

knew of him, the more he seemed the incorporated ideal of a man of science. Acute as were his reasoning powers, vast as was his knowledge, marvelous as was his tenacious industry, under physical difficulties which would have converted nine men out of ten into aimless invalids; it was not these qualities, great as they were, which impressed those who were admitted to his intimacy with involuntary veneration, but a certain intense and almost passionate honesty by which all his thoughts and actions were irradiated, as by central a fire. [p. 219]

Marketing Democracy: Power and Social Movements in Post-Dictatorship Chile. Julia Paley. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. 255 pp.

JANET L. FINN

University of Montana

In recent years there has been considerable debate among anthropologists regarding questions of ethnographic authority, the politics of representation, and the possibilities for engaged scholarship. Too often, attention to dilemmas of textual representation and location of the reflexive ethnographer in the text has overshadowed questions regarding ethnographic practice that bridges inquiry, activism, and participatory approaches to the production of cultural knowledge. Julia Paley, in her insightful examination of the relationship among popular movements, democracy, and neoliberalism in postdictatorship Chile, offers a fine example of the possibilities and challenges in bridging ethnography and activism. Paley locates her inquiry in La Bandera, an urban Santiago *población* (neighborhood) with a history of political consciousness and mobilization and with a mythic reputation as a "radicalized, poor, and dangerous" place (p. 26). She sketches the history of mobilization and marginality in La Bandera and locates the *población* as a key site for exploring the intersection of local meanings and practices and shifting political conditions. In particular, she explores her engagement in ongoing critical reflection and action with members of *Llaretta*, a popular health group founded in La Bandera in the early 1980s. Paley examines the tenuous transition from dictatorship to democracy from the perspective of *Llaretta* activists. She effectively incorporates a dialogical approach in both fieldwork and the text that offers the reader a window on the praxis of popular education, an ideology and strategy of social change central to the efforts of the urban community activists with whom Paley works. Through this dialogical process, Paley explores the ways in which activists and residents variably question the production and legitimation of knowledge, talk back and acquiesce to the official discourses of the state, and live the everyday contradictions and inequities of a compromised democracy.

Paley describes her work as an ethnography of democracy in transition. It is not only an ethnography of political process but also ethnography as political process. Paley explores competing constructions and practices of democracy, contested meanings of "participation," and the forms of

power and resistance in play in the making of particular kinds of citizens, consumers, and political subjects within the confines of a free-market democracy. She interrogates the ways in which the idea of democracy is imagined and deployed by various players with differing stakes in the process. Paley constructs her ethnography of democracy around three key themes: marketing democracy, the paradox of participation, and the legitimation of knowledge. She traces the popular mobilizations, the negotiations among political elites, and the ways in which democracy was marketed during the 1988 campaigns for a plebiscite to determine the future of the Pinochet regime. Paley addresses the idea of marketing both in terms of the introduction of consumer marketing techniques into the campaign process and in terms of the fundamental wedding of a democratic future to a neoliberal economy. She argues that "legitimation of the economic model was an important product of Chile's political transition" (p. 126). Her analysis points to the political and economic continuities and the active practices of their maintenance that belie notions of a fundamental power shift in the movement from dictatorship to democracy. Within Chile's free market democracy, Paley argues, popular demobilization is a political goal.

In her discussion of the paradox of participation, Paley examines how power operated in Chile in the 1990s when repression was no longer its key form of expression. She explores the constricted structuring of participation in civil society under democracy and addresses a very significant question: "How might participation simultaneously operate both as a motivating force and a mode of control—a form of governmentality—that is characteristic of democracy amid neoliberal economics in Chile?" (p. 147). Paley offers a careful reading of two cholera campaigns, one sponsored by the state and one by popular health groups, to contrast the meaning and power of participation and to illustrate on-the-ground resistance to the personalized, depoliticized construction of the problem and intervention as presented in the official discourse of the state. This discussion lays the groundwork for Paley's exploration of whose knowledge counts. In her discussion of the legitimation of knowledge, Paley addresses the power of professionalization in postdictatorship Chile and the contestation by groups such as *Llaretta* committed to building knowledge for practice from the ground up. Paley values the capacity of community activists and residents to constitute themselves as critical and creative thinkers and actors with a right to have a voice in the decisions that affect their lives. At the same time, Paley recognizes the very real constraints on their meaningful participation within Chile's free-market democracy.

Although Paley's ethnography of democracy offers provocative insights, it also has limitations. First, her presentation centers on the transition from dictatorship to democracy and makes the case that the legacy of Pinochet has compromised the contemporary practice of democracy in Chile. Her presentation offers a very truncated view of Chilean political history that fails to appreciate a longer history of tensions and contradictions in the country's meaning

and making of democracy. Likewise, she neglects the longer history of collective agency, resistance, and contestation on the part of Chile's poor and working class sectors that shaped political mobilization in the 1980s. Second, Paley pays considerable attention to the popular education methodologies used by community activists in La Bandera, and she invests time and effort in learning and practicing these methods. She does not, however, inquire into the cultural and historical salience of popular education as a strategy for social change, nor does she consider its significant intellectual and political history in Chile. It is significant that the ideology and practice of popular education continue to be reproduced among the popular sectors, and this reproduction merits ethnographic attention.

In sum, Paley has made an important contribution to our understanding of democracy as a subject of ethnographic inquiry and to the possibilities of engaged scholarship. *Marketing Democracy* is a very accessible text with appeal to a broad audience in cultural anthropology, Latin American studies, and political science as well as to community activists.

Mongolian Music, Dance, and Oral Narrative: Performing Diverse Identities. Carole Pegg. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001. 376 pp.

URADYN E. BULAG

City University of New York, Hunter College

Mongols are often touted, for better or worse, as good singers and dancers by their neighbors, but few readers would be aware of the full range of the Mongol cultural repertoire before reading Carole Pegg's book, *Mongolian Music, Dance, and Oral Narrative*. In this important publication, Pegg records an extraordinarily rich reservoir of Mongolian artistic traditions, ranging from music and dances, to epic poetry and so on. This richness is largely a reflection of the diversity of the Mongol groups, many of whom are now actively reclaiming their cultural heritage after about seventy years of communist rule in Mongolia. Over ten years in the making, the book is encyclopedic in scope and meticulous in detail. The research draws on the author's unique capacity as a professional musician, a trained anthropologist, and an avid reader of written sources, with linguistic competence to interview in Mongolian. It is admirable that many poems are presented in both romanization and accurate English translation. Readers will also appreciate that much of the illustrative music discussed in the book is made available in an attached CD with 38 sound tracks.

The book is divided into four main parts. Before describing the vocal, instrumental, and dance forms of Mongolian art, the first part lays out an argument, which is then followed throughout the book. Inspired by Marilyn Strathern's theory of "merographic connections," Pegg argues that "the individual, embodying the potential of multiple or partial identities, performs a part of the self by using aspiration and imagination to connect with the aspect of importance at

that moment: ethnicity, nationality, politics, history, religion, mythology, status, or gender" (p. 5). Of these registers, ethnicity figures prominently in the book. The author holds that Mongolian performances are largely expressions of ethnicity, celebrating ethnic landscape, ethnic origin, and ethnic heroes. Divided into Western and Eastern Mongols, their "ethnic" cleavages embedded in memories of past conflicts, but suppressed during Mongolia's long socialist period, resurfaced after the overthrow of the socialist regime in Mongolia in 1990. In the new "nationalist" fervor, Eastern Mongols, represented largely by the country's majority Khalkha "ethnic group," reappropriated Chinggis Khan as their hero, and in a counter-narrative, Western Mongol groups have taken on board Galdan Boshigt, Amarsanaa, and others, all problematical historical figures in the socialist Mongolian historiography.

What follows are detailed descriptions of earlier performance repertoires in what she calls presocialist "Old Mongolia" and their postsocialist renaissances. The second part delves into the religious aspects of Mongolian performance art, dividing it into three categories: folk-religious, Shamanistic, and Buddhist performances. This division, sometimes along "ethnic" lines, appears not to be clear-cut, as they often blend with one another. The third part examines diverse uses of performance in such contexts as domestic ceremonies, sports, and in herding and hunting. These two parts contain extremely rich data, culled in most instances from folklore research by Mongolian and Western scholars, and many of which are also verified by the author's first-hand observations and participations.

The rich repertoires of music and epics described in these parts are concatenated across time and space. This is captured by Arjun Appadurai's concept of ideoscapes. Instead of the sense of a globalized contemporary world, however, Pegg reverses the concept to describe the old Mongol world, although she does not perceive the ancient Mongol culture as globalized. I would, however, suggest that this is a fruitful area for further research, especially in light of postmodern appropriation of nomadic metaphors, for, after all, Mongols of the past were no less global and nomadic than today's Western globe trotters. This striking time-space concatenation is somewhat undermined by the author's binary division of time into capitalized Old Mongolia and today. Old Mongolia is not so much how Mongols themselves collapse presocialist times into an undifferentiated "past," as it is Pegg's own tactical tool of convenience. This is perhaps not her fault, as most of the folklore materials available are often couched in a timeless "tradition," a product of the modernization paradigm. This would be fine if one deals with one cultural group, for instance, the Khalkha, but Old Mongolia surely meant different things for different groups, especially if we consider shamanic groups, for whom, Buddhist Old Mongolia is imbued with memories of suppression. It is also doubtful that an idealized Old Mongolia can serve as a useful temporal and spatial analytical tool in contrast to socialist Mongolia, for many of the traditions attributed to the