

BOOK REVIEWS

FRANCIO GUADELOUPE. *Chanting Down the New Jerusalem: Calypso, Christianity and Capitalism in the Caribbean*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2009. Pp. 272. ISBN: 978-0-520-25488-6 (hardback); ISBN: 978-0-520-25489-3 (paperback).

Studies on creolized religions have been popular in Caribbean anthropology during recent years. Francio Guadeloupe's book, forming part of the series 'Anthropology of Christianity', discusses the role of creolized Christianity and capitalism in promoting unity and belonging on the island of Saint Martin. Guadeloupe approaches Christianity in Saint Martin in the larger context of globalization and the weakening of the nation-state, concentrating in particular on questions of identity and the politics of belonging. Rather than viewing globalization as leading to the rise of indigenous nationalism or religious intolerance, as has been typical in many parts of the world, Guadeloupe shows a place that despite its multiple differences, lacks such claims. Guadeloupe concentrates on the role of popular radio disc jockeys in promoting unity on the island via inclusive Christian rhetoric and the endorsement of capitalism for the needs of the tourist economy.

On the island, Christianity is employed as a metalanguage that encompasses all other religions and passes no judgment on the island's hedonistic tourist economy. This is not the type of Christianity employed as resistance by the poor masses as described in other parts of the Caribbean (e.g. Chevannes [ed.] 1998) but rather Christianity of the elite who use it to guarantee social harmony on the island. In the rhetoric of the popular disc jockeys Saint Martiners become Christian calypsonians (drawn from calypso music and connected to a cunning, pragmatic, hedonistic lifestyle), engendering a specifically new creolized form of Christianity. The strength of Guadeloupe's book lies in the ethnographic description of the social processes via which Saint Martiners manage to transform exclusive religious discourses into a tolerant and inclusive form of Christianity. A point exemplified during a sermon by a local Catholic priest who led his congregation in singing Bob Marley's One Love: 'You're wondering, "What is a Catholic priest doing singing reggae music during the Sunday mass?" But I tell you, I am afraid of the man who only reads one book or listens to only one kind of music. (...) Such a man would forget that God made him a man, and he would want to behave like an angel.' (p. 95).

Caribbean societies have frequently been examined via dualistic approaches expressing divisions made on the basis of social class (Smith 1996), skin colour, race or ethnicity (Wilson 1973; Miller 1994; Smith 1996) or gender (Wilson 1973). While Guadeloupe states he rejects such approaches, the way in which he examines Saint Martin through the 'two vitamin Cs' (p. 109)—calypso and Christianity—or economics and religion, does evoke a dualistic approach (in particular, see Wilson 1973; Miller 1994). However, Guadeloupe resists making any clear-cut divisions between these two orientations, seeing them rather both as being evoked in alternation in distinct situations and practices in Saint Martin.

Guadeloupe focuses on the way in which the union between tolerant Christianity and the capitalist tourism economy unifies all Saint Martiners. However, at the end of the book Guadeloupe stresses the importance of only one side of this dualism, stating that

the reason behind Saint Martin's tolerant, inclusive unity is the islanders' dependence on the capitalist tourist economy. Such a view is problematic for at least two reasons. First, it gives the impression that without capitalism, Saint Martin would 'fall apart', as if in such multinational societies people would be intrinsically separate unless a power bound them together. Such approaches have been applied to the Caribbean in the past, for example by Michael G. Smith, who analyzed the region as composed of 'plural societies' which only colonial powers could keep together (1965). This seems too simple; there must be other factors that are valued on the island; how about kinship, friendship or love? People are not only rational, pragmatic actors that seek out the largest possible economic gain. Moreover, does Christianity only relate to one meaning: unity for the purposes of capitalism?

Secondly, capitalism does not take place in a vacuum. The Caribbean has a long history of merging cultural and religious influences. Paying more attention to this would have showed that Saint Martin's inclusive sociability and lack of 'exclusive' identities is not a consequence of the capitalist tourist economy. Moreover, Guadeloupe states that 'we are all slaves to the logic of capitalism' (p. 211). As a conclusion, this is rather oversimplified. While we can agree that capitalism touches our lives, it does so in different ways. Anthropological research can explain how. I have doubts about claiming capitalism as the main motor of any society, let alone the whole world. The merit in Guadeloupe's book lies in describing the particular forms that capitalism takes in Saint Martin.

While Guadeloupe's ethnographic material is interesting, the book is plagued by various problems. Guadeloupe does not define the concept of identity, failing to argue why it should be of interest to his readers. He writes about Saint Martiners 'performing identities' (e.g. pp. 22, 32, 51, 138), but rarely represents how this 'performing' actually takes place. Moreover, Guadeloupe's theoretical approach to Christianity and capitalism in Saint Martin seems to be an instance of postcolonial discussions from the late 1980s and 1990s. He rejects claims to 'exclusive' or 'fixed identities' (pp. 37, 82), resists the use of categories (pp. 3, 5, 46, 206–207) and avoids engaging in 'processes of othering' (pp. 207–208). He also warns anthropologists working in the region to not deny the Caribbean peoples' 'common humanity' (p. 207) through categories such as gender or ethnicity. This seems to be a problem with Guadeloupe rather than his informants. Moreover, in his efforts to do away with divisions he tends to dismiss them where there would appear to be some interesting distinctions such as gender (pp. 46, 91–92) or age (pp. 87, 91–92, 222). The problem with such approaches is that they repudiate culturally significant differences, even culture altogether, and in doing so, deny cultural comparisons (see e.g. Sahlins 1999). Finally, while Guadeloupe discusses the connections between his work and studies on Christianity from other parts of the Caribbean, I believe the book would have benefited from a more extensive comparison with anthropological studies of Christianity from other parts of the world. This would have highlighted the particular Caribbean features of Saint Martinian Christianity as well as accounting for the more nuanced aspects of the relationship between Christianity, capitalism and globalization. This is a rather pervasive problem in the wider field of Caribbean anthropology.

Concluding, while Guadeloupe's book suffers from these problems, *Chanting Down the New Jerusalem* is a rich, vivid and colourfully written ethnography on particular Caribbean forms of Christianity and capitalism, and is of interest to scholars studying religion, migration, nationalism, popular culture, and tourism.

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GOODALE, MARK. *Surrendering to Utopia: An Anthropology of Human Rights*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009. Pp. 200. ISBN: 978-0-8047-6212-0 (cloth); ISBN: 978-0-8047-6213-7 (paperback).

Anthropologists generally mistrust universal moralities, whereas the project of human rights merges all human beings in the idea of universality: every human being is seen as being the same because of a shared ‘humanness’. Mark Goodale, Associate Professor of Conflict Analysis and Anthropology at George Mason University, unravels the uncomfortable relationship created by these fundamental differences in his latest work: *Surrendering to Utopia: An Anthropology of Human Rights*. The book continues his earlier work on the anthropology of human rights and local encounters with the law in Bolivia (Goodale 2006; Goodale and Merry 2007; Goodale 2008).

In a series of interconnected essays Goodale explores how anthropologists at first disengaged from, and later re-engaged with, the study of human rights through the four main issues that have concerned the discipline. First, why did anthropologists abandon the study of human rights after its main academic organization, the American Anthropological Association (AAA), published an advisory report for the UN Commission for Human Rights in 1947? Second, how did human rights experts and anthropologists come to terms with the concept of culture and the problem of relativism? Third, what kind of contributions have anthropologists made since the 1990s as they have been studying the practices surrounding the local application of transnational norms? Finally, he investigates whether anthropologists have influenced the development of so-called neoliberal human rights: rights to social and economical development and indigenous cultural rights.

Goodale’s main purpose is to foster a greater sense of humility about human rights: to acknowledge that human rights norms have to exist in a world of difference and contradiction (p. 15). Goodale emphasizes that human rights never solely exist as legal