

not seem to have taken on the dominant model of cultural differences in the ways they speak. The French model seems to be the least capable of absorbing everyday perceptions of difference.

One might object to the study's methodology: how can a small number of observations in one school per country allow the team to describe four distinct civil cultures? I found the claims wholly convincing, and I believe that I did so because (1) they resonate with so much other evidence about each of the four countries, (2) the authors tried to control for variation on other dimensions as much as possible (and are quite open about how difficult this is), and (3) the authors are all distinguished scholars on these questions in these countries; we trust their insights. The result is a truly innovative approach to contrasting ideas and practices of building civil cultures.

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SMART, ALAN & JOSEPHINE SMART (eds). *Petty capitalists and globalization: flexibility, entrepreneurship, and economic development*. 317 pp., map, tables, bibliogr. Albany: SUNY Press, 2005. \$70.00 (cloth)

This book brings together a series of papers applying the petty capitalism concept to enterprises in developing countries and countries in transition. The editors define petty capitalists on page 3 as 'individuals or households who employ a small number of workers but are themselves actively involved in the labor process'. More in line with the modes of production debate, they define petty capitalists on the following page as an intermediate category, bounded by petty producers and subsistence producers, on one side, and by real capitalists on the other. This implies that a decline in fortunes may result in proletarianization or impoverishment, because petty capitalists become petty or subsistence producers.

Where should we draw the line between petty capitalists and small and medium enterprises? On page 7 it is suggested that the small enterprises to which Piore and Sabel refer in *The second industrial divide* (1984) are petty capitalists. Until that book came out these petty producers were mostly seen as threatened with extinction, but regional ensembles of interconnected small firms reliant on artisanship could become increasingly important in comparison to mass production.

The editors prefer an ethnographic approach to the concept of petty capitalists. This approach

emphasizes the 'meaningful experience of actors (more) than other terms like entrepreneur or family business'. They admit, however, some analytical limitations: petty capitalists operate on the boundaries between capital and labour, co-operation and exploitation, family and economy, tradition and modernity, friends and competitors. This raises the question whether the petty capitalist concept is a useful analytical concept and whether this approach really helps to understand the phenomenon of micro and small enterprises.

The book is based also on a proposition concerning the future of petty capitalism. The proposition is that petty capitalists benefit from globalization in an era 'where assembly lines are deconstructed and scattered across the globe, and where rapid and flexible responses to desires can make the difference between economic success and failure'. In fact this is a hypothesis which needs to be rejected or accepted after presenting the evidence in the ten empirical chapters. This first hypothesis is later formulated as: petty capitalists have moved from trying to survive to participating in the global economy. The authors also see petty capitalists as driving forces of the contemporary global economy. They assume that when the conditions are made more attractive, petty capitalists may be among the pioneers in taking advantage of globalization. This seems a second hypothesis which needs to be tested.

Let us look at the different contributions and see what evidence these cases provide for the different hypotheses. All authors use the same methodological approach and analytical framework. Two of the twelve chapters are not written by anthropologists and two chapters are more theoretical. In the last chapter Michael Blim discusses the moral significance of petty capitalism: it provides an alternative to societies dominated by gigantic corporations. Similarly, in chapter 2 Hill Gates looks to relations between petty capitalists and the surrounding political economies. She argues that there are five variants of petty capitalism: the domestic mode of production, petty capitalism under the tributary modes, proto-industrialization, petty bourgeoisies, and the informal economy. This distinction is not used in the rest of the book, however. The editors provide a lengthy introduction and the two geographers contribute a chapter on Slovakia and one on Taiwan. Adrian Smith studied petty capitalists in Slovakia under the title 'Capitalism from below?' This is more a political economy type of analysis. Jinn-yuh Hsu's contribution on networks in small

and medium enterprises in Taiwanese semiconductor industries shows that such networks tend to be based on classmates and friends rather than kin.

In chapter 3 Gavin Smith and Susana Narotzky analyse an effective networked cluster of small enterprises in Spain, using the industrial district jargon. They take a historical approach and consider the regional economy that they studied as an embedded regional economy where labour is mobilized as dependent workers. The workers are often female home-workers. The authors conclude that the regional economy is made up of strategizing petty capitalists and entrepreneurial workers sharing a common local culture.

In chapter 4 Frances Abrahamer Rothstein deals with the issue of flexibility in the garment industry in Mexico. She considers the importance of having access to family and skilled labour and uses the term 'petty commodity producers' for the class position of those who are simultaneously capitalists and workers. She ends on a pessimistic note, saying that producers will end up working harder or will be driven out of business by others.

Simone Ghezzi studies the importance of de-territorialization in Brianza versus locality in an industrial district in Italy. She finds an industrial district with many small firms, mostly family-run businesses. Some of those started as artisans and became petty capitalists in due course. Ghezzi describes the dilemma of many of these petty capitalist producers. They cannot hire workers and have no money to invest. At the same time, she discovers that many try to build their own business out of faith in loyalty. Although Ghezzi uses the term 'petty capitalists', she is really talking about small firms functioning in a capitalist environment.

Hans and Judith-Maria Buechler refer to small and medium enterprises in Eastern Germany. However, some of the units studied are small, others large or parts of larger companies. The authors focus on the trajectories of specific firms to predict the future success of firms under capitalism in the European Community. In their contribution the authors do not use the term 'petty capitalists'.

Donald M. Nonini calls his chapter 'Toward a (proper) postwar history of Southeast Asian petty capitalism'. In fact he analyses in particular the role of the state in Malaysia's industrialization process. He goes deeper into the role of Chinese small business capital in Malaysia and argues that Chinese petty capitalists became the antagonistic 'other'

against whom the Malaysian state defined its development policies. Nonini argues that the transformations of the petty capitalists in Malaysia have been connected to policies for different groups of the Malaysian population.

The last chapters discuss the importance of labour standards and the solutions of labelling (Tom O'Neill for Nepal) or of fair trade (B. Lynne Milgram in the Philippines). O'Neill considers the sector around carpet export as petty capitalist, and sees flexible specialization as the context for petty capitalist expansion as investment in labour cost is reduced by decentralized micro production. Milgram describes the example of female petty capitalists who have entered the global craft market on their own terms by forging linkages with alternative trade organizations (fair trade).

The study shows an enormous variety of petty capitalists. The editors noted already on page 6 that even less than capitalism itself, petty capitalism is not always the same kind of entity or process. Most contributors use the term, but they refer to very different types of enterprises as far as size and history are concerned. Some of these are based on family relations, some are not. Some are modern, some are traditional, and some are based on family (sometimes exploited), others on friends. If that is the case, one wonders what the distinguishing characteristics of the petty capitalist concept are. Not all small enterprises are petty capitalist. In that case it makes more sense to start with a certain size definition (micro, small, etc.) and study the characteristics in different situations. Subsequently the process of change, for example through globalization, can be studied. That would make the results much more comparable with all kinds of studies carried out by geographers, sociologists, and economists.

There are a number of interesting chapters in the book. For example, Hsu's concerning the development of the semiconductor industries in Taiwan and the importance there of classmates and friends in networks, rather than kin. Secondly, some authors make clear that globalization means respecting international standards, which often requires brokerage for small entrepreneurs. Also the emphasis on exploitation of family workers in small enterprises is relatively new. Finally, the contributions show the many faces of capitalism by using ethnography as a method. The book teaches us the diversity of economic systems and their path dependency.

However, the book is also a typical example of monodisciplinary (anthropological) thinking

with no efforts to catch up with what other disciplines have said on the subject of micro enterprises, value chains, innovation, and competitiveness. In the 1970s economists thought multinationals were causing globalization. In the value chain approach, these multinationals only mobilize the chain, which may be fed by small and medium enterprises. What is new is that some chains (e.g. shoe production in India) seem to be mainly small enterprise-driven. That does not prove, however, that petty capitalists are now really important in these chains. That would require graduation and formalization, or brokers mediating between the local and international markets. Hence the cases presented do not show the usefulness of the terminology used, nor can they be considered to lead to the acceptance of the two major hypotheses.

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VALLELY, ANNE. *Guardians of the transcendent: an ethnography of a Jain ascetic community*. 296 pp., plates, fig., bibliogr. London, Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 2002. £45.00 (cloth), £18.00 (paper)

To what degree do the roles of worldly social life carry over into the monastic world? And, more specifically, to what extent and in what ways do worldly gender roles project into world-renouncers' lives? Anne Vallely addresses these questions in a study of nuns belonging to the non-image-worshipping Terapanthi sect of the Shvetambar Jains. Her research was conducted over a period of slightly more than one year at Ladnun, a Rajasthani town that serves as a sectarian epicentre for the Terapanthis. During this year she was in intimate and prolonged contact with nuns and girls preparing to be nuns, and the resulting book provides an empirically rich and analytically innovative window into a lifeway of extraordinary restriction and discipline.

Jain ethics and cosmology set Vallely's stage. In the foreground are non-violence and asceticism, which together underlie a distinction at the heart of Vallely's materials and analysis: the contrast between the worldly (*laukik*) and the transcendental (*lokottar*). She shows how this distinction is idealized in the opposed images of generous householder and restrained ascetic, images that are ritually enacted in almsgiving, a core transaction in the religious life of Jain communities. In almsgiving, giver and recipient

interact as stereotyped 'personages' rather than as individuals, and the symbolism denies that 'exchange' has taken place, with the result that the ascetic recipient remains free of social ties to the giver. Another key Jain ritual, one in which much of the symbolism of mendicant-lay relationships is compressed into a single package, is the rite of initiation of monks and nuns. Especially striking is the symbolic juxtaposition of wealth and possessionlessness in this ritual. As Vallely shows, the jewellery and luxurious dress of the young women candidates for nunhood make the all-important point that world renunciation is meaningless if it is a virtue made of necessity.

Beliefs about demonic possession bring gender differences among Jain mendicants into sharp focus. Vallely's materials show that possession absolves the possessed individual of inappropriate feelings by projecting them onto another entity, and that sexual longings figure prominently among these feelings in the case of Jain nuns. Because of their allegedly 'more emotional' nature, nuns are seen as more vulnerable to possession than monks. On the other hand (and in apparent contradiction), nuns are seen as sexually desireless, unlike monks, who by contrast acknowledge and even celebrate the difficulty of conquering their sexual desires. This means that nuns have no recourse but to sublimate such desires radically into fantasies about ghosts and demons.

The Terapanthi monastic community is rigidly hierarchical and centrally controlled. As Vallely shows, hierarchical values lend themselves well to an intense devotionalism focused on veneration of one's spiritual superiors, and although devotionalism is devalued by Jainism's public face, with its stress on ascetic values alone, devotion often strongly motivates people to adopt the ascetic path and undertake ascetic practices. This brings us back to gender, because nuns tend to be seen (and to see themselves) as more inclined to devotionalism than the monks, which in turn connects to stereotypes of women's emotional and nurturing proclivities. From the standpoint of the tradition's public values, this places nuns in a subordinate and liminal position, never completely disentangled from the worldly realm. Even their ascetic practice is regarded as not fundamentally different from the practices of religiously serious laywomen. For the monks, by contrast, the rupture is seen as much greater, because laymen express piety largely by means of generous giving, not ascetic denial. Because of this, male renunciation is thus more highly valued than