Anne M. Galvin

Sounds of the Citizens: Dancehall and Community in Jamaica. Nashville TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014. xii + 224 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

Jamaica continues to exhibit multiple strands of a postcolonial society grappling with neoliberal movements and the socioeconomic remnants of structural adjustment. Nowhere is this more evident than among its poorest citizens, many of whom remain locked into marginalized spaces in Kingston's inner cities. The pervasive and persistent relationship between high-level political actors and their constituents has facilitated formal networks of opportunity that exist alongside the informal structures of opportunity and survival that have emerged, out of necessity, in these communities. Carl Stone's seminal work of the 1970s and early 1980s (see, for example, *Democracy and Clientelism in Jamaica*, 1980) provides a critical theoretical framework through his patron-clientelist concept from which to theorize and analyze the relationships between the State's political actors and their inner-city constituents in Jamaica. The survival strategies that emanate from the socioeconomic structures in these locales are both colored by the pervasive political culture and significantly energized by popular culture—in this case, dancehall.

Dancehall culture stands as an organic and informal popular cultural outgrowth of Kingston's inner cities in the early 1980s—the harshest period following the application of neoliberal policies, under the World Bank's structural adjustment whip. Its popular cultural sounds and styles critically engage with multiple strands of socioeconomic and sociopolitical being, utilizing mechanisms that reflect the lived realities of its actors and adherents. As such, dancehall remains critically interwoven with the life and times of Kingston's inner cities.

Anne Galvin's *Sounds of the Citizens* presents valuable material from an anthropological foray into one of Kingston's inner cities, to which she gives the pseudonym "Guy Town." The book's critical approach spans a significant temporal block, from 2001 to 2009, thereby providing readers with a "long view" of developmental movements in this intricately structured and tightly knit community. It explores important anthropological material on the networks of reputation, respectability, and power that characterize the lives of actors in Guy Town. Galvin's argument that power is derived from respect, wealth, and violence in Guy Town provides key empirical material that may be useful in the continuing thrust to break the negative cycles of existence that characterize poor communities like these in Jamaica. In addition, her examination of the necessary inside/outside myths that provide inner-city residents, such as those in Guy Town, with a dualistic self-representation of security and opportunity

and the pervasive gender politics that reflect Jamaica's deep patriarchal formations highlights identity planks through which Guy Town residents create their identity.

Moving from a historical-sociological sketch in Chapter 3, dancehall culture and the sound system industry is examined in Chapter 4 through a critical focus on the role and function of the "Wicked Times" production house and its producer/CEO, who simultaneously operates as an "area leader" or direct liaison between the community and the formal political networks. Galvin provides rich data on the "runnings" of Jamaica's music industry from within, highlighting the cultural specificities that encourage high levels of informality coupled with ample amounts of creative output.

Galvin's discussion of dancehall and the community is not fully interwoven with her overall analytical focus on the formal and informal political networks and community strategies that energize Guy Town; the book foregrounds the key sounds of the citizens of Guy Town as articulated through the state- and university-led project within which the bulk of her research is conducted. Thus a critical presentation of Guy Town's varied community networks remains its main focus. Additionally, Galvin's theoretical debt to Carl Stone and his early Marxist-induced patron-clientelist concept of the 1970s weaves its way throughout the book, but is never clearly acknowledged.

Sounds of the Citizens adds real value to the understanding of critical and necessary social and economic networks in Kingston's inner cities, and by extension in poor urban communities across Jamaica. It provides useful empirical data for both popular and academic readers who seek further material to engage with the growing challenges facing poor communities in postcolonial societies. Furthermore, it opens a door to survival strategies, including the pervasive and very organic structures of dancehall culture, which all draw from and contribute to the constitution of inner-city identity, but may be hidden by carefully crafted outsider myths that provide opportunities and protection for members of this inner-city community.

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