

transnational merchants by creating its own bureaucracy to adjudicate contract disputes among cotton merchants and textile producers in China. Simultaneously, global South cotton producers organized collectively to include characteristics in global benchmarks that would result in higher grades to their cotton. These redirection and protection strategies were met with preservation strategies by the U.S. state and transnational merchants. In a race with the Chinese state, the USDA sought international support for the U.S. system before China developed a new one. Similarly, transnational merchants attempted to increase the number of signatories to their system of arbitration and thereby sidestep the new Chinese bureaucracy. While cotton standards remain a moving target, Quark characterizes the stops and starts as indicative of the incrementality of institutional change and sees hybrid solutions on the horizon. At minimum, future cotton standards will include “Chinese characteristics,” and the private system of arbitration will exist alongside the Chinese bureaucracy.

One consistent “finding”—that institutional change is incremental and produces hybrid solutions—is rather ho-hum because it isn’t clear how any negotiation that starts from an established order and involves actors with nonzero bargaining power can proceed in any other way. But Quark’s more ambitious theoretical agenda is her argument that conflict drives change, and the distinct interests and levels of bargaining power that particular actors bring to the table predict the strategies they employ and the extent to which new institutions embody their interests. She directs this criticism at the increasingly abstract theoretical project of institutional analysis, which seems intent on endogenizing institutional change to the point of circularity and ignoring the actual “guts” of institutional orders. The case of contemporary global cotton standards is illustrative because they are couched in the familiar rhetoric of “scientization” and “universalism” but encourage resistance because they institutionalize the economic interests of U.S. cotton producers at the expense of global Southern producers. Thus, this book invites a refreshing turn in institutional analysis and in that sense belongs on graduate reading lists in political, economic, and institutional sociology.

Sinews of the Nation: Constructing Irish and Zionist Bonds in the United States. By Dan Lainer-Vos. Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2013. Pp.viii+212. \$69.95 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

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“Monetary transaction between diaspora communities and national movements may not seem like an obvious place for examining the process of nation building” (p. 3). Dan Lainer-Vos demonstrates decisively in his excellent book on nation building that transnational fundraising (from gift giving to national bonds) for national causes is a good place to commence, since money does not constitute a neutral resource. *Sinews of the Nation*

examines the Irish and Israeli attempts to mobilize their diasporas in the United States via the Irish Victory Fund (1910 through the 1920s) and the United Jewish Appeal (the 1940s through the 1950s). The Irish bond project failed and sharpened the boundaries between Irish and Irish Americans, whereas the Israeli bond project provided a path for the diaspora to participate in the Zionist project and also played a key role in Israel's economic development. Both initiatives build on principles similar to those behind the American war bonds during the world wars.

Lainer-Vos's analysis highlights a significant shortcoming of sociological traditions with regards to the imagined homogeneity of nations and of national mobilization as founded on unity. Clearly concepts such as "community," "nation," and "identity" cannot be explored in the singular or with certain loyalties taken for granted, and we must not assume that diaspora gift giving is underpinned by already-existing national sentiments; instead it is the act of giving that contributes to defining, fostering, nurturing, and maintaining experiences of the homeland. The context of fundraising for homeland causes helps emphasize the extent of "internal" division in nation-building processes between homelands and diasporas but also within their respective communities. For example, key themes during the Irish and Jewish fundraising campaigns highlighted the differences between the diaspora and the homeland as a way of extracting resources from the former on the basis of moral obligations and by means of provoking guilt and shame. The emphasis on "attachment/s" in Lainer-Vos's research directs attention toward the range of strategies and practices used by and available to nation builders wanting to generate associations with the nation or community. In view of the patchwork nature of actual or brewing conflicts that epitomizes "groupness" in diaspora communities (also in the European context), nation building appears as a *process* of maintaining relations between disparate groups and involves ongoing negotiations, compromises, and organization of relationships. The cases produced in this book illustrate the tensions and divisions that characterize nation building and community building very well.

By use of contrasting samples, Lainer-Vos produces compelling evidence on how monetary transactions may help forge and maintain social bonds to attach disparate groups to the national project. However, in the cases of the Irish and Israeli bond projects, the outcomes of the homeland-diaspora experiences were radically different. Both bond projects attempted to reshape the relationships between the national movements and their communities abroad. However, the Irish failed in stabilizing relationships with the Irish American diaspora due to highly personalized struggles, accusations of corruption, and interorganizational rivalry between the elites in Ireland and America in the 1920s. These conflicts spilled over into other areas of diaspora activity and led ultimately to the organizational collapse of major Irish American organizations, leaving Irish Americans inactive in the project to raise funds for the Anglo-Irish War or the War of Independence from England. (This despite having raised and donated more than \$5 million during 1879–82 in support of the Irish Land War.) The United Jewish Appeal, on

the contrary, managed to mediate tensions and negotiate attachments between the communities and succeeded in engaging these during the 1940s by providing an additional route for homeland-diaspora relations via financial and emotional investment in Israel as a response to the crimes of the Holocaust.

One may ask whether it is possible to successfully compare two such specific cases and activities influenced by the sociopolitical prerequisites of two very different periods separated by 30 years. Lainer-Vos justifies the comparison on the grounds that the two movements were confronted with similar challenges. The Irish Americans and the Jewish Americans were also among the most active and vocal communities in the United States. However, these movements enjoyed different political and organizational status and different levels of international recognition, institutionalization, and scale of operation during the periods of investigation. Their communities were characterized by different levels of affluence and educational attainment; it would have been harder to raise funds among the Irish Americans, as the Jewish Americans had a dramatic advantage. These two cases of diaspora organization took place in diverse contexts: Irish American community organization was disadvantaged in 1920 and after World War I as the United States had been an ally of England, the target of Irish independence. Diaspora mobilization, during and after World War II, often followed accusations of divided loyalties; however, attitudes to the Jewish diaspora were more permissive after the Holocaust.

Does Lainer-Vos's model explain the radically different outcomes between the Irish and Israeli bond projects? Yes, it does. Simultaneously, and as also stated, "It would be a great mistake to limit our discussion to financial contributions alone" (p. 159) or to investigate the role of homeland-diaspora communities only, especially since diaspora communities use, in part, practices similar to the community-building strategies of nations, and these come in many forms: celebrating and participating in ceremonies, waving flags and singing anthems, volunteering or fundraising, engaging members in conflicts, or commemorating sacrificed lives. Nation building in practice is also generated by the concrete mechanisms of various forms of participation and engagement in the nation. When the objects of such "membership practices," different in character, turn in to unifying symbols (as proxies of complex notions of membership), they become essential for "successful" nation/community building (Gabriella Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood* [Palgrave Macmillan, 2011]). Fundraising may also be considered especially effective when national projects attain a "sacred status" and a "unifying symbol." In this process, the alignment of collective and individual quests for recognition take place through the visibility of acting for a common cause, despite diverse priorities and different attachments and meanings of "home." The emphasis on division and conflict in nation building and for homeland-diaspora relations has been duly considered in this book, although the role of trauma for the successful outcome of these two funding projects and the context of the two world wars may be analyzed in greater depth. The significant role of di-

aspora leadership and the variety of entrepreneurship (in homeland movements as well as in the diaspora organizations) could also be explored further. Assessing the degree of integration into the United States, the nexus of (inter)organizational activity (rise and decline), the nature of attachments, and the character of community organization—for instance the effects of the ethnic bonding and bridging of social capital—may provide further insights with regards to attachment or detachment to national causes.

Sinews of the Nation is an excellent book that highlights the significant role of economic transactions in nation building through a comparative approach. A main contribution is the emphasis on the active processes associated with nation building, its organization, and its mobilization, that identify monetary transactions and fundraising campaigns as one significant process during which attachment to nations and communities are nurtured and fostered.

In Search of an Inca by Alberto Flores Galindo. Edited and Translated by Carlos Aguirre, Charles F. Walker, and Willie Hiatt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. xxix+270.

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In the metropolis, the late 20th century was a time of connection and convergence. There were melting pots and migratory labor, world capitalism and international organizations. In the face of these centripetal forces, there were also attempts to preserve difference: multiculturalism, “rainbows,” and other such movements. But these usually remained within the limits of the homogeneous consumer capitalism of that time. Outside the metropolis, to be sure, there was no need for reminders about difference. The power of the center provided harsh reminders continuously. Yet even in the metropolis, difference flourished. To be sure, national difference had to some extent subsided after the terrors of 1914–45. But racial difference evolved toward new complexities under the pressure of immigration; religious difference perplexed the secularists with one of its periodic revivals; and new solidarities like gender and age swirled into the mixture.

We finish the year with a work that aims to create—or recreate—such difference: *In Search of an Inca* by Alberto Flores Galindo. Flores Galindo was born in Peru in 1949, the son of a lawyer. His interest in history dated from his primary and secondary studies at the Colegio La Salle and was confirmed by his university studies at the Pontificia Universidad Católica. A trip to a mining camp in 1971 led to his bachelor’s thesis, later published as *Los Mineros de la Cerro de Pasco, 1900–1930*. In 1972–74 he studied at

* Another review from 2053 to share with *AJS* readers.—*Ed.*