Review: Exploring the Complex Interactions between Biology and Culture in Human Development
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and Sri Lanka, *Buddhist Approaches to Human Rights* attempts the very difficult task of providing a defense of basic human rights from a Buddhist point of view. The editors, Carmen Meinert and Hans-Bernd Zöllner, thankfully address some major issues in their introduction to the volume. For example, they carefully consider the normative basis for defining human rights and consider what human rights might look like from a Buddhist point of view. They avoid a related trap of essentializing Buddhism, through openly questioning who and what ought to serve as representative of Buddhism: philosophical and doctrinal texts or monastic leaders? (This reader would have liked to have seen more attention paid to the voices of laypeople.) They also identify the very complicated relationship between Buddhist doctrine and secular law in relation to human rights and the obvious fact that the traditionally Buddhist countries of Asia do not share the same modern history or secular legal tradition. Some of these challenges are epistemological and present in any attempt to produce *Buddhist Approaches to* anything. As a whole, the volume does an excellent job of exposing the problems inherent in any endeavor of this nature, but it does not go quite as far in proposing solutions. Future research should continue the best of what is found here—careful ethnographic fieldwork that reconstructs our preconceived notions of Buddhism, through nuanced portraits of how particular Buddhist persons, texts, or practices interact with human rights in a historically contextualized manner.

Exploring the Complex Interactions between Biology and Culture in Human Development

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The Evolution of Childhood: Relationships, Emotion, Mind. By Melvin Konner. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

The intellectual project of *The Evolution of Childhood* is to describe "the foundations of psychosocial growth" in evolutionary context. A goal of the book is to provide the basis for understanding the modification of that biological heritage in interaction with the environment. "Long live complex, measurable, and mainly deterministic interactionism" is his view—neither genetic determinism nor environmental determinism (p. 749). Konner's focus is on how "the laws and facts of biology underlie normally developing social behavior" (p. 4)—not primarily whether they do (a settled matter for Konner) or how much they do (an important question but separate from the how for Konner). He is focused on scientific findings regarding how biology matters so deeply for child development. The result is a cascade of evidence, argument, typologies, and exploration of scores of specific topics. Konner insists that the deep importance of biology and evolution should be foregrounded in any discussion of human development in social and cultural context.

As determined as Konner is about this massive project of bringing evidence and arguments about our biological heritage to understanding human development, he approaches this journey "as a philosophically committed environmental determinist" (p. 4), also stating that he considers "improving the human condition to be the end of scientific activity" (p. 4). There are a number of sections of the book where clinical or public health implications are drawn out (nutrition and obesity, diabetes, depression, maternal care, infant care and protection, and many others). Further, Konner points out that "of all the research touched upon here, none is more urgent or more neglected than the cross-cultural" (p. 7). He is particularly concerned with the study of threatened communities, such as foragers and others, whose people, practices, and traditions are being transformed or eliminated.

The Evolution of Childhood is divided into five broad sections: evolution (focused on the phylogenetic origins of childhood), maturation (the genetic, physiological, and anatomical bases of psychosocial growth), socialization ("the evolving social context of ontogeny"), enculturation (the transmission and evolution of culture), and a conclusion. Between each of the first four major parts of the book, there is a transition essay. For example, part 2, "Maturation: Anatomical Bases of Psychosocial Growth," ends with a transition, "Plasticity Evolving," which moves the conversation toward part 3, "Socialization: The Evolving Social Context of Ontogeny." The writing is remarkably clear and accessible for a book with such a range and technical material. A nine-page "Reprise" offers 40 brief paragraph summaries of the main points of the book. Konner proposes a grand synthesis of the analogous processes he sees across all the major sections: "*variation* is generated, *self-organization* stabilizes some varieties, *challenge* makes them more or less adaptive; and *selection* favors some over others" (p. 740, italics in the original).

Konner outlines six contemporary paradigms for understanding the "specific roles for biology in the development of relationships, emotions, and mind" (p. 11): modern Vygotskians, cautious interactionists (noncausal models of reciprocal relationships of biology and other influences), connectionists/neuroconstructivists (simulations of neural networks), behavior genetics, developmental social neuroscientists (brain imaging and EEG evidence), and evolutionary psychologists. Konner does not come down on the side of any one of these ("None [of the six paradigms] holds more than a piece of the truth" [p. 11]), though he admires them and cites adherents of them all throughout the book. However, the latter four paradigms are more favored, perhaps since they make stronger causal claims. Konner is very inclusive and is

a proponent of more integration and synthesis, although advocates of these paradigms fiercely debate one another, disagree, and often ignore each others' work. The importance of plasticity is emphasized throughout the book, as well as canalization, reaction ranges, resilience, adaptive variability, and individual differences, including the sheer randomness and constant change and innovations that characterize many of our cultural beliefs and practices.

Only humans teach, create, and build cultures that cohere into meaningful patterns and can drive behavior so powerfully—yet Konner's book argues that culture and development must always be understood within evolved biological constraints. Enculturation goes beyond socialization and is unique to humans; it requires grasping the intentions and mind of the other as both distinct and similar to one's own and includes intersubjectivity (e.g., collaborative learning), processes of emotional management (e.g., ritualization), and symbolic processes (e.g., schematization, narrative construction, cultural coherence, and patterning). Culture indeed pervades the mind and thought, Konner agrees, but culture is not "an acid bath that dissolves structures provided by the genes . . . mind is bathed in culture because biology makes it so, and biology does that with clear guidelines" (p. 8).

Konner proposes a "Culture Acquisition Device" (CAD)—the suite of biological preparedness that cuts across enculturation and socialization (p. 720) and makes enculturation happen. This CAD consists of reactive processes (e.g., habituation, social facilitation), facilitative processes (social learning, e.g., mimicry), emotional processes (e.g., attachment, positive and negative identification), and symbolic processes (e.g., the importance of narrative meaning). There are 20 processes listed in all. These CADs are what Konner's book essentially provides the evolutionary basis for, linking biological and environmental-cultural contexts. The CAD frame might have been more effectively used to point out the significance of evolutionary, maturational, physiological, and other evidence throughout the book, based on whether, how, and why cultural beliefs and practices are taken up through various CAD preparedness, for instance. The book could have benefited from better integration such as this, with a few core story lines more consistently linking the environment and biology integration argument.

Reading across the sections provides extensive material on all stages of development, including why stages evolved in the first place, although the book is not organized according to the stages of development. The many forms of care found across cultures and species are also thoroughly covered. The middle childhood or juvenile period of human development is covered at length, for example, the 5 to 7 shift and evolutionary reasons for it (humans being the only species with such an extended stage from around 6 to 12). There is a chapter under the maturation section, for instance, covering the neurobiological, cognitive, and evolutionary evidence and another in the enculturation section on the "culture of middle childhood." Middle childhood is the maturational stage for learning culture and extended socialization experiences, as well as when juveniles provide child care and other assistance to a household while still sexually immature but cognitively and physically capable of complex social activities.

Konner includes six "Interludes," short essays exemplifying the integrative thinking of the book as a whole. These include birdsong (the plasticity found even in "innate" songs), bipedal walking (an example of an evolved, genetically controlled maturational process), growing up gay, maternal sentiment (parental instincts are modulated by environment but powerful nonetheless), "Oedipal conflicts" (Konner does not believe evidence supports the existence of latent psychoanalytic dynamics in early childhood; however, there is substantial evidence that sex, violence, and aggression have long been associated in our history), incest avoidance and taboos (how they evolved and how they work), the importance of asking the question of "how" culture and biology work together (there is strong support for the idea that many influences on psychosocial development interact to cause outcomes), and boys at war (balancing in-group identification with outgroup denigration).

The bibliography of this large-format book alone is 160 pages long (hence an author index, not included, would have helped greatly). Konner says that he has been working on this book for more than 30 years. So this massive project can be understood in the context of Konner's distinguished career in anthropology and the neurosciences. Konner's important infancy studies (part of the !Kung San research program and team, along with his late wife Marjorie Shostak, author of *Nisa* [2000]) made enduring contributions to studies of foragers and the study of human development. Konner was a key participant in the *Childhood* PBS film series and wrote the companion volume (*Childhood: A Multicultural View* [1993]). He also has written on Jewish tradition and religion. He is a physician as well as an anthropologist and has written on many topics related to disease, epidemiology, and human development from a clinical perspective, which clearly enriches the book's evidence and relevance.

This is a book that can be opened to most any page or section and be quite richly rewarding just by reading that section, even without the grand scheme of the whole. Of course, given the remarkable scope and breadth of the book, there will be a lot of disagreements, debates, and arguments with some of Konner's ideas and empirical details. But, the major contribution of the book is its remarkable breadth and openness to so many important topics. Konner is relentlessly interdisciplinary; he crosses levels of analysis and is open to all methods in search of description and explanation for every feature of development. The experience from reading this book is that of participating in a rich conversation, woven together by Konner, with researchers from many disciplines in and out of anthropology with varied theories and data, sitting around a table, who all care about understanding mind, emotion, and relationships. *Evolution of Childhood* is a terrific,

major contribution to this ongoing conversation about human development in anthropology.

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Fear, Punishment, and Inequality

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Sex Panic and the Punitive State. By Roger Lancaster. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Neoliberalism may explain why the rich have become so much richer while the rest of the population holds a steadily shrinking proportion of wealth. However, we also need to explain why the majority of the American population has allowed such inequalities to develop without significant objection. Although this may be changing with the Occupy Wall Street movement, in contrast to the Great Depression, in the "Great Recession," we hear fewer collective voices calling for the public good and more shrill outcries supporting individualized fear, corporate tax cuts, and privatized solutions. Has demagoguery around sex matters and family values paved the way for the general undermining of fundamental democratic rights in the United States today?

Roger Lancaster sees the erosion of civil liberties for those accused of sex crimes as contributing to the incremental creation and general acceptance of punitive governance in the United States. He notes that regulations with respect to sex and crime have become much harsher than they were 40 years ago. Many researchers have demonstrated that neoliberalism promotes inequality and has been accompanied by a massive increase in the incarceration of black men particularly, and other punitive enforcement measures, to maintain this inequality. Sex panics, Lancaster suggests, have paved the way for Americans to accept such punitive enforcement for white men, as well, and to actually call for further encroachments on their own democratic liberties.

Fear of sexual predators and the increasing incarceration of people for minor sexual charges have dramatically increased while the numbers of such crimes committed over the past 4 decades have continuously decreased. Lancaster describes the sex panics and fear from the 1980s on as a series of exaggerated sexual scandals and finds reactions of fear and loathing as much on the left as on the right. In terms of the left, he refers largely to feminists. I would suggest that the elaboration of sexual scandals is much greater on the right, where the general whipping up of fear has certainly been a leading aspect in generating the security state.

The book is structured as a series of historical case studies and an event analysis in which Lancaster, himself, became an actor. Lancaster talks about the corrosive process that has led to the acceptance of accusations that sounded absurd when we first heard them but that, even when the prosecuted were exonerated, have gradually transformed our penal system, as well as the way we rear our children and their own sense of security and human trust. The first of such major sex panics Lancaster examines is the rash of accusations, in the 1980s, that day care staff were molesting children in their care. Lancaster describes the astonishing accusations against day care providers that, for example, all the children in one center were sexually molested in broad daylight, and he shows the ease with which some accusations were believed by people all over the country. Although the supposed perpetrators were nearly all acquitted after years of imprisonment and defamation, Lancaster argues that, along the way, the image of the sexual predator in the United States was transformed from the violent black man of racist imagery to include the white male. More often than not, this also involved homophobia, and the white man was coded homosexual, he argues.

Next, Lancaster examines the accusations of sexual harassment against Catholic priests, and here, unquestionably, the emphasis is on men and homosexual overtures. This is not an issue where left- and right-wing views necessarily diverge. As in the case of day care, the innocent child is invoked, but, Lancaster argues, most of the men who came forward had been adolescents at the time of the event. He maintains that adolescents have agency and sexual interest and cannot be portrayed as passive victims. They may, he suggests, even benefit from liaisons with older men. I would object that the power dynamics are not equal. Whether adolescents are children or not, they are still vulnerable to overtures from older authority figures.

In a very convincing and thought-provoking chapter, the book documents the personalization and "revenge" process that led to new legislation such as Megan's Law, which, like many others, was named after a child victim. On release from imprisonment for a sex crime, convicts are publicly labeled, spatially constrained in where they can live, and disenfranchised. The accumulation of such laws, while focused on sex crimes, dramatizes individual victims, validates revenge, and undermines the overall premise in U.S. jurisprudence of punishment as expiation and rehabilitation.

Lancaster points to contributions of the feminist left, which he cites as having cut a devil's bargain with evangelical groups against pornography. These are murky waters, and Lancaster wades through them carefully. He makes sure to continuously specify "some feminists" when he speaks of what he sees as sex panics. He quotes Gayle Rubin extensively as representing a more nuanced and complex feminist perspective and insists that there is an important distinction to be maintained between noncoercive sexual violence and battering and the un-