Making the Mexican Diabetic: Race, Science, and the Genetics of Inequality by Michael J. Montoya (review)

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woman. He took his first vows as a Jesuit just before that order's expulsion from the Portuguese dominions in 1759. He renounced those vows and was ordained a priest in 1764. When called to Lisbon along with other ex-Jesuits in the late 1760s, he seized the opportunity to secure his appointment as a comissário.

Thanks to Marques de Araújo's distinctive handwriting, James Wadsworth has been able to identify about 500 cases in which the comissário was involved. Of these, only 6 percent involved "crimes against the faith," including a single denunciation of Judaism. Most notable were the prosecutions against bigamy. The bulk of the *comissário*'s work, in which he was noted for his promptness, diligence and reliability, involved investigating the suitability of those requesting appointment as inquisition officials. The one area in which Marques de Araújo showed personal commitment and zeal was in his abhorrence of what he termed "*os libertinos*" (the freethinkers), those influenced by the culture of the Enlightenment and thus skeptics in their religious views and behavior. Surprisingly, the chief libertino in Marques de Araújo's eyes was Bernardo LuÍs Ferreira Portugal, dean of the cathedral chapter of the diocese of Olinda.

According to Wadsworth, the final years of the comissário's career were consumed by his feud with the dean and by the associated struggle with the cathedral chapter, which resolutely refused to pay Marques de Araújo his stipend as a canon, which post he had held since 1797. In both conflicts he came off the worse, although the honors bestowed on him by the crown after its arrival in Brazil in 1808 (facilitated by a vast financial "donation") may have offered some consolation to the comissário, aged 70 in 1812, in his declining years.

Marques de Araújo's life provides fascinating insights into the role of religion in the Northeast of Brazil in the late colonial order: the absence and resulting ineffectiveness of the bishops, the dominance of the Church hierarchy by local elite families, the social standing conferred by Inquisition offices, and the erratic effectiveness of the Inquisition.

While the work is not as penetrating or as precise as might be wished, the thoroughness of the research and the topic itself give the book its value.

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SCIENCE, MEDICINE, AND TECHNOLOGY

Making the Mexican Diabetic: Race, Science, and the Genetics of Inequality. By Michael J. Montoya. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. Pp. xxi, 282. Glossary. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $58.20 cloth; $22.46 paper.

Michael J. Montoya investigates U.S.-based genetic research and discourse asserting Mexican-American susceptibility to type 2 diabetes, to reveal "the role of genetic research in the persistent use of race to divide populations in society at large" (p. 12). Montoya makes the importance of this project clear, situating it in a sociocultural con-

text where genetics suffuse our understandings of humanness, identity, and sickness, and where folk taxonomies of race—which Montoya understands as embodiments of group-based oppression—are simultaneously contested and enduring. His chapters follow blood samples and their use from donation, though abstraction into datasets and analyses, to market and the popular cultural deployment of the scientific claims they generate. Montoya reveals how each of these moments entails the construction of scientific objects, including the recasting of borderlands residents who cannot afford healthcare as humanist donors, the elision of folk taxonomies of race into bodily attributes on the population level, and the construction of "the Mexican American population" as a homogenously admixed ethno-racial group. These chapters also illustrate the process of what Montoya terms "bioethnic conscription," in which "ethnicity comes to be construed as meaningful for scientific research," supporting genetic or clinical claims (p. 26) and obscuring the social origins of human difference and sickness. Overall, this book reveals how broader contexts of oppression lead well-meaning researchers to further the biologization of inequality into ethno-racial categories, which pathologize and homogenize the oppressed while obscuring the material causes of sickness.

This work builds on the best foundations from anthropology and STS, wedding attention to the co-construction of society and science with an anthropological eye to material and social realities. Montoya's resistance to dualities when investigating science-race relationships is at the same time a resistance to reductionist traditions. Avoiding oppositions between biology and society, he productively frames biology as part of society to understand how embodied inequality can come to look like racial disease susceptibility, and how broader social phenomena, like the existence of racial labels, filter into biological research.

He similarly complicates debates about the use of race in science. Pointing out that scientists are themselves wary of naturalizing race, Montoya sees that simply identifying their failures is a dead end. Instead, he investigates how even those seeking to avoid biologizing folk taxonomies of race participate in broader cultural assemblages that reinforce them. His claims draw authority from his impressive engagement with scientific practice and fluency in the language of genetics, which enable him to avoid critiquing a scientific straw man.

Such analysis draws on remarkable ethnography. Montoya conducted extensive participant observation in multiple sites of an international diabetes research consortium. This research yields data on geneticists' daily practice in offices in Chicago, DNA sample collection along the U.S.-Mexico border, and diabetes research conferences, as well as the resulting documents such as grant proposals. Linking rich ethnography with equally rich analysis, Montoya shows readers how interactions in these sites illustrate widely varying uses and even critiques of ideas of race which ultimately, because of broader social forces, revivify ideas of human difference that perpetuate inequality. Montoya clearly situates himself in the work, discussing his intellectual and social background and its relationship to the development of his project; graduate students designing their own fieldwork will find this instructive.

This book is a must-read for scholars seeking an ethnographically grounded yet highly theoretical read on science, sickness, race and Mexicanness. It reveals relationships between race, science, and context that should be widely understood, and Montoya expresses hope that a broadly interdisciplinary readership might apply these insights. However, this aim of applicability might be thwarted by the book's impressive but dizzying linkage of analyses to relevant theories from multiple disciplines, as well as its inclusion (especially in the introduction) of rafts of provocative questions that will not be explicitly answered. Somewhat ironically, given Montoya's engaging discussion of a geneticist critiquing an ethnography of science's emphasis on "philosophy shit" (p. 128), this work uses high-level theory in a way that will excite social scientists but overwhelm others. While excerpts (especially the engaging sections analyzing rich ethnography) would be useful for undergraduate classes on medical and cultural anthropology, race, science studies, and borderlands, the book is more appropriate for graduate classes and use in scholarship.

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