codes and the actual material and social conditions on site. Engineering and safety are therefore more than technical, they are also political. Chapter 5, "Corruption and Public Works," continues this focus to explain why road construction projects are often wrapped up in accusations of corruption. Like health and safety regulations and engineering standards, the formal regulatory systems that attempt to ensure transparency and accountability of road-building projects also generate deep uncertainties, manifest in the conviction that public works are always steeped in corruption.

In Part 3, "The Modern State," the authors consider the political impacts of social transformation via infrastructural engineering by identifying two areas of attention for anthropological analysis: the "impossible public" and the "engineer bricoleur." As Harvey and Knox have illustrated throughout the book, road construction projects are deeply imbued with ambitions for social transformation in the name of the public good (168). However, infrastructures also fix things in place. Even though roads are established as projects of social transformation, they are also manifestations of social, legal, and technical methods that work to fix relations and hold them in place over time (181). This fixity has powerful effects for generating the conditions of possibility for political action (181). However, impossible publics take a position of refusal – not acquiescing to the project nor engaging in explicit acts of opposition or resistance to it.

For example, the authors relate the story of Aurelio who refused to sign paperwork to transfer ownership of land because (in his words) "*es que no me da la gana*" (I am not moved to) (175). This refusal is not definitive; he never says that he will not nor that he will; he simply prefers not to sign (177). This action frustrated the lawyer for the Ministry of Transport and Communications, who worked to ensure that people who were required to sell their land for the road project were appropriately represented, informed of their rights, and adequately compensated. If Aurelio gave a reason for his refusal, they could compromise or perhaps give him more money. As the authors put it, "if Aurelio's statement was a wilful claim, he would easily be able to be incorporated into the ethical schema by which his opposition to the road was understandable as a statement of opposition. The next step would be to rationally discuss appropriate levels of compensation, or articulate the grounds for rerouting the road, or both" (178). But if he gave no reason at all, what could they do? For Harvey and Knox, such acts are less easily contained than more explicit forms of public protest. These impossible publics thus represent other possibilities for political action that derive not from a culturally different mode of explanation or analysis but, rather, from the very contradictions that the process of infrastructural transformation puts into play (185). In Chapter 7, which is also the conclusion of the book, Harvey and Knox return to the figure of the "engineer bricoleur." Such a figure draws attention to the fact that what engineers actually do is inherently pragmatic and flexible. While standardising metrics and the universals of mathematics are central to engineering practice, the measurements these techniques allow are never assumed to be stable (196). The professional expertise of engineers allows them to produce resilient structures out of the dynamic relational properties of the material and social worlds in which they work (197). The material transformation they enact is produced out of a world of tensions, negotiations, and contestations – or, in other words, politics.

Harvey and Knox write that they began their study of Peruvian roads as a means to work ethnographically on the state. However, their attention to the material politics of road construction on two highways allowed them to rethink the political from the grounded, experiential, and immediate space of infrastructural formations. Roads brought social forms into being by way of their planning and construction: territories and displacements, diverse forms of expertise and analytical attention, movements and blockages, forms of social difference and transgressions. Roads matter to people, and, in this book, Harvey and Knox demonstrate why roads should also matter to those of us who are interested in thinking about the political.

Heiman, Rachel, *Driving After Class: Anxious Times in an American Suburb,* Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015, 288 pages.

Reviewer: Joshua Friesen
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Driving After Class: Anxious Times in an American Suburb is the product of Rachel Heiman's fieldwork in a suburban town centre in New Jersey, United States, pseudonymously referred to as "Danboro." Clearly written and argued, this ethnography explores what it was like to be a middle-class American in the 1990s. It is a time that, according to Heiman, is important to study to better understand how the post-war American dream came to an end as well as to "think deeply about how to create a new American dream that will be more sustainable and equitable than the last" (xii).

One of the contextualising arguments for *Driving After Class* is that neoliberal government policies in the United States created new opportunities for the expansion of middle-class and upper-middle-class wealth and, at the same time, undercut the institutional basis for a secure middle-class existence. More specifically, Heiman argues that neoliberal political and economic conditions created a dominant "common sense" or habitus in places like Danboro. It was this neoliberal habitus that drove the people Heiman worked and lived among to make decisions, investments, and consumer purchases that both asserted their class position within America and jeopardised their personal resources. As Heiman herself puts it, "the central argument of the book is that rugged entitlement – a product of neoliberalism and its limited commitment to the public good – participated in furthering conditions that intensified middle-class anxieties in the first place" (4). In other words, the ruggedly self-serving entitlement that residents of Danboro felt about their own luxuries and their own status privileges walked in lockstep with the degradation of the public sphere that made it harder for Danboro's residents to hold on to their privileged way of life.

Driving After Class is broken into seven chapters: the introduction frames the arguments and historical context of the book; Chapter 2 explores the exodus from Brooklyn that many Danboro residents made along with the "post-Brooklyn"

sensibilities that help to explain the class anxieties many residents felt; Chapter 3 describes a debate Heiman witnessed at a local zoning commission about a new resident's proposed six-foot-high fence; Chapter 4 examines the pervasive cult of the sports utility vehicle (SUV) in Danboro and places like it; Chapter 5 describes and analyses the conflict and debate surrounding the school redistricting that Danboro residents were involved in while Heiman did her fieldwork; and, finally, the conclusion provides thoughts and suggested directions for public anthropology and future research.

Heiman's exploration of the urban (mainly Brooklynite) roots of Danboro's residents allows her to describe what was gained and lost for these Americans in the transition from their working-class, or lower middle-class, backgrounds lives in the "big city" to their newly acquired middle-class to upper-middle-class existence in the suburbs. Many of the people Heiman spoke with missed the "spontaneous" community they lost by moving away from a denser urban centre (45). At the same time, Heiman uses historical context along with ethnographic vignettes to show how Danboro's residents generally exalted in the greater space they found in the suburbs and, in particular, the racially and class ordered spaces of Danboro. As one of her informants puts it, "It's [Danboro], it's very pretty. It's, it's just like very, everything's like taken care of and everything looks like so … nice. Like well cut" (68). Heiman's chapter on post-Brooklyn life in Danboro also highlights how an appreciation for the ordered neatness of suburban spaces, together with a fear of the disorderly social proximity of urban spaces creates anxieties about the loss of spatial, class, and racial order. As Heiman puts it, "the same aesthetic of display that provides people in Danboro with an illusory sense of security and momentary relief from class anxieties and urban fears ended up creating a disciplinary community with unnerving surveillance and exposure" (68). Heiman argues this dynamic characterised the paradox of suburban American life in the 1990s. People moved to the suburbs to be more secure from crime and from loss of social status, but this movement also threatened their financial situation as well as their subjective feelings of personal security.

In the next four chapters, Heiman continues to examine this paradox of suburban life. Examining this tension is particularly interesting because it allows Heiman to draw out the interplay between the unintended effects of peoples' economic and social strategies and their explicitly formulated goals and desires. Unlike traditional analyses of urban class conflict (for instance, Castells 1978 or Friedland 1982), studies such as Heiman's go a long way toward showing how economic classes work against themselves as much as they work in solidarity for their own interests.

Chapters 3 and 6 of Heiman's book are classic instances of "conflict studies" of the sort made famous by the Manchester School of political anthropology (Gluckman 1973). They provide intriguing analyses of the way people living in and around Danboro dealt with conflicts over shared resources. The first of these chapters (Chapter 3) is called "Gate Expectations" and covers the debate in a zoning board meeting about whether a new and wealthy resident should be allowed to build a six-foot-high fence around his property. The second conflict study, found in a chapter titled "From White Flight to Community Might," is about school redistricting (Chapter 6). This complicated conflict is an excellent case representing the ways that residents of differently classed and racialised communities identified and advocated for their interests. In a particularly interesting rhetorical twist, Heiman shows how residents of Danboro classified their fear of racial and class mixing in schools as a simple desire for community among those they lived nearest. This chapter also includes many interesting ethnographic asides about how the children Heiman babysat during her fieldwork conceptualised their educational needs within a status-conscious community.

Chapters 4 and 5 of *Driving After Class* also provide an abundance of ethnographic detail but are more focused on the ways that private consumer preferences mediate the public sphere in Danboro. Rather than focusing directly on conflicts over shared public resources, the chapters entitled "Driving After Class" (Chapter 4) and "Vehicles of Rugged Entitlement" (Chapter 5) lead the reader through a series of instances where the individuals Heiman met revealed their class habitus in their statements about what kind of vehicles they needed to drive to be safe (SUVs), what schools they needed to attend to get into a professional program later in life, or what type of crystal they needed to own in order to be normal. With a plethora of examples, Heiman illustrates how the status quo is questioned but ultimately preserved in Danboro through a series of "gating" measures that aim to preserve the individual and her family rather than to protect the public sphere that collections of individuals and families share (140). To this end, the SUV is an adept metaphor. By using the example of a young girl certain she needed to drive an SUV to be safe on the road but who, in reality, endangered herself and others by driving an ungainly and unresponsive vehicle, Heiman is able to adroitly illustrate how private consumer preferences in Danboro create the very fears they aim to assuage. In this case, SUVs make roadways more dangerous public places at the same time that they are marketed as "a little security in an insecure world" for their private owners (146).

In her concluding chapter, Heiman "commences" a new line of inquiry into the different possibilities for public and private lives in America (231). She writes that "the question now becomes, can we develop a new American dream, and if so, what will it look like?" (231) Specifically, Heiman challenges readers and fellow researchers to think about ways that American communities might be reimagined and reconstituted outside of the influence of neoliberal ideologies of spatial segregation, privatisation, and the degradation of publicly funded infrastructure. Applying Antonio Gramsci's (1971) notions of hegemony and Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) habitus, Heiman finishes by asking what changes in the minutia of everyday life might challenge and alter the neoliberal "common-sense" of rugged entitlement that drove the residents of Danboro to their suburban recluses while also pressuring them to the anxious point of financial and social collapse.

Beyond being a well-written and engaging ethnography, *Driving After Class* should be useful to those anthropologists, sociologists, and urban studies researchers interested in the ways that personal desires, dreams, and beliefs produce and reproduce dominant forms of space, politics, and economy. *Driving After Class* is a monograph on suburban life in America, but it is also a work of political anthropology about racialised class politics and a treatise in public anthropology concerning the interaction between consumerism and the public sphere in the late twentieth century.

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Political transitions are times of potential. Things are up for grabs. A new world seems possible. Dramatic improvements in women's electoral fortunes in African and Latin American countries where gender quotas were part of a transitional package show that "regime change" provides an opening for women's activists to embed policy and institutions that support gender justice.

But transitions are also risky. As Joanna Mishtal documents in her important new book on the politics of morality in post-socialist Poland, conservatives can be activists too. There, the Catholic Church manoeuvred to entrench a moral regime such that the "governance of women's bodies in postsocialist politics and gender [figure] as an essential constitutive feature of the Polish democratization process" (11). The upshot is that sexual and reproductive rights were severely restricted after socialism fell in 1989.

Mishtal starts by establishing how the church and its allies manipulated social policy in the new Poland in ways that were particularly damaging for women. The socialist state introduced abortion and contraception in the 1950s, well before these services became legally available in most liberal democracies. Consequently, people were dumbfounded when the new Polish parliament, under the presidency of Solidarity's Lech Wałęsa, rushed to grant "the unborn" legal status. A systematic assault on abortion access followed, culminating in a 1993 law – the most restrictive in Europe, outside Ireland – that forbids abortion in all but three circumstances: danger to the woman's life or health; severe incurable foetal abnormality; or first-trimester pregnancy resulting from a reported crime.

Compounding the situation, the state stopped subsidising contraceptives, replaced evidence-based sex education with "preparation for life in a family" courses based on Catholic ideology, and introduced legal provision for conscientious objection. The last was particularly pernicious. Individual doctors – sometimes out of fear more than conviction – may withhold lawful abortions and "artificial" contraception, advocating church-approved periodic abstinence instead. Worse, some managers bypass medical staff and invoke the conscience clause on an institution-wide level, leaving entire hospitals without abortion services.

The consequences can be harrowing. In 2000, multiple doctors warned Alicja Tysiąc that pregnancy could severely worsen her existing vision problems. But none would perform an abortion. Tysiąc, now legally blind and unable to work or live independently, was vindicated when the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) ruled the state had breached her privacy rights. Likewise, the ECHR found that Poland had violated the European Convention on Human Rights provisions on privacy, liberty, and security as well as its prohibition of inhuman or degrading treatment in the case of "Agata," a 14-year-old rape victim. Agata was denied an abortion by a hospital director who explained that doctors in his facility would neither perform abortions nor provide referrals because "ethics is above the law" (96). Shockingly, this scenario was repeated several times before the government designated a hospital 500 kilometres away to perform the procedure. (Poland responded to the ECHR verdicts by creating a Patients' Rights Ombudsman.)

Mishtal's perspective on the church is refreshingly incisive: a strategising institution that played a long game "to establish itself as political actor not just in relation to the [postsocialist] state, but within the state structure itself" (34). Figured as an agent of liberation because of its pre-transition support for Solidarity, few suspected the church would roll back women's rights. Mishtal quotes a prominent feminist and key informant explaining that the Polish left was "simply unprepared to respond to the upsurge of the right wing machinery and the wave of moralization that came with it … it came as a shock" (37).

Long-term participant observation and scores of interviews with reproductive rights activists, doctors, religious officials, and women who made reproductive decisions in the new Poland, give Mishtal an intimate appreciation of the difficulty of resisting an emboldened religious regime, the focus of Chapter 3. Before 1989, women enjoyed significant social entitlements: access to education; secure employment; childcare (including for disabled children); and help with domestic labour, including subsidised takeaway meals. Paradoxically, such "state feminism" may have facilitated the replacement of the "red" regime with the "black" one of priestly cassocks (21). Not only did the state discourage independent feminist dissent, functioning as a "virtual husband," it left inequality within families intact: "actual husbands … experienced little change in gender roles" (26). In consequence, women "viewed state-initiated solutions [to gender inequality] with skepticism" after 1989 (89).

More basically, feminists struggled to articulate their case as conservative Catholicism controlled the terms of debate. Before 1989, one activist recalled, "abortion wasn't weighted down by the language of morality, that it's the killing of the unborn … [T]hen it became a sin" (81). Compounding this