

perpetrators of heedless carnage. Similar reversals, connected with Dutch colonialism and nationalist movements, complicate the meanings of painful sites in Java and East Timor. As Joost Coté's work emphasizes, when addressing the symbolisms encoded in these places, scholars should seek to "open up new questions by investigating more carefully whose 'pain' and whose 'shame' were involved" (p. 140).

The fundamental question underlying all these chapters—and places—is, as Angel David Nieves asks, "Can these sites of tragedy and 'dissonant heritage' be used as models for community-based education and renewed political and social inclusion?" (p. 199). In other words, can these sites heal? Logan, quoting the geographer David Lowenthal, writes, "The past's worst horrors are beyond the power of replication" (p. 194). This is confirmed across all the case studies and in some sense is an argument against mindlessly turning every painful place into a museum. At the same time, this book shows that pausing to mark a place as an inheritance of tragedy can have profound effects on communities that allow it to dwell in the past while imagining new futures. The charge and struggle, as Sara Wills writes, is "not to forget the past but break its hold" (p. 275).

Difficult Heritage is a continuing conversation with these themes—indeed, in many ways, all the complex issues around the world and analyzed in *Places of Pain and Shame* are combined into a single location, the infamous Nazi Party rally grounds in Nuremberg, Germany. Sharon Macdonald deftly handles this complex terrain, offering a sophisticated theoretical analysis based on a well-grounded ethnographic study. In other words, this book is an exceptional piece of anthropology.

In nine chapters, packed into 200 pages, Macdonald deals with the events and histories that led to the creation of the Nazi site as "heritage." Tracing the tortured route, including a long period of negligence, Macdonald is deeply concerned with real questions of place, studying how this particular space was crafted and negotiated. When looking at the touristic experience, the book veers toward a kind of landscape archaeology or phenomenology of place, as Macdonald reveals how the site shapes people's experiences, feelings, interpretations, and beliefs.

The negligence of the site was not always based on amnesia but rather a serious concern for the "heritage effect." That is, memorializing the site "as heritage seems to accord it value and . . . [implies] that is being seen positively and even treasured" (p. 190). In a simple though profound example, Macdonald describes how city managers puzzled whether to include the party rally grounds on a local tourist map. To remove the site suggested denial, but to include it imbued the site with disproportionate merit. Two of the book's strongest chapters address how various stakeholders sought to negotiate this delicate balance between memory and forgetting. In chapter 5, we see how public history exhibits and contemporary art were used to counter the mythic qualities of the site. Then, in chapter 6, we learn the ways in which the place

has become embedded within a collective "cosmopolitan memory," a local site that transcends the national. Macdonald evocatively deconstructs a major art exhibit, titled "Fascination and Terror"—an apt phrase for all difficult heritage—that challenges the visitor to reflect on the terrifying power of authoritarianism and hate and the violence they unleash.

In the end, Macdonald, as many of the site's visitors, is not entirely happy with how the Nazi Party ground is now memorialized. Rather than a single answer for the site, Macdonald argues for a "structured oscillation," a strategy that allows the site to serve multiple purposes at once—a site of memory but a site for picnicking, playing, conversing, and living on, too. But if this book shows why it is so difficult for a site like this to successfully negotiate a sound solution, it also shows why it is so necessary to try. The wounds of history do not heal themselves. As Macdonald elaborates on Ralph Giordano's argument, the silencing of difficult heritage may in fact constitute a "second guilt" (p. 98), another violation of the victims by ignoring their suffering and discounting their pain.

This poignant discussion of a second guilt, perhaps more than any other in these books, brought me back to the Apache massacre site in Arizona. Like Germans in Nuremberg, Americans in the Southwest live amid the ruins of historical violence without acknowledging that some crimes have never been atoned. The deafening silence today of the Apache massacre, in other words, is a living guilt built on a historical one. But as these books demonstrate, there are avenues, though by no means easy, that can be pursued to turn these histories of pain and shame into a common heritage. In this way, these books' messages are ultimately positive and empowering. Although difficult heritage highlights the worst of humanity, by recognizing these places, communities can also learn how to accept responsibility for the past and establish the possibility of reconciliation and justice.

Childhood through an Anthropological Lens

Jill E. Korbin

Department of Anthropology and Schubert Center for Child Studies, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio 44106-7068, U.S.A. (jill.korbin@case.edu). 16 X 09

The Anthropology of Childhood: Cherubs, Chattel, Changelings. By David F. Lancy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

David Lancy's *The Anthropology of Childhood* comes at a time of significant anthropological interest in and activity surrounding children and childhood. The book will enhance awareness of the long history of this work in our discipline and is a welcome addition to the literature. Lancy's intentions are clear and twofold. First, as he explains in his preface, he

began writing the book in response to a 2002 article in *American Anthropologist* claiming that anthropology had paid, at best, minimal attention to children and childhood. Taking strong exception to this view, Lancy set out “to capture and offer at least a passing reference to most studies in anthropology where children are in the foreground” (p. ix). His book demonstrates the depth and breadth of anthropological work on this subject, ranging widely across subdisciplines in anthropology and aiming for triangulation whenever possible.

Lancy’s second purpose is to argue that “the way in which modern, well-to-do Westerners view and treat their children is unique in the annals of culture” (p. 1). Lancy is clear and unwavering on this point. He presents his book as “a correction to the ethnocentric lens that sees children only as precocious, innocent, and preternaturally cute *cherubs*. . . . I will make the case for alternative lenses whereby children may be viewed as unwanted, inconvenient *changelings*, or as desired but pragmatically commodified *chattel*” (pp. 2–3). Lancy acknowledges that he uses “admittedly extreme examples to make the point that for much of human history, children were, and still are in most of the world, treated as a commodity” (p. 12).

Lancy’s dual purposes unfold as he cites an extensive anthropological literature to support his contention that “contemporary” societies are neontocracies, in contrast to the gerontocracies prevalent in the rest of the world, and that this has enormous implications for children. Following the introduction articulating this point of view, each of the subsequent nine interlocking chapters focuses on an issue in cross-cultural work on children and childhood. In chapter 2, “To Make a Child,” Lancy examines fertility and the considerations affecting the decision whether to have children. In chapter 3, “A Child’s Worth,” he extends this analysis by pointing to the costs of bearing and raising children and arguing that in most societies, inclusive fitness is the “bottom line” (p. 83) in parental decisions about whether to invest in particular offspring. However, stepping back a bit from this position, he does note that the powerful influence of culture can shape behavior in ways “that make no sense in evolutionary terms” (p. 111).

In chapter 4, “It Takes a Village,” Lancy brings to bear the extensive cross-cultural literature on the participation of a community beyond the biological mother or parents in raising children. He takes issue with the view that the multiple or shared caretaking practices can be straightforwardly imported to technologically advanced, fast-paced societies. Such practices, he argues, are not easily transposed across cultural contexts. In contemporary societies, “the village is not responsible . . . the parent is” (p. 152).

In chapter 5, “Making Sense,” Lancy frames “culture as information” (p. 157) and emphasizes the vast and culturally variable content that children must learn, with examples ranging from kin relations and gender behavior to control of aggression. In chapter 6, “Of Marbles and Morals,” and chapter 7, “His First Goat,” Lancy takes up how children learn

through both play and work. He points out that while contemporary Western societies regard parent-child play as a hallmark of good parenting, cross-cultural evidence indicates a lack of parent-child play in most of the world. Lancy also contrasts the “chore” curriculum provided to most of the world’s children with the academic curriculum of “modern” cultures. In a later chapter (chap. 10), Lancy comes back to the issue of work, differentiating this kind of cultural learning from exploitative child labor.

Chapter 8, “Living in Limbo,” examines adolescence, focusing on cultural rites that signify the transition to adulthood. In chapter 9, “How Schools Can Raise Property Values,” Lancy returns to modern industrialized society’s goal of giving children every advantage, including enrolling in the best school to win the “race” (p. 305). He also finds Western schooling when exported to the rest of the world problematic, if not destructive, in the absence of adequate employment opportunities.

In his final chapter, “Suffer the Children,” Lancy contends that “in the First World, the elevation of children to god-like cherubs and corollary expense shows no signs of slowing. In the Third World, parents continue to seek the means to divest themselves of unwanted changelings or to convert their offspring to usable chattel” (p. 352). The book ends with a pessimistic view of the future of children: “We have allowed children to become a commodity that is not fundamentally different from oil” (p. 376).

What, then, of Lancy’s twofold purpose in this volume? As to the first goal, he offers a rich compendium of the anthropological literature on children and childhood. While one could point to some studies and sources not included, Lancy does an admirable job of covering a vast amount of material, including many older ethnographies that have not been cited in the literature as frequently as they should be. One challenge, not unique to this volume and in keeping with the realities of the anthropological literature, is that the ethnographic present is used for most of the rest of the world, contrasted with more current literature on contemporary industrialized cultures and societies. Lancy also makes use of nonanthropological sources, such as from journalists. While this material is often illustrative in supporting and elaborating Lancy’s points, the reader needs to be cognizant of this mixing of sources, which will be particularly true when using the book with students.

As to the second goal, in this volume Lancy opens the door for a spirited and engaged discussion of anthropological work on children and childhood. His analysis is more complex than an unvarying critique of contemporary society in favor of the “noble savage” (p. 268), a position he rejects. While he is highly critical of contemporary society, which he calls “obsessed with kids” (p. 25), Lancy insists that he is not arguing for the superiority of other societies’ child-rearing practices. In fact, he conveys his passion about the well-being of children regardless of geographic location. Lancy does not shy away from controversy or from liberally offering his opinions. The

perspective he provides on children around the world is a valuable contribution to the anthropological literature that will stimulate further research and thinking.

Globalizing Drug Testing

Donald Pollock

521 College Avenue, Niagara Falls, New York 14305, U.S.A.
(donaldkpollock@gmail.com). 15 XII 09

When Experiments Travel: Clinical Trials and the Global Search for Human Subjects. By Adriana Petryna. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

I began writing this review on December 3, 2009, and experienced the frisson of hearing later in the day that it was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bhopal tragedy, in which a toxic gas leak at a Union Carbide plant in that Indian city killed thousands of people—some say as many as 8,000. Many thousands more continue to suffer long-term health effects from direct exposure and the threat of additional illness from lingering environmental degradation and pollution.

The connection to Adriana Petryna's outstanding new book, *When Experiments Travel*, which reports on the globalization of human subjects research organized by the pharmaceutical industry, should be obvious; the political and economic factors that put dangerous chemical plants in the developing world are not unrelated to the factors that drive pharmaceutical companies to seek out human subjects in those same settings or in the poorer economies of Eastern Europe. Petryna's groundbreaking work on the victims of Chernobyl—a disaster that occurred less than a year and a half after Bhopal—has clearly sensitized her to the multiple and complex factors that drive science and technology globally, the risks that are run, and the management of the consequences.

When Experiments Travel taps into these issues that are on the rise, as the need for subjects for new drug testing overwhelms the supply in the traditional places. Precise numbers are not available, but it is clear that more than half of all drug testing is done outside of the United States, while the reverse was true just a few years ago. Petryna reports that Wyeth Pharmaceuticals, for example, conducted 70% of its drug trials offshore in 2006, up from 50% in 2004, and this percentage is growing.

Petryna brilliantly tackles myriad complex issues that are interwoven in this global search for subjects, and I can only hope that a brief review does not oversimplify her rich, nuanced, and deep consideration of these networks and connections. The issues that send drug testing to other countries are political, economic, and medical-scientific. The medical-scientific issues may be the most obvious: drug manufacturers find that people in the United States and Western Europe already use too many drugs, and tests of new drugs can be

compromised when subject bodies are saturated with everything from aspirin to Zoloft. How many American men over 60 do *not* take drugs for high cholesterol or hypertension? In Eastern Europe or Latin America, drug companies find research subjects who are “clean” and can appeal to scientific rationales for using these populations as test subjects. Participation in a drug trial may be the only way that sufferers of some illnesses in those countries can gain access to effective medications—when they are indeed effective.

Petryna tracks the emergence and growth of contract research organizations that find and recruit drug test subjects, establish experimental protocols, and manage everything about the process from legal approvals to data collection and reporting. In the two major sites in which she conducted her deepest fieldwork, Poland and Brazil, drug testing is cheaper, patient data are relatively well organized, and testing has an apparent efficiency that is harder to achieve in the United States or France. Payments to physicians to enroll patients in drug trials, expedited legal approvals, and patient access to health care make drug testing in countries such as Poland, Russia, India, and Argentina attractive to all participants, from drug companies to individual patients.

But the ease, lower cost, and efficiency of such testing regimes are only apparent. Petryna uncovers a set of factors that complicate this simplistic vision and enrolls her notion of “experimentality” to describe the global shell game in which “entrepreneurs, health professionals, and research subjects negotiate their own immediate stakes” (p. 30) in access to capital and profits.

Petryna's first chapter lays out the “ethical variability” of this regime. Drug testing in any setting is a mushy science at best. Dosages of test drugs or comparison drugs can be manipulated to produce hoped-for outcomes. Levels of comparative effectiveness can be nudged up or down as case-mix factors are juggled statistically. Adverse reactions can be buried in a dense forest of other variables. Petryna traces this ethical variability through examples such as AZT, Vioxx, the growth and development of contract research organizations that insulate drug companies from direct responsibility for trials, and the ways in which the offshoring of drug trials responds to some ethical and legal issues while circumventing or even creating others.

Multiple factors have driven this ascendance of drug development and testing. As Petryna comments, before 1980 the pharmaceutical industry was a good business, but after that watershed year it became a “stupendous” one (p. 69). Legal, scientific, and more broadly cultural factors converged to propel the pharmaceutical industry into the realm of astronomical profitability, including business-friendly legislation, expansion of patent protections, scientific advancements in the biochemistry of drug development, and growing public demand for pharmaceutical regulation of chronic illnesses, even mild illness. Petryna's research in Poland offers an effective description of the stakes involved and how the easy