

Dans ce dialogue, elle évoque les souffrances et les acquis d'une révolution sexuelle toujours en progrès.

Enfin, la dernière partie de l'ouvrage est constituée de textes qui traitent de sujets variés mais qui s'articulent toujours autour des trois mots clés qui servent de fil rouge aux auteurs de ce collectif : l'«imaginaire», la «spéculation» et les «interdits». À titre d'exemple, il faut noter le texte remarquable de Yazgi sur les sorcières en Inde, plus précisément dans la région de Jaunpur–Jaunsar. L'auteur nous explique d'une part comment la sorcière dans le jeu des rapports fait partie intégrale du fondement de la domination masculine et d'autre part, comment ce rapport définit la sexualité. Enfin, on notera aussi le texte de Wastiau qui nous parle des photos prises au Congo au plus fort du colonialisme et qui met en rapport le nu ethnographique et le nu artistique. Cette mise en rapport nous rappelle l'inscription de l'imaginaire européen et colonial dans la mise scène des corps nus.

Enfin, qu'il s'agisse de l'inscription de la pornographie ou encore de l'évolution des normes et la mise en place des interdits, ce qui ressort de la lecture c'est la façon dont la sexualité s'inscrit et se transforme à travers les logiques marchandes, les modifications du cadre législatif ou encore l'influence des médias. À ce titre, l'expérience individuelle s'inscrit dans ces dynamiques. Mais bien sûr, la négociation des interdits se fait de façon différente que ce soit dans le temps (la transformation des mentalités) ou dans l'espace, et cette négociation prend souvent la forme «d'injonctions paradoxales» entre différents champs (l'intime, la sexualité, les normes en place, etc.).

Pour terminer, on peut dire qu'il s'agit d'un ouvrage intéressant dont la diversité des textes alimente une réflexion sur des sujets qui sont généralement peu traités.

Michael Billig, *Barons, Brokers, and Buyers: The Institutions and Cultures of Philippine Sugar*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, 320 pages.

Sally Ann Ness, *Where Asia Smiles: An Ethnography of Philippine Tourism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003, xvii + 301 pages.

Reviewer: *Lisa M. Mitchell*
University of Victoria

There is considerable anthropological interest at the moment in the transnational flows of capital, humans, and goods and in the consequences of these forces for local groups. The two books considered in this review—Ness's analysis of tourism in Davao City, Mindanao and Billig's study of sugar production on the nearby island of Negros—are significant contributions to this area of study. That the setting for both books is the Philippines is significant, continuing a renewed anthropological interest in this country.

Barons, Brokers, and Buyers: The Institutions and Cultures of Philippine Sugar is an analysis of elites, power and

bureaucracy on the island of Negros, the region of the Philippines known as "Sugarlandia." Author and economic anthropologist, Michael Billig, sets out to explain why sugar is no longer the powerhouse of the Negros economy and to argue that economic and political domination on that island has shifted from a rural agrarian elite to an urban, commercial, industrial and financial group based in the Makati district of Manila. What stands out in this fine book is the extent to which both the decline and the shift are deeply shaped by a colonial past and current international processes of production and exchange, as well as, by local organizations, ideas and players.

Acknowledging his "neo-Weberian predilection" (p. 11), Billig investigates this area of economic activity through meanings, morals, and values, institutional forms and conflicts. In his first chapter, he also outlines the stance of "relative objectivity" (p. 12) or neutrality he adopts as the best way to understand how conflict, oppression and inequality operate in sugar production. Chapter two is an excellent overview of sugar's history in the Philippines, from the Spanish colonial period, through the American years and Marcos' "kleptocracy," up to Billig's own fieldwork in the 1990s. Billig then richly details the many factors contributing to the decline in the sugar industry (chapter three) before focussing his analysis on the anachronistic *quedan* (coupon) system of ownership rights in the sugar as it moves from planter to miller to trader (chap. 4). Discussion follows about conflicts between the old agrarian elite and the new urban industrial, financial, commercial elite over importing foreign sugar (chap. 5) and "rationalizing" the sugar industry (chap. 6).

Overall, Billig's work succeeds more in analysing the decline of agrarian based power than it does in persuading this reader that power now resides in the "younger, wealthier, more often Chinese, urban industrial, financial and commercial elites" (p. 30). A chapter extending his meaning- and institution-oriented ethnographic lens to this emerging elite in Negros or in Makati is needed. Nor was I persuaded by Billig's justification for his stance of "neutrality" and "objectivity." Certainly, his position of "neutrality" was born out the very real social conflict and violence in the sugar industry in the early 1990s and the very lines of power and influence Billig studied, ultimately forced him to leave Negros Island abruptly and for good. However, his claims that "advocacy" or "action" anthropology, which he sees as the only alternative, lead to "simplistic and facile accounts and solutions [of social problems]" analysis are themselves simplistic. So, too, is his assumption that "advocacy" is equivalent to "moral condemnation." Some sections of the book are slow going, largely because of the complexity of the story and the countless organizational acronyms which characterize politics and economics in the Philippines. His concluding argument that economies must be studied empirically, with attention to multiple and competing meanings will be familiar to anthropologists and appear to be directed primarily at formalist economists.

Nonetheless, Billig's book is a formidable model of the value of ethnography for economic analyses. His descriptions

of conflict among elites are compelling accounts of the ways in which national policies are the outcome of forceful personalities, individual agendas and backroom dealing. I think his analysis is strongest in demonstrating that particular organizational forms, relationships and policies of sugar production emerged to solve particular historical problems or to ensure American control over this industry, are now both entrenched and unproductive. His discussion about the relationship between this “institutional stasis” and groupism, personalism, patron-client relations, and attitudes toward the Chinese in the Philippines are instructive and thought-provoking. While the book focusses on the sugar industry in one region of the Philippines, Billig’s approach should serve as a model and standard for the analysis of other industries in other post-colonial settings.

On the neighbouring island of Mindano, Sally Ann Ness turns a similar interest in the details, personalities and meanings of local and transnational processes into an engaging analysis of contemporary tourism in Davao City. Ness’ scholarship in the anthropology of dance is evident early in *Where Asia Smiles* in her assertion that “tourism is an essentially performative, imaginative phenomenon” (p. xvii). Tourism is further delineated by Ness as “a complex, unruly, all-too-human living matrix ... dedicated to the production of ... hyper-consumable landscapes” (p. 10). A central goal of Ness’ analysis is to understand how touristic utopic spaces are created and how their material and symbolic existence “deforms ... homes, homeland and natural citizens.” (p. 13)

The book chapters are organized into three major sections. The first section situates Ness as an anthropologist studying tourism from a particular theoretical place and as a traveller narrating her arrival at the Davao airport, riding through the city in a taxi, and emerging at the inn where she usually stays. Once there, as Ness puts it, she finds herself “both inside and outside the tourism matrix” (p. 36), adopting an ambivalent “halfie” stance which she also traces to her early exposure to and employment in the tourism industry in the United States. Part two, *Global Enterprises*, discusses “utopic spaces”—a luxury resort and a planned theme park tourism estate—oriented to the international “high end” traveller and controlled by nonlocal forces. Part three, *Local Amusements*, focusses on aspects of the tourism matrix aimed principally at the accommodation and amusement of Filipinos and more locally controlled.

Ness’ analysis is complex and elegant, and she skilfully applies both anthropological concepts and notions of “quality” and “consumer” generated from within the tourism matrix. Her descriptions of and comparative analysis of the resorts, inns, beaches and other touristic places are particularly good. Ness has an eye for detail, the easily overlooked, but oh-so-important details which create and sustain the core illusions of touristic utopias—exotica, glamour, leisure, and home away from home. The raised eyebrow of a porter, a road bump at the driveway of her hotel, a pause in a speaker’s key note address, the colour, texture and width of a sash on a dress, and so on

provide the concrete details which anchor Ness and her reader in the complex touristic hyperspaces she analyzes.

She coaxes a lot out of her observations and interviews; only occasionally do her conclusions feel overextended. At several points in her analysis, Ness suggests that tourism represents a continuity of development processes and transnational influences in Mindanao but that continuity is never fleshed out. Ness also says she wants to attend to “the entire spectrum of persons...engaged in the cultivation of touristic landscapes” (p. 11), so this is a book about the “tourate”—tourism service providers and locals (p. xi). Yet, the perspectives of those who are debilitated by or excluded from the tourism matrix, and those who create utopic spaces by their back breaking work as maids, cooks, gardeners, drivers, construction workers and so on do not figure prominently in her book. Ness’ primary contacts appear to have been the movers and shakers of Davao tourism—managers, developers, owners, old money and new money, and the group she suggests are “on the brink of corporate life” (p. 180).

Read together, Billig’s and Ness’ books exemplify current ethnography as thick, but necessarily partial, accounts of the everyday priorities and concerns in people’s lives, the connections between local events and global processes, and the importance of keeping history and transnational forces at the heart of analyses. They offer very different but fruitful approaches to understanding economic activity—Ness’ performative acts and spaces and Billig’s search for causal factors—and different takes on the place of the ethnographer—Ness’ ambivalence and Billig’s objectivity. Both books contribute to understanding struggles over resource control and meaning, and the lived negotiations of shifting economic priorities among elites and an emerging middle class. The books work nicely as a pair since they describe co-existing aspects of contemporary economic development in the Philippines and elsewhere—the waning of colonial initiated cash cropping and the waxing of tourism with its promise of profits from selling a fantasy when all other resources have been drained.

While the works of Renato Rosaldo, the late Michelle Rosaldo, Jean Paul Dumont, Pauline Gardiner Barber, and Vincente Rafael will be known to many readers, anthropological writing about the Philippines is not abundant. This is surprising perhaps given the historical and enduring presence of the United States in the Philippines. Billig and Ness have worked in the Philippines for many years and their books are important and insightful contributions to the small but growing area of Philippines studies.

Both books will be of use to scholars and students interested in the contours and consequences of transnational economies, identities, and as well as those with specific interest in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Billig’s book will be of particular value in graduate or upper-level undergraduate courses on political and economic anthropology and Ness’ book in courses at the same level on tourism and identity.