

have been redefined as territories of Afro-Brazilian culture, semi-public spaces becoming places of mediation through which the *axé* (power, vital force) is transformed into a 'cultural value'. He insists that objects of cultural value must be known, seen, and reproduced, but in Candomblé you are not allowed to see or depict these objects. The question, therefore, is how to transform secret values into cultural values so that they become public. Sansi defines this process as the outcome of extended interaction between intellectuals and Candomblé leaders during the course of a century. Anthropologists, writers, and painters, some of whom became practitioners (and vice versa), combined the changing attitudes of both those in power and practitioners, including a definite hierarchy in which Candomblé Ketu is the accepted model, emphasizing its 'pure African' cults, while all other manifestations are neglected or even rejected.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 focus on modern art and Afro-Brazilian culture. During the Vargas regime's search for nationalism, 'progress' and an 'authentic' Brazilian culture emerged. The popular became exotic and was given a political role. During the dictatorship, artistic elites were recognized and acknowledged as representing Afro-Brazilian art, corresponding to the accepted Candomblé houses. All others were considered as mere 'popular' artists who created works for tourists. Sansi stresses the contradiction between the innovations of contemporary modern art and the standard, hierarchic, 'traditional' concept of Afro-Brazilian art. The Orixás of Tororó exemplifies the complexity of these changes. This is a public monument, the purpose of which was to glorify African-Brazilian culture but at the same time symbolize the secret world of the *orixás* and the *axé*. Pentecostals' recent attacks see the monument and Candomblé as fetishism, the devil's work, and attempt to shake the perception of Candomblé as symbolizing national identity.

The concluding chapter, 'Re-appropriations of Afro-Brazilian culture', claims that while Candomblé has now attained official recognition, religious people who once were its practitioners dispute its credibility when they turn to Protestantism. Sansi concludes that the Afro-Brazilian cultural renaissance is characterized by the 'objectification of new, unprecedented cultural values attached to objects' (p. 188). Values have changed and will continue to change, opening a route to new conflicts and transformations of values.

Thus, Sansi's book raises important questions about objectification, appropriation, syncretism, and cultural change in Brazil. Though it lacks any reference to other important and significant African-Brazilian religions such as Umbanda and Macumba, the result is a lucid analysis of change over time in light of the political and social history of Brazil and the changes within Candomblé values and beliefs.

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Diaspora, migration, and nationalism

AGUSTÍN, LAURA MARÍA. *Sex at the margins: migration, labour markets and the rescue industry*. 248 pp., bibliogr. London, New York: Zed Books, 2007. £60.00 (cloth), £16.99 (paper)

Sex at the margins brings together concepts from the study of migration, social work, feminism, and the sex industry in describing both migrants who sell sex and those in the social sector who claim to work with, or for, them. Agustín argues that the social sector generally benefits those who work in it more significantly than it does those whom it claims to help, and that it acts to reproduce neo-colonialist and traditional discourses on migration and the sale of sex.

The book draws upon fifteen years of anthropological research in Latin America and Europe, and upon extensive historical research into the development and traditions of 'the social'. Agustín's interest in studying the people who work in this social sector – including civil servants, police, campaigners, and service providers – was aroused by discrepancies between how migration and sex work was talked about by migrants in Latin America and by social programmers in Europe. In particular, she noted that whilst European programmes tended to consider migrants who sold sex as victims, migrants generally rejected this identity.

The early chapters critique current discourses on migration, the sale of sex, and trafficking, which, Agustín argues, inadequately reflect the lives of those who migrate and sell sex. In examining the origins of these discourses, she charts the construction of the 'prostitute as victim' in need of rescue, and argues that the work of middle-class female philanthropists in

rescuing and rehabilitating prostitutes was, whatever its benevolent intentions, ultimately self-serving. 'Social' work offered 'autonomy, status and money' at a time when few jobs were deemed appropriate for 'respectable' women. Agustín goes on to argue that in Europe the ideas developed about prostitution in the nineteenth century have been incorporated into central and local government policies, and that current social programmes and agents tend to reproduce discourses on prostitution. These discourses, Agustín argues, are moralistic and ideologically driven, as are discourses on trafficking, which tend to ignore the experiences of many migrants who sell sex. Consequently, social programming is typically unable to meet the needs of this group.

Agustín powerfully evokes the conflict between those who argue that prostitution is inherently violent and exploitative and those who argue that selling sex should be considered a legitimate form of work. She criticizes the former position as frequently fundamentalist and neo-colonialist, and whilst acknowledging that many who sell sex may feel 'disgust, fear, loneliness and sadness', she argues that this is not a universal experience, and draws parallels between work in the sex industry and other service sectors. In the final chapters, Agustín demonstrates how these discourses affect the objectives of social programmes and the services they provide, typically to the detriment of those whom the programme claims to help. Ultimately, the book advocates that projects aiming to help migrants who sell sex first find out what these 'objects of help' actually want, and to think carefully about what to do if the answer received is not the one that was hoped for.

Sex at the margins is structured so as to guide the reader explicitly through the development of Agustín's ideas. Accordingly, the book is highly comprehensible and the chapters, which also serve well as stand-alone essays, follow logically. However, it also means that much of the book is spent establishing the background to the argument at the expense of fully exploring and applying it. Agustín's fifteen-year journey seems too long and winding to compress into 200-odd pages: there is room neither to do justice to her research, particularly in the early chapters of the book, nor to explore fully her arguments as applied to contemporary debates on trafficking and migration for sex work in the later chapters. This is a pity, as her argument – provocative yet well reasoned – is one worthy of thorough exploration.

This aside, the book has many strengths. Despite exploring complex and often murky debates, it lives up to its aim of serving both academic and non-academic readers: Agustín's research is impressively wide-ranging, her writing lively and accessible. She should be commended for successfully bringing together previously unlinked fields of study to provide fresh insights into contemporary policies, programmes, and debates around migration, the sale of sex, and trafficking. The book is a refreshing contribution to the literature on prostitution and trafficking, and connects the voices in the migratory process to these issues in a manner that is both timely and thoughtful.

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AMIT, VERED (ed.). *Going first class? New approaches to privileged travel and movement*. vi, 163 pp., bibliogr. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2007. £36.50 (cloth)

During 2008 the British news media was full of stories and speculation about the 'non-doms', a group of residents classified as domiciled outside of Britain and therefore eligible for certain exemptions from UK tax. Although originally created two hundred years ago to fund the Napoleonic Wars, non-domiciled status has become the focus of a very contemporary controversy, reflecting the point at which the global flows of the footloose, self-maximizing, international elite, and their money, encounter the institutions and discourses of rooted reciprocities, located in time- and place-specific class structures, loyalties, status and value systems. The publication of this book on 'privileged travel and movement' is, therefore, timely. Arising from a need, identified by editor Vered Amit and a number of other contributors, to address the topic of 'privileged travel' as a neglected area of spatial mobility, it also, as Amit notes, simultaneously raises the question of how the category and content of 'privilege' can be broached in the context of mobility. Ironically, travel itself has a highly elaborated system of status differentiation markers, unambiguously calibrated to the price of the ticket. It is not so much travel as the displacements attendant on arrival which we are invited to view through the agency of different groups, in the exercise of their choices, and the negotiation of the multiple geographical and social spaces in which they find themselves.