

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

revolution; indeed, the neighborhood suffered its share of “disappeared” young people. The next generations, coming of age during the counterinsurgency and deep cuts of structural adjustment, look neither to modernity nor to the state or revolution, but rather to the marketplace. All recognize that crime now arises from within their own neighborhood, and is not intruding from the neighboring poorer *barrios*. Camus’s essay is a gem, rich in voices, intergenerational perspective and historical sociology.

Offit shares the offbeat and revealing career of a Maya urban merchant who had arrived in the city as a penniless rural boy and is now an employer of dozens of kinsmen in his downtown commercial and real estate empire. This is no penny capitalist but a man marked for greatness by a miraculous recovery from a childhood illness, and lifted to wealth by neoliberal tides and the movement of “his” people to the city. This essay includes a terrific scene of don Napo, in rough sandals, marching several members of his family, some workers and the ethnographer himself into a white-tableclothed restaurant in an exclusive capital neighborhood where he is carefully attended.

The last essay of this section, by Veliz and O’Neill, documents the more typical scenario for urban Maya merchants in the story of the street vendors who lost their marketplace when developers “reclaim” the *Centro Histórico* where they have built their businesses for decades, in the name of urban renewal. Despite their organized protests, the vendors were moved to another site with minimal consultation, and a conclusive drop in earnings.

The second set of four essays explores how the lives of people in the countryside and the city are constituted in relation to each other. It opens with Dickins de Giron’s close work on the rural men who staff the capital’s growth industry of private security. These are low-skilled jobs indeed (scarcily so, given the fire-power some of them are issued) but an interesting market in which the demand is almost greater than the supply of labor, and yet the pay does not increase. Instead it is fueled by rural people’s vision of the capital city’s opportunities, by constant lateral mobility, and then, while some seek “something else,” a return to their communities of origin.

Benson, Thomas and Fischer use a large 2002 protest organized in Tecpan over punitive tax increases that went violent to explore how violence is categorized away as *delincuencia*. Coupled with this “misrecognition” of the sources of social and economic insecurity are the forms of democracy under neoliberalism, in which “coercive social harmony” reigns: “at least” everyone can participate; no change emerges; political leaders use the process to co-opt change and secure their own sinecure; and the most vulnerable to structural violence are kept or put in harm’s way. This essay also usefully describes the sense of insecurity that pervades the countryside as well as the city.

In her essay on Guatemala's apparel industry, Thomas pulls together two projects, one exploring the "pirates" criminalized by Guatemala's participation in international Intellectual Property law, the other project an historical development of a highland garment producer and household industries. Clothes are deeply wrapped up in Guatemalans' sense of modernity, and those "pirates" who re-produce internationally recognized brands create clothing craved by Guatemalans. The "pirates" also tend to be fairly small-scale producers, hardly international gang members of intellectual property rights scofflaws. In fact, in neoliberal Tecpan, they are among the least mobile producers in terms of securing their profit margins in the space of modernity, Guatemala City; only those more capitalized producers can deliver their goods to wholesalers who provide the services that make for financial security, and avoid the physical and fiscal risks of other Guatemala City or highland "Indian" markets.

The last essay focuses on the charity work of Guatemala City's neo-Pentecostal megachurch *El Shaddai*, and the decision to orient its gift-giving to the rural Maya and not to the urban (and much closer at hand) poor. O'Neill analyzes the church's printed materials and some interviews to demonstrate how its members Biblically and spatially rationalize gift-giving and differentiation to create a deserving poor and an unredeemable urban delinquency.

The volume speaks to the specificities of Guatemala's situation, but more importantly, to all places around the globe where a universally perceived decrease in personal and community security has resulted, not in a sustained public discussion and response, but rather privatization and/or vigilante responses to securing security.

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FLORENCIA GARRAMUÑO: *Primitive Modernities: Tango, Samba, and Nation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

How is it that tango and samba succeeded in overcoming their modest beginnings to finally achieve national recognition and become symbols of their countries? The answer that Florencia Garramuño offers in her book *Primitive Modernities* is twofold: on the one hand, the taste of the elites moved towards these popular genres, becoming (relatively) more plebeian; on the other hand, these genres became progressively "more sophisticated and polished" (p. 22) until they eventually garnered the aura of prestige associated with the "civilized" world.

But this is just the starting point for a study that ultimately aims to investigate and clarify the fascinating convergences between the ideas of the primitive and the