438 ENTERPRISE & SOCIETY

illustrates how the history of technology can be used to illustrate the visible in an opaque system.

> Joline Zepcevski University of Minnesota

doi: 10.1093/es/khr076

Advance Access publication January 16, 2012

Preeti Chopra. *A Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of British Bombay*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. xxiv +293 pp. ISBN 978-0-8166-7037-6, \$20.89 (paper).

Colonial cities in India have been a subject of study for quite some time and many cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras have received a good deal of attention from historians and social scientists. Over the last few decades, scholars have studied the structures, architectural designs, and building plans of colonial cities and have examined their social and cultural meanings and attributes. Such studies have focused mainly on the colonial state as the prime builder of cities that served as its administrative headquarters and also represented the political and cultural ethos of the British Empire in the colony. The colonial state's urban planning, its policies regarding allocation of funds and distribution of physical spaces for public buildings, and the social and cultural dimensions of the cities' public spaces have so far dominated the discourse. The book under review revisits the colonial city of Bombay. It tracks the city's expansion and development in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and explores the building of public institutions and the creation of a public arena in the city. Preeti Chopra's main argument in the book is that the building of the colonial city of Bombay was a joint enterprise of the British colonial government and native Indians. It was the result of the partnership between the state and the Indian mercantile and industrial elites. The latter actively participated in various urban developmental projects spearheaded by the government and were also often able to appropriate a place in the public sphere that would serve as a mark of their identity. The author argues that not only business elites and philanthropists but also Indian engineers, architects, artists, craftsmen, and even laborers played a vital role in the making of nineteenth-century Bombay. Whereas the native philanthropists, especially the Parsis, joined hands with the government in raising funds, others offered crucial technical and artistic services and cooperated in designing and actually carrying

out the intended building projects. The author culls empirical data from a variety of sources and brings in visual evidence to prove that the shaping of colonial Bombay was an outcome of an intentional partnership and cooperation of the native elites with the colonial government.

What is most interesting in the book is the illustration of how this joint enterprise was actually carried out. This is done by examining various phases of urbanization and analyzing the political and sociocultural meanings of architectural designs, allocation of spaces in public buildings, and representations of human images and local cultural motifs. The book contributes significantly towards an understanding of the urban history as it looks at Bombay as a locus of a wide range of social spaces and sociocultural practices. The author explicates how the social space, that is, the public arena, that this joint enterprise created in British Bombay, was imagined and appropriated by the colonial state and the natives. She makes an interesting observation that the city's public sphere was a fractured and divided one (p. 176). It helped the natives to reimagine themselves as Bombay's citizens and make use of public spaces for collective activities. It also, however, reinforced racial, religious, community, caste, and gender differences, as the chapter on hospitals and lunatic asylums clearly shows. Complex and contested processes of representation, imagination, and articulation of identities went into the creation of the public arena. Whereas the native philanthropists, contributors, and the general public appropriated this sphere for themselves, their communities, and their fellow citizens, the colonial government sought to use this arena to represent the British Empire and its secular ideals.

There are some other important issues discussed in the book, such as the relationship between religion and colonialism, religion and modernization, and how the colonial state navigated the challenges of building a colonial city with a modern secular landscape. The government did not tolerate religious spaces or practices at public premises and even secularized many religious places and symbols. But it did not succeed because the natives discovered new deities in the statues of British and Indian elites installed in the city's buildings and open spaces and infused them with new cultural and ritual values. The public sphere of Bombay remained secular only on the surface and religion could never be separated from it (pp. xxiii, 230). The chapter on Murzban, the Parsi architect of Bombay, is fascinating. It illuminates an unknown, or rather, ignored, aspect of urban history of the colonial period.

The book offers a new perspective on urban social history and certainly calls for more investigation of similar historical processes in other colonial cities of India. A comparative study of the social history of colonial cities will help to move further from what seems to be a case for Bombay's exceptionalism and to determine whether it was a "British–Parsi" or a truly "British–Indian" enterprise. But that is for the future. The book is nicely produced and, no doubt, scholars and students will find it useful.

Ghulam A. Nadri Georgia State University

doi: 10.1093/es/khr077

Advance Access publication February 8, 2012

Martin Kornberger. *Brand Society: How Brands Transform Management and Lifestyle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. xx + 308 pp. ISBN 978-0-521-898263, \$95.00 (cloth); 978-0-521-72690-0, \$35.99 (paper).

This book provides a comprehensive and convincing argument that the major brands that evolved in the twentieth century transformed the balance of power between producers and consumers. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, brands were viewed as being simply a part of advertising and marketing campaigns that emphasized the characteristics of the *product* being sold. During the twentieth century, many of today's most ubiquitous brands—Absolut, Bacardi, and Coca-Cola, in beverages; Apple, Benetton, Lego, and Nike in manufactured consumer products; and Deloitte, Federal Express, and Virgin in services—are also powerful brands because they turn consumption into a lifestyle choice that empowers consumers. Viewed from this perspective, it is pointless to believe that consumers are simply passive recipients of brand messaging because they determine *what* the brand message is.

Brand Society consists of nine chapters equally divided into three parts. The first part, "Brands and branding," sets out some key historical milestones in the evolution of modern branding and discusses the influence of the early pioneers such as Bill Bernbach and the formation of Doyle Dane Bernbach in the 1960s. A central argument advanced in this part is that brands are self-sustaining because consumers continuously reinterpret their message. This momentum is achieved in a variety of ways that include, for example, the ability of brands to restructure businesses to better internally represent consumer preferences; brands can operate as catalysts within corporations by facilitating the integration of strategy, organizational change, organizational culture, and marketing. Of