of solidarity and repayment responsibility between women's solidarity groups and those of men are fascinating. Men's groups were offered much more independence than were women's: men were not held responsible for each other's loan repayment whereas women were. Not surprisingly, the men's groups were short-lived in the programme, an outcome that further reinforces constructions of social collateral lending as a feminine programme. The next chapter in Part 2 focuses on the complexities of the repayment process and the degree to which, despite their attempts to remain separate, field staff become enmeshed in group dynamics to garner loan repayment and keep groups constituted. This chapter also reveals ways that Paraguay's smuggling economy obscures the lines separating finance, fraud and families, and in so doing requires continuous renegotiations of liability among staff and clients. The final chapter in Part 2 deals with one of the greatest economic and social challenges to the solidarity groups – the death of a member. Group members interfaced with surviving relatives in order to meet the resulting financial and emotional burdens faced by both family and the borrowers' group. In such cases, the solidarity of the group extended beyond the instrumental aspects of membership. Renewed definitions of liability and group membership had to be developed for the solidarity group, and family members were often involved.

The detailed stories of staff, clients and events featured in the life cycle of this microfinance lending located in the Paraguayan tri-border region offer findings that are both context-specific and suggestive of wider global processes. This is an important book but one that also has some limitations. For example, a more systematic introduction to the study country, region and economy would have promoted greater understanding of the contextual embeddedness of the findings. Moreover, the significance of vignettes about staff and clients might have been more meaningful with a bit more background of the persons and events.

Coherence could have been greatly improved by better chapter introductions offering a clear menu of what was to follow. At times, the writing lacks clarity due to overly complex sentence structure and excessive use of disciplinary-specific jargon. Despite such limitations, *Social Collateral* is a rich account of the interwoven social production of gender, class, entrepreneurship, lending and social solidarity. Schuster's study of a significant region of the world that is not often addressed in English-language publications also makes it a noteworthy contribution.

Arizona State University NANCY C. JURIK

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **50** (2018). doi:10.1017/S0022216X1800041X

Kevin Lewis O'Neill, *Secure the Soul: Christian Piety and Gang Prevention in Guatemala* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), pp. xi + 288, £16.95, pb

'I always knew that there was someone knocking at my door, trying to open my heart. I just didn't know who it was. I didn't even know God existed. […] All I knew were the gangs' (p. 5). These are the words of Mateo, a former gang member deported from Los Angeles, during a church service in one of Guatemala's marginalised neighbourhoods, where he is invited to speak. In *Secure the Soul*, Kevin Lewis O'Neill shows how Mateo's search for survival and security – outside of the gang – is deeply affected by Christian piety – the struggle to 'make good with God' (p. 11). Discussing several forms of gang rehabilitation and prevention, the author shows

how Christian piety is a recurring element in all of them. Written in beautiful prose, the book presents an extremely rich account of the ways former gang members look for, but tragically often fail to find, a stable life outside of the gang. It is a must-read for anyone interested in Central American gangs and the role of Christianity.

The book consists of five separate ethnographies in which the author maps the 'affective infrastructure of post-war security' in Guatemala (p. 18). Chapters about the life of Mateo connect these different domains. The book starts with the prison system, where pastors, who have 'a monopoly on morality', struggle to turn prisoners into self-governing subjects (pp. 44–5). It moves on with a chapter about a reality television show, *Desafío 10* ('Challenge 10'), in which ten former gang members learn to 'better manage themselves', to start enterprises and 'become what they were supposed to become: shoe shiners, car washers' (p. 88). The next chapter is about the experience in a call centre, which serves US customers, and where some deported, English-speaking (former) gang members find employment. The centre combines strict supervision with calls to self-improvement: piety taught at the workplace. In a chapter called 'Left Behind', the author discusses how an internationally funded adoption programme plays out in the neighbourhood of La Paloma, helping a relatively small number of kids, until they turn 16, and leaving most others out. The final chapter deals with the Pentecostal rehabilitation centres, of which as many as 200 exist in Guatemala City. They serve as de facto prisons for former gang members, who are often sent to the rehabs by their own family members as they can no longer handle them.

Each of these five forms of gang prevention is analysed as a security scheme in its own right, while it is shown how each is deeply influenced by Christianity. Together they form a security assemblage whose effect on the lives of its subjects is, however, extremely precarious. This is not a safety net, O'Neill argues, 'but a series of randomly inflating and suddenly deflating life rafts' (p. 185). They do provide some temporary support to former gang members, but not enough to make a lasting change. The story of Mateo, who has experience with each of them, is no different. He had a troubled childhood with a father who used to beat him up. Although he was never adopted, he worked in preventive programmes and tries to help youth in his own neighbourhood. But the help of his father, after they reconciled, serves as his life raft. The townhouse that his father bought in one of the suburbs of Guatemala City makes an important difference to Mateo – for as long as it lasts. At the end of the book, which covers almost a decade, Mateo lives from pay cheque to pay cheque. The chances of survival for ex-gang members are slim. Sadly, five years after the reality show *El Desafío* six out of the ten participants have been killed.

Deeply influenced by the work of Michel Foucault, O'Neill sees gang prevention as a technique of soft security, in which he is particularly interested (n. 6, p. 208). In an important footnote in the beginning of the book, O'Neill argues that soft security is concerned with the security of the population against internal threats, while hard security is about the protection of territory and borders (n. 2, p. 206). Elsewhere he argues that soft security is about life (administering, optimising, multiplying life), and hard security about death (suppressing, punishing life) (p. 186). Recognising that this distinction is not unproblematic, O'Neill uses these terms as 'basic coordinates' (p. 206, n. 2). It would, however, have been interesting to read more about the ways in which the two relate.

In this regard, I was intrigued by the instances where hard and soft security seemed to meet and merge in different ways. For example, O'Neil shows that, confronted with high levels of non-state violence, soft security provided by non-state actors can turn

hard: from a pastor who beats the boys in his rehab, to Mateo who beats a young boy who likes to hang around in his house but doesn't show respect, and USAID stopping a reinsertion programme and literally leaving many of the beneficiaries (dead). Elsewhere, O'Neill states that the essence of Christian piety – that salvation is in your own hands – is a form of violence: 'the violence of piety is not its inability to extend prevention to everyone but its tendency to distinguish between the deserved and the disposable […] To let die is not piety's limitation: it is Christian piety's most basic function' (p. 188). So, for instance, those who returned to the gang were not pious enough and don't deserve to live. When one of the former participants of *Desafío 10* (who didn't return to the gang) is killed by a gang member, one of his *Desafío 10* coaches says, 'He died well. He died as a good person.' (p. 85). This shows the importance of Christian piety to deal with death and adversity more broadly, including those who made 'good with god' (p. 11). However, the book is full of examples of how Christian piety provides hope for a better life in a context of social exclusion and violence. This hope may be unwarranted or even false, but it appears to be the only strategy to survive (or to die well) outside of the gang.

Utrecht University CHRIS VAN DER BORGH

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 50 (2018). doi:10.1017/S0022216X18000421

Austin Zeiderman, *Endangered City: The Politics of Security and Risk in Bogotá* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2016), pp. xix + 290, £73.00, £19.99 pb

It will understandably come as a surprise to many that this book is not about violence. Austin Zeiderman takes pains to clarify this in his introduction, with particular reference to a student who greeted his examination of urban governance of environmental hazards in Bogotá with the phrase *¿Dónde está la sangre?* ('Where's the blood?'). Zeiderman carefully defines 'endangerment' as referring to the precarity associated with his direct areas of concern – risk management in urban governance of disasters, environmental hazards and housing. It is clear throughout his argument, however, that risk in Bogotá is impossible to comprehend without understanding how endemic violence and threat has left indelible scars on the way people perceive and navigate city life. Endangerment hence 'refers not to direct experiences of violence, but to how violence indirectly conditions urban politics, governance, and everyday life' (p. 30).

Understanding risk in relation to environmental hazard allows Zeiderman to engage with the theories of urban political economy and neoliberal governmentality. He correctly surmises that these are the most powerful paradigms in contemporary critical urban theory, but that they tend to have been developed with reference to the welfare states of Europe and the United States and the subsequent destructive effects of neoliberalism. However, tracing local genealogies of risk that in Bogotá are inseparable from violence also allows him to provide a critique that centres Colombia's history. Post-colonial scholars have frequently critiqued the unreflexive imposition of critical urban theory on the Global South, or, equally problematically, the exoticisation of cities in the South as unique or different. The main strength of Zeiderman's book is that he manages to position Colombia and Bogotá, through his conceptual lens of endangerment, in such a way that his ethnography speaks to theoretical concerns, without allowing etically generated frameworks to dominate his analysis.