

The entrepreneurs Freeman interviews are not just creating new businesses, but new selves based on affective labor. Capitalist service-based economies require regulation of affect – seen here in the self-regulation of Barbadian entrepreneurs in front of clients, and state campaigns asking Barbadians to act “friendlier” to support the tourism industry. Far from there being a clear division between “work” and “life,” the affect demanded in the former becomes intertwined with that sought in the latter. Most of the entrepreneurs discussed here are Afro-Barbadian, two-thirds are women, and many work in businesses involving significant emotional labor: career counseling, child care, business teambuilding, tourism, and personal fitness. This form of neoliberal entrepreneurship creates the self as economic project, where what is “sold” is the affective (and often gendered) labor of the entrepreneur. Thus, the ways these women (and men) approach work converge with how they think about family relationships, care of children, the qualities of successful marriages, and meaningful religious practice.

These Barbadian entrepreneurs are disproportionately married (67%) compared to the general population (23%). But this is not just a matter of statistics; their ideas about what constitutes successful marriage have shifted with integration into neoliberal economies. Women entrepreneurs, especially, increasingly expect husbands to be emotionally as well as financially supportive. And yet even married women sometimes draw on what Freeman sees as elements of “matrifocal” families, including relying on extended kin for child care. Freeman believes that the pressures of neoliberalism have given matrifocality “a different footing” (102) and imbued it with new potential as a way towards economic success. In keeping with Freeman’s challenge to the *respectability/reputation* divide, she rejects binary divisions between matrifocal and married households, arguing that matrifocality is a kinship logic that can be strategically employed regardless of marital status.

Domestic labor has an interesting role to play here, although it is addressed only briefly. Women entrepreneurs often credit their nannies and housekeepers with making it possible for them to work. Nevertheless, domestic work – performed largely by lower-class women – reinforces gendered divisions of labor. Women (not their husbands) supervise domestic workers in order to free themselves to engage in the emotional labor of caring for children, spouses, and neoliberal businesses. Domestic workers also relieve men from taking on “feminine” domestic duties. Meanwhile, domestic labor is also shifting into affective realms. These women are expected to have more training and technologies such as cell phones, but they are performing more of the emotional labor of maintaining households.

A major argument running throughout the book is that selfhood is both an individual and a social project, and therefore we must reconsider neoliberal narratives about rugged individuals who risk capital, as well as ideas of the homogenizing impacts of capital, by analyzing the specific cultural contexts in which individuals fashion their work and selves. Freeman wisely refuses to use “neolib-

eral” or “capitalism” as a gloss, insisting on investigating empirically what these concepts mean in the daily life of Barbadian entrepreneurs. This may seem straightforward, but in many cases the language of neoliberal “freedom” – employed by both its proponents and its opponents – suggests an opposition between individual economic activity and whatever that elusive thing is that we usually gloss as “culture.” Freeman refreshingly shows how individuality is culturally constructed, how neoliberalism and “culture” are mutually constituting, and how being an entrepreneur in Barbados is not the same as being an entrepreneur elsewhere. The experiences of Barbadian entrepreneurs demonstrate how neoliberalism manifests as a set of logics that intersect in complicated ways with how people think about themselves, their relationships, and the meaning of their lives.

Clare A. Sammells

**Gökner, Merve Demircioğlu:** *Achieving Procreation. Childlessness and IVF in Turkey.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. 201 pp. ISBN 978-1-78238-634-6. (Fertility, Reproduction, and Sexuality, 29) Price: \$ 80.00

Merve Demircioğlu Gökner’s book “Achieving Procreation. Childlessness and IVF in Turkey” provides an ethnographic analysis of infertility, assisted reproductive technologies, and associated social relationships in northwestern Turkey. Drawing on research gathered from two in vitro fertilization (IVF) clinics and two villages in and around Istanbul, Gökner provides a close look at the cultural meanings and social impacts of infertility that informs the demand for IVF in the country. The book is divided into five parts, in addition to an introduction and a conclusion chapter. The titles of the main chapters give important insights into the theoretical approach of the author: the desire to have a child, religion as discourse and practice, childlessness among kin and friends, manhood ideologies and IVF, achievement and procreation.

In the first half of the book, Gökner focuses on gendered cultural logics that revolve around procreation, (in)fertility, and IVF treatment as well as how ideologies of femininity and masculinity impact these logics differentially. In pronatalist Turkey, she argues, having children is seen as the ultimate responsibility and expectation of a heterosexual adult life and grants immense power to married women within their extended family and friend networks. Gökner outlines in great detail how gendered identities are formed, reformed, and negotiated on the basis of (in)fertility, and the highly influential role of social relationships on these processes. One of the strengths of Gökner’s book is this focus on not just emotional but also social implications of childlessness that ultimately shape the desire and decision to procreate through IVF among her research participants when infertility happens. While ones’ relatives, neighbors, or friends could become sources to validate or invalidate the experience of a childless couple, Gökner writes, men and women encounter different forms and levels of social stigma. In the case of male infertility, for example, men’s sexual identity and performance is kept under close scrutiny by their social circles. Female infertility, on the other hand, creates greater lev-

els of stress on women's extended family networks, especially on same-gender relationships. Yet, Göknaar continues, women also deploy various strategies to navigate and counter the stigma of childlessness, including, among others, utilizing religious rhetoric such as "everything is God's will" and resorting to modern science in the form of IVF treatment.

Chapter 2, "Religion as Discourse and Practice," pays close attention to role of religion on coping with the stigma and distress of childlessness as well as the desire for and perseverance with IVF. Göknaar tracks how women strategically deploy the discourse of God's will to make meaning out of infertility, constitute complete adult identities and gendered selves, convince friends and families to accept their decision to go through IVF, and cope with distress when hope of having a child through assisted conception fails. Therein lies another strength of the book. Rather than taking religion as a static object of analysis, Göknaar brings issues of power and agency into the discussion. Her account provides a nuanced discussion of how women actively use and reshape religious rhetoric to empower themselves, gain acceptance within their social relationships, and negotiate identity and power dynamics. It also shows how women creatively weave together and control religious discourse and scientific knowledge while navigating intrusive social relationships as well as endless cycles of IVF treatment.

The last part of the book centers around the demand for IVF and women's experience with assisted conception. Göknaar argues, that it is typically women who seek out and initiate the treatment first. In their narratives, women portray IVF as a battle to win for themselves rather than for their marriage or extended families. Similar to the Euro-American literature on reproduction, Göknaar writes, "success" and "achievement" are integral part of women's discursive map when talking about the quest for conception. Moreover, these narratives depict that it is not male medical professionals or health institutions who achieve conception but women who go through IVF. In other words, women attribute achievement to themselves rather than to technology, professionals, or institutions. Countering some of the earlier works on reproductive technologies, Göknaar's account argues that these technologies "do not necessarily objectify women" (157) but women themselves actively use reproductive technologies to negotiate power and gendered treatments in their kin and friend networks. Thus, women typically experience IVF as empowering, despite the long and tiring cycles of clinic visits or disembodiment of conception. Göknaar here signals that most of her participants are working-class women who might be living with their extended families and have to overcome both economic and social barriers to end up in IVF clinics. A more critical discussion of class and political economy of assisted reproduction might have allowed her to delve more thoroughly into the issues of access and inequality. However, she also notes that this is not her project since she focuses more on sociocultural processes that lead women to pursue IVF rather than the treatment process itself. Indeed, her focus on cultural meanings and social impacts of infertility that

pave the way for the demand for IVF is a strength of the book and complements the growing literature on assisted reproductive technologies in Turkey.

"Achieving Procreation. Childlessness and IVF in Turkey" is an important contribution to the fields of cultural anthropology, medical anthropology, anthropology of reproduction, and gender studies. It also contributes to Middle Eastern studies and anthropology of religion, particularly in terms of the debates of religious rhetoric and scientific technology as intertwined empowerment strategies. Due to its accessible language and the detailed literature review of anthropology of procreation in Turkey, I highly recommend the book for undergraduate courses on anthropology of reproduction in the Middle East as well as anthropology of gender in Turkey.

Seda Saluk

**Gutiérrez Estévez, Manuel, y Alexandre Surrallés** (eds.): *Retórica de los sentimientos. Etnografías amerindias*. Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2015. 370 pp. ISBN 978-84-8489-838-2; ISBN 978-3-95487-383-8. Precio: € 29,80

Este nuevo libro del "grupo de trabajo" (16) usualmente reunido bajo el impulso de Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez, contiene estudios sobre pueblos, en su mayoría, indígenas contemporáneos y de tierras bajas. La introducción de los editores, Gutiérrez y Alexandre Surrallés, parte, en buena medida, de algunas reflexiones que este último desarrolló hacia finales de los noventa. En ella, cuestionan "la existencia objetiva de un fenómeno llamado emoción" (12) de una forma que – aunque no sólo absolutamente legítima, sino incluso clásica en la literatura antropológica – bien podría dejar desconcertados a algunos lectores. En efecto, ¿esta suerte de retórica de lo inefable, sugiere acaso que, por ejemplo, el estudio de las emociones entrañaría una dificultad tal, que su validez sería, de alguna forma, difícilmente evaluable? Esta perplejidad inicial es reforzada por el contraste entre la moderación de las definiciones de "emoción" usadas en el libro, y la abundancia de términos análogos que aparecen en el mismo: así, junto con "emociones", encontramos otros como "emotividad", "afectividad", "afectos", "lo afectivo", "sentimientos", "sentimentalidad" o incluso "sinfonía sentimental" (173).

Más allá de estas incertidumbres iniciales, el libro es de una calidad etnográfica innegable. Aquí, revisaremos sus variados capítulos – que los compiladores mismos reconocen como carentes de "una posición teórica común" – abordando, primero, aquellos textos que podrían parecer más sustanciales, debido sea a la ya extensa trayectoria de sus autores (Münzel, Ortiz Rescaniere, Gutiérrez Estévez), sea al detalle etnográfico que incluyen (González Saavedra, Pitarch, Orobítg). Luego, nos detendremos en aquellos trabajos, si se quiere, más explícitamente polémicos de esta compilación, aquellos que debaten abiertamente con trabajos previos (López García, Surrallés). Finalmente, tocaremos de manera sucinta los capítulos que podrían considerarse, quizá, los menos sólidos o pertinentes de este libro (StatchevaVítova, Mason, Flores Martos), antes de brindar una visión del conjunto.