

Book Reviews | Reseñas

- *The Economic History of the Caribbean since the Napoleonic Wars*, by Victor Bulmer-Thomas. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

This is a most welcome and thoroughly researched analysis of the economic history of the Caribbean in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A study like this was dearly missing, as most economic historians tend to focus on one territory or group of territories only (as in Barbados, or the former British West Indies taken together) and/or have opted for a thematic focus (e.g., the economics of slavery, the abolition of the slave trade, the transition from slavery to free labour economies and international marginalization). If anyone, Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Emeritus Professor of the University of London and the author of *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence* and other works in Latin American economic history, was the obvious candidate to write this study. The result is an excellent reference work that will remain a standard work for a long time to come.

In his introduction, Bulmer-Thomas summarizes the main characteristics (heterogeneity by scale, constitutional status, colonial legacies including language) and developmental trends in the post-1815 history of the Caribbean (defined as the islands in the Caribbean, the three Guianas and Belize). He emphasizes that the region's history can only be properly understood in relation to the economic development of Europe and, increasingly, the U.S., followed by some minor new powers in recent decades. This dependence in the realm of both imports and exports has historically been (even) more decisive than it was for continental Latin America. He divides the two centuries into three periods, the first marking the end of mercantilism and the transition to free trade as well as the decisive ascent of the U.S. as the dominant external power (1815-1900); the second (1900-1960) marking the transition from agrarian to predominantly service-oriented economies and the growing dependence on 'imperial' (American and European) trade preferences; and the third (1960-present) marked by the last round of decolonization and intensification of globalization, growth of industrial and mineral exports, and yet again the increase of service industries, particularly tourism.

Bulmer-Thomas briefly addresses paradigms that have been prevalent in the analysis of Caribbean economic history, running from the liberal 'industrializa-

tion by invitation' model as advocated by Sir Arthur Lewis, through the *dependencia* school and its British Caribbean variant known as the Plantation School, Marxist orthodoxy as preached and practiced in post-1959 Cuba, and neoliberal ideologies and practices that became prevalent elsewhere in the region since the 1990s. He observes that none of these paradigms have been successful either in theory or in practice. Sadly, basically all of these approaches shared a concern for the dangers of monoculture and extreme dependence on markets and states beyond the region itself, but none was able to formulate and successfully deploy policies that would diminish the region's dependence on the outer world.

This does not imply that the Caribbean has fared unfavourably by economic standards – with significant and tragic exceptions, particularly Haiti but also elsewhere, partly because of the skewed distribution of national income. Overall, labour productivity declined after the abolition of the slave trade, but then stabilized and next improved tremendously after the Second World War, and so did per capita income in most territories. Another crucial post-1945 development has been the growing disparity between demographic growth and local demand for labour, contributing to exceptionally high emigration figures – remittances have become a major source of income for many Caribbean countries.

All of this and more is analysed at length in three sections providing a systematic analysis on the basis of a wealth of data brought together in almost two hundred pages of appendices and summarized in the text in countless graphs and figures. While each of the three parts offers the same rigid analysis departing from developments in the external core countries through structural changes to their effects in the region as a whole, the closing chapter is three times a country study. That this would be Haiti in the first section and Cuba in the last one may be quite obvious, but one may wonder why precisely Belize was chosen for the section on the Caribbean between 1900 and 1960. But then again, this is a minor point of criticism. Perhaps some readers will deplore that Bulmer-Thomas does not discuss the impact of two centuries of imbalanced economic development on the lives of ordinary Caribbean citizens. This is indeed a subject only occasionally discussed in this book. But then again, *The Economic History of the Caribbean since the Napoleonic Wars* does provide the broader macroeconomic analysis that will help any scholar of the social or political history of the Caribbean to contextualize analyses of specific periods, themes or territories within a wider regional framework.

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and Caribbean Studies

- *Subjects or Citizens: British Caribbean Workers in Cuba, 1900-1960*, by Robert Whitney and Graciela Chailloux Laffita. University Press of Florida, 2013.

Readers will welcome the publication of *Subjects or Citizens, British Caribbean Workers in Cuba, 1900-1960* which offers an insightful account of the migration-experiences of people from the British Caribbean in Cuba. They were people of mostly African descent, who in the early twentieth century, came either as individuals or in family units to work for the sugar and coffee plantations in eastern Cuba. Both Robert Whitney (professor of Caribbean and Atlantic world history at the University of New Brunswick) and Graciela Chailloux Laffita (senior researcher at the Casa de Altos Estudios Don Fernando Ortiz, University of Havana) are eminent scholars of Cuban history.

The main narrative of the study will seem familiar to scholars who have studied migration patterns from the rest of the Caribbean to Cuba, but the book is still a very valuable contribution to the field of much needed studies of intra-Caribbean migrations. This publication of 182 pages analyses Cuban's twentieth century migration history by Caribbean people connecting Cuba to the rest of the Caribbean. Jamaicans have been in Cuba since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1914 they were recruited in large numbers, together with people from the other British Caribbean, for the expanding Cuban sugar industry. In the course of time, they significantly linked Cuba to the wider Caribbean. Methodologically, this book moves away from a Havana-centric perspective in the sense that it does not only consult the Archives of Havana, which give the migration policies intended by the state. It also examines regional archives to find out how rules and regulations were put into practice. Furthermore, it counterpoises these documents with the migrant's perspectives through their oral histories. By excavating these hidden narratives of daily lived experiences, the authors give a more humanized dimension of history.

The book is divided into seven sections: an introduction, five chapters, and a conclusion. In the introduction the authors explain that they chose to study this specific group for practical reasons. Firstly, they are more archival records of this group, who have a longer migration tradition than for example, the Haitians, also a very substantial migrant group in Cuba at that time. Secondly, they ranked themselves superior as British subjects and believed to be entitled to a different treatment than others. They would also claim their rights when thought necessary.

Chapter 1 turns to the question of who are the real Cubans. Cuban national identity has always been an extremely complex one with racism woven into the social fabric of the society. Race factors remained present in the different nationalist movements which Cuba experienced from the late nineteenth century onwards whereby black Cubans fought for their rightful place in the society. The intra-migrations of Afro-Caribbean people added to this complexity. The immigrants faced ethnic prejudices upon arrival and were accused of stealing

Cuban jobs. They were also the principal targets of nationalistic sentiments. This became more manifest in the implementation of the labour naturalization of 1933, resulting in the *Cuba for the Cubans* riots. The role of migrants in Cuban national identity formation as a diasporic population still remains historically obscure and there is a need for further studies that can throw some light on what makes Cuba both unique as well as a part of the Caribbean (p. 39).

Chapter 2 reveals the conditions in which Afro-British labourers worked in Cuba and in the Dominican Republic, another Spanish country which harboured a large group of workers from the British Caribbean. As British subjects who spoke English, they had certain advantages in a Cuba dominated by the USA. However, it did not prevent them from experiencing racist and exploitive practices in Cuba. They would send letters of complaint to the British government about the subdued slave-like living and working conditions. This government was very reluctant to protect them against these practices. Britain's lack of cooperative attitude also manifested itself clearly when they requested repatriation to their homelands, in particular during the 40s and early 50s. Returning was further complicated by the fact that most migrants were also reluctant about 'returning home penniless' (p. 113). Chapter 4 zooms in more directly on the period when Cuban nationalist sentiments reached new heights and were formalized in the 50 per cent law, the labour naturalization law of 1933 (p. 123). It stipulated that 50 per cent of the labourers working in agricultural, industrial and commercial firms must be Cuban born. Consequently, this legalization limited the salaried employment of migrants and a large group was expelled from the island in the period of 1937 until 1940 (p. 119). Race factors did indeed play a role in these labour regulations, as one feared being over-represented by so-called backward Caribbean immigrants. Chapter 5 looks at the different communities of English-speaking Cubans in Cuba. Through their oral narratives it sheds light on how the Church and other important institutions played a pivotal role in helping them to maintain their traditions and identity, but at the same time it looks at their attempts to assimilate into Cuban society and to become Cubans.

This publication relates past migration with issues tackled by modern migration studies such as nation-state formation, citizenship and belonging. When reading the book, one wonders in which ways British Caribbean migrants experienced Cuba differently than the Haitian migrants? A comparative study is therefore much needed. In addition, the question of how Caribbean-Cuban migration was different from that of Caribbean-Dominican Republic migration, for example, needs further elaboration. It is also somewhat unfortunate that the book does not mention the migrants from the Dutch Caribbean, who constituted an important immigrant group in Cuban society even though they were demographically less in number than the Haitians and people from the British Caribbean. 'Los Holandeses', so called due to their Dutch nationality, is now a group which is receiving attention by both Cuban and local scholars because of their pivotal role in the history and culture of Cuba.

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- *Debating Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*, editado por David Mares y Rafael Martínez. Sussex Academic Press, 2014.

El editor de este libro, David Mares, señala que para los siete autores del libro ‘América Latina no ha resuelto el rompecabezas de las relaciones civiles-militares’ (p. 208). Esta afirmación justifica el análisis de las relaciones civiles-militares en América Latina en la actualidad, debido a que es falso el ‘mito’ de que con las transiciones de un modelo autoritario a uno democrático, automáticamente los golpes de Estado ya no eran viables o posibles. Esto debido a que hay un contexto de debilidad democrática. (p. 3) En el libro esto se plasma en el trabajo de Rafael Martínez, donde se habla de un tipo ideal de transición, empleando y comparando América Latina con el caso español, con base en cuatro variables clave: a) la supremacía civil; b) la neutralidad política de los miembros de las fuerzas armadas; c) la civilianización y reducción de fueros y privilegios; y d) una cultura cívica en expansión (pp. 25-7).

Desde los años ochenta y principalmente durante los años noventa del siglo XX las ciencias sociales latinoamericanas, estadounidenses y europeas fueron extremadamente optimistas sobre la consolidación de las transiciones. Sin embargo, en el siglo XXI, en algunos países aparecieron fenómenos de ingobernabilidad y debilidad de los gobiernos civiles, se polarizaron las ideologías política, y los militares vuelven a ser ‘requeridos’ como instrumento, sobre todo por líderes políticos populistas con gran carisma, pero también por fuerzas de derecha que ven amenazas en líderes populistas de izquierda, como fue evidente con el golpe de estado de Honduras para derrocar a Manuel Zelaya en 2009 y la caída del presidente Lugo en Paraguay (p. 5). Con ello se deteriora el ‘control civil’ (Rut Diamint, p. 101), y vuelve la milicia a ser actor fundamental de los procesos políticos en varios países como Venezuela, Paraguay, Honduras, Ecuador y otros. En el ensayo de David Pion-Berlin, se dedica un importante segmento a la organización institucional de la defensa. El autor menciona que en cuatro países aún se mantienen los militares como ministros (Ecuador, Guatemala, República Dominicana y México), aunque en ellos se puede afirmar que aunque mantienen cuotas de poder, son ‘decision-takers’, y no ‘decision-makers’ (pp. 75-8).

El artículo de David Mares sobre seguridad ciudadana y relaciones entre civiles y militares es muy rico en el análisis de la legitimidad de los militares ante la población. Basado en la evidencia empírica de series de encuestas de la empresa Latinobarómetro, Mares señala que la peor imagen de los militares se tiene en Argentina (34 por ciento) y la mayor en México (71 por ciento) (pp. 94-5). El ensayo de Rut Diamint hace énfasis en que las transiciones no han tenido éxito en lograr establecer un efectivo control de los militares. Para ella los golpes de Estado son posibles en situaciones extremas (p. 106), y sigue dándose un uso político de los militares en algunos países, como en Venezuela (p. 111).

La segunda parte del libro es dedicada a estudios de caso: Colombia por

Alejo Vargas; Venezuela, Ecuador y Bolivia por Deborah Norden; y la participación en misiones de paz, de Arturo Sotomayor. La inclusión de estos ejemplos es atinada y le da fuerza al libro, al exponerse como, en el caso colombiano, la dedicación casi exclusiva a misiones internas de contrainsurgencia y antinarcóticos, hace que las fuerzas armadas tengan misiones sustantivas para el Estado, y mantengan su poder y autonomía, incluso controlando desde el Ministerio de Defensa a la Policía Nacional (p. 137). En el caso de Deborah Norden, al analizar comparativamente Venezuela, Ecuador y Bolivia, nos habla que hay una nueva relación de subordinación populista de las fuerzas armadas para comprometerlas a los proyectos de los tres caudillos, Hugo Chávez, Rafael Correa y Evo Morales (p. 155).

En el último ensayo del libro sobre la creciente participación de América Latina en operaciones de paz, se afirma que se rompe el aislamiento militar de los países latinoamericanos en los asuntos globales de seguridad (p. 183), y que Brasil, Uruguay Argentina y Chile, principales contribuyentes de la ONU, han destacado y logrado vincular su política exterior a la proyección de sus fuerzas armadas.

Este es un libro obligado para entender procesos nuevos de remilitarización. Como comentario crítico, este libro sobre relaciones cívico militares en América Latina, como muchos, se enfoca más en el análisis de la realidad de América del Sur, y no se aborda a los países de América Central, el Caribe y México. Los tres ejércitos surgidos de una revolución armada popular, los de México, Cuba y Nicaragua, son los que tienen una relación civil-militar más estable y de subordinación, además de gozar de amplio respaldo de la población, a pesar de que las fuerzas armadas ostentan fueros, privilegios y desarrollan gran cantidad de misiones domésticas.

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- *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, editado por Jordi Díez y Susan Franceschet. University of Toronto Press, 2012.

El propósito del volumen es contribuir a los estudios de políticas públicas sobre América Latina y a la ciencia política con las particularidades que arrojan fenómenos por ella estudiados en el contexto latinoamericano. Para ello se privilegia dimensiones no suficientemente atendidas por la disciplina en su corriente principal, i.e., la que hegemoniza los estudios en el contexto anglosajón, ampliando a la vez sus contenidos y alcances. El libro se organiza en tres secciones, que a su vez agrupan cuatro trabajos cada una. En la primera se abordan los asuntos relativos a *policy-making* y *policy process* en la región, tanto en general (los editores) como respecto de la influencia del presidencialismo (e *hiperpresidencialismo*) en México como condición institucional (Díez), la continuidad institucional y los cambios radicales en la política industrial en Chile

(Teichman) y la política laboral en el marco del cambio socio-económico y las relaciones políticas en Argentina (Patroni y Felder). La segunda aborda las consecuencias de las dinámicas de *advocacy* originadas en grupos de la sociedad civil y que involucran la participación del poder judicial como actor de las políticas públicas, tocando áreas tan diversas como el ‘activismo judicial’ de sectores de la sociedad civil (Smulovitz), la influencia de la política subnacional en materia de diversidad sexual (Marsjaj), la violencia de género (Lacombe) y las *policy networks* en materia de seguridad pública (Kubal). La tercera trata sobre políticas sociales, examinando fenómenos de clientelismo y ciudadanía, especialmente en las políticas sociales más recientes: políticas anti pobreza en México (Luccisano y Macdonald), género y régimen de bienestar en Argentina (Lopreite) y política social en Chile (Castiglioni).

Los editores problematizan sobre el *policy-making* en América Latina, relacionándolo con los problemas socio políticos del desarrollo democrático en la región: la debilidad del Estado, esto es su falta de autonomía y sus capacidades insuficientes; la relación entre actores estatales y no estatales y la ampliación y diversificación de la participación de estos últimos en el proceso político y de *policy-making*. También se abordan las dimensiones informales de la institucionalización política y los impactos de la fuerte desigualdad en la sociedad latinoamericana en el proceso de las políticas públicas. Podemos decir que el volumen continúa, profundiza y especifica las consecuencias del planteamiento formulado por el BID en 2006 en su libro *La política de las políticas públicas*. El punto de vista ofrecido, conduce a plantearse críticamente frente al enfoque institucionalista y neo institucionalista, especialmente a la corriente de *rational choice*, pero también analizar las limitaciones del institucionalismo y las explicaciones de *path dependence* para entender las dinámicas de cambio de las políticas públicas.

Los trabajos contenidos en el libro resultan muy consistentes con la perspectiva planteada, pues cada uno de ellos muestra como en campos específicos es necesario ampliar el estudio de las políticas públicas a los fenómenos políticos, es decir a las cuestiones del poder y su distribución, no sólo como condicionante de las políticas públicas sino también siendo influenciados por estas. También incorporan la presencia de actores usualmente no considerados – como el poder judicial y las asociaciones civiles – en su doble condición de *stakeholders* de las políticas públicas, particularmente en el marco de la debilidad estatal, pero también como actores cuya conformación y dinámica está a su vez condicionada por las decisiones de política pública. La continuidad del presidencialismo y la emergencia e influencia creciente del poder judicial y los actores no estatales parece tener su contrapartida en el debilitamiento del rol del parlamento y los partidos políticos, modificándose así los procesos deliberativos y representativos más propios de la democracia. De acuerdo al libro se trata de procesos de múltiples, variadas e incluso contradictorias consecuencias sobre el proceso democrático en la región.

Una limitación relativa del libro es que los casos estudiados se concentran sólo en Argentina, Chile, México, Brasil y Nicaragua. Solo el trabajo de Catalina Smulovitz, sobre la nueva forma de hacer políticas públicas por medio del activismo judicial y el nuevo papel de las cortes en ello, aborda varios países a la vez (Colombia, Costa Rica, Brasil y Argentina). Sin embargo el libro no pierde por ello su carácter comparativo, puesto que algunos problemas son estudiados en diversos capítulos, como ocurre con el clientelismo, la importancia de las instituciones informales, la presencia del poder político y la ampliación de los actores en el proceso de las políticas públicas. Pero no alcanza a cubrir casos como Bolivia, Ecuador o Venezuela, donde se han registrado amplios procesos de cambio que resultaría importante analizar a la luz del enfoque del libro.

El libro de Díez y Franceschet amplía los enfoques de estudio de las *public policies* mostrando evidencias regionales que enriquecen el abordaje conceptual de algunos de sus temas recurrentes: la *agenda setting* se desplaza de su rol canónico como ‘primer paso’ del proceso de formulación de políticas; la política y el poder aparecen una y otra vez interviniendo en el proceso, como causa y consecuencia, determinante de la formulación pero también de la implementación; las instituciones informales obligan al análisis más allá de la dinámica de los gobiernos y las normas jurídicas, entre los más importantes. Pero también enriquece la visión sobre América Latina, dejando atrás enfoques deterministas al mostrar importantes cambios, así como vinculación a fenómenos globales y un panorama de heterogeneidad intrarregional que convendría examinar todavía con mayor profundidad.

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- *Entre el desarrollo y el buen vivir. Recursos naturales y conflictos en los territorios indígenas*, editado por José Aylwin, Salvador Martí i Puig, Claire Wright y Nancy Yañez. Catarata, 2013.

El libro *Entre el desarrollo y el buen vivir* ofrece una visión amplia y multifacética sobre fenómenos recientes relacionados con la extracción de recursos naturales y la construcción de mega infraestructuras en territorios indígenas en América Latina. Esta antología presenta el reconocimiento legal que los derechos indígenas han alcanzado a lo largo de las últimas décadas y los sitúa en los contextos sociopolíticos actuales. Estos elementos permiten una discusión sobre la ‘brecha de implementación’ en la práctica.

El capítulo de Martí i Puig ofrece un panorama sobre cómo han emergido los movimientos indígenas en las últimas décadas y explica por qué en algunos países (ej. Bolivia, Ecuador) se han formado partidos étnicos y en otros no. Se muestra los logros con respecto al reconocimiento de derechos indígenas en el marco de las nuevas constituciones latinoamericanas. Sin embargo, la progno-

sis del autor acerca de la implementación de tales derechos en un futuro cercano no es muy optimista. Él argumenta que el ciclo de grandes movilizaciones indígenas se ha agotado y que las oportunidades políticas se están cerrando. Martí i Puig anticipa que en el futuro habrá un aumento de la conflictividad con los pueblos indígenas sobre todo por recursos estratégicos. Dada la situación de desventaja en la que éstos se encuentran, dichos conflictos contarán con una mayor presencia de actores locales, menos apoyo de redes internacionales y no gozarán del mismo trato mediático favorable como en conflictos similares anteriores.

La situación política adversa que atraviesan los derechos indígenas en el contexto de expansión de megaproyectos, también inhibe la eficacia de los instrumentos internacionales para protegerlos. Basado en un análisis riguroso, el capítulo de Aylwin evidencia las limitaciones que tienen instituciones como el Sistema Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, para ir más allá de la voluntad de los Estados que los crearon. Como ejemplos recientes menciona los casos de la represa Belo Monte en Brasil y la mina Marlin en Guatemala. En ambos casos la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos modificó las medidas cautelares otorgadas para proteger los derechos de las comunidades afectadas, posteriormente a la presión política de parte de los estados. El trato preferente que otorgan los estados latinoamericanos a la industria extractiva frente a los derechos indígenas, se ejemplifica de manera contundente en el capítulo de Wright sobre el uso del estado de emergencia en contra de protestas indígenas en el Perú (2008-2012). La autora describe cómo se aplicó esta medida represiva en conflictos socio-ambientales como los de Bagua y Cajamarca.

El libro no se limita únicamente a presentar una crítica al modelo de desarrollo dominante actual en Latinoamérica. También propone caminos a seguir, sobre todo para fortalecer los derechos indígenas. Como instrumento potencialmente fuerte para llegar a este fin, varios autores destacan los derechos a la consulta previa y al consentimiento libre, previo e informado. El capítulo de Linares presenta la propuesta de enriquecer mecanismos de consulta previa con innovaciones democráticas como las asambleas sorteadas, en parte para contrarrestar problemas relacionados a frecuentes conflictos internos de pueblos y organizaciones indígenas. Aunque las ideas expuestas por el autor resultan novedosas, es importante reflexionar más sobre su factibilidad en la práctica.

A pesar de los interesantes aportes que ofrece el libro con respecto a la pregunta de fondo *¿Qué significa desarrollo para los pueblos indígenas?* carece de profundidad. Rowlands destaca que existen diferentes ontologías sobre las relaciones entre humanos y la naturaleza. Manifiesta que una aproximación a los conflictos socioambientales requiere transformaciones ‘en el modo de pensar y construir el país y de integrar las diferentes nociones de desarrollo’ (p. 96). El autor argumenta que nociones socio-naturales divergentes sobre el desarrollo inhiben la implementación del derecho a la consulta previa; sin embargo, el libro no incluye una ilustración clara sobre este aspecto. De manera similar, al tratar el Buen Vivir, Aylwin ofrece una lectura muy general de ‘un concepto

que es común a muchas culturas indígenas’ (p. 177) señalando que, en esencia significaría la armonía entre las personas con la naturaleza. Como ejemplo menciona que para los Mapuches el Buen Vivir sería ‘estar bien con el entorno’ (ibíd.). Sin embargo, no profundiza. El libro tampoco ofrece discusiones incisivas sobre las diversas visiones de desarrollo, basadas por ejemplo en información etnográfica.

Además de los capítulos descritos anteriormente, este libro contiene estudios de caso sobre los impactos socio-ambientales de la mega minería en el norte de Chile (capítulo Yañez); la falta de eficacia de los derechos indígenas ampliamente reconocidos en las Filipinas (capítulo Inguanzo); conflictos entre áreas protegidas y derechos indígenas en Argentina y Paraguay (capítulo Villalba); y la emergencia reciente del partido étnico Wallmapuwen de los Mapuche en Chile (capítulo Tricot). Las distintas contribuciones han sido escritas por expertos que dominan la temática y que incluyen información empírica interesante y actual.

El libro tiende a asumir que los pueblos indígenas tienen una visión de desarrollo generalmente incompatible con proyectos extractivos o de infraestructura en sus territorios. Cuando se describen conflictos, se particularizan los casos en los que surgió una oposición contundente en contra de los proyectos implementados (ej. Cajamarca, TIPNIS, Belo Monte, mina Marlin). No se mencionan los varios casos en los cuales no surgió una oposición visible o aquellos que una mayoría de la población local apoyaba un proyecto, en espera de algunos beneficios socioeconómicos (muchas veces de corto plazo). Pienso que el debate de tales heterogeneidades y ambigüedades frente a proyectos extractivos y de infraestructura en sus territorios hubiese enriquecido sustancialmente el libro. A pesar de algunas observaciones críticas, recomiendo la lectura de este documento, por la alta calidad del contenido y lo actual de los temas, así como por su visión respecto de diferentes enfoques, temas y disciplinas.

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- *Dignity for the Voiceless. Willem Assies’s Anthropological Work in Context*, editado por Ton Salman, Salvador Martí i Puig, y Gemma van der Haar. Berghahn Books, 2014.

‘Dignidad para los que no tienen voz’ es el posible título en castellano de un fundamental libro que el serie CEDLA Latin American Studies (CLAS) ha puesto a disposición de los latinoamericanistas. Se trata de la compilación de un conjunto representativo de la inmensa cantidad de estudios, investigaciones y análisis realizados y publicados por el inesperadamente fallecido Willem Assies (1954-2010), uno de los pocos verdaderos cronistas modernos de la América Latina contemporánea. El libro comprende cinco partes, cada una con dos textos de Assies escogidos por los editores, que en conjunto conforman un

fresco sobre la realidad latinoamericana actual, además de permitir entrever la diversidad de los tópicos y temas que fueron interesando a Assies a lo largo de sus años de investigación y de vida en distintos países de la región.

La primera parte abre el libro marcando la centralidad que en el conjunto de la obra de Assies tiene la cuestión de los movimientos sociales para la comprensión adecuada del Estado, la sociedad y la política en la región. Los dos textos ('Sobre acciones estructuradas y estructuras en movimiento. Una revisión de las perspectivas teóricas sobre los movimientos sociales', y 'Movimientos sociales urbanos, democratización y democracia en el Brasil') aportan con minuciosos análisis al conocimiento de los movimientos sociales urbanos, con énfasis de atención en el Brasil, en las décadas de los 1970s, 1980s y 1990s. Presentan además el enfoque de *antropología relacional* que prevalece en la obra de Assies, un enfoque que asume que la agencia y la acción social no pueden ser comprendidas sin una adecuada revisión de los contextos institucionales que en parte siempre las determina y define, así como tampoco es comprensible ningún contexto institucional sin estudiar las agencias y acciones sociales que modifican y transforman las estructuras y aparatos institucionales.

Los estudios incluidos en la segunda parte del libro ('La cuestión agraria en el Perú. Algunas observaciones sobre las rutas del capital' y 'De los plantaciones gomeras a la producción simple de mercancías: Las luchas agrarias en el norte amazónico de Bolivia') se aproximan al análisis de las estructuras agrarias y sus procesos de transformación en subregiones del Perú y de Bolivia. Los análisis de Assies llevan a reconocer en el caso del Perú, que la complejidad de sus estructuras agrarias post reforma *velasquista* fue un telón de fondo para el estallido de la violenta erupción de Sendero Luminoso a inicios de los 1980s, un fenómeno que aún ahora requiere ser explicado con mayor abundamiento y rigor. Assies vio también en el norte amazónico boliviano un complejo y variado trasfondo histórico y contemporáneo de estructuras agrarias, pero que, contrariamente a lo ocurrido en el Perú, en Bolivia terminó a fines de los 1980s por producir todo un ciclo largo de pacífica e intensa movilización etno-cultural indígena.

La tercera parte comprende estudios que amplifican el abordaje sobre la cuestión indígena en América Latina. Focalizada en torno a los derechos indígenas, los textos ('Autodeterminación y la 'Nueva Asociación de Cooperación'. La política de los pueblos indígenas y de los Estados' y 'La justicia indígena en los Andes: ¿Reenraizamiento o reencaminamiento?') exploran los temas de participación política y de justicia indígenas. Assies entendía que el acompañamiento a la reposición y la invención de la tradición no puede convertirse en pábulo para un ingenuo apoyo al etnonacionalismo y al etnocentrismo que podrían emerger de las agendas indígenas en una u otra locación del globo. De hecho, Assies enfáticamente plantea que solamente asumiendo lo dinámico y variado de 'la persistencia y de la transformación de la etnicidad' como rasgo clave de la historia puede comprenderse la complejidad, la contraposición y las diferencias entre las agendas distintas de los diversos movimien-

tos de pueblos indígenas hoy presentes en el globo. Así, Assies describe, siempre con base en el manejo de una cantidad y calidad impresionante de datos e información, los contornos, alcances y limitaciones de la emergencia en las décadas de los 1980s, 1990s y la primeros años 2000 de un multiculturalismo proindígena de corte ‘neoliberal’.

En los ensayos de la cuarta parte (‘Los límites de la reforma estatal y el multiculturalismo en América Latina: Ilustraciones contemporáneas’ y ‘Dos pasos adelante, un paso atrás: Pueblos indígenas y autonomías en América Latina’) Assies contrapone al tratamiento restrictivo y manipulador de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas por parte del ‘multiculturalismo neoliberal’, y la necesidad de indagar en torno a las potencialidades y limitaciones de un ‘multiculturalismo transformativo’ que realmente implique una redistribución significativa del poder político y estatal y de los recursos naturales y económicos a favor de los pueblos indígenas en la región.

La última quinta parte del libro (‘David versus Goliat en Cochabamba: Los derechos al agua, el neoliberalismo y el renacimiento de la protesta social en Bolivia’ y ‘El neoliberalismo y la reemergencia de la etnopolítica en Bolivia’) presenta como la emergencia de la etnopolítica en Bolivia ha pasado a ser en el siglo XXI una marca regional transversal. Assies considera que alguna apertura para un ‘multiculturalismo transformativo’ de mayores beneficios para los pueblos indígenas podría darse en Bolivia y en otros Estados de la región en el marco de los movimientos anticapitalistas y contrarios al hegemonismo neoliberal de la primera década del siglo XXI. De hecho, la obra de Assies, al momento de truncarse por su trágica y temprana muerte, constituye un llamado de atención permanente sobre la fuerza desestructuradora de los multiculturalismos utilitarios y manipuladores de cualquier tipo – ‘neoliberal’, ‘autoritario’, ‘etnocéntrico’, ‘folklorista’, ‘comercialista’ – que las luchas indígenas han ido generado como respuesta a sus demandas o como efecto imprevisto de ellas.

La publicación de *Dignidad para los que no tienen voz* no podía, pues, ser política y académicamente más pertinente. En su conjunto, los diez artículos publicados en el libro revelan una inaudita familiaridad con los detalles más rebuscados de las situaciones que Assies analiza en más de una decena de países de América Latina. El aspecto más destacable de la inmensa bibliografía que Assies ha dejado producida es que en su caso efectivamente *sí* se trata de la obra de un *latinoamericanista* en el sentido más cabal y preciso posible de este término. Este libro es pues una colección de textos imprescindibles que revelan que en el caso de Assies el estudio comparativo latinoamericanista no quedó como una simple intención metodológica sino como una esforzada y minuciosa travesía real e intelectual de canto a canto sobre casi el conjunto de América Latina. La bibliografía de Assies que se incluye al final del libro es una impresionante y hasta insólita prueba de la gran cantidad de países de América Latina que fueron objeto de minuciosos estudios, viajes y preocupación de este investigador y constituye una herramienta fundamental para cualquier lector interesado.

Ricardo Calla Ortega, Bolivia

- *Democracy in ‘Two Mexicos’: Political Institutions in Oaxaca and Nuevo León*, by Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

In this highly nuanced study, Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera explains the causal mechanisms behind multiple types of civil conflict in Mexico that she defines as ‘active political factionalism’ (APF). Explaining a broad concept like APF that includes a variety of ‘uncivil modes of political action’ such as violent demonstrations and rebellion results in the author’s reference to multiple literatures. The civil conflict literature and the democratization literature are both included in a single theoretical foundation. By looking at two states that are highly dissimilar in terms of active political factionalism and in terms of socio-economic parameters, she explores the link between the two. By making the choice to construct a within-country comparative design, not only does she give a detailed insight into the causes of conflict in Mexico, but she also brings the study of civil conflict to the subnational level.

Based on a rich variety of data, the author argues that deteriorating socio-economic conditions, including high levels of inequality and elements of electoral fraud, are to a large extent responsible for the degree of APF across Mexican states. Economic inequality creates a fertile ground for active political factionalism by creating dissatisfaction among unprivileged groups and mobilizes discourses of injustice which eventually leads to violent political action. Electoral exclusion refers to institutionalized practices that undermine the existence of fair democratic contestation, such as fraud and repression. Because these factors can cause the absence of democratically embedded opposition, dissent is more likely to be mediated by non-democratic institutions that can potentially turn violent. Instead of arguing that the two explanatory variables directly influence APF, the author presents the explanatory variables as necessary structural conditions under which this factionalism can take place and gives a heavy description of the way in which other mediating variables, such as organizing capabilities of rebellious factions and the way in which regimes respond to protests, interact with the structural variables that eventually trigger conflict.

A question that arises, however, is whether a within-country comparative analysis works best in testing the theory, and if so, whether it is utilized in the most efficient way. A brief look at the economic inequality-active political factionalism matrix, in which an overview is given of states that fit into the theory of the author and the states that do not, reveals that indeed most Mexican states that experience high degrees of political inequality also experience high degrees of APF. Nevertheless, states such as Chihuahua and Quintana Roo experience high degrees of APF while not being exposed to a high degree of economic inequality. Even though the author gives some elaboration on the possible reasons for the fact that these cases deviate from her theory, the analysis could have been heavier, and it remains questionable whether economic inequality can be viewed as a strictly necessary condition of APF. Selecting a deviating case for further in-depth investigation could have revealed more in de-

tail about how other factors can cause AFP in the absence of high levels of inequality. Selecting the two typical cases of Oaxaca and Nueva Leon to present a more micro-level understanding of the way which the independent variables influence the dependent variable helps us to understand how APF and the two explanatory variables go together in the ‘two Mexicos’. However, at the same time it also undermines the quality of the causal argument.

Even though in terms of causality the analysis of Correa-Cabrera could be complemented with more case study data or quantitative data, the author does what she promises by laying bare the complex interplay between variables that lead to political conflict in Mexico. At the same time, the author paves the way for more research on the unequal spread of conflict across subnational territorial units, which of course goes way beyond the case of Mexico.

Jos Bartman, University of Amsterdam

– *Where the River Ends*, by Shaylih Muehlmann. Duke University Press, 2013. In this engaging and timely ethnography, Shaylih Muehlmann takes us on a personal journey across the United States-Mexico border, down the Colorado River, and through the lives of a people whose culture and livelihoods are carved into the sands of its delta. Her journey began in 2005, when as a doctoral student, she set out to conduct anthropological fieldwork among the Cucapá, an indigenous group in Baja California, Mexico. Over the next twelve months, and on shorter trips thereafter, Muehlmann conducted participant observation, volunteered at an NGO and conducted archival research in Baja California and Mexico City, documenting the historical and contemporary struggles that shaped the human ecology and identity of the Cucapá people. Her arrival in 2005 coincided with longstanding social tensions and struggles among prominent families over land rights. Although her original research interest was in the sources of water conflicts in the Colorado River, she turned her attention to the broader economic, political, social, and environmental processes that shaped and complicated Cucapás’ lives. Not only must they struggle for a livelihood, but they also must prove to the Mexican government that they are ‘Indian’ enough to claim their rights to the natural resources upon which they have traditionally relied for survival. To say that the Cucapá, like many other indigenous groups in Mexico are marginalized is an understatement, but Muehlman demonstrates that this marginalization is partially due to Mexico’s inconsistent policies on ethnic identity. The Cucapás’ ethnic identity is inseparable from their struggles over natural resources in the Colorado River delta.

The book consists of five chapters, with an introduction and conclusion. The main argument is that the environment also constitutes a political space and place where gender, class, ethnicity, language and nationalism are at play in shaping people’s knowledge and social construction regarding their relation-

ship to it. The introduction also offers a glimpse into the Cucapá community, its landscape, history and challenges.

In chapter one, Muehlmann conveys a sense of a highly contested place and space. Drawing from maps, archival documents, and published literature, this chapter discusses the environmental history of the Colorado River and the major factors in its degradation. Here we learn about the array of discourses surrounding the social construction of the Colorado River, and how it was portrayed as a careless and wild being that needed taming. This taming was accomplished, at least in as far as U.S. agencies were concerned, by the US-Mexico Water Treaty and the construction of dams. Muehlmann's persuasive historical analysis also points to the many challenges and contradictions involved in the transboundary management of natural resources. When trying to involve the Cucupás in the re-construction of their natural landscape through a community mapping project, Muehlmann was confronted with the painful reality that decades of marginalization and silencing made the Cucupás reluctant to take part the project. The project's eventual failure is partially attributed to its neglect of the Cucupás oral traditions and their local ecological knowledge.

The second chapter sheds light on the many reasons preventing the Cucupás from fishing. Fisheries in Mexico are highly regulated and contested, but the Cucapá's case is complicated by the mix of interests at play. NGOs are interested in conservation, the Mexican government wants its fishing management policies enforced, and the Cucupás continue to struggle to maintain their traditional livelihood. Neoliberalism and multiculturalism in Mexico, argues Muehlmann, although linked, do not necessarily promote or advocate for indigenous people's well-being and their rights to a viable and decent livelihood.

The erosion and criminalization of fishing and the failure of the many NGOs working in the region to improve the quality of life prompted many Cucupás to seek work in alternative economies. Chapter three discusses the economic opportunities inside and outside their community. Employment in Mexicali maquiladoras and in the narco-economy seems to be the most common sources of income for the Cucupás. Muehlmann elaborates on the deplorable working conditions in maquiladoras and the emergence of drug trafficking as a viable economic alternative for some. One strength of this chapter is Muehlmann's analysis of the forces pulling people into the drug economy, their reasons for becoming smugglers, and the narco-culture that glorifies that economy with dress, *corridos*, and Jesús Malverde.

Is *machismo* just a stereotype associated with Mexican men? What is women's role in Cucupás' society? How do gender relations shape Cucupás identity? These are some of the questions addressed in chapter four. The purpose of this chapter is to depict changes in gender relations among the Cucupás. Previous studies of life among the Cucupás have overlooked their gender division of labour, thus obscuring women's agency, their work as fishers, and their political participation. The impact of language loss upon native peoples is the theme of chapter five. This chapter also offers insights into the way in which lan-

guage is both a symbol of cultural identity and a means for discrimination. Swearing has special social functions among the Cucapá, and this chapter presents a solid analysis of this cultural practice. The conclusion summarizes the impact of environmental degradation on the Cucapás for which they are partially blamed, and the economic alternatives they have resorted to in order to survive. It also points out the contradictions that have emerged around indigenous identity in contemporary Mexico.

Where the River Ends persuasively shows the many ways in which Mexico's indigenous people respond to the many threats to their traditional livelihoods and cultures. It is a valuable and compelling ethnography of great interest for students and scholars in the fields of anthropology, Latin American studies, gender studies, border studies, and political ecology.

Maria L. Cruz-Torres, Arizona State University

- *Knowing History in Mexico. An Ethnography of Citizenship*, by Trevor Stack. University of New Mexico Press, 2012.

As an historian and anthropologist, Trevor Stack found it difficult to bridge both disciplines, but he did it by looking into the documents and doing fieldwork for more than ten years in the towns of Tapalpa and Ataco in the sierra de Tapalpa, Jalisco. Why and how did the residents of Mexican towns talk about their local history? What value did they see in it? What was the relation of local to regional and national history? This study makes clear that local and national history were often quite apart, different in agents, goals and perspectives, but there was an impact in both directions, although more from top-down than the reverse. As elsewhere in Mexico – one could give hundreds of examples – historical views in towns on their neighbouring villages have changed over time. They were constructions quite often loaded with prejudices. Who were the agents and the dynamics behind it? This, of course implies that you have to take into account the important social and economic changes over time, especially in the late twentieth century when the local economy in the Sierra of Tapalpa changed: tourism and migration to Mexican cities and the US became mayor factors as well as improved communication and schooling.

This study is divided in four parts. The first part covers the author's theoretical and methodological formation and his experiences during his fieldwork in the 1990s. Among the Mexican trails he followed were the *jalisciense* Juan Rulfo, whose novels give us a fine view into rural life and its views on *el señor gobierno*. His second trail was the father of Mexican micro-history, Luís González y González. On the local level the author had a number of key informants and hundreds of interviewees over time. He found out how history was used, the people who wrote it or talked about it, who gained authority with it.

Part II concerns the key concepts of *cultura* and citizenship. *Cultura*, a term

closely linked to urban cosmopolitan tradition and in Tapalpa it was the opposite of Indian tradition. We all know the prejudice that Indians, like those of the town of Ataco, were supposedly unable to govern themselves. For individual agents knowing history, like teachers, priests or chroniclers, knowledge of history became attractive because it showed one had cultura and thus had an eye for the public good, a sign that the person was a good citizen. So in fact the access to history was skewed because talking and writing of history favoured only those who were able to do that. As everywhere in Mexico there is a strong feeling in towns about those who are from here and those who are not. One needed to prove *su arraigo en el pueblo*, even if it is only a construction. The author goes deep into the complexities of the relationship between cultura and citizenship and that of both to putting down roots. Here comes the dilemma ‘Cultura involved tapping into wider networks of learning and civility, which could jeopardize rooting in place’ (p. 79).

Part III goes into the relationships between Tapalpan views on local history and national history. The gap between the two had as its consequence that local history was little influenced by national history although locals did know about it from their schooling. The key point here seems to be that national history and local history were seen by Tapalpans as different kinds of knowledge. In the same way, local citizenship existed next to national citizenship, but was not necessarily conflictive. What I miss here is the number of interpretations that the term *ciudadanía* (citizenship) went through at the town and village level since the Constitution of Cádiz (1812). In a town like San Pablo Apetatitlán Tlaxcala, one can observe a similar development of local interpretations regarding *vecindad* and *ciudadanía* between the 1820s and 1880s.¹

Part IV goes into the changes in the views of agents who were able, whether consciously or not, to influence local views on history, but there were also views that did not change and that survived the profound social changes which had taken place since the late twentieth-century. The view that ‘Ataco was the town, while Tapalpa was a hacienda’ (p. 125) seemed stronger than ever, although it is not convincingly proven by documents. The author makes it clear that both the changes and the old views that remained have to do with the fact that history was an instrument that served the authority of agents to whom people turned for their history. In short, it served personal and group interests, both in Tapalpa and Ataco, and this made it into a success history. In my view it would have been better if the author had used the term *vecino* for local citizens from the beginning of his study, since he makes it clear later on that local citizenship does not refer to *ciudadano* but to *vecindad*. But this book is indeed very good reading for every historian and anthropologist working on the local level.

Raymond Buve, Leiden University

Note

1. Nelen, Y. (1999). *De illustere heren van San Pablo. Lokaal bestuur in negentiende-eeuws Mexico, Tlaxcala 1823-1880*. PhD dissertation. Leiden: CNWS.

- *For God and Revolution. Priest, Peasant, and Agrarian Socialism in the Mexican Huasteca*, por Mark Saad Saka. University of New Mexico Press, 2013.

Las Huastecas (México) no solamente han sido un terreno fértil y ‘virgen’ para los conquistadores, cronistas, viajeros, funcionarios gubernamentales y eclesiásticos, propietarios privados y para los habitantes de las localidades indígenas, sino también para la historiografía mexicanista en los últimos años. Por lo que el estudio de Mark Saad se suma y aporta otros aspectos a un siglo XIX que poco a poco ha ido desentrañando sus ‘secretos’ gracias a la localización y apertura de receptáculos y fondos documentales.

El texto viene a sumarse a los estudios que se han realizado en los últimos tiempos en América Latina en torno a las implicaciones, causas y efectos de la violencia colectiva popular y las rebeliones campesinas en los siglos XIX y XX. Se pretende encontrar en las problemáticas agrarias, en los conflictos de ‘raza’ heredados del periodo colonial y en la ‘modernidad liberal’ (leyes desamortizadoras, telégrafo, ferrocarriles, papel de las élites potosinenses, entre otros) las razones de los disturbios acaecidos en diversos momentos históricos en un largo siglo XIX que inicia antes de que México fuera un país republicano, pero centrándose en las rebeliones de Juan Santiago y del Padre Mauricio Zavala entre 1879 y 1884 acaecidas en la Huasteca. De esta manera se suma a una tendencia historiográfica que representa a la gente humilde en general y a los campesinos en particular como agentes activos de su propio destino político, como principales formadores del Estado-nación y como los consumidores más exigentes e incluso los que originaron una ideología política que llevó a reorganizar los discursos y las realidades que pretendieron imponer las élites desde una perspectiva homogeneizante. Las influencias teóricas y comparativas en el texto no son difíciles de identificar: perspectivas de estudios subalternos y el modelo de ‘economía moral’ de comportamiento colectivo, aspectos que parten de las ideas de James C. Scott, Florencia Mallon, Frans J. Schryer y de John Hart.

Mark Saad Saka nos aporta poco sobre las rebeliones acaecidas en el último tercio del siglo XIX en la ‘Huasteca mexicana’, más específicamente en la que pertenece al estado de San Luis Potosí, sobre todo porque se basa en los textos ‘clásicos’ y en un solo archivo documental. Lo que es original en el estudio de Saka es la evidencia que aparecieron acciones colectivas influenciadas por el anarquismo – doctrinas anarco-comunista difundidas por el padre Zavala, provenientes desde ciudades mexicanas.

No dialoga, ya que al parecer no los conoce, con los textos surgidos sobre los problemas agrarios, las rebeliones, las implicaciones y negociaciones en torno al ferrocarril para las Huastecas y más específicamente sobre San Luis Potosí que han surgido desde principios del siglo XXI, por lo que nos muestra una visión poco novedosa, aunque sí muy detallada de los disturbios. El seguir el viejo binomio de la historia campesina: pérdida de tierra igual a rebelión, lo

lleva a perder la riqueza de un espacio social en que convivieron, se enfrentaron y se aliaron diversos sectores socio-étnicos. No es posible a estas alturas de la historiografía seguir considerando que hay una división 'racial' entre los habitantes de las Huastecas. Sin duda, el racismo existió y existe, pero considerar que los rancheros eran mestizos, los grandes propietarios criollos y los habitantes de los pueblos casi y únicamente indígenas lleva a un reduccionismo de los procesos históricos, lo que se contrapone cuando observa que las rebeliones son conformadas por diversos componentes étnicos, es decir, la de Juan Santiago por indígenas y mestizos (comuneros, rancheros y pequeños propietarios), y la del padre Zavala básicamente por rancheros mestizos y algunos arrendatarios de haciendas.

El autor realiza un casi convincente análisis de las presiones agrarias que motivaron disturbios, quejas y amparos de los pueblos (muchos de ellos antiguas misiones coloniales, por lo que si bien tenían títulos, la Corona española no otorgaba títulos de tierras a las misiones). Nos muestra las ideas acerca de la propiedad privada sobre tierra y la escalada del capitalismo agrario facilitado por la adquisición legal o ilegal de tierras por las haciendas (también muchos pueblos adquirieron tierras, sea como colectividad o en condueñazgo, lo que no se menciona). Sin embargo, aunque el panorama parecería poco favorable para los indígenas, habría que resaltar que el ayuntamiento como defensor de las tierras y promotor de títulos frente a las Compañías Deslindadoras en las Huastecas fue fundamental, aspecto que no es tratado.

Hay una serie de problemas conceptuales, metodológicos y sustantivos presentes en el texto. Uno de ellos consiste en las equivocaciones de fechas de acontecimientos; otro es que no sabemos de qué tipo de nacionalismo se habla para un México del siglo XIX y cómo se construye desde abajo como una posible alternativa para los denominados grupos subalternos (obviamente no es la concepción de nación que tenemos ahora), tampoco sabemos que será lo que se entenderá o se entendió como patriotismo. Se mencionan lugares que no se encuentran en las Huastecas (p.e. Cordova) y en este mismo sentido muchos de las localidades que se indican están inadecuadamente escritas, lo que dificulta seriamente la lectura. A esto le agregamos serios problemas de edición en las notas, casi todas tienen equivocaciones ortográficas y los mapas, en lo que se debe de superar que sean ilustración, no sabemos la referencia ni cómo se elaboraron. Aunque ninguno de estos problemas es fatal de manera individual, si se van sumando tienden a socavar el texto. Más complejo es la falta de Saka en profundizar en sus fuentes primarias, para ofrecer generalizaciones: 'patriotismo', 'nación', 'español', 'la opresión' o 'conciencia histórica', lo que se hubiera dado a través de una lectura más profunda y diversa de los documentos. Dejo a los lectores la posibilidad una lectura de un texto que hubiera sido importante por la temática, pero que si hubiera sido mucho mejor trabajado su aportación sería importante para la historiografía.

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- *Working Women, Entrepreneurs, and the Mexican Revolution: the Coffee Culture of Córdoba, Veracruz*, by Heather Fowler-Salamini. University of Nebraska Press, 2013.

In this long-awaited book, Heather Fowler-Salamini chronicles the rise, expansion, and eventual decline of commercialized coffee production in Veracruz between the 1880s to the 1950s, when the modernization of the industry left many workers jobless. Based on exhaustive research, combining archival materials with oral histories, Fowler-Salamini has produced an important work that should be read by anyone interested in the Mexican Revolution or in the history of Mexican women generally.

Although the author falls short of her promises to integrate the coffee industry to broader Atlantic trends, her explanation in chapter one of how Spanish immigrants used family networks to finance the export of coffee abroad does demonstrate the importance of transnational ties based on national origin. This new generation of coffee entrepreneurs moved agro-industrial operations from the farm to the city of Córdoba, where recently constructed railway lines greatly aided in the transportation and distribution of goods to the Port of Veracruz and beyond. These powerful intermediaries became known as the *Cordobeses*. As the industry mechanized in the 1890s and banks opened shop shortly thereafter, these entrepreneurs worked with American and European firms in exporting Veracruz coffee in what was the region's first coffee boom. As a result of increased commercial activity, aspects of Veracruz flourished, but class divisions became more marked.

Following the work of the late anthropologist William Roseberry, Fowler-Salamini pays close attention to merchants who connected local growers to domestic and foreign clients. These intermediaries helped turn Veracruz coffee into a thriving Atlantic commodity, with profound consequences for the organization of work in the region and the development of working-class sociabilities among the rank and file. Most notably, most coffee sorters were women, and they elected women to leadership union positions. Thus, women became politically and socially empowered, creating their own workplace culture, free from male interference.

The majority of the book focuses on the women workers who made up the majority of rank and file workers in the coffee industry, with foci on workshop culture, negotiations with the state, the development of women caciques (union bosses), and women worker's culture outside of the workplace. The final chapter argues that the modernization of the industry, and its subsequent decline, disproportionately affected women workers who lost their jobs at higher rates than their male counterparts.

Coffee sorters, often migrating with their children from the countryside to engage in seasonal labour, belied the stereotype of the traditional woman worker. They were typically not young, single and childless; on the contrary, women worked as coffee sorters for much of their adult lives to sustain large

extended families. While coffee sorters earned more than rural workers, the Mexican Revolution of 1910 empowered them – as it did workers generally – to organize and demand higher wages and improved working conditions.

When First Chief Venustiano Carranza granted governors the power to grant major concessions to peasants and workers in order to gain their support for his revolutionary project, Veracruz became a laboratory of revolutionary reform, especially in regards to labour. Women coffee workers in Veracruz benefitted from labour radicalism, a finding that contrast with a historiography that contends that the labour movement marginalized women. This was not the case with the women under consideration in this study. At various junctures they supported strikes, elected women to positions of authority in the union, and negotiated with both bosses and politicians.

As a consequence of their relationships at work and in the community, women created a dynamic culture that was specific to their location in the economy and in the region. In this regard, they can be profitably compared to workers – both women and men – in a number of industries across the Americas and beyond. The author makes judicious comparisons to some cases, and she is clearly aware of this rich literature.

The women studied by Fowler-Salamini have been largely neglected by a historiography that has focused on those employed in heavy industry, workers who were primarily male. The author joins two strands of Mexican historiography: studies that develop the story of women's experiences in the Mexican Revolution and studies that address Mexican labour generally. Historians Susie Porter, Stephanie Smith, and Jocelyn Olcott, as well as Fowler-Salamini herself, have set the former path while the latter has a much longer history. Fowler-Salamini's study is a major addition to both literatures.

The primary weakness of the book, in this reviewer's perspective, is in the organization of the material. The author has so much to say that it is not always clear if there is an organizing concept or a clear argument for each chapter. In addition, the author could have made better use of the rich interviews she conducted by more deeply analysing their content. Despite these criticism, this is a valuable work that deepens our understanding of modern Mexican women.

Robert F. Alegre, University of New England

- *War by Other Means. Aftermath in Post-Genocide Guatemala*, edited by Carlota McAlister and Diana Nelson. Duke University Press, 2013.

This edited volume is a compilation of fieldwork in Guatemala on themes related to the decades of war and its aftermath. The two editors mention their debt to Carmack's *Harvest of Violence* and Smith's *Guatemalan Indians and the State*. The assorted contributions make the volume somewhat dissimilar; there is not a unifying theme. Notwithstanding the heterogeneous character of

the chapters, the book is interesting enough and all chapters are of good quality. They are historical overviews and reflections about the value of testimonial narratives; case studies about labour conditions and peasant's organizations; contributions on *mareros*, paramilitary *patrulleros* and lynching; essays about the future and expectations. I have chosen the five chapters I liked most to review.

Chapter 2 (by Santiago Bastos and Manuela Camus) is an account of the difficult relations between the guerrilla and the Mayan movements: 'Between 1980 and 2000 these two projects travelled a long, tortuous road together, oscillating between aversion and recognition' (p. 71). In the 1990s the URNG succeeded in reaching a partial peace agreement on identity and indigenous rights. After the final peace accords in 1996, COMAGUA became a sort of official representative of the Maya peoples and the URNG was transformed in a political party. The leadership of the two organizations opted for a gradual separation. The URNG gradually lost political support during three presidential elections and the Maya movements progressively took other stances, emphasizing 'Mayan' instead of 'revolutionary' interests.

Chapter 5 (by Elizabeth Oglesby) analyses the changing labour relations in the sugar plantations. Instead of the politics of violent labour repression in the 1980s, labour relations were modernized in the 1990s. The entrepreneurial association FUNDAZUCAR launched a programme of corporate responsibility and emphasized good rapport of the management with the workers, creating a system of incentives aimed at enhancing the worker's loyalty. They mapped 'their' zones of influence and labour recruitment, promoting public health and housing in the communities and influencing local leadership. The interesting point is that these programmes are relatively successful though not completely surprising in a country where only 1.5 per cent of the labour force is unionized.

Chapter 7 (by Deborah Levenson) is a moving study about two generations of *mara*. In 1987 she interviewed *mareros* about family, work, school and the future and their concern for the communities that surrounded them. 'Their "us" included the poor; the "asshole wealthy" or *burgueses* constituted their "them"' (p. 196). The next generation grew up with the legacy of excessive violence and mass murder during the war decades and with the memory of the excessive violence of the counterinsurgency in urban neighbourhoods where the culture of class solidarity had been destroyed by the military. They defined themselves as '*malos*'. Killing and being killed was part of their activities and trajectories. Where the gangs of the 1980s were 'gangs to live for', those of the 1990s were 'gangs to die for'.

Another fine study is chapter 9 (by Jennifer Burrell). UN mission MINUGUA reported a total of 580 lynching incidents in Guatemala between 1996 and 2004. Burrell performed intense fieldwork in Mam speaking Todos Santos Cuchumatán where a lynching had taken place; the two victims were a Japanese tourist and a Guatemalan bus driver. She rejects most of the well-known 'explanations' of lynching: absence of the state, barbarism, popular jus-

tice, state failure and presents a detailed ethnographic report of the incident. She mentions the always present rumours of children being abducted and used in satanic cults in Guatemala. Community members suspected of two victims of child abduction had panicked. Later the villagers, in a collective process of mourning the victims, cooperated with the legal authorities.

Chapter 13 (by Paula Worby) is dedicated to the return of refugees and the generation thereafter, especially in Ixcán. In Mexico many refugees had become familiar with educational and public health provisions; monolingual Maya-speakers had acquired Spanish public speaking experience. They had expected to be the vanguard for the new generation after their return. But former combatants returned to their former homes as well. In the local communities, some completely new or dramatically changed, they became confronted with internal conflicts and old and new loyalties to the military or the former guerrilla. Other conflicts about (communal, individual) land tenure arose. The presence of the military, the emergence of drug traffickers, and criminal gangs generated fear. Many considered 'the military as less a solution than part of the problem, as army officials and even the institution as a whole are seen as directly linked' (pp. 344-5). Another phenomenon is the process of re-migration to regions and cities where economic opportunities and employment are more promising, especially to the United States.

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– *Lucha revolucionaria. Perú, 1958-1967*, por Jan Lust. RBA Libros, 2013.

En el análisis de los movimientos guerrilleros en América Latina, las organizaciones político-militares de los años 80 y 90 recibieron bastante consideración. En el Perú, por ejemplo, abundan publicaciones sobre Sendero Luminoso. Sin embargo, los movimientos rebeldes que entre 1958 y 1967 emergieron en la sierra y selva peruana, nunca fueron sujetos a un estudio exhaustivo. El libro de Jan Lust ofrece la atención requerida.

El libro está basado en un certamen de casi todas las fuentes existentes: toda la documentación secundaria acompañada por entrevistas primarias. De los 483 páginas de texto (el resto de las 562 páginas es reservado para las notas, la bibliografía y los anexos), casi la mitad consiste de citas tomadas de entrevistas, publicaciones testimoniales y libros de referencia de la época.

Tres son las corrientes principales que dominaron la escena de la lucha revolucionaria en aquellos años: la lucha campesina en La Convención y Lares, Cuzco (Hugo Blanco), el Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN, de Héctor Béjar y Javier Heraud) y el Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (de Luis de la Puente y Guillermo Lobatón). La rebelión campesina en Cuzco era probablemente el más extenso y gozaba de claro apoyo de las comunidades campesinas. Es por lo menos la opinión de los coroneles velasquistas que en aque-

llos años dirigían las operaciones contrasubversivas y que a raíz de sus experiencias prepararon el Plan Inca, el programa reformista del gobierno militar de Velasco Alvarado. Pero el movimiento tenía un tinte trotskista y por lo tanto fue desconfiado por el Partido Comunista (renuente a participar en la lucha armada, como también su homólogo boliviano). También fue desconfiado por los dos otros movimientos guerrilleros, el ELN y el MIR, que recibieron entrenamiento y apoyo en Cuba; los cubanos tampoco se sentían cómodos con la Cuarta Internacional.

Lust es exhaustivo en su esbozo del contexto de la izquierda peruana. Menciona también los anteriores brotes guerrilleros de la época, en Jauja y en Huacrachuco, y a las decenas de mini-movimientos estudiantiles y urbanos que publicaron volantes, revistas clandestinas de tiraje desconocido con disputas sobre la línea correcta. Es una triste experiencia leer sobre tanto esfuerzo en vano, tanto teoría en vez de acción y tanta atomización en vez de unidad. El mismo sentimiento de desaliento se siente leyendo sobre la desconfianza interna entre el ELN y el MIR, incluso durante su entrenamiento en Cuba y después. En retrospectiva, el viaje del ELN desde Cuba a Bolivia y luego al Perú fue acompañado por conflictos con el Partido Comunista Boliviano y Peruano y demostró la escasa preparación. Fue un viaje hacia la muerte. Bien pocos sobrevivieron.

Un capítulo muy largo, de casi 150 páginas, refiere al MIR, escisión del partido APRA de los jóvenes militantes y líderes estudiantiles. De la Puente visitó Cuba tempranamente. Tuvo discusiones críticas con Che Guevara que trató de interesarle sobre un foco guerrillero pero uno de los argumentos de De la Puente era que: ‘En el Perú ... hay miles de comunidades campesinas [con] una tradición de disciplina interna y de combate ... Además el campesino no va a abandonar sus organizaciones porque yo le ponga una guerrilla’ (p. 246). Tras un entrenamiento en Cuba y viajes a otros países, los miristas entraron en el territorio peruano en 1963 y 1964. Operaron sobre todo en los departamentos de Junín, Cajamarca y Cuzco en tres frentes que lograron incorporar unas decenas de campesinos. Pero el ejército (el servicio de inteligencia estaba formado por los oficiales que luego formarían el núcleo de los oficiales velasquistas) descubrió las bases y comenzó a perseguir y atacar los rebeldes. Luis de la Puente fue detenido y matado. En junio de 1966 las FFAA dieron a conocer que se había acabado con la guerrilla.

En el último capítulo (‘Las causas de la derrota’) de este excelente libro, Lust enumera las ‘condiciones objetivas y subjetivas’. Es un análisis escueto con citas de Lenin, Mao, Castro y Che Guevara. Aquí el autor no es muy convincente. El fracaso de los movimientos guerrilleros en los años 60 en la Bolivia, Guatemala y el Perú es un tema todavía no explorado completamente. Una explicación alternativa es la del desconocimiento de la ‘alma indígena’ por parte de los rebeldes: los sentimientos y expectativas profundos de los pueblos originarios que, en la práctica, optaron con cierta anuencia por la voz del ejército – la única autoridad estatal en las regiones subdesarrolladas donde el Esta-

do era representado por oficiales militares, médicos militares, ingenieros militares y administradores militares. La voz de los revolucionarios en aquellos años – idealistas pero jóvenes urbanos foráneos al mundo indígena – quedó probablemente desentendida y fue confundida con otras voces del mundo exterior que, en las palabras del escritor peruano Ciro Alegria, era ‘ancho y ajeno’.

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– *Women in War. The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*, by Jocelyn Viterna. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Retrospective scholarship on El Salvador’s civil war has rendered some high quality work over the last decade. This book stands out as a prime example. Sociologist Jocelyn Viterna relies on extensive interviews with former participants and non-participants in the Salvadoran guerrilla movement of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) to build a nuanced and compelling portrait of the dynamics of women’s mobilization and participation during this country’s armed conflict (1980-1992). Women played many different important roles in the FMLN, from rank-and-file guerrilla fighters to ‘comandante’ in the revolutionary army. Some key tasks within the Salvadoran guerrilla became female dominated operations, most notably health care units, radio operators and the cooking staff. When the FMLN demobilized after the peace accords, close to 30 per cent of its registered participants were women. Several internationally renowned revolutionary leaders were women, such as Guadalupe Martínez (Comandante María) and Marta Valladares (Comandante Nidia Díaz). But, as Viterna asks, was the prominence of women in the FMLN in response to the revolutionaries’ broader overall commitment to women’s empowerment?

Not quite. Through the detailed documentation of the impact of female insurgent participation on traditional gender roles, Viterna convincingly shows that earlier depictions of the Salvadoran revolutionary movement as a space for women’s empowerment were lacking in nuance and required significant specification. Her research shows that, rather than promoting progressive notions of female identities, the Salvadoran insurgents mostly relied on conservative identities and roles to facilitate the mobilization of women into the armed movement, especially with regard to the rural population. According to Viterna, the mobilization of women in the Salvadoran insurgency might be better understood as a way ‘to protect, rather than reject, conservative gender norms’ (p. 220).

The chapters each reflect different stages or aspects of female mobilization and participation in the insurgency, including a chapter on romance and reproduction on the front. Viterna presents particularly insightful and original findings on the issue of female recruitment by documenting and analysing how

different stages in the armed conflict led to major shifts in the insurgent recruitment dynamics over time. While early on in the war the focus was on recruiting women that had been active in the peasant movement and the Catholic Church (Viterna calls these recruits ‘politicized guerrillas’), later on the war, when the military’s repressive violence had become more brutal and indiscriminate, the insurgents predominantly framed women’s recruitment as a way to protect them against rape. Though these women qualified as what Viterna calls ‘reluctant guerrillas,’ the way their recruitment was framed helped situate ‘the FMLN as their protectors, not their conscriptors’ (p. 115). Central to the success of this recruitment strategy was that, by and large, women in the guerrilla camps were respected, and that the FMLN leadership made specific efforts to protect women’s integrity in the male dominated environment of the guerrilla army.

During the second half of the civil war, when repressive violence by the Salvadoran military and death squads had receded, the FMLN focused recruitment efforts on young women already living in the sphere of influence of the insurgent movement, as in, for example, the refugee camps. Here the dominant narrative used was the appeal to the moral obligation of young women to contribute to the fight, a narrative whose effectiveness was related in part to the fact that the insurgent movement was involved in virtually all aspects of life in these refugee communities. Women often participated in recruitment units, as they were very effective in convincing young males to join. How could these potential recruits not fight for the cause when these young women had already taken up arms?

Through her focus on the recruitment and the participation of women, Viterna engages with virtually undocumented yet central aspects of the Salvadoran guerrilla experience. The text abounds with examples of how the FMLN was able to appeal to traditional aspects of gender roles in order to achieve revolutionary mobilization of both men and women, while at the same time helping to shore up moral standing. Viterna extends her inquiry into the post-war period, examining how wartime participation of women may be correlated to post-war empowerment of these same women. She found that guerrilla participation by itself did not translate into a more than average political participation. Only women participants that were particularly high-ranking or well connected to leadership were more likely to take on political roles in the post-war era.

The fact that Viterna uses El Salvador’s civil war as a case study into women’s participation in insurgency allows her to gain analytical depth, but also carries a possible downside: the particularities of the Salvadoran revolutionary movement and the civil war receive limited treatment. For example, she pays little attention to the ways in which the complex dynamics of revolutionary organizing in the 1970s impacted on subsequent recruitment strategies during the 1980s, or to how insurgent mobilization strategies interacted and contrasted with those of the Salvadoran military. The part on differences between the five revolutionary groups that integrated the FMLN and their implications for female participation falls behind the high quality of the rest of the book. Fur-

thermore, Viterna largely ignores the complex and contentious interaction between the well-positioned urban minority and the peasant majority inside the FMLN and its implications for gender roles. However, the originality, depth, and scope of the book's theoretical arguments more than compensate for these minor shortcomings. This book is a remarkable feat: it holds essential reading for anyone interested in El Salvador's civil war, as well as for students of gender, political violence and social movements.

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- *Zero Hunger: Political Culture and Antipoverty Policy in Northeast Brazil*, by Aaron Ansell. University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

In the semiarid backlands of northeast Brazil, formal public institutions are frequently artificial impositions: an intimate double-sided dynamic of reciprocity based on mutual vulnerability of politicians and subsistence cultivators defines electoral politics. Aaron Ansell defines his book as an ethnographic study of these encounters and the efforts made by the state under Lula's government to dismantle these clientelistic structures, or what the author calls 'intimate hierarchy' in the name of social justice and democracy (p. 3). The choice of this alternative term to 'clientelism' is an open alignment with social science's literature that 'rethinks scholarly condemnations of patronage as undemocratic' (p. 7). Although the term clientelism comprises the emotional and symbolic traits of such a relationship, Ansell's term tries to highlight the moral equality within the context of material inequality embedded in this exchange. By doing so, he also defends the reframing of clientelism as a 'folk concept within the contemporary culture of the modern political Left' (p. 8) because it often carries two overgeneralized premises: 1) the functionalist (and impossible to disprove) interpretation of reinforced hierarchy, as patronage's ideology dominates the poor, thus undermining their agency and making them more vulnerable; and 2) the mutual incompatibility premise, where horizontal solidarity and vertical exchange relations cannot coexist, instead of being complementary defensive strategies both to social and material disadvantages.

Watching state officials closely over a long period, the author observes that they did not make a distinction between intimate political exchanges and plain vote-buying, a relevant separation made by local people. As a result of political ideology, any patron-client relationship was seen as the root of all the region's problems. Clientelism is understood to perpetuate political ignorance, keeping people out of the PT's (Lula's Labour Party) electoral reach. As social inclusion was the core ideology of Lula's administration, patronage was a key obstacle to participation in representative democratic institutions for poor people.

Ansell defines intimate hierarchy as: 'an encounter between unequals in which one confronts the other's particular needs in the context of one's own

needs and works to help them regardless of the formal or legal barriers. Mutual sympathy and vulnerability between the partners becomes ‘the basis of a shared humanity that transcends the structural hierarchy that separates them’ (p. 194). These intimate relationships are constructed via mutual disclosure of personal vulnerabilities and needs. While poverty is the voter’s vulnerability upon which the patron will rely to supply his client’s material needs, the politician’s vulnerability has two aspects. First, promising private goods in exchange for a vote is a crime, and if reported the politician can suffer legal consequences. The secrecy of this exchange is clear, and so the patron puts himself in his client’s hands. Second, in seeking help to acquire votes, the fragilities of the politician’s electoral base are implied, and without his client’s help, he cannot be elected. Far from being a fake fragility framed to gain one’s trust, the vocal support of key community actors testifies to a candidate’s moral worth.

At the beginning of the Zero Hunger programme, administrative strategies to bypass mayors and dismantle patronage relations were put into action, which were seen as opposed to the traditional hierarchical structures that valued personal history. In early versions of the Bolsa Família Programme, beneficiaries were selected by a municipal management committee, which prompted hostility and resentment across the Northeast region, thus inducing the government to revoke the measure. The management position, created as a substitute, re-included mayors in the process, but obliged them to receive training. The result was an attempt to create a viable beneficiary selection which would not allow cash grants to become electoral currency.

The author concludes that in a transforming social structure stimulated by the arrival of the Zero Hunger programme, the Northeast’s poorest enlarged their moral perspective on intimate hierarchies by distinguishing between politicians who honoured their horizontal associations and those who monopolized their affiliations and exchanges. The effort to dismantle patronage only led the citizens to ‘integrate those aspects of liberal democracy that accorded with their sense of what was practical and moral’ (p. 192): a hybrid form of citizenship that brings to light certain limitations of liberal democracy.

Ansell offers an insightful comprehension of clientelism from a moral perspective. His anthropological sensibility harmoniously inserts profound cultural traits and political practices in his analysis, while at the same time considering the social historical determinants of them. The author’s concept of intimate hierarchies takes into account the difference between moral and amoral relationships, and based on that fact the author somehow legitimates these relationships. A complementary analysis of this structure can be found in Bourdieu, whose concept of habitus explains the legitimacy of these relationships: the habitus incorporates the past and naturalizes moral settings, creating masking tools of domination and perpetuating unequal relationships. Rephrasing himself, the author distinguishes ‘patronage’s overall effects on a social system and the up-close dynamics of actual patronage transactions’ (p. 9), the latter being his object.

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- *Native and National in Brazil. Indigeneity after Independence*, by Tracy Devine Guzmán. North Carolina University Press, 2013.

This book sets out to discuss the notion of indigeneity in the country of Brazil after it acquired its ‘independence’. In fact, it is concerned with the quite ample question about the changing and unchanging relations between Indian peoples and the nation-state for almost two centuries. This broad subject might seem to be a little too much for one book but Tracy Devine Guzmán actually focusses much more on ‘discourses’ about Indians in the national society and the State as well as on the attempts of the latter to be heard and understood in their own terms and not within the extremely restricted views of Indianness as framed by the dominant majority.

Guzmán studied many sources of information. She worked in the archives of the Museu do Índio and many other institutions and gathered a great deal of material from lesser known sources (such as newspapers). This is laudable and has led to many interesting quotes and material that many people may not be aware of. Several documents seem to be in print for the first time. However, the use of so many sources from different periods of time and genres of writing has led to two related problems. Firstly, she uses some very interesting examples of her research in the archives, such as, for example, letters from Indians who wrote to the SPI (Indian Protection Service). However, these quotes were not thoroughly analysed, thus leaving this reader with the impression that a great deal more material was researched, but neither quoted nor analysed, and, furthermore, that the material actually cited could have been explored even further. This gives the impression, rightly or wrongly, that a number of potential chances have been missed.

Secondly, the argument presented regularly jumps from one epoch to another. Of course, there are threads and long-term continuities that justify joining different historical moments. However, not every reader will easily follow these rapid movements back and forth, nor will be aware of what are the relevant epochs and timelines (and relevant laws of that day). It is not always made clear what these stereotypes and other features of national ethnic ideology actually are, that is, there is no summary statement of the clearly pertinent, but scattered, references. Furthermore, sometimes this occurs at a very high level of abstraction, a level for which an argument is made that applies, in the end, to all of the Americas. Of course, comparison within these continents can be justified and revealing. Perhaps, on the other hand, this could have been marshalled in a more cogently joined analysis about the evolutionary ideology that actually governs the historical place and role allocated to native peoples. One cannot help feeling that, at times, the specificity of the Brazilian case, although mentioned and fitted into the argument, still remains insufficiently fleshed out because of the many references to other countries and their analysts and native writers. In chapter 5, for example, Guzmán recognizes the changes in Indian manifestations on internet and in other kinds of initiatives in the last fifteen

years and admits that she is unable to do justice to this great variety; but this is exactly the point where her contribution, original in itself, could have been extended.

In trying to account for almost two centuries and still put this into a larger continental framework, it is difficult to avoid pitfalls and even errors. I would dispute a fair number of Guzman's conclusions or assertions, as it seems to me that some of these are a bit too hasty, and sometimes also a bit stereotypical in themselves. Just one clear example of a misunderstanding: the author cites the case of the burning of Galdino Jesus dos Santos in Brasília in 1977 as 'perhaps the most infamous act of anti-indigenous violence' (p. 222). However, the delinquents burned him because they thought him to be *just a beggar*, a kind of non-person. They did not know he was Indian and stated afterwards that they would not have chosen him as an object if they had known. A very cruel act, but not 'anti-indigenous'. Other burnings of beggars at around the same time attracted much less publicity.

In sum, the book is a serious attempt to present its subject and has merits in the large efforts to expand its documentary base when remaining within its own disciplinary tradition. It deals with some interesting and relevant cases. Perhaps this is a bit unfair, but from an anthropological point of view I think it would have been advisable to restrict the subject to discourses and documents and not to have ventured into sociological analysis. In conclusion, this is a serious book, with merits, and it can be read by non-specialists as a useful introduction to Brazil. However, any reader must bear in mind that a fair number of points and assertions are in fact quite disputable.

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