

cycles. She considers Koreans' own domestic objectives and cultural mores, including their deeply rooted racism and the recent turn to the promotion of multiculturalism as a way to represent themselves as broad-minded in their treatment of foreigners and to embrace the return of Korean migrants from overseas. Because Peruvians are non-Asian, they tend to be easily targeted for deportation. Those who marry Koreans and become documented frequently do their best to make their Peruvianness invisible.

Vogel persuasively recounts economic conversion among Peruvian migrants both in Korea and once they return home. Her discussion of religious conversion is also fascinating as Koreans themselves embrace Peruvians as potential converts to Protestantism or as more devout practicing Catholics. Because of the existence of global communications networks, the migrants' conversion of family members in Peru, especially among those who became Protestants, became a significant goal and a sign for them of their success. Vogel explains that "Korean churches were embarking on their own cosmopolitan conversion projects looking for global destinations and converts" (88). Converted Peruvian Protestants viewed their economic and social success as religious answers or signs and gave testimonials of their efforts. Vogel found that Peruvian migrants did not see religious conversion solely as a kind of Weberian economic instrumentality or rationalization but also as an act that transformed their self-identity. She touches upon conflicts among Peruvians in Korea of different religious persuasions, generations, or statuses but does not develop that line of inquiry robustly.

The final kind of conversion that Vogel discusses is what she calls cosmopolitan conversion. She thinks that Peruvians experience cosmopolitan conversion as they become more familiar with ways of being in a wider world and that they can draw on this familiarity for resources, networks, and a sense of self and community. This section was least persuasive to me. Peruvians who returned to their country had become more knowledgeable and more skilled about managing their undocumented status, and they had learned all sorts of things about people, places, and tactics of survival in other parts of the world. However, why this would be deemed cosmopolitan, especially in the many cases when these same Peruvians had to skirt the edges of Korean society, is not clear. What was the process of becoming cosmopolitan rather than parochial? How was it possible to distinguish between these two states of being, which seem to exist along a continuum?

I would have liked Vogel to better clarify aspects of the migrants' exploitation and the ways they pushed back against victimization in the Peru–South Korea migrant axis. While she shows how Peruvians who moved from documented to undocumented status succeeded in pushing back in surprising and creative ways, she does not explic-

itly show how the conditions under which they did this frequently converted them into human commodities that satisfied South Korea's labor needs and its drive to become a behemoth of soft power in the global arena. Very much part of neoliberal global capitalist practices, these migrants made something of their exploitation. Although it might take it a little too far to view them as cogs in the ideology of commodity fetishism, they imagined their exploitation in a highly positive light once they returned to Peru.

Overall, however, Vogel has written a highly readable book whose arguments are clearly laid out. It is an excellent classroom resource with which to engage students in discussing the multifaceted dimensions of global migrants' experiences, and scholars of globalization and transnational migration will also learn much from it.

The Shaman's Wages: Trading in Ritual on Cheju Island.
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Anthropology and sociology have a long tradition of scholarship that explores the intersection of economic and religious life. Within this broad tradition, relatively little work has scrutinized ritual itself as an economic practice. This modest but valuable task is what Kyoim Yun takes up in her ethnography, *The Shaman's Wages: Trading in Ritual on Cheju Island*.

Setting her book on Cheju, an island located geographically and culturally on the Korean periphery, Yun studies a local variety of shamanism in which shamans are hired by clients to mediate offerings to gods and the dead. Such shamans, known as *simbang*, play a role similar to that of attorneys, advocating and petitioning on behalf of their clients and performing the rhetorical work of making their patrons' offerings palatable. In Cheju shamanism, interactions between humans and the spirit world are often transactional, taking the form of a gift exchange in which an offering—usually items like food, cloth, and cash—is made with the hope that it will be generously reciprocated through a god's favors and assistance. Typically, *simbang* are paid a fee for conducting a ceremony and take home the cash offerings of their clients afterward. Because the fees and offerings paid by clients are negotiated with *simbang* directly, because *simbang* must weigh their economic survival against the needs of their patrons, and because the value of what they provide is hard to appraise, the cost of a ritual is a frequent source of disagreement and ambiguity.

In this context, *simbang* on Cheju are framed as both altruistic practitioners of the spirit world and greedy, self-interested swindlers, two oversimplified tropes each of which has a long history. The notion of a profit-oriented religious practice, of a ritual performed both for efficacy and for money, challenges the secularized presumptions of onlookers as well as social scientists who regard religion and the economy as discrete, independent domains. For such critics, such as the Korean writer Hwang Taegwŏn (quoted by Yun), “genuine shamans do not have selfish motives” (166). To consider how religious practice can be both genuine and done for money, Yun employs the concept of ritual economy to articulate how “ritual itself [functions] as an economic event filled with cultural meanings such as reciprocity, devotion, and sincerity” (163). Religion, she argues, should not be reduced, as it often is, to beliefs or doctrines but must be understood to be a practice embedded in and shaped by material economic relations and contexts.

Yun’s ethnography is organized into five chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 address the history of shamanism on Cheju, focused largely on the reactions and interpretations of outsiders (rather than locals or practitioners) to shamanism and the practice of ritual consumption. Chapter 1, “A Neo-Confucian Reformer’s 1702 Purge,” traces the events and context surrounding the burning of 129 shrines by a Chosŏn dynasty administrator. The burning—motivated by critiques that the shamans were little more than bandits manipulating a gullible populace as well as by the desire to institutionalize state Confucianism—illustrates the fact that concerns surrounding the purported greed and self-interest of shamans on Cheju have been long-standing. Chapter 2, “Cultural Politics of Cheju Shamanism in the Twentieth Century,” jumps ahead to explore a constellation of responses, approaches, and policies of various outsiders, including Christian missionaries, colonial Japanese administrators and social scientists, and South Korean officials and ethnographers, to ritual consumption and Cheju shamanism more broadly.

Chapters 3 and 4 are primarily ethnographic, drawing on Yun’s participant-observation and engagement with *simbang* and their clients. Chapter 3, “The Art of Ritual Exchange,” describes the process and beliefs surrounding ritual exchange itself. Yun outlines how the offerings of clients take the form of a reciprocal gift exchange with gods and how this gift exchange relies on both the ritual speech of

the *simbang* and the sincerity of clients and their offerings. Chapter 4, “Skillful Performer or Greedy Animator?,” investigates the practices, interests, and conflicts surrounding the negotiation of the fees and offerings required by *simbang* for a ceremony.

Chapter 5, “A *Kut* as Heritage Goods with the UNESCO Brand,” chronicles the context and politics surrounding the addition of Cheju’s Yŏngdŭng *Kut* to UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Receiving the UNESCO designation involved a competitive application process in which the Yŏngdŭng *Kut*—a colorful, photogenic ritual involving many genres and performers—was carefully edited and framed by cultural experts to appeal to the global judges who determine which cultural forms are worthy of inclusion on the list. For South Korean officials, the designation certifies the Yŏngdŭng *Kut* as a World Heritage-quality cultural practice allowing for increased heritage tourism and economic growth; for *simbang*, the designation means transforming an efficacious ritual into a staged and disenchanting so-called cultural performance. Chapter 5 is a highlight of the ethnography and would be of interest to scholars of tourism, social memory, and globalization.

While it is a strong contribution, there are two things that *The Shaman’s Wages* is not. First, Yun’s ethnography is not an introduction to or an overview of Cheju shamanism. In keeping with her position that the realm of religion should not be limited to its traditional “contents” (13) of doctrine or belief, Yun has remarkably little to say about how Cheju shamanism operates as a broader belief system beyond the details found in her ethnographic examples. Second, her book is not an examination of the process of secularization in Korea or on Cheju. Despite her focus on the entanglement of the economy in religious rituals, Yun does not explore how the categories of religion or the economy came to exist as discrete spheres on Cheju or how that process influenced the practice of (and state responses to) ritual exchange.

What *The Shaman’s Wages* does do is present an excellent, well-written historical and ethnographic account of ritual exchange and its critiques on Cheju Island. Yun’s frank descriptions of the awkward ambiguities of both fieldwork and ritual exchange, her discerning observations, and her perceptive ability to capture irony and contradiction make this ethnography a joy to read.