

Western views on Polynesian origins and how these were linked to the Enlightenment (Howe: ch. 8), and the modern renaissance in canoe building and voyaging throughout the Pacific (Finney: ch. 9).

Geoffrey Irwin's chapter on voyaging and settlement provides an excellent example of the holistic nature of the work. His masterful synthesis discusses archaeological evidence for the settlement of the Pacific Islands and what implications these have for the nature of Pacific voyaging. Irwin's chapter strikes a measured balance in reporting the history of the debates, particularly whether voyaging was systematic or random, discussing earlier evidence in light of more recent developments and providing the author's own opinions. Irwin's chapter, like many in *Vaka Moana*, relies on an impressive range of up-to-date sources; the noteworthy use of text boxes aptly provides discussions of interesting new data and alternate theories. Highlights of this chapter include: evidence that Pleistocene hunter-gatherers in the western Pacific moved animals from island to island, an innovation in subsistence practices associated with the use of boats; clear archaeological evidence for systematic voyaging as early as 20,000 B.P. to Manus Island; and the blunt assessment that Europeans were not much better wayfarers at the time of Polynesian settlement than Pacific navigators. Still of current debate are new data on climatic variability and if and how it affected human settlement of the Pacific Islands. Irwin discusses geological studies of mid-Holocene peaks in sea-level height, which, he argues, provide a strong environmental influence that could explain the chronology of settlement, as may have high frequencies of El Niño seasons, which increase westerly winds (used for exploration to the East) in frequency and duration.

Finney's chapter (ch. 4) focuses on the sailing vessels and navigational techniques used in Pacific Island migrations. What will strike archaeologists and anthropologists working in other regions is the holistic data used to reconstruct Oceanic canoes. The slim archaeological evidence for well-preserved and dated canoe parts is presented, as is ample evidence for prehistoric movement of plants, animals, artifacts, and human DNA; linguistic reconstructions for outrigger-canoe development; historic compilations of canoe designs; computer simulations of voyaging; and experimental voyaging with reconstructed canoes. Irwin favors a "long-pulsed" migration model, wherein bursts of expansion were separated by long pauses, and discusses China's Ming Dynasty as an example in which overseas-seafaring technology did not lead to continual or accelerated voyaging and expansion.

Finally, Finney's chapter (ch. 9) on the modern-day voyaging renaissance will be of interest to voyaging enthusiasts, as it provides a humanistic background to the story of experimental canoe voyaging. The chapter offers a broad synthesis of modern-day voyagers, navigators, sailors, and canoes from across the Pacific, typically lacking in other works that have focused mainly on the Hōkūle'a voyages out of Hawai'i.

Readers will note that there is some overlap between chapters and some disagreements among them. It is commendable that the editor chose to realistically portray the scientific debate of archaeology and anthropology as an ongoing process wherein competing hypotheses are revised and interpreted according to new data sets.

In closing, *Vaka Moana* has a broad appeal. Although some academics might be put off by the lack of intensive citations, the book successfully portrays the excitement and importance of scientific research to the general population and will be a useful resource for courses in Pacific Island archaeology, voyaging, navigation, and human migrations.

Sex Work and the City: The Social Geography of Health and Safety in Tijuana, Mexico. Yasmina Katsulis. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. 174 pp.

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In *Sex Work and the City*, Yasmina Katsulis does something few anthropologists of sex work have done by focusing on female, male, and transgender workers in comparative perspective. Set in Tijuana, known best for its status as a border city, where transmigrants wait to leave while *estadunidenses* engage in the sunburned-tourist revelry typical of such places, Katsulis provides us with a detailed empirical study of the varied world of sexual service in Tijuana and shows how structural context and the divided and hierarchical nature of sex commerce differently impacts the occupational health of the city's diverse population of sex workers. In this very necessary and thorough study, Katsulis successfully documents how a sex worker's place in the social geography of prostitution in Tijuana shapes one's risk of experiencing violence, extortion, mental-health issues, drug addiction, sexually transmitted illness, and social stigma.

One of Katsulis's primary contributions is her analysis of the important distinctions between Tijuana's regulated (and therefore legal) sex workers and those who are unregulated. The legal regulatory system that exists in Tijuana is shown to be contradictory in nature, having both benefits and drawbacks. For instance, though "the system of health card registration is both coercive and misleading" and "far from ideal" (p. 85), Katsulis found that registered female sex workers (RFSW) in Tijuana suffer less police violence and social stigma while generally earning more per sex act than their unregistered female counterparts. (Interestingly, this is not always the case. I found that RFSW in urban Chiapas, for example, earn far less than unregistered street workers and often experience a heightened sense of social stigma, as their status as sex workers is a matter of public record [see Kelly 2008]).

Katsulis documents how, through the legalization of some workers (registered females) under Tijuana's regulatory system, others are criminalized. Males and

transgenders, whose work falls outside “the more conventional heterosexual female service role which is widely heteronormative, feminized, and homophobic” (p. 141), are excluded from working legally (and some females may not wish to or cannot register because of age, migration status, or a variety of other factors; see p. 64). Katsulis illustrates how gender diversity impacts sex work, finding that, without access to professional or legal status, male and transgendered workers “are at a higher risk for nearly all occupational hazards” (p. 113). For instance, transgendered sex workers “were twice as likely to face customer violence, three to six times more likely to face violence at the hands of employers, three to ten times more likely to encounter police violence, and two to four times more likely to be accosted by strangers” (p. 133).

Perhaps the most important contribution of *Sex Work and the City* is its informed and lucid call for the creation of a fair and just prostitution policy that protects all sex workers from the many hazards associated with their work. By focusing on the entire spectrum of sex workers, not just regulated females, Katsulis shows how legal prostitution “exists within a larger context in which sex workers who work outside the system are criminalized, harassed, policed, and further marginalized while trying to make a living” (p. 143). In advocating a more inclusive and less coercive system that reduces police violence, protects individual civil rights, and encourages sexual and other health screenings for all workers, rather than simply forcing them on some, the author shows how the faulty Tijuana model could be vastly improved.

Sex Work and the City will not please those feminists who oppose all forms of sexual commerce or those who advocate decriminalization, rather than legalization. Nor will it satisfy readers hoping for colorful life histories or lengthy narratives by individual sex workers; Katsulis' writing is spare with few literary flourishes that capture the flavor of this vibrant border city and its denizens. But what the work lacks in ethnographic richness it easily makes up in detailed quantitative data (tables and all) that, if applied, could truly contribute to improving the lives of sex workers in Tijuana and beyond.

In sum, *Sex Work and the City* is a crucially important and effective contribution to the study of sexual labor. It is essential reading for scholars of sexuality, Mexico, and the anthropology of work and especially valuable for students of public health and public policy as well as sex-work activists.

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Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software.
Christopher Kelty. Durham, NC: Duke University Press,
2008. 400 pp. [see also <http://twobits.net>]

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It would be a great pity indeed if anthropologists, assuming they have no interest in software development, were to ignore the subtitle of this book. Because “the cultural significance of free software” takes to heart matters of concern to all anthropologists. They would miss the radical energy of chapters 8 and 9 with their visions of open-source publishing and tensions of academic authorship and collective contribution, chapters that barely mention software at all. They would miss a book that has as much to contribute to the anthropology of law as to the anthropology of religion, both much enhanced by the unusual perspective that emerges from software development. They would also miss a good read. If the reportage sometimes feels journalistic, that is intended as a complement; there are stories here that are quite gripping, full of tension and passion. This is a book about people who care greatly for what they do and for the beliefs and moralities that they see inscribed in their practice. The author clearly experienced and now captures those emotional involvements.

The first part of *Two Bits* claims that geeks form their community around a shared ideology that creates what he calls a “recursive public.” The source here is as much Charles Taylor's *Modern Social Imaginaries* (2004) as ethnography, although it is expressed as much through stories of geeks “selling out” when companies become big and profitable as it is in their “keeping the faith.” He captures the missionary zeal, although perhaps the degree to which he shares it leads to some homogenizing of these ideals.

The book becomes much stronger when it turns from discourse to material culture and the sense that it is the practice of software, and not just the claims of its legitimation, through which most of the action really occurs. There follows a series of five excellent chapters all devoted to key debates, in which the propensities of the software itself often take central stage—for example, when one branch of contributions to enhancing software makes it no longer compatible with others. He tells of the shock when the closure of Napster demonstrated that battles could be lost. Of particular interest are the tensions but also highly productive encounters between academia and commerce. Whether it is Linux or Unix, with each development there tends to be a key argument between two schools as to both the philosophy and methods behind free software and the development of code. The collaborative aspect of open-source technologies emerges as only one of the essential properties of free software. He sees their blind spot as a failure to engage with the problems of intellectual property and copyright licenses. He also shows also that the glib dismissal of open source as an utopian, but ineffective, fringe ignores its major underlying impact on many innovations, including the Internet itself.

Two Bits has its weaknesses. Its emphasis on the cultural significance of free software is sometimes at the expense of

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