

Perry, Keisha-Khan Y. *Black Women against the Land Grab: The Fight for Racial Justice in Brazil*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2013. 213 pp.

Black Women against the Land Grab contains an enjoyable ethnography, and will be useful to scholars interested in the intersections between race and gentrification in Latin America. The topic addressed is relevant, particularly in the way it engages with questions of equality in contemporary Brazil. Brazil, for over more than a decade, has been praised for its economic development and important achievements in the matter of social equality, with the implementation of racially based affirmative action in education and family stipends in favor of the poor. Nonetheless, news about racism, social segregation, and land expropriations in Brazil have continued surfacing in the world's media, particularly as a consequence of human rights violations during the country's preparation for the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics. With her study of the Afro-Brazilian fishermen community of Gamboa de Baixo in Salvador, Perry ethnographically shows how such dynamics of exclusion deeply intersect with race. She also illustrates that exclusion connects to a history of slavery whose legacies persist in the present. This point is extremely relevant in Salvador de Bahia, a city that is often described as a black Rome [Anadelia Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform and Tradition in Bahia* (Durham: U of North Carolina P, 2010)] or the African capital of Brazil. Even though state administrations have often celebrated and exploited Afro-Brazilian heritage to promote the tourist image of Salvador and other Brazilian cities [Patrícia Santana de Pinho, *Reinvenções da África na Bahia* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2004) and André Cicalo, "A Voice for the Past: Making 'Public' Slavery Heritage in Rio De Janeiro," *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2010): 170–183.], the reality is that this has improved very little the life of the local black poor. Processes of urban land expropriation that are moved by gentrification, in fact, have principally affected the Afro-Brazilian poor [John Collins, "Melted Gold and National Bodies: the Hermeneutics of Depth and the Value of History in Brazilian Racial Politics," *American Ethnologist*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2011): 683–700.].

The main strength of Perry's book is to avoid victimizing the subjects of her research while offering ethnographic space to their resistance and social mobilization. The author is right when she observes that the literature on social movements has disproportionately focused on formal and male-led social movements, while the politics of neighborhood associations and female activists has been more marginally investigated. Breaking with this trend, Perry offers an intimate account of how lower-class Afro-Brazilian women engage in a grassroots battle for the preservation of their living space. This fact rightly reminds us that political action is not always engendered around abstract ideals of equality and justice; it is also mobilized for the solution of very practical problems that vulnerable groups face in their everyday life. The fight of Gamboan women, in fact, represents much more than an example of social mobilization. It demonstrates that a scenario of unfairness has perversely forced women with poor school

education and low-standard jobs to engage with state abuses, improving the exercise of their rights as citizens.

There are aspects of this book that could have been improved. Although there is copious reference to theory on race, gender, class, gentrification and heritage, the book feels generally over-descriptive. The theoretical discussion could have accompanied the ethnography with more depth. Similarly, theories of intersectionality, which are central for this book, deserved more analytical space. The lack of substantive theoretical analysis can be immediately perceived in the introduction—rather sketchy and short—but is then confirmed in the remainder of the chapters. For this reason, the book is an interesting account of how things have happened in Gamboa, but it does not really develop from a strong central question or debate.

In relation to racially based mobilization, the author starts engaging with Twine's and Hanchard's explanations about the absence of a strong black social movement in Brazil. Problematizing Twine's and Hanchard's views, Perry suggests that a compact Afro-Brazilian social movement has actually emerged at the neighborhood level in Gamboa de Baixo. Unfortunately, the theoretical dialogue with Twine and Hanchard is abandoned too soon (in the first chapter) and not properly untangled in the rest of the book. In addition, it is not clear whether Twine's and Hanchard's points can be clearly refuted by Perry. Both Hanchard [Michael Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1988*. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994)] and France W. Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: the Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1998)], in fact, hint to a level of black mobilization that is wider in scale and different in character from that presented by the author. Finally, despite the multi-layered intersections that the subject of *Black Women against the Land Grab* shows with racial mobilization, it is not clear if the efforts of Afro-Brazilian citizens to face state violence and expropriations should be automatically understood within the framework of "black" mobilization. The question remains very intriguing indeed. In order to answer it, however, the connections between the militants of Gamboa de Baixo and mainstream black politics could have been more extensively explored in this book. Even reference to similar case studies in Salvador de Bahia and Brazil would have proved useful to support Perry's conclusions.

André Cicalo
King's College