

money to get by. In 1990 democracy returned to Chile, thanks in part to the shantytown women's tenacity and creativity.

Adams carefully presents quotations from her conversations with 170 research participants, pausing after each quote first to reiterate participants' key words, then to step back one analytical level and interpret what was said. To that extent her book is a model ethnography, and further interpretive insights come from her frequently lengthy image captions.

However, the image-interview connections that Adams make are almost all *too* subtle, and one longs for explicit bridge building between the two data sources. This point is one that visual sociologists need to grapple with theoretically, and Adams's book is, admittedly, not the place for that conversation to proceed. Visual sociologists are of two minds when it comes to treating images as data. Traditionalists advocate interpreting images as they would verbal materials and integrating image and, for example, quotation interpretations within the text. In contrast, post-modernists essentially adopt a "reader-response" approach in which captions are truncated and readers are left to decide for themselves the meaning that emerges from an image, since no interpretations appear in the text, either.

The former approach strikes me as sociologically appropriate and methodologically scientific. Like interview quotations (or, for that matter, quantitative survey results), readers may debate whether an author's interpretation of an image is a fair one or of adequate quality, but is it not incumbent on scholars to interpret our data for our audience? Adams seems torn in this regard, since she effectively obscures the image-text relationship in her too-subtle use of common interpretive points in both the captions and the main text with no clear linkages between the two. But, again, this debate is a theoretical one that needs to occur elsewhere.

As happens with a work of this length, other frustrations emerge as well. The most glaring is the lack of "analysis": the author's comparison of her interpretations with other authors' relevant findings, typically at the end of a section or a chapter. Adams includes more than 300 footnotes, but almost none are analytical beyond the odd superficial

comparison. Of less importance are several repetitions within the text, including at least one quotation that is used twice without acknowledging the redundancy.

But that latter shortcoming in particular is minor, and none of the others undermine the emotionally moving, sociologically relevant heart of this book. While its subject matter is decades old, *Surviving Dictatorship* never comes across as dated. Harsh repression seems to always be in fashion somewhere—as does, fortunately, courageous resistance to it. Heightening the book's currency, in marginal inserts scattered throughout the work, Adams points readers to websites that make clear the relevancy of her findings for understanding uprisings like Arab Spring.

This book may seem an odd choice for introductory and social problems courses, but instructors of such gateway classes will find a lot of grist for their teaching mill if they are not inclined to use textbooks, and in many ways this work is an exemplary piece of visual sociology that would also inform courses in gender studies in valuable ways.

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*Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies for Cross-Border Studies*, edited by Anna Amelina, Devrimsel D. Nergiz, Thomas Faist, and Nina Glick Schiller. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012. 259pp. \$133.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780415899628.

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*Beyond Methodological Nationalism*, edited by Anna Amelina et alia, provides critiques of the nation-state concept when used as the sole unit of analysis to investigate social phenomena that have a transnational or cross-border existence. The twelve chapters in the volume give various reasons the nation-state is an inadequate and thus an inappropriate unit from which to analyze social phenomena that span beyond the confines of the nation, or that are affected by conditions beyond its territory. Consequently, much investigation of transnational/cross-border phenomena has remained problematic: undeveloped

and under-theorized, due to the methodological weaknesses of using a national approach.

The ten chapters that present substantive cases demonstrate some of the specific problems or gaps created by using a nation-state unit of analysis for investigating cross-border social phenomena, including the following. Methodological nationalism perceives of the nation-state as a bounded "container" for social phenomena that actually has a longer reach. Methodological nationalism also tends to equate the nation-state with society, which is a misconception because some constituting sources of society originate beyond national territory. Failing to use a cross-border framework also limits the ability to rescale social spaces and places (such as cities or neighborhoods) within the context of extra-national arrangements to analyze their relative significance at varying scales. Moreover, methodological nationalism tends to portray the nation and the state as "timeless and static," amounting to standard models without recognition of their dynamic historical character, especially due to increasing fluidity, diversity, and interrelations and connections among peoples and cultures across social environments on the globe. Cyber-communication, for example, has shifted distance scales in socio-cultural terms, making Tokyo closer to London than to Siberia, according to the volume. Each of the chapters that present substantive cases critique methodological nationalism in specific ways and present alternative research approaches considered advantageous from the cross-border perspective advanced by the volume.

Among the three chapters in Part I, focusing on the thematic area of international migration, the chapter "Transnationality, Migrants and Cities: A Comparative Approach," by Nina Glick Schiller, criticizes earlier urban studies based on methodological nationalism for their tendency to dichotomize resident cultures as binary opposites, such as traditional/modern and pre-industrial/industrial. Dichotomizing social settings (cultures, cities, etc.) ignores the actual formations of cities through *social fields* of actors originating from a mixture of sources, including cross-border places, and it also ignores the forming of social arrangements in the city that do not operate according to the assumed categorical oppositions.

In this regard, according to Glick Schiller, methodological nationalism has failed to recognize the significance and contributions of migrants beyond their foreign-born characteristic portrayed as a binary opposite to natives. Even the more recent critical analysis of the capitalist city has failed to grasp a transnational perspective in which cities are not viewed as bounded containers but as "entry points" from which to analyze the host of transnational processes involved in their constitution. Using research findings in urban areas in the United States and the United Kingdom, Glick Schiller illustrates the important contributions of transnational migrants that are not recognized by city planners and officials seeking economic growth. Glick Schiller describes an elaborate comparative approach to better analyze the transnationality of city development.

Yet, the comparative approach presented by Glick Schiller may be seen as an ideal type by some (or at least by this reviewer) seriously challenging the possibilities of individual researchers juggling different academic duties and competing for hard-to-get research monies. In Part II of the volume, which addresses problems of global research undertaken with methodological nationalism, the chapter "Uncomfortable Antinomies: Going Beyond Methodological Nationalism in Social and Cultural Anthropology," by David N. Gellner, provides a humanistic assessment of carrying out global ethnography—that is how much can an ethnographer really do in the *antinomies* between conducting individual fieldwork and attempting to address global issues, and striving to maintain a holistic approach while still attempting to grasp the significance of fluidity and change. Gellner compares multi-site ethnography with global ethnography, and comments on weaknesses of methodological nationalism, but his most refreshing discussion for this reviewer are his comments on holism as idealistic but heuristic. According to Gellner, ethnographers must enter their research settings with a focus, questions, a grasp of theory, a framework, and knowledge of what has been found about their topic, but they must always remain open to unexpected connections, including transnational linkages to world institutions, that may emerge in their research environments.

Gellner places much importance on the "bedrock" of individual data-gathering, especially for young researchers, and warns against the "tyranny" of collective research promoted by funding foundations requiring interdisciplinary and international research designs.

The chapters in Part III focus on issues of historiography and history that characterize pitfalls of methodological nationalism. In the chapter "Interrogating Critiques of Methodological Nationalism," Radhika Mongia emphasizes the need to "historicize" state control of migration to avoid methodological nationalism's practice of viewing the state control of migration as unchanging and naturalized (as a Westphalian product), amounting to a reification of state space. According to Mongia, even the critiques of cultural studies and transnational migration studies promote a "methodological statism" that dehistoricize state-space when the two perspectives maintain an implicit residue of methodological nationalism or fail to take the state into account. Using historical examples of state policies of the Indian subcontinent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, she demonstrates how Indian policies which were derived from imperial debates promoted "free migration" of certain emigrant categories rather than restrict migration, because the state concept of methodological nationalism was assumed to be the unchanging stance of the state. Mongia says that it is necessary to look for specific "historical junctures" to historicize state control of migration. Her words ring true regarding the massive importation of Mexican *braceros* by the U.S. state during 1942 to 1964.

*Beyond Methodological Nationalism* raises important issues that need to be considered in social research, given the increasingly fluid, diverse, and globally interconnected character of many social environments across world regions. Whether research is undertaken individually or collectively, it is necessary to investigate cross-border social processes through analytical frameworks that extend beyond the nation-state with sensitivity for fluidity and diversity, and to do so with a sense of historical change through time and space. This of course is not a present-day realization, but a methodological refrain of Marx's depiction of the capitalistic modern era as one in which

"uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions" and "everlasting uncertainty and agitation" characterize social life (*Communist Manifesto*:38).

## Reference

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. 2012 (1888). *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition*. London, UK: Verso.

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*Paranormal America: Ghost Encounters, UFO Sightings, Bigfoot Hunts, and Other Curiosities in Religion and Culture*, by Christopher D. Bader, F. Carson Mencken, and Joseph O. Baker. New York, NY: New York University Press, 2011. 264pp. \$21.00 paper. ISBN: 9780814791356.

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There is much discussion in popular culture and the media about more Americans being "spiritual but not religious." Our entertainment industry is rife with *X-Files*-like fiction. There are "reality shows" about haunted houses, ghost hunters, and the like. Even the History Channel has moved in this direction, with shows on UFOs and Sasquatch. Regardless of whether Americans actually believe in these phenomena or are just entertained by them, there is a clear interest in the paranormal in contemporary U.S. society. Thus, *Paranormal America: Ghost Encounters, UFO Sightings, Bigfoot Hunts, and Other Curiosities in Religion and Culture* by Christopher Bader, Carson Mencken, and Joseph Baker is a timely examination of Americans' views of the paranormal.

The book employs a mixed-methods approach to explore Americans' belief in the paranormal, their activities related to the paranormal, and connections between belief in the paranormal and more mainstream religious perspectives and demographic characteristics. If you want to know how many Americans believe in ghosts, how people describe encounters with aliens, and what people who hunt Bigfoot are like, then this book is for you.