

The use of the Haitian Krèyol language plays a role worth comment. On practically every page of *Sleeping Rough* one encounters the use of this language and normally a brief translation of its meaning. Kovats-Bernat has been kind in so much that he provides a running translation of most Krèyol words and does not require us to make use of an extensive glossary - which might have been another, more cumbersome, alternative. This peppering of the text with bits of Haitian reality, as it were, seems to link the reader to the more concrete reality in which the researcher worked and appears to attempt to bring the reader closer to the subject at hand. However, it is significant that the majority of the Krèyol which is used in *Sleeping Rough* has some kind of negative aspect to it. Either it directly links us to a negative reality or is some type of reaction to a negative element in the Haitian environment. While being one of the intriguing components of the text, it begs the question as to why Krèyol is used in this manner. Is it because the author really wishes to create an emotional distance for us with regard to the negative experience by using a language unfamiliar to most, or is it that he wishes to bring us closer to it by implying with the use of Krèyol that the reader must discover what is untranslatable about these utterances? Possibly it is simply a form of *costumbrismo* or, most likely, something else altogether.

This text does utilise its conclusion to underline some of what it believes to be the wider causes and implications of the plight of street children in Haiti. There are many and encompass a large field of possibilities. Kovats-Bernat engages with his subject matter, others in his field, and the reader, and he does so in a stimulating and inviting manner.

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Frances Abrahamer Rothstein, *Globalization in Rural Mexico: Three Decades of Change* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007), pp. 193, \$45.00, \$19.95, pb; £32.00, £11.99, pb.

The flow of people, capital, products, images and ideas across the world has intensified to an unprecedented speed and scale. A dominant neo-liberal ideology views globalisation as an autonomous and disembodied process that is governed by impersonal market laws. To balance this, there is a great need for ethnographic studies that analyse how social actors relate to and shape these flows by different actions, connections and struggles. This might create a better understanding of the heterogeneous patterns of economic, political and cultural change that the world faces today. In this light, Frances Rothstein presents an interesting long-term study of the contradictions and complexities of modernisation in the rural community of San Cosme in Tlaxcala, Mexico. She illustrates how globalisation transforms community life as part of a multi-sited ethnography of garment production.

In the first chapter, the study engages with the wider anthropological and development literature on globalisation and its emphasis on the intensified connections and time-space compression in the contemporary world. In her arguments, however, she mainly builds on the work of David Harvey and Karl Marx. As a result, she views globalisation as the latest phase of capitalism that is characterised by a flexible regime of capital accumulation. The author's main interest is to offer a more refined analysis of complex global relations and the struggles between labour and capital.

She aims to better capture the dynamism of capitalism through the following three analytical points. First, capital flows are diverse, uneven and changing, because capitalists continuously develop new accumulation strategies and commit capital flexibly. Second, labour also has some agency through the differential responses of ignoring, rejecting or innovating the wage labour that capitalism enforces. Third, capital intersects with other existing differences, including class, gender, kinship and age, producing a differentiation of the working class. Rothstein thus views the flow of capital as crucial, yet not all powerful.

More than three decades of anthropological field work allows Rothstein to observe and explain an interesting set of changes and continuities in San Cosme. In chapters two to five, she shows that, over the last half of the twentieth century, San Cosme changed from a peasant to a garment manufacturing community. In the 1970s, developments in the larger political economy contributed to a process of de-peasantisation in the rural family economy and to the emergence of a class of industrial factory workers. Although men engaged in wage labour for nearby urban textile factories, they retained their connection with the community, and most families continued to cultivate land and a flexible kinship system. In the 1980s, this allowed families to survive the economic crisis and the decline of factory work through an intensified reliance on agricultural subsistence production. Kinship networks thus enabled a flexible subsistence based on multiple income-pooling strategies, a pattern on which the emerging small-scale garment production of the 1990s was built. Rothstein reviews how the workshop owners subsidised their garment production, in response to international flexible production and national competition, by drawing on their families' unpaid labour, agricultural activities and other income. The question is whether this pattern that Rothstein observes is necessarily so well explained by class analysis. What is remarkable about these kinship networks is that they are neither peasant, worker nor small entrepreneurial networks, but that they at some points combine all of these traits, thus giving them their flexibility through time. More attention to the longer historical and cultural aspects of why social actors reproduce this dynamic family economy and how this shapes the impacts of globalisation would have enriched the study here.

Consumerism is another force behind globalisation. Yet, in chapter six, Rothstein evaluates critically the idea that consumption is now driving the global economy. She shows that the increased level of consumed commodities in San Cosme was accompanied by international flows of capital freed up by economic restructuring and the current regime of flexible accumulation in apparel production. Further, San Cosmeros at first became workers and then consumers since wage work allowed them to buy commodities. However, by giving causal priority to production and class, Rothstein downplays other influences. For instance, the cultural and ideological effects of television and other media, migration and urbanisation on consumptive and productive choices and the responses of people to these changes are relevant but largely ignored. One reason is that the author restricts the discussion on the symbolic dimensions of consumption and identity formation to structural or fixed characteristics, such as production, class, gender and age.

The advantage of Rothstein's materialist perspective on globalisation is theoretical coherence, but this also precludes the ethnographic documentation and imaginative interpretation of the emerging variety of responses and connections of globalisation. Social and cultural changes or continuities are invariably explained as the product of an underlying material reality of class struggle that is somehow more real. This

view restricts the agency of social actors, since it becomes a function of class in response to capital, rather than a differential capability to draw on and connect varied social and cultural repertoires, relational networks and material resources in response to the political and economic transformations of globalisation. However, even if one disagrees with the theoretical perspective taken, there is more than enough useful information from the grassroots to consider different interpretations.

Nevertheless, this book does not convince entirely as a multi-sited ethnography of globalisation. First, the question remains as to whether San Cosme is such an excellent site to study the globalisation of apparel production, since it mainly produces for the national market. Moreover, the study fails to include many other strategic actors and sites in the commodity chain, in particular those external intermediaries and capitalist firms that reap the profits of garment production. The study argues that they increasingly concentrate the wealth produced in the community, but does not provide any evidence. Second, it lacks the kind of analytical and detailed ethnographic description of everyday life in the community that enables the interpretation of the cultural and ideological dynamics that also shape globalisation. The study fails to show how different people talk about, see and portray themselves in the process. Thirdly, some aspects of globalisation in San Cosme seem to escape the theoretical focus of the author: for example, politics at different levels reinforces or dilutes the impacts of globalisation. Further, the strong emergence of Protestantism and the drug trade are other signs of globalisation that deserve more attention. In sum, this is a challenging book that will be of interest to many scholars in the political economy of development, anthropologists of globalisation and researchers working on the impacts of neo-liberal policies in Latin America; however, it is less satisfying as an ethnographic interpretation of globalisation.

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Rosalva Aída Hernández, Sarela Paz and María Teresa Sierra (eds.), *El estado y los indígenas en tiempos del PAN: neoindigenismo, legalidad e identidad* (Tlalpan, México DF: CIESAS-M.A. Porrúa, 2004), pp. 386, pb.

The appearance of this book is well timed as an evaluation of the first *Partido de Acción Nacional* (PAN) government in Mexico. The election of Vicente Fox as president put an end to 50 years of leadership from the *Partido de la Revolución Institucional* (PRI), that as its name suggests, was the institutionalisation of the political elite who inherited the revolutionary rhetoric of modern twentieth century Mexico.

There were a lot of expectations among the left wing and popular sectors of the democratic changes that breaking the PRI's political monopoly might bring to the democratic constitution of the nation, even if it was a right wing party which won this 2000 presidential election. The *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (PRD) candidate, Cuauhtémoc Cardenas, lost for the third time, ending his career as candidate of the left wing opposition party (the first loss in the 1988 elections was achieved through fraud, giving way to Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and in 1994 resulting in Ernesto Zedillo as president). In the 2000 elections we have to remember that left wing politicians (at that moment) such as Jorge Castañeda