistic, and unbending religious zealots who constitute a danger to women and indeed the world. This view of Arab men owes much to Orientalism (old and new), on the one hand, and broader characterizations of hegemonic masculinity, on the other. While hegemonic masculinity has been an important analytical tool for identifying and understanding cross-cultural patriarchal structures of power and their sobering impact on both men and women, it may have also led to an empirical cul-de-sac where hegemonic masculinity too often becomes patriarchal polemic. Inhorn asks why medical anthropology and research on reproductive health and population planning have frozen men in time, claiming to somehow have understood fully their roles, desires, anxieties, and attitudes.

Rejecting, or at the very least citing major flaws in, prevailing approaches to men and reproductive health, Inhorn brings together epidemiological reproductive histories and anthropological life-histories. The narratives of men's reproductive life-histories that she presents reveal the diverse ways in which fatherhood, manhood, religion, and technology interact. Addressing the ancillary role of men in research on reproductive health and assisted reproductive technologies seems all the more important in light of the suggestion that the incidence of male infertility in the Middle East is above average. This trend is explained by a number of factors, ranging from the physical and psychological suffering that conflict inflicts on so many Middle Eastern men to the societal proclivity for cousin marriage among both Muslim and Christian Middle Easterners, which may have increased hereditary forms of infertility.

In often forcefully pro-natal societies across the region, men are under as much pressure to have children as women, but it seems men are increasingly unwilling to accept traditional societal responses to infertility, which tend to blame women for a childless marriage in a bid to protect men from feelings of emasculation. Indeed most of the men whom Inhorn introduces us to are in loving and mutually supportive relationships which they are vocally committed to regardless of whether they bear children. This ethnography suggests that Middle Eastern men, though rarely asked to do so, are 'excellent interlocutors of their embodied experiences ... willing to talk at great length about their reproductive and sexual problems if they are encouraged to do so'.

Assisted reproductive technologies have been embraced by Middle Eastern societies, which Inhorn describes as 'technoscientifically and morally agentive'. Religion remains a definitive feature of people's attitudes towards assisted reproductive technologies and both Sunni and Shia religious institutions have endorsed them in varying degrees. Taboos and prohibitions still apply to third-party sperm, egg, and gamete donation among most Sunni, while Arab Shias, Sunnis, and secularists have benefited from interpretative innovations in Iran. These have permitted third-party donation, which has become available in fertility clinics in both Iran and Lebanon with a resultant influx of fertility tourists from neighbouring countries. Importantly, the emergence of sperm, egg, and gamete donations has in turn thrown into relief prevailing mores and values of kinship and is in fact changing the very nature of kinship connectedness.

There are a number of minor slips in the book: for example, the Palestinian city of Jenin is not, as Inhorn points out, 'now in Israel', but remains quite firmly in the occupied West Bank; and the Arab revolutions which get a mention in the last page of her book are not, as she asserts, 'driven by social media' but the result of decades of authoritarianism and inequality. None the less, these are not in any way central or reflective of this work, which is without doubt an important contribution to medical anthropology in the Middle East and to our understanding of the complex and changing nature of masculinity in the Arab world.

RAMY ALY *University of Sussex*

## Migration

BOEHM, DEBORAH A. *Intimate migrations: gender, family, and illegality among transnational Mexicans*. xiv, 178 pp., bibliogr. New York: Univ. Press, 2012. £34.00 (cloth)

This concise and accessible ethnography of transnational families living in the United States and Mexico provides nuanced sketches of the many ways in which gender subjectivities are experienced under a dysfunctional immigration system. Through personal relationships with people living in the southwestern city of Albuquerque, Boehm travels to 'San Marcos' in central Mexico to locate perspectives at different stages of the migrant stream. This multi-sited approach produces data from three distinct