

ance between the limits of the land and ocean and the needs of the residents” (202).

Much is accomplished in this volume. As stated, an often marginalized data set is placed front and center in a cultural historical reconstruction. This volume displays the continuing value of thorough analysis of large archived collections of archaeological materials even when the methods and standards of excavation and documentation varied. Faunal indices are well-used throughout to isolate key diachronic data trends and their meaning in terms of dynamic cultural and behavioral patterns. The clear presentation of archaeological evidence, including numerous well-constructed tables and figures, as directly relevant to present-day resource and conservation issues sets a standard for archaeological research in Hawai‘i and elsewhere.

I would like to have read about the present-day community of the area, including whether and how it was involved in the effort to analyze materials from the old excavations. Is the area so depopulated today that no cohesive community exists that is connected to the site? Was it the nature of the project, based on archived museum collections in distant Honolulu, that kept community collaboration from occurring? Or did collaboration occur that is just not represented in the volume? For example, it is stated that “Hawaiian oral histories, chants, and traditions also convey a history for the place,” (11), yet we are not told what that past is and how it might integrate with or diverge from the Western scientific story told here.

The volume in total represents a major contribution to the archaeology of Hawai‘i and the Pacific. It represents an example beyond its regional significance of how often-neglected or “secondary” data sources such as faunal remains may represent significant aspects of archaeological research when analyzed thoroughly and placed within a framework of environmental conservation and resource management. This is an important volume for any archaeologist contemplating how traditional procurement systems can provide examples of flexible adjustment and resilience to changing environments, introduced domestics, and even the upheaval of contact.

Jack Rossen

**Freeman, Carla:** *Entrepreneurial Selves. Neoliberal Respectability and the Making of a Caribbean Middle Class.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2014. 258 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-5803-9. Price: \$ 24.95

Freeman’s ambitious ethnography addresses how the logics of global neoliberalism become manifest through and reconfigure local understandings of kinship, gender, and labor. She makes the case that a holistic consideration of the lives of Barbadian entrepreneurs must go beyond the (extremely porous) boundaries of “work,” showing how the logic of the neoliberal economic system reaches deep into the affective lives of those who participate in it. Entrepreneurial self-making for Barbadians is linked to identity along lines of race, class, religion, and gender, in some ways mirroring the processual nature of those identities, in other ways reconfiguring them. Thus a seri-

ous examination of work reveals shifts in domestic duties, expectations between spouses, religious conversions, and ideas about how to raise children.

Freeman returns to the classic opposition between “*respectability*” and “*reputation*,” where the former emerges from the institutions of colonial hierarchies, and the latter is forged individually through resistance, improvisation, and wit. This binary is mapped onto others: feminine/masculine, European/African, Christian/syncretic religions, chastity/sexuality, elite/lower class, order/flexibility. Some might criticize Freeman for returning to what she herself calls “old chestnuts of Caribbean studies” (208), however, it is exactly these unsatisfying binaries that she seeks to unsettle. Instead of assuming that neoliberal logics would naturally align with elite respectability, she shows how the oft-used concept of “flexibility” is one that simultaneously invokes the neoliberal fickleness of global flows, the “cut and contrive” nature of poor women surviving economic marginalization, and the risk-taking of the entrepreneur. In Barbados, middle-class women are supposedly the bastion of respectability but also the new entrepreneurial heroes of neoliberal commerce. But the pressures of neoliberal “flexibility” also align them with Barbadian ideals of “African” resistance and resourcefulness, both in terms of participation in mixed economies (from historical slave provision grounds to today’s side-businesses), and in terms of the personal performance of “verbal wit, musical flair, and guile” (21), personal skills which help them to create and maintain independent businesses.

Freeman argues that part of the difficulty of her project stemmed from the fact that many North Atlantic anthropologists consider the self-making of neoliberal entrepreneurs to be mundane; they appear to lack the cultural alterity that we are trained to seek and explain. She argues that the “middle class” as a unit of analysis has either been ignored in favor of conflicts between class extremes, or treated as so broad as to be meaningless. Freeman insists that the middle class of Barbados, including white women, be analyzed on their own terms. The result is a subtle consideration of the interplay between global capitalism, shifting racialized class hierarchies, and the gendered nature of entrepreneurialism.

It is interesting, therefore, that Freeman notes that few of these entrepreneurs actually describe themselves as “middle-class.” She presents entrepreneurialism as generally upwardly-mobile; many of those she discusses appear to be well-established. But clearly self-employment also can be a survival strategy for those facing increasing economic marginalization. One wonders how many unsuccessful entrepreneurs there are in Barbados, and whether the label “middle class” is really the most useful analytical category here. We see hints of entrepreneurs’ economic tenuousness in the “self-exploitation” of long work hours, but it would have been interesting for Freeman to spend some time discussing entrepreneurs who believe that the risks of capitalism did not pay off for them.

To be fair, however, Freeman’s main interest lies not in the profitability of these businesses but in the intersection of economic systems and “psychological habitus.”

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-