

to the dispositions, desires, and subjectivity entailed in the formation of class, Cho discusses workers' subjectivity beyond the dichotomy of resistance and submission. Their subjectivity reveals a more heterogeneous picture of downward mobility, which includes not only economic hardships but also cultural, social, and emotional consequences.

Further, Cho's focus on the enduring tensions surrounding the claim of belonging "the people" leads her to produce historically specific analyses of neoliberal governmentality. Ethnographic examples of the state's antipoverty schemes show how impoverished workers are caught between the political stage of "the people" and the numerical table of "the population."

In post-Mao governance, there has been a shift from "Serve the People" to "Serve the Population," although they are partly overlapped. Such a shift means that the direct negotiation and confrontation that workers experienced in their relationship to the party-state have become unnecessary, as they are reduced to a series of variables and their face-to-face dialogues with the arms of the state are replaced by the calculations of numbers. However, Cho is quick to point out that such a shift is not absolute by highlighting how impoverished workers constantly invoke "the people" in an attempt to reclaim their status under Mao's socialism while making their current contentious relationship to the party-state visible and palpable.

The strength of the book lies in Cho's emphasis on the historicity and process of poverty while problematizing the very process whereby the previous representatives of "the people" are converted and spatialized into numbers without history. The specter of "the people" enables the government not merely to exclude the poor but also to selectively manage them in a country that still claims itself as socialist despite the predominance of market ideology. Grappling and negotiating with the floating signifier, workers do not necessarily fall subject to but ceaselessly struggle against new modes of government directed toward them.

Malignant: How Cancer Becomes Us. S. Lochlann Jain. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. 290 pp.

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In *Malignant*, legal and medical anthropologist S. Lochlann Jain takes us into the convoluted terrain through which contemporary cancers are studied and lived. Herself diagnosed at 36, Jain extends a sobering provocation: "Cancer is our history. Cancer has become us" (p. 8). It will not only literally become the future for an increasing percentage of the U.S. population—Jain notes that 1 in 2 American men and 1 in 3 women will be diagnosed with an invasive cancer in their lifetime (p. 36)—but, disturbingly, cancer has also become a crucial economic engine. Many of the industries

implicated in contributing to this epidemic (including agriculture, plastics, oil and gas, cosmetics, pesticides, tobacco, medicine, and military) also thrive on the profits its treatment generates, and, in fact, key sectors of our economy (hospitals, insurance) would now wither without cancer. Nimble blending memoir, ethnographically textured reflections, critical science studies, and anthropological analysis, *Malignant* is a piercing genre experiment that invites us to see the specificities of this near-normalized reality with fresh eyes, ultimately working to disrupt the troubling double resonance of how cancer is becoming us: as a society, we appear to be wearing it a little too well.

Jain's narration unpacks contemporary cancer experience and research as a matrix of uncomfortable (even unlivable) paradoxes: at once epidemiologically mundane and personally catastrophic; often caused by environmental risks and consumer exposures that have no place for discussion in the clinic and little chance of remediation by law; "more commonplace than a college education," yet marked by shame that silences and severs. Its ugly realities and human costs often covered up by wigs, cosmetic interventions, and look-good-feel-good messages, cancer is now the leading cause of bankruptcy in the United States, and 46 percent of cancer patients—the book's author included—at some point receive calls from a collection agency (p. 11). Jain makes effective use of such revealing statistics to explore the ways her own experiences illuminate larger trends. Yet much of her autoethnographic analysis also works to peel back all that numbers cannot tell us—including just how much statistics (and the infrastructures that generate them) shape and skew contemporary patient experience in highly particular ways. Jain describes the elusive dislocations and valences of cancer that only seemed to multiply in her post-surgical experience: "The main tumors were gone: *cancer* had only just begun. What on earth, then, do we mean when we refer to this concept, cancer?" (p. 4).

Each chapter of the book examines a unique facet of cancer's amorphisms. "Living in Prognosis" expands on Jain's powerful and well-known concept of "elegiac politics," delving into the fundamental inequivalence between statistics' abstractions and the real lives and deaths they represent or forecast. "Lost Chance" tackles issues of medical malpractice and relates the story of how Jain's doctor dismissed her early concerns—frighteningly set against legal data and scenes that show such medical errors to be all too commonplace, especially for patients between the ages of 20 and 39. Jain captures the subtle practices of clinical shaming as part of how such common mistakes are sustained, set against the difficulty of addressing them through law: "The snubbing of my concerns, making me feel like an idiot for even raising them, came at such an absurdly high cost to me and naught for those dismissing me" (p. 21). In "Cancer Butch," Jain goes deeper into her experience as a lesbian diagnosed with breast cancer (playing on queer

theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's memorable response to diagnosis: "Shit, now I guess I really must be a woman"). Jain draws on her own positionality to probe the gender signifiers and various social and sexual norms that pattern the dominant tropes of cancer's popular representations, beautified narratives, and the widely critiqued pink-ribbon industries now mushrooming around them, which worryingly and sometimes even strategically focus "on the suffering of individuals rather than on the culture that produces cancer" (p. 85). Another unsettling chapter, "Inconceivable," explores the question of cancer risk related to in vitro fertilization procedures. Jain explains that she took hormone drugs as part of egg donation to help her partner at the time conceive, but that—like many women who undergo this increasingly common procedure today—she was not informed of the possible risk this entailed. Yet after examining the gaps in long-term research and questions of low-dose exposure, the potential risks that can be inferred from what is known leave us facing a disturbing abyss of knowledge. The mistaken equation between a lack of studies and an absence of risk constitutes one of the book's key refrains: "even if research doesn't track it . . . no data does not equal no effect" (p. 160).

"Fallout" further charts the startling pervasiveness of carcinogens in North American environments and economies, alongside the limits of liabilities that current law is equipped to recognize. Built into the chapter's title is both the slow time-lapse of health damages and the specter of radiation itself—a medical treatment originating in histories of war that is both a hope of cure for some, and a potential risk of future cancers for many. Working in the anthropological tradition of "making the familiar strange," the book's further chapters pry open other taken-for-granted forms, from cancer screening debates and "the Lance Face" to randomized controlled trials and life amid the "rubble" of prostheses, lipstick, and other artifacts of intervention (one scene memorably describes Jain's recruitment into a makeup donation program for cancer patients that, with perverse irony, at times involve cosmetics actually containing suspected carcinogens). Yet perhaps the book's central touchstone is the cancer retreat that Jain returns to in the conclusion "Shameless," a makeshift community coming together for "actual in-depth work" (p. 216) and honest discussion in the face of pain, death, and loss—a mode of inquiry and ethics of close listening that the book itself seems to extend in some partial way to its readers.

Jain's ethnography unfolds amid a constant "toggle between absent and present" (p. 222)—missing knowledges; risk studies and environmental regulations that could and should be (but often are not) underway; unlocatable accountability; lost time; people who are gone. Her style is discomfiting and searingly close to the bone, but it is also deeply humane and sometimes even laugh-to-yourself funny (and when is the last time you read a funny ethnogra-

phy about anything?). Given its weighty subject matter, the book's wry humor and flip panache are both a rare ethnographic achievement and a glimpse into its author's dignity-preservation techniques amid cancer's many humiliations: a nurse cheerfully yanking out a surgical drain, along with tender stitches and clumps of raw flesh, rather than searching for scissors to snip a plastic tube, or the time someone lost the author's clothes between surgery and chemotherapy, forcing her to go home in a tie-string hospital gown in the middle of winter. After what was presumably already a long day being cut open and poisoned, such tiny, tedious, and surreal dehumanizations become more than unnecessary injuries—they are also part of how cancer is still imagined as a disease of others, "out there" somewhere.

This work will be of great interest across audiences and useful for a range of courses, such as medical and legal anthropology, critical studies of global health, medical humanities, and graduate seminars. The book would also be a strong addition to classes on contemporary ethnographic narratives because Jain is not only a beautiful writer, but she also plays with the tropes of classic anthropological fieldwork to ponder her own "arrival story" in the world she examines—asking what kind of "insider" she became in this mix, how perceptions of her as a cancer outsider (depending on whether or not she revealed her diagnosis to a particular audience) have at times affected the reception of her analysis, raising questions about which kinds of imagined communities and fields of patient expertise such distinctions interpolate. Having "been there"—facing the proximity of so many cancer deaths and the prospect of her own—also makes the anger that burns behind Jain's inquiries into a methodological question. The book's emotional registers become inseparable from its analytic force, compelling the reader through a dissection of many complex histories and academic debates that prove well worth parsing. Beyond a broad audience in anthropology, this book's accessibility and humanity will also make it of interest to a wider public of people touched by or at risk for cancer—in other words, all of us. Even if, as the introduction's title puts it, "We Just Don't Know It Yet."

The Neo-Indians: A Religion for the Third Millennium. Jacques Galinier and Antoinette Molinié. Lucy Lyall Grant, trans. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2013. 368 pp.

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The Neo-Indians: A Religion for the Third Millennium by Jacques Galinier and Antoinette Molinié documents through participant-observation various ritual performances associated with what the authors call the "neo-Indian movement." In doing so, they contextualize the history leading up to this movement, the emergence of