

the foundation upon which indigenous knowledge is constantly regenerated. The new forms of knowledge have by their very nature served the individual rather than the community . . . provid[ing] immense opportunities for a privileged few who are not (or are no longer) intimately involved in local community life” (p. 213). Clearly, increased inequality and patron-client relationships to NGOs, governments, and other development agencies are major dynamics in the evolution of natural resource management regimes, which merit further ethnographic investigation.

Conservation issues are another crucial force in the interface between development and local knowledge. Conservation ideologies and practices are themselves cultural constructs, yet basic issues of what constitutes conservation and how it can best be carried out typically are not examined in cross-cultural perspective. The fact that humans, including indigenous peoples, are often considered threats to conservation may foster conflicts and undermine objectives. Through a penetrating ethnography of a United Nations initiative on sacred groves, Terence Hays-Edie (Chapter 7) explores an especially challenging issue: the relationship between conservation, sustainability, and sacred sites. This theme is echoed in Colin Filer’s (Chapter 5) analysis of a New Guinea development project where parochial interests and conflicting desires seem to render rational development and conservation policy as a kind of theater of the absurd. On a more technical level, essays by Ilse Köhler-Rollefson and Constance McCorkle (Chapter 9) on livestock breeding programs and Paul Sillitoe, Julian Barr, and Mahbub Alam (Chapter 10) on integrating local knowledge of soils with western scientific taxonomies through GIS computer mapping illustrate the practical challenges of marrying western science and indigenous knowledge under the rubric of conservation.

Overall, this volume illuminates more negative consequences of the interaction of local knowledge and development than positive ones, and consequently may lead practitioners to think that the process of integrating the two is fraught with peril, if not impossible. But we need to learn from these negative examples. To that end, this book serves as an excellent resource for institutions, anthropologists, and others involved in natural resource management in intercultural contexts.

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**What’s Love Got To Do With It? Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic.** *Denise Brennan.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004, 296 pp. \$21.95, paper.

With a title invoking Tina Turner, a patron saint for women overcoming adversity, *What’s Love Got To Do With It* examines how female sex workers and their clients negotiate the “sexscape” of Sosúa, Dominican Republic (DR). Denise Brennan

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argues that Dominican women are not simply engaging in survival sex, nor are they victims of rank exploitation. Instead, they are strategizing transnational advancement through their sexual labor. Brennan's excellent account begins with a paradigmatic tale: Elena, a sex worker (and mother of one, who is also responsible for two younger siblings) meets Jürgen, an older, working-class German tourist who appears to be the fiscal savior Elena has been seeking. Her standard of living rises for a short time, but ultimately Elena returns to poverty with less resources than before meeting Jürgen; now she has Jürgen's baby to feed. Brennan finds that women working in the sex trade encounter many broken promises yet continue to pin their hopes upon an imagined future in Europe—escaping from the island with a relatively wealthy foreign benefactor who will ensure a better future for their children.

Brennan's clear and cogent ethnographic portrait aptly frames the uneven circumstances of globalization, the sex trade, and tourism in the Dominican Republic. Following earlier studies of hostesses in Japan, "mail order brides" in Asia, strip clubs in the U.S., and *jinitismo* in Cuba, and building upon the labor, gender, and migration literatures, Brennan's work offers a timely engagement with anthropological questions of kinship, labor, and sexuality. For her informants, the city of Sosúa is envisioned as a kind of sensualized land of opportunity, where sex workers imagine a way *fuera* (out), and northerners believe they will live well and sumptuously, often living out racialized sexual desires. Brennan maintains that Dominican sex workers exert agency in their work and lives, but she also rightly argues that the structural conditions of poverty and providing for children with little male parental support are central to women's decision to enter the sex work force. Through extended fieldwork and interviews with sex workers, Brennan distinguishes between "dependent" sex workers (with local men in local establishments) and "independent" sex workers (women seeking foreign clients in the bars, streets, and tourist enclaves) and recounts how an imagined prosperity is often at odds with the relative mobility, flux, and ambivalence of male clients.

Extending Appadurai's discussion of "scapes," Brennan argues that Sosúa is a "sexscape": a place overdetermined by its flesh trade, set in what we might call a larger global "eroticscape." Sexscapes are created through increased travel (particularly from the developed to the developing world) and the consumption of sexual services with racial, economic, and gender inequalities intimately informing this commodification. Brennan describes globalized hierarchies and their constraining effects, making some national citizens more mobile than others. What love has to do with it, Brennan argues, is performative—women affect gestures of love toward their potential benefactors as a strategy. However, for most women, exiting poverty through sex work is a temporary move. Sometimes, though rarely, love happens, and Brennan's discussion raises important questions about what constitutes "love" in cultural and political economic context.

Brennan's book is concerned with the transnational, but it does not forego an en-placed analysis of the particular in Sosúa. Sosúa is, she argues, "a transnational sexual meeting ground" (p. 15) of the first order, as women who cannot cross borders attempt to maintain relationships that can; the book does a superb job of

showing how globalization “touch[es] the ground” (p. 49). Brennan’s informants are likewise transnational. Male tourists (largely working class and lower-middle-class Germans) figure less heavily in the ethnographic material than do Afro-Dominican women (in their late teens to late thirties), with male sex workers more marginally addressed. Methodologically, readers may also pose a question of a kind of reverse reflexivity, asking *not* how Brennan crossed potential divides of race, class, and nation to interview Afro-Dominican sex workers, but rather how she convinced their male clients to reveal their motives to a western, female academic who might easily be viewed as a natural critic of white men’s sex tourism in the DR.

Tracing the political economy of the DR, from sugar to tourism, Brennan demonstrates how structural adjustment has converged to make women the primary breadwinners on the island, whether in the export processing zones or the sex industry. Sosúans, we find, are deeply ambivalent about sexual entrepreneurship in their city. Sosúa’s residents often refer to sex workers deridingly as *putas* (whores) and consider them a source of moral and cultural decay (p. 64). Brennan interrogates gossip as a strategy which works to discipline sex workers around disease (HIV/AIDS) and provides a site of discursive negotiation around the tensions and competition of sexual labor. Brennan raises a further emic distinction between what sex workers describe as a *prostituta*—a woman who is seen to be working, spending, and living for the moment, and another, more morally sanctioned sex worker who seeks to *progresar* or “get ahead” socially and financially. In the fertile world of gossip, the “good mother” also serves as an important trope. A further elaboration of these distinctions, and what they might signal about a larger moral economy or social imaginary in the DR, would have added to the discussion by juxtaposing short-term survival and long-term advancement (p. 120) to reveal the kinds of agency women deploy, not just to survive, but to strategize.

Brennan’s book makes a critically needed contribution to our thinking about how women’s sexual agency operates in a globalized economy, and in particular, in a “pimp-free environment” (p. 182). With ongoing media discourses and policy discussions revolving around human sexual trafficking on the global level, the case of sex workers in the DR, with their relative autonomy, is a much-needed antidote to the often paternalistic images of “sex slaves.” Brennan’s lucid writing and direct argumentation provide a refreshingly clear discussion of the theoretical and ethnographic concerns involving the globalization of sexual consumption and commodification.

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