

mente dicha, para concentrarse en el abanico de razones que puedan explicar el fracaso de las misiones, tomando en cuenta “lo que dicen las fuentes” y las interpretaciones de sus predecesores. El autor subraya con razón que, para tener una visión balanceada de la cuestión, es imprescindible considerar una encrucijada de factores de diferentes niveles. Al nivel más general, nota que la falta de coordinación entre las instituciones civiles y religiosas (a pesar de la creación del Colegio de Propaganda Fide) fue un serio obstáculo al desarrollo de las misiones, como también lo fueron las permanentes dificultades para asegurar el financiamiento del esfuerzo misional, la falta de personal misionero o conflictos de personas. Admite, en un segundo nivel, que el método reduccional, particularmente el que instituyó el Colegio de Propaganda Fide a partir de 1796, se prestaba ante todo a espantar a los yurakaré. Lejos de propiciar la suavidad y la paciencia los misioneros fueron adeptos a la coerción, y si fuera necesario, al látigo. Tal método provocó una reacción de rechazo de parte de los yurakaré (lo que explica su fuga de las misiones en 1805) reacción que, a su vez, condujo a los misioneros, burlados en su autoridad, a despreciar a los yurakaré, agudizándose así los rencores de ambos lados. A estos factores explicativos de carácter histórico se deben añadir los impedimentos relacionados con la forma de vida o con la cultura yurakaré en general. A diferencia de los anteriores, estos factores son expresados de manera menos convincente y muestran que el autor quedó demasiado apegado a la visión colonial. Es cierto que la explotación de los recursos y, más generalmente, la territorialidad yurakaré no armonizaba con la vida misionera, tal como era entendida; sin embargo, ello no se debía a que los yurakaré eran “nómadas selvícolas”, viejo cliché que pasa por alto su horticultura de roza y quema plenamente desarrollada. Afirmar, por otra parte, que “la indudablemente débil dimensión religiosa de la cultura yurakaré debe haber limitado su capacidad de sentirse atraído [*sic*] hacia el cristianismo” (485), es un juicio de valor que no comparto y que se puede descartar por varios argumentos. Me contentaré con decir que el desencuentro con los yurakaré tuvo más bien un indudable componente religioso y escatológico, remitiendo a los trabajos que consagró a la cosmología yurakaré (2007, 2010). Existen significativos indicios en su tradición mitológica que indican que los misioneros han sido considerados por los yurakaré como potenciales mediadores capaces de hacer volver a Tiri, su dueño y su principal demiurgo, cuyo retorno podía significar, *in fine*, recuperar su inmortalidad perdida.

Concluiré remarcando que, como lector, varias veces me sorprendí por el tratamiento que el autor reserva a los aspectos más oscuros de la evangelización. Daré un solo ejemplo para ilustrar este punto. El autor cita un informe de los misioneros franciscanos del Colegio de Propaganda Fide, dirigido al Gobernador Intendente Viedma, escrito después de la fuga de los yurakaré de sus dos misiones en 1805. En este informe, los misioneros proponen, para garantizar su definitiva evangelización, que los yurakaré sean deportados *manu militari* a las misiones de chiquitos donde tendrían que ser repartidos. Argumentan, además,

que tal solución sería ventajosa puesto que, una vez vaciado el territorio yurakaré, podría ser entregado así a “tantas gentes pobres como hay por acá fuera” (391). Después de citar dos extractos de este informe, con el contenido aquí resumido, H. van den Berg retoma el hilo de la narración histórica con estas palabras: “Las autoridades prefirieron no optar por este método drástico” (392). No creo equivocarme al pensar que muchos lectores encontrarán la fórmula “método drástico” demasiado débil, y estarían de acuerdo que evocar la inhumanidad de tal plan, a través del cual no solamente se pretendía aniquilar una sociedad en su totalidad, sino también sacar provecho del hecho para hacer una obra caritativa, no hubiera disminuido la voluntad de “objetividad” del autor.

Vincent Hirtzel

Bhattacharyya, Gargi (ed.): *Ethnicities and Values in a Changing World*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009. 182 pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-7483-2. Price: £ 55.00

“Ethnicities and Values in a Changing World,” edited by Gargi Bhattacharyya, engages the varied realities and politicization of ethnic identity formation. The essays are premised on a critical reworking of ethnicity as process, rather than as identity, thereby implicitly ensuring a purposeful demystification of ethnicity as a stable and static construct. While this is hardly a groundbreaking assertion in the field of ethnic and race studies, the volume is significant in its mooring of ethnicity in the performance of ethical subjectivities and values. In conjoining ethnicity to an ethical critical practice and an ethics of subjective assertions of ethnicity, the essays in this volume chart the ways in which the state articulates ethnicity as essentialized community and the source of values inimical to neoliberal post-racial order. Thus the spectacular violence that shapes peoples of color and minoritized-group experiences in the new global order are represented as cultural pathologies inherently embedded in ethnic communities rather than in their responses to new modes of disempowerment and dispossession.

This volume points to the ways in which the nation, the exemplary “ethnic” community that wholeheartedly embraces its good citizens, is racially and ethnically unmarked as new exclusionary practices inscribe insular ethnic locales and peoples on the peripheries of the state or in violent spaces within the state. Thus the state’s historical as well as its new forms of racism are obscured. The onus of belonging is displaced onto “ethnic” communities, while the state’s erasure of its agency in shaping these subjective experiences of identity formation is delineated within the context of contemporary flows of immigrant travel and displacement.

Gargi Bhattacharyya’s introduction and conclusion frame the volume’s explication of ethnicity as an articulation of values. As an important overview of the various debates and analytic threads in ethnic and racial studies, Bhattacharyya underscores the contemporary realities of global capitalism and its attendant structural inequalities in emphasizing a rethinking of the politics of thinking and writing about ethnicity. Her particularly insightful discus-

sion of the ways in which a narrative of morality codes the negotiations of power between the state and its impossible ethnic subjects urges a rethinking of identity formation as a process of value-making rather than assertions of belonging. Placed within the context of mobile nationalisms, economic and social migrancy, trafficked lives, and terror's transgressive globalism, Bhattacharyya positions this mobility inherent in contemporary processes of dis/location alongside a new securitization of the state and reification of the nation's borders.

The essays in this volume speak to these issues in several ways. Howard Winant calls for a renewed conscientiousness in scholarly activism for racial justice. Acknowledging the transformation of the field of ethnic and race studies particularly with the burgeoning of diaspora studies, Winant notes the urgent need to shape a new pedagogy of race studies that re-centers race at the center of post-civil rights-era discourse and challenges the new discursive hegemony that elides, and thus preserves, racism. Parminder Bhachu's spirited conversation with Bhattacharyya provides a personal account of the challenges encountered in broadening the field of ethnic studies to include multiple migrant border-crossings and new cultural productions informed by an innovative politics of belonging in local imperial sites. Bhachu emphasizes the responsibility of race studies scholarship in displacing master narratives of ethnicity and asserts the significance of creative and hybrid diasporic negotiations in dispelling myths of origin and emotional ties elsewhere.

The other six essays in the volume focus on local sites where ethnicity is conceptualized through a moral and ethical vocabulary. Ronit Lentin analyzes the emergence of women's migrant networks in Ireland, in particular AkiDwA started by a group of African women, in the face of the state's racist scripting of exclusionary practices on sexually active immigrant women's bodies. These networks forge communities that transcend specific national and parochial identities as they assert their visibility as politicized African women who challenge the Irish state's criminalization of them. Max Farrar's essay extends this discussion to the violent urban protests in Britain that punctuated the period between 1975 and 2001. Noting the criminalization of the protesters by the state, Farrar points out that community activists rallied around radical political identities to affirm the legitimacy of the protests against a racist state. However, Farrar argues that after 2001 these political identities were replaced by ethnically and religiously based identities. Drawing on the example of the rise of Islamism in Britain as a means of deploying an ethnic and political identity, Farrar delineates the emergence of an ethics of violence as a political and moral response to racism.

Robbie McVeigh delineates the state's power to grant or deny ethnicity to various communities. Drawing on a comparative study of the state's policies of antigypsyism in Italy and Ireland, McVeigh argues that the criminalization of Roma and Travellers entails a "specific phenomenon of ethnicity denial." Thus ethnicity as a political resource for Roma and Travellers becomes a contested terrain wherein claiming ethnicity becomes critical in as-

serting the history of genocide and racism that has shaped Roma and Traveller subjectivities.

Abel Ugba's study of African immigrant Pentecostalism in Ireland and John Gabriel and Jenny Harding's critical exploration of the figure of the "good" refugee denoted in the Refugee Community Histories Project (RCHP) point to an ethical lens that attempts to position these immigrants and refugees outside the racist discourses of the state. As morally "good" immigrants and refugees who are worthy of a place in the nation, these migrants creatively resist their stigmatization as inherently unstable communities.

The sense of shame and humiliation that underlie such negotiations of racism by disempowered peoples is the subject of Carlos Sandoval García's essay. Focusing on the state's criminalization of La Carpio, a segregated and impoverished urban site in Costa Rica, García explores the impact of media representations on La Carpio's residents. The absence of material and emotional resources and an enabling collective memory to counter the overwhelmingly negative images of La Carpio serve to deepen its resident's sense of suffering and shame. This denial of value to the lived experiences of La Carpio's residents is inherently debilitating, preempting an alternate articulation of an ethical vocabulary or political response to the racism that surrounds La Carpio.

Collectively, the essays in "Ethnicities and Values in a Changing World" provide a nuanced exploration of varied sites in Europe and Central America where ethnicity is challenged locally and contested as an ethical and political practice. In juxtaposing the coercive technologies of state racism and the micropractices of local resistance and negotiations of subjective identities, the contributors of this volume affirm the humanity of resistant and disempowered peoples. As Gargi Bhattacharyya in her concluding chapter declares, it behooves us then to ethically be responsible and responsive as we listen for alternate stories and ethnic imaginaries. Sridevi Menon

Blaser, Mario: *Storytelling. Globalization from the Chaco and Beyond.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2010. 292 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-4545-9. Price: £ 25.18

Inmortalizados por las magníficas fotografías de Guido Boggiani, para muchos etnólogos los ishír no fueron más que la histórica casta servil de los mbaya-caduveo. Sin embargo, lo cierto es que unos dos mil ishír siguen habitando actualmente la región del Alto Paraguay, constituyendo la rama oriental de la familia lingüística zamuco. Tras décadas de estudios de figuras como Juan Belaieff, Albert Frič, Herbert Baldus, Branislava Susnik o Edgardo Cordeu los ishír siguen sorprendiendo a la etnología chaqueña con una organización social que evoca la de sociedades amazónicas como los bororo o los mismos grupos gé: organización dualista, clanes exogámicos unilineales, clases etarias, sociedades secretas masculinas, rituales de máscaras y mitos "melanesios" de la toma primigenia del poder femenino por parte de los hombres.

Este libro ofrece una exploración personal de las formas ishír de absorber la globalización. Para Blaser la mo-