

suggested to conservative and racist whites a primitiveness that was anathema to a modern and prosperous city. Even the black-run weekly newspaper decries Jazz. Canal Street becomes enshrined as a white-only, especially female, shopping district. New Orleans' use of segregated rail cars in 1891 bolstered by the *Plessey v. Ferguson* ruling of 1896, deepens the fissures of caste and class. And the author's creative reading of stereotypical film and literary characters is a wonderful heuristic for instructors interested in parallel narratives about race, class, and modernity in the Caribbean basin, the Deep South, and Atlantic Studies.

The book has no conclusion per se, but ends with an epilogue that summarizes the city's efforts to make this tourist destination a whites-only activity. The war-time economy pushed tens of thousands of soldiers and women (working in factories) through this port. Many would take back to their hometowns a tine of pralines, an antique purchased on Royal Street, or a bunch of Mardi Gras beads. By the close of World War II, a swampy and often disease-ridden Louisiana had become safe. By 1945, as prosperity rose among an increasingly automobile and interstate-connected America, the city was poised to continue its role as the Deep South's exotic destination as it would soon meld into the New South. This whitening process complements business's effort to make hotel and restaurants more up-scale and therefore exclude lower-income and black tourists. Efforts spill over and "whiten" components of French Creole foods and traditions, and, incredibly, even local jazz production.

Although a few photographs and illustrations follow the end of chapter 3, a

more judicious use of illustrations and appropriate and scaled maps would have enhanced the book, especially if sprinkled about the work so as to complement the text. No matter. *Creating the Big Easy* is a wonderful read and meticulously researched work that will serve as a metric for understanding the complexities of tourism, class, gender, and city formation for years to come.

Twinning Faith and Development: Catholic Parish Partnering in the US and Haiti, Tara Hefferan. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press. 2007. 256 pp, \$23.95.

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In February 2004, following its "ordered departure" immediately before Aristide's forced removal, the State Department estimated there were 20,000 U.S. citizens in Haiti. These North Americans—approximately one for every 400 Haitians, with the majority working within faith-based groups—play a large role in contemporary Haitian society. It is therefore strange that anthropologists tend to ignore this presence. Hefferan's "studying-up" ethnography of a U.S. Catholic parish's "twinning" program is thus not only timely, but necessary and overdue.

Twinning is a process through which a U.S. parish pairs up with a Haitian parish to work on development projects. Hefferan, in addition to examining this influential yet often overlooked practice and the populations it impacts, offers an engaging look at development. Despite NGOs' burgeoning roles in develop-

ment today, anthropological analyses of faith-based NGOs are relatively new (see Bornstein's 2003 study in Zimbabwe). Unlike most recent studies, which tend to emphasize conversion and individual interventions among Protestants, Hefferan's ethnography focuses on Catholic groups. Such twinning programs, arising from liberation theology's "preferential option for the poor," bridge mission and development work and provide a fascinating optic for understanding transcultural contact and geopolitics today.

Hefferan's case study challenges binary constructions of development and its "global" or "local" actors, figures anthropologists too often reify. She draws instead on a "lay" perspective, or that of nonspecialist, part-time religious volunteers. This raises the question of whether twinning programs represent a top-down modernization model or a challenge/alternative to existing forms of development. Are relationships between "twins" equal, or do the hierarchies implicit in the development arena infiltrate the partnership? Hefferan's multisited, multimethod (open-ended interviews, participant observation, and free-listing exercises) research grapples with these issues.

After her first three theoretical and methodological chapters, Hefferan examines motivations behind lay practitioners' involvement. Here she focuses also on U.S. volunteers' "reverse missions"—"intended to be moments of spiritual growth and learning for those traveling to Haiti, rather than moments of evangelization for Haitians" (29)—which reveal much about these people's understandings and constructions of Haiti. Chapter 4 interrogates volunteers' gaze into Haiti and the mirror. It analyzes not only negative

stereotypes about Haitians' status as "childlike" and "dirt-poor" but also, and paradoxically, liberal critiques of "Western overdevelopment," that turn on portraying Haitians as "proud," "nonmaterialistic," and "rooted in faith." In chapter 5, Hefferan delves deeper into volunteers' understanding of development, including its purpose and their priorities for Haiti.

Chapter 6 outlines a conflict between two "twins"; a Grand Rapids, Michigan "Haiti Committee" and the Haitian parish priest to which it is paired. Tensions escalate following an accounting dispute and, despite their professed equality, the Grand Rapids committee ultimately adopts a paternalistic management approach typical of development "professionals." Here Hefferan spells out some of the ways volunteers take misunderstandings as evidence of Haiti's need to be disciplined and developed according to U.S. models. Relying on the priest due to local community structures, Catholic hierarchies, and their inability to speak French or Kreyòl, the Michiganders grow to resent their intermediary and debate whether the Haitian diocese should transfer him. Yet these volunteers' linguistic shortcomings do not prevent them—and many others who sport T-shirts emblazoned with catchy missionary slogans—from becoming "experts." They assert that they know what's best for locals, arguing that they know better than the priest as well as the Haitian government, which they view as a "barrier" to the "person-to-person" approach that is the hallmark of twinning.

By recounting this conflict, Hefferan explores underlying ideological frames and values. She suggests that accounting

and management experience turns “twins” into paternalists, reproducing the same actions of the development agencies they critique. Hefferan theorizes that this similarity is not due to volunteers’ conscious adoption of development professionals’ discourse—they neither read reports nor attend conferences—but that as affluent U.S. professionals these two groups share a worldview. However, “although both conventional and lay initiatives worry about the presence and effects of corruption on projects and beneficiaries, only twinning agonizes over them” (174). Thus, Hefferan concludes, twinning programs lie somewhere between mainstream modernist development orthodoxy and its alternative: “twinning is both a ‘humane’ and an imperialist project, neither fully one nor the other” (205).

Readers may note that Haiti’s contemporary political context is notably absent from Hefferan’s account, reduced to a single quote from a Michigan parishioner who claims that “Aristotle” (*sic.*, Aristide) had to be removed (166). Like the Michigan parishioners cited in the text, Hefferan relies on the priest as the sole voice of the community described. Yet this decision may have been methodological, and her lack of engagement with more traditional politics might be read as the result of an attempt to fill a niche and describe early 21st-century politics in a novel manner. Adding to this possibility is the honest detail through which Hefferan outlines the difficulties she faced in conducting her Haiti ethnography. Such reflexivity is critical to anthropological scholarship and development efforts.

In analyzing this book, it is helpful to remember that Hefferan moves beyond a

dichotomy between “local” poor people and “global” development agency staff in favor of an analysis of Northern volunteers occupying an awkward intermediary position. This up-close portrayal of lay faith-based developers and the detailed, systematic analysis of their understandings of Haiti and their work goes far to humanize and understand an influential population largely absent from recent ethnographic accounts. Their influence is likely to grow because of USAID’s recent promotion of faith-based NGOs under the Bush White House.

Hefferan’s nuanced and well-written ethnography contributes to a maturing anthropological literature on NGOs and development. It also bridges issues of faith and imperialism while eschewing polemical frames and language. Thus *Twinning Faith and Development* will prove useful for informed, lively discussions in courses on development, NGOs, the Caribbean, and religion. And Kumarian Press’s website offers a readers’ guide with sample discussion questions. Similarly, Hefferan ends her analysis inviting others to continue the discussion and analysis: “I hope others will extend this analysis by considering the links between lay and conventional initiatives in other forms and other locations” (208).

Reference Cited

- Bornstein, Erica
2003 *The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe*. New York: Routledge.