

subaltern'. But 'Bolivia's middling folk confounded MAS' and allied social movement's strategies' (p. 211). This micro-political analysis provides a very important correction to simple political dichotomies: Bolivia's present is both more complicated and therefore also more interesting than that. My only critical comment would be that the author sometimes ends with too grandiose conclusions about 'human nature': humans are 'always' motivated by both individual and collective interests (p. 154), and 'self-interest is a central facet of public life' (p. 208). Anthropologists usually avoid these sorts of generalizing proclamations.

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– *Land Grab: Green Neoliberalism, Gender, and Garifuna Resistance in Honduras*, by Keri Vacanti Brondo. University of Arizona Press, 2013.

The Garifuna of Honduras' northern coast – descendants of an intermixture of marooned African slaves and native Amerindians – have received quite some attention in the social sciences, for example as a transnational migrant community. In this ethnography Keri Vacanti Brondo 'localizes' the Garifuna communities by focusing on their declining power over natural resources in the context of state-sanctioned and private sector-led 'resource grabs', and the struggles this process has set in motion. Brondo's book combines feminist political ecology with critical race and ethnic studies and gender analysis, providing a rich ethnographic account of changing gendered politico-economic dynamics, resource management and Garifuna ethnic mobilization.

The first part provides a historical analysis of Garifunas' changing livelihoods during the banana boom and bust, and their related identity politics in the context of an exclusionary state that slowly started recognizing Garifuna as equal citizens. In the 1980s Garifuna activists started to strategically identify themselves as Afro-indigenous in order to counter the neoliberal development model. The following chapters focus on Garifuna land rights in the town of Sambo Creek. Many Garifuna have lost land to mestizos (and foreigners). Particularly Garifuna women's land use rights have become restricted, as ancestral lands lost to outsiders were traditionally used by women for crop cultivation. The commodification of land has particularly benefited men. Brondo then engages with wider Garifuna ethnopolitics, indigeneity and activism, all of which are profoundly gendered. The most 'activist' Garifuna grassroots organization is led by women and its development approach closely mirrors feminist critiques of development. The successful production of Garifuna indigeneity has, however, set in motion new expressions of localized racism and mestizo counter-discourses. The complexities of roots, rights and belonging at the local level are outlined with rich quotations and descriptions. Subsequently Brondo takes the reader to Cayos Cochinos, an island group that has been 'commodified' as

a resource for tourism through private-led protected area management or ‘green neoliberalism’, with Garifuna inhabitants excluded from planning and restricted in their use of marine resources. The author gives a distressing example of inequality when she describes how, contrary to the inhabitants (mostly fishermen), participants of an Italian reality TV show recorded on the Honduran coast are given access to local marine resources. Neoliberal conservation often equates tourism; indeed, ‘voluntourism’ (volunteer tourism) and research tourism are emerging on the islands. In an account based on personal experience, Brondo is more nuanced compared to earlier chapters in her evaluation of these types of tourism. Gender reappears at the end of the book, when Brondo outlines developments after the coup d’état in 2009, such as the Model Cities debacle and tourism developments leading to land loss. The conclusion of the book gives some hope as Brondo outlines how threats to Garifuna identity and livelihoods are opposed by strengthened activism based on expanding networks at multiple levels.

‘Land Grab’ provides the reader with a broad yet in-depth understanding of the contradictions and complexities of ethnicity, gender and changing political economies and livelihoods in contemporary Honduras. While there is no lack of literature on local resistance movements against globalization and neoliberalism, Garifuna activism is unique and interesting in its complex ethnic and gendered nature: their ‘indigeneity’ and historical bond to local territory is less straightforward given their *Caribbean* indigenous and African descent; and the matrifocal character of the Garifuna – with women traditionally having more control over resources – also sets them apart from many indigenous populations. Her long-term engagement in the region adds an interesting longitudinal view from which current developments can be understood.

The lack of explicit engagement with recent ‘global land grab’ debates may cause disappointment in some readers. The book does add an interesting case study to the debate on tourism and conservation-related ‘land grabs’ and land governance. However, more comparison with similar cases and more in-depth discussion of land governance would be helpful, particularly because Brondo does not delve into the inherent contradictions in the collective vs. the individual, and customary vs. formal land tenure debates. The author and her Garifuna respondents seem to highly value collective land titling (and struggle for it), whereas in other parts she frames collective land titling as an example of ‘neoliberal reregulation of land’.

Rather than engaging in land governance and ‘land grab’ debates, Brondo frames her findings in the ‘green neoliberalism’ literature. While this is logical for some of the chapters, it is not equally relevant for the entire book. In addition, the term neoliberalism is used so frequently that it remains empty; for example, land privatization and commodification could be placed in an extended historical perspective. Also, we could ask ourselves if centralized state conservation is necessarily better than current hybrid governance models.

Having said this, Brondo has succeeded in combining a number of relevant complex topics and providing a compelling, in-depth and reflective representation of an intriguing population under global change. The book is written in an accessible and fluent style, and I would recommend it for scholars and students interested in identity politics, gender and ethnic studies, anthropology, development studies, land governance, grassroots mobilization, and natural resource management.

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– *La Frontera: Forests and Ecological Conflict in Chile's Frontier Territory*, by Thomas Miller Klubock. Duke University Press, 2014.

Thomas Miller Klubock delivers a powerful, innovative, and often heartrending book that combines social and environmental history to explain the fate of Chile's southern temperate forests and the people that claimed them from the 1850s to the present. He argues that these histories are intimately intertwined and that the struggles over possession and use of the forest frontier influenced Chilean state formation. This is a story of the forest, its ecology, and how that moulded the people who inhabited it, how they used it, and how landowners went about the task of dispossessing and subjecting them.

Most analyses of the Chilean forest begin with the successful development of industrial forestry for export during the military dictatorship of 1973-1990. Ecologically, the model fomented extensive plantations of exotic species, mainly Monterey Pine and Eucalyptus. They recuperated eroded agricultural soil, protected watersheds, and replaced degraded native forests stripped of economically valuable native species with an economically valuable resource. Its shortcomings included the destruction of native forests, monoculture vulnerability to pests, monopolization of water resources, and soil leeching due to the absence of understory. Hot button topics of social conflict focus on the Mapuche peoples' struggles over dispossession of their territory by landowners and forest companies.

In an illuminating contribution, *La Frontera* shows that current ecological debates about the forest go back to at least the mid-nineteenth century. Changing perceptions of the forest and its economic and ecological utility shaped in whose benefit the forest was used. So did politics. The book offers a bottom-up view of that history, depicting the almost unrelenting state-supported exploitation of not only Mapuches, but also of the Chilean *campesinos* and poor settlers (*colonos*) that inhabited the forest before the 1980s and that since then have been all but driven out leaving only the Mapuches to contest dispossession.

In the 1850s the forest frontier was an inhospitable place peopled by a warrior indigenous nation in which the Chilean state had a weak presence. Thus,