

war general, administrator at the estate, and later the president of Cuba from 1913 to 1921. That this book is able to reconstruct far more intricate political linkages, with heightened attention to the *colonos*, is the outcome of unprecedented research. McGillivray made expert use of the University of Florida Library's Braga Brothers Collection, a rich and underutilized archive of one of the largest sugar conglomerates during the republican period. But just as the stories of Tuinucú and Chaparra are not confined to a single national framework, neither was the research: McGillivray tracked down complementary archival sources in Cuba's national and regional archives, and she completed extensive oral history interviews with former workers. This is the kind of painstaking labor that enables new ideas about Cuba's rural history to take root, and McGillivray's deep digging promises bountiful returns for scholars in many fields.

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MARÍA CLEMENCIA RAMÍREZ: *Between the Guerillas and the State: The Cocalero Movement, Citizenship, and Identity in the Colombian Amazon*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2011.

In *Between the Guerillas and the State*, anthropologist María Clemencia Ramírez provides new insights into the entangled cultural meaning(s) of being *campesino/colono /cocalero Putumayenses (Putumayans)* in the Colombian Amazon and the unexpected consequences of public policies regarding drug issues. The book is divided into eight chapters.

The first chapter offers a useful overview of the historical processes of colonization and the institutional experiences and representations of the territory and its dwellers. She examines the territorial projects developed by the central government as well as the territorial initiatives oriented by guerrilla, paramilitary forces, and drug trafficking networks. By tracing these different aspects of the Putumayo area, Ramírez shows how that territory has been presented as an "empty," "marginal," or "illegal" space. The author distinguishes between several moments of colonization and particular areas of settlement. Also she differentiates when and how illegal organizations arrived in the territory, their motives and strategies, and their connections with other political and social actors "outside" the Putumayo area. By describing these processes of colonization and representation of the territory, Ramírez illuminates the political process of building Putumayo as a distinctive area. She analyzes the sources and political uses of several representations of the territory and illustrates how local dwellers have discussed and negotiated with them. This first chapter gives a multilayered

view of Putumayo as a contested political and territorial entity where local, regional, national, and multinational interests intertwine and how daily life is affected by the political dispute.

The second chapter examines the links between coca production and violence. Ramírez argues against the growing criminalization of drug trafficking in Colombia and explores the ambiguities between the war on drugs and the counterinsurgency war in Putumayo. The author clearly shows how growing coca and producing cocaine have changed the representation of the space and its dwellers and have prompted new political processes of stigmatization and self-representation.

Chapter three centers on the antecedents of the *Cocalero* social movement of 1996. Ramírez traces different initiatives of collective action in Putumayo and illuminates several dilemmas caused by the intervention of state institutions in the area, the ties between regional and political parties, and the trajectory of civic movements in the country as a whole.

In the fourth chapter Ramírez analyzes the trajectory of the *Cocalero* social movement, its claims and strategies regarding the Farc's authoritarianism and the Colombian national government's distrust. In this chapter, Ramírez analyzes the emergence of a collective identity against the political projects of both guerrilla and state institutions. By approaching the *cocalero* uprising and social mobilization of July-August 1996 as a "diagnostic event," Ramírez is able to weave a multilayered and touching picture of the complex ties among *colonos*, guerrilla forces, state institutions, and international organizations. Ramírez's account is touching because she shows how those rural people who grow and process coca deal with dismissive representations of their communities, territory, and activities.

Chapter five offers an ethnographic view of the negotiation between the central government and the *cocalero* movement. Ramírez identifies what the main debates were and what state agents comprehended about the relationship between the *colonos*, the coca growing process, and the production of cocaine. By analyzing the procedures of interaction and some people's perspectives on the negotiation and more public discourses, Ramírez shows that the negotiation was not only about the coca growing process but also about the right to have rights. She shows how the *cocaleros'* strategy and claims were shaped in the ongoing political struggle.

Ramírez gives attention to the local and cultural meanings of political categories – rights, citizenship, state. This and her sensibility towards what emerges as political in each society, for example the identity as *colono*, peasant, or *cocalero*, highlight the field of politics as an unstable domain. At this point, Ramírez introduces an innovative approach to the process of state formation at

the local level and to the consolidation of political leaderships in areas marked by political violence.

Against prevailing perspectives centered on the lack of political and social institutions, Ramírez traces and emphasizes how different institutions, social networks, and organizations have taken part in the making of a local state. By doing so Ramírez promotes a highly differentiated and complex view of the political landscape in Putumayo. The author examines how different state agents and authorities intervene in numerous fields (health, development, education). She also traces the conflicts or political ambiguities stemming from processes of decentralization, war on drugs, modernization of state entities, and development initiatives. Ramírez looks at local scenes as plenty of political dynamism and as fields of relationship that are sensitive to processes happening in other territorial layers. In fact, she is able to show how national and international discourses, agents, and institutions contribute to shaping what emerges as local state in Putumayo.

In chapter seven, Ramírez analyzes the type of interaction between state and civil society in the context of Putumayo. She identifies different struggles for establishing citizenship and many ambiguities involved in defining civil society. In chapter eight Ramírez analyzes what happened to the *cocaleros*' situation in the aftermath of the negotiation, the new links between coca and armed conflict in the area, and the political violence *cocaleros* had experienced. She also compares the processes of growing coca in Colombia with other countries of the Andean region. Her comparison shows clearly that Colombian *colonos* faced not only economic poverty but also the political risk of being associated with criminal forces. Ramírez's more compelling contribution is precisely this one. By approaching Putumayo and the Putumayense citizenship as unstable results of long lasting and unequal interaction among actors with different logics and territorial focus, Ramírez illuminates the plight of the *cocaleros* as a political situation.

The author's interest in the politics of time and space and in the politics of identity allows her to explore how Putumayo and the Putumayenses have been represented in discourses about marginality, drug-trafficking, and illegal peasantries. At the same time, her ethnographic sensibility and historical knowledge raise a persistent question about the political potential of the *cocalero*'s process of social mobilization.

Between the Guerrillas and the State constitutes an insightful reminder that the "political world" is rich with local and cultural meanings that are usually ignored in debates about public policy. Over and beyond the interpretation local actors have of their own struggles, Ramírez's account of the *Cocalero* movement in the Colombian Amazon asserts not only that politics is an unstable field but also that *cocaleros* are political agents. Both assertions are highly controversial,

not only in the discipline of anthropology but also in the state of Colombia where rural dwellers are denied political interests, voice, or agency.

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KEVIN LEWIS O'NEILL and KEDRON THOMAS: *Securing the City: Neoliberalism, Space, and Insecurity in Postwar Guatemala*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press Books, 2011.

The edited volume *Securing the City* addresses both a timely topic (Guatemala's spectacular levels of personal and community insecurity) and a highly under-ethnographed region (in anthropologist-saturated Guatemala!), Guatemala City. Guatemala, after earning the title of genocidal state, now joins Honduras and El Salvador to form the Northern Triangle of the world's most violent states.

The authors firmly link the rising violence to the work of neoliberalism "on the ground," most concretely in the economic reforms of structural adjustment and globalization. Editors O'Neill and Thomas introduce the essays' unifying themes such as the spatialization of insecurity and violence, the criminalization of poverty, the focus on *delincuencia* (delinquency), to the exclusion of all other sources of violence and social insecurity. After a thin history of Guatemala's capital city, the book is divided into two parts: the first explores Urban History and Local Experience, and the second, Guatemala City and Country.

The first four essays each follow a place, a family, a career over time with interesting results. Levenson presents an intergenerational memoir of a family founded in the 1930s by an indigenous 12-year-old immigrant to the city. Her life expanded initially in the bright lights of the big city and then quickly contracted into the grueling work of an unskilled abandoned mother. Her two daughters grew up in the 1960s-70s Guatemala City of rock and roll and social movements; one becomes a mother at age 15 and then a union leader. Her two sons are professionals, educated, not right-wing but convinced that the poor are responsible for their own situation. They admire their mother's commitment to social justice, but feel that she could have become "something more."

The editors have done us a great service in making more of Spanish anthropologist Manuela Camus's groundbreaking research on urban Maya available in English. Camus documents the show-case public housing project, *Primero de Julio*, built in 1966. It was a neighborhood of upward aspirations, peopled first with "healthy, hard-working" residents who subscribed to nationalism and modernization, but now experience what Camus terms *desclasamiento*, loss of class distinction. Their children, raised under military dictatorships, were oriented to