

(4) and to offer three insights about immigrants' agentive struggles that alter the existing literature in three ways. First, Zlolniski, supports Saskia Sasseen by showing that the informal economy is not simply a survival strategy for those who cannot find formally sanctioned jobs. Nor is it simply the result of workers bringing strategies from home, as some researchers have argued. Rather, it is used both as an alternative to formal jobs and, perhaps more often, as a supplement to so-called formal wages. Second, he illustrates how the maintenance of extended and multi-family households may be a subsistence strategy and thus a product of subcontracting and flexible labor rather than a particular cultural choice. Finally, Zlolniski demonstrates that, contrary to popular assumption or to works that situate immigrants within transnational circuits rather than U.S. communities, the new immigrants in Santech are very much involved and interested in local affairs.

Because corporations cannot outsource certain service jobs to other countries, they rely on subcontracted firms to use immigrant labor to keep costs low and increase labor flexibility, Zlolniski thus argues that immigrants live in a structure of inequality designed to retain them as a "subclass of cheap and disposable workers" (70). Politics, law, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) intersect and reinforce this inequality. However, Zlolniski asserts that these workers do not automatically accept their allotment but instead often resist.

Through unions, passive-aggressive oppositional tactics, and formal and informal work strategies, these commonly undocumented—and therefore illegal—workers in the San Jose cleaning industry struggle against subpar workplace conditions. In seeking to explain aspects of this resistance, Zlolniski situates himself quite specifically in relation to a number of existing approaches to political economy: He writes that the workers are not struggling against "incorporation into a disciplined proletarian

workforce," but instead are protesting "subproletarianization" (71), or their transformation into a subclass of disposable workers. This analysis contrasts with the view of some other anthropologists, such as Aihwa Ong, who, while looking at a very different class of international subcontracted workers, argues that labor struggles are not class struggles but rather cultural struggles.

In his ethnographic analysis Zlolniski emphasizes workers' humanity while illuminating the structures that bind them. His study helps make visible the glaring inequalities inherent in neoliberal policies while offering a glimpse into the extent and limits of worker's agency. This outlook will appeal to scholars of immigration, informal labor, worker's rights, global economics, and community and household politics as each subject is drawn from the theoretical abstract and textually interwoven into the tangible experiences of immigrant workers. Ultimately though, it is the feeling of humanity that the author imparts in this book that many readers will embrace. True to his anthropological heritage, Zlolniski has worked to humanize the "other," even as that "other" may now be an urban North American cleaning California's toilets for extremely low wages.

Working Hard, Drinking Hard: On Violence and Survival in Honduras. *Adrienne Pine*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. 223 pp.

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This study of violence and poverty in Honduras is an unapologetic, passionate, and articulate call for politically relevant anthropology. Rather than reifying gender, "race," violence, addiction, globalization, and poverty, Pine insists that all of these realms of human experience are artic-

ulated through—if not produced by—capitalism’s quest to manufacture consent through coercive individualistic ideology and to violently enforce unequal power relations. Her main questions are: Why do poor Hondurans, the primary victims of state violence, embrace zero-tolerance police practices that result in the massacre of tens of thousands of poor teenagers? How do hegemonic discursive practices normalize violence? And how does a hyper-individualizing subjectification produce widespread acquiescence to state violence, poverty, and capitalism?

Pine addresses the above questions with refreshing clarity, avoiding opaque rhetoric while nonetheless constructing arguments upon firm theoretical bases. She ties together chapters by means of a sophisticated and consistent use of the concepts of habitus, subjectification, neocolonialism, alienation, normalization, and symbolic violence. Although complex engagements with theory gird the entire volume, explicit theorizing breaks into the text only when necessary and in ways that do not distract from the stories being told about real human suffering. This makes the book ideal for teaching undergraduates.

Chapter One, “Violence,” drops the reader into the heart of the matter: violence. Pine skillfully and accessibly explains the ways that violence has been normalized through habitus and subjectification. Even poor Hondurans have accepted the ruling class ideology that portrays them as inherently violent and developmentally backwards. This permits, justifies, and even invites global capitalist development and the state violence that defends it. Both structural and symbolic violence, she demonstrates, encourage interpersonal violence—in the form of “gang” conflict—thus disrupting neighborhoods further and providing justification for still more intense state repression. Pine holds no punches in her indictment of the World Bank, IMF, USAID, Ronald Reagan, John Negroponte,

President Ricardo Maduro, and the terrors of neoliberalism.

Chapter Three, “Maquiladoras,” is even more nuanced and convincing. Although unrelenting in her critique of the economic and ideological violence of neoliberalism in the form of garment sweatshops in San Pedro Sula, the determined author does concede a few gray areas. First, some female workers do enjoy their material independence from men, though as a whole Pine emphasizes that the sweatshop experience is dehumanizing. Second, though a harsh critic of free trade zones, she explains that the antisweat shop movement has manufactured a standardized resistance narrative which it then places in the mouths of workers, thus making the movement vulnerable to criticism from globalization boosters. Finally, as a complement and correction to ideologies that posit “race” and “racism” as the dominant social forces driving conflict and inequality, Pine argues that conflict between Korean maquiladora owners and Honduran workers is not primarily about ethnicity, but more about class and the alienation and exploitation of labor that produce profit.

Although focus and consistency are a major strength of the volume, clarity can sometimes preclude nuance. Pine maneuvers this line skillfully in the chapter on the Maquiladoras but has difficulty elsewhere. This is exacerbated by the volume’s other weakness: Pine explains that she collected data over several short visits, ranging from three weeks to five months, between 1997 and 2003. Although this type of ethnographic involvement can have advantages—no least the opportunity to revisit informants year after year—it can also be a liability. This is overcome in other chapters by Pine’s uncanny knack for being in the right place at the right time, her ability to engender trust with informants, her keen observational skill, her insightful discursive analyses, and her sophisticated application of theory. However, in Chapter

Two, "Alcohol," the combination of thin data and lack of nuance render the argument unconvincing.

Pine begins the chapter with a grounded analysis of the ways in which the exaggerated claims of the people of San Pedro Sula that Hondurans are nearly all "alcoholics" serves as yet another "subjectivizing" discourse. Hondurans' shared and frequently vocalized belief that they are inherently violent and nearly all alcoholics minimizes agency and renders them more vulnerable to structural and symbolic violence. That much is insightful, but the following section on recovery from addiction leads the chapter astray. Pine decries the "disease model" of alcoholism as another instrument of social control through individualizing subjectification. Although a broader set of opinions and narratives might have produced a more nuanced analysis, Pine selected and interpreted data without the benefit of an emic perspective. For instance, she quotes the title of an AA slogan: "I am responsible," but does not comment on the slogan's actual text, which calls for a commitment to leave aside personal interests long enough to help other suffering Hondurans. Thus, in Pine's analysis, an encouragement to escape isolation and join in a common effort to help others becomes proof that AA serves the hyper-individualizing discourse of global capital and its henchmen. Even cessation of substance abuse is not a positive social event, since it leaves alone structurally unequal power relations; the fact that a sober alcoholic no longer comes home drunk and beats his wife is apparently no triumph, if he did not at the same time challenge state and economic violence. Such a logic would seem to suggest that, as long as violent capitalism is attacked, personal irresponsibility and even interpersonal violence are of little consequence, and improving one's own life is a distraction from a real revolutionary project.

The author also criticizes Evangelical Christianity under the same logic, but with somewhat more basis in data; many charismatic

sects all over the Americas do indeed instruct followers to obey the earthly ruling class and avoid collective solutions to common problems. Unfortunately, Pine seems to equate sweat shops, police violence, Christianity, and Alcoholics Anonymous as equally problematic mechanisms of social and discursive control of the poor. Nonetheless, as a whole, her volume provides an excellent look at the ways in which globalization and radical individualism produce, encourage, and exacerbate structural, symbolic, and interpersonal violence.

Producing Knowledge, Protecting Forests: Rural Encounters with Gender, Ecotourism, and International Aid in the Dominican Republic. *Carruyo Light*, University Park: Penn State Press, 2008. 144 pp.

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Visitors to the Dominican Republic's Parque Nacional José Armádo Bermúdez must pass through the small community of La Ciénaga before reaching the ecological preserve itself, and the Ciénagüeros, compared with other residents in the region, seem to benefit from this constant stream. Drawing on many years of fieldwork at this point of intersection between local, international, and national interests, Light Carruyo explores the interplay between international development aid, gendered local politics, and the ecotourism industry. She centers her work around the question of how local knowledge engages with larger structures of history and politics. In so doing she illuminates the strategies and discourses used by the local people in order to actively engage with historical constructions of the Dominican "productive peasant" as well as with development programs.

"Local knowledge" for Carruyo is not defined by empirical knowledge about the forest that might be of use to outsiders running con-