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anticlericalism of the northeastern people (p. 13). She notes, for instance, that *sertanejo* pilgrims insist on identifying their saint by his local designator, "St. Francis of Wounds" (São Francisco das Chagas), rather than using his ecclesiastic title, "St. Francis of Assisi." This made me wonder about the tension between the anticlericalism of the dispersed pilgrims and the "great sense of loyalty to the Church" among Canindé's residents who are succored by the Franciscan priests who dispensed an "endless supply of jobs" (p. 19). Is there an ideological split between pilgrims and residents? Or do both groups distinguish between the Franciscan order and the ecclesiastic hierarchy? On a related note, King alludes to the residents' expressed feeling that the local government "is jealous of the power of the Church" (p. 115), but these same residents ascribe (at least relative) value to local politicians when voting for them. Given that people's statements about their dealings with various authorities are highly contextual, broader inquiry into the pilgrims' other spheres of reciprocity may have tempered King's claim that "in all cases, the total credit for solving the problem was given to St. Francis, even when assistance had also come from other sources" (p. 19).

With *Spiritual Currency in Northeast Brazil*, Lindsey King has made a significant empirical contribution to the ethnographic record of Brazilian folk Catholicism. The book reads like a compendium of well-written and nicely organized field notes, full of fascinating ethnographic detail and suggestions for how future scholarship might explore the intersection among material culture, popular religion, and the structural crises of human well-being in Northeast Brazil. As one who is interested in such matters, I am grateful for the material that she has provided.

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*Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*. By EDWARD E. TELLES and the PROJECT ON ETHNICITY AND RACE IN LATIN AMERICA (PERLA). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. Illustrations. Tables. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 257 pp. Paper, $29.95.

The discussion on race in Latin America has frequently taken on the character of the apocryphal blind travelers and their attempts to describe the elephant. Different students of the subject have asserted the primacy of ethnicity, language, color, or racial self-identification to an understanding of the often-elusive concept called race and its importance in the Latin American social structure. All these perspectives have captured important aspects of the issue, but all also in some ways fall short, leaving important dimensions of what might be called the problem of race unexplained. Sociologist Edward Telles, a veteran student of race and color in Latin America, skillfully helps us navigate these treacherous waters with his multidimensional study *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*.

Drawing on research done by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA), Telles and his colleagues examine the different dimensions of ethnicity, race,

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and color in four Latin American nations: Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Brazil. The book is a collaboration representing the efforts of Telles and 11 other authors (Juan Carlos Callirgos, René D. Flores, Regina Martínez Casas, Marcelo Paixão, Emiko Saldívar Tanaka, Graziella Moraes Silva, Christina A. Sue, David Sulmont, Fernando Urrea Giraldo, Carlos Augusto Viáfara López, and Mara Viveros Vigoya). The authors are scholars from US, Brazilian, Mexican, Peruvian, and Colombian universities who together represent a diverse set of disciplines: sociology, anthropology, history, linguistics, and economics. This volume represents a middle ground between the monograph and the edited collection of essays. Its different chapters are based on frameworks developed and data gathered as a result of the PERLA project. They are, as Telles informs us in the first chapter, "the product of a five-year multinational and multidisciplinary collaboration. . . . [and] are thus in dialogue with each other and address common issues and themes" (p. 3).

The task was formidable. The PERLA investigators set out to assess the relative importance of race, ethnicity, and skin color to the lives of ordinary people in a region long noted for the fluidity of its racial and ethnic classifications. Their task was further complicated by the often-sporadic recording of racial or ethnic data in national censuses and other official records. To supplement and in many cases replace frequently spotty national records, PERLA investigators used national surveys performed by research institutes in the four subject countries. These surveys employed in-depth interviews with over 1,000 subjects in each nation as well as 500-person oversamples of the indigenous population in Mexico and the Afro-descendant population in Colombia.

In looking at the different dimensions that might be used to measure ethnoracial identity, the PERLA investigators found that skin color often provided the best predictor of social and economic achievement: income, occupation, and educational levels. Recognizing that self-identification, the tool traditionally used in national censuses, often tended to produce results biased toward lighter and whiter categories, PERLA investigators determined the skin color of their subjects by having questioners mark it against a color palette allowing researchers to measure phenotype, or the questioners' perceptions of phenotype, against respondents' self-identification. The PERLA research shows the limitations of the traditional reliance on self-identification. While, as Telles notes, that approach might furnish a good predictor of a personal allegiance or willingness to join racially or ethnically linked social movements, phenotype plays an outsized role in an individual's perception by others. That perception seems to be the largest determinant of how likely an individual is to be afforded or denied opportunities by the larger society.

The data uncovered in these surveys often complicates traditional assumptions concerning race, ethnicity, and color in Latin America. The view that language is a good predictor of indigenous identity in much of the region is complicated by data from Mexico and Peru indicating that substantial numbers of individuals who identify as mestizos speak an indigenous mother tongue instead of Spanish as their first language. The idea that "money whitens," or that either social position or education and occupational attainment causes an individual to self-identify and to be identified as white, is belied by data from Colombia indicating that individuals who regard themselves as mulattoes have, on average, higher educational and occupational attainment than those

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who identify themselves as white. The picture is made still murkier by the fact that those who are phenotypically lighter have higher average educational and economic attainment than those with darker phenotypes. Long-standing beliefs in the Brazilian "mulatto escape hatch" are made problematic by survey data indicating that in recent years upwardly mobile Afro-Brazilians are more likely to embrace a "negro" or black identity. The underlying social realities are often made even more difficult to grasp because of mismatches between racial self-identification and reported ancestries, individuals who might self-identify as mestizo or mulatto but deny an indigenous or black ancestor.

Accurate data concerning race, ethnicity, and their impact on an individual's life chances in much of Latin America are still hard to come by. The view that the census and other collectors of national statistics should collect information on race is still a contested notion in many of the Spanish-speaking nations of the hemisphere (Brazil's long-term collection of racial data is an exception in the region). And yet the demand for hard information on inequality driven by race and color is increasing in Latin America as policymakers in the region, prodded by indigenous and Afro-American antidiscrimination activists, seek to find means of redressing long-entrenched traditional patterns of inequality. The careful work that Telles and his colleagues have done in *Pigmentocracies* goes a long way toward providing that hard information, and it lays a solid foundation for future investigations.

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*Entrepreneurial Selves: Neoliberal Respectability and the Making of a Caribbean Middle Class*. By CARLA FREEMAN. Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. Photographs. Figure. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 258 pp. Paper, $24.95.

Carla Freeman's ethnography of the entrepreneurial middle class in Barbados adds to a rapidly growing body of literature examining the affective dimensions of neoliberalism. Her work can be distinguished from most, however, by her attention to the quotidian practices of self-care that middle-class Barbadians invest in to cultivate their "entrepreneurial selves" (p. 4). Whereas most ethnographers argue that neoliberal entrepreneurship depends on the exchange of emotions in commodifiable ways, Freeman suggests that entrepreneurs view themselves through, and as increasingly entangled in, emotional registers. This insight, nonetheless, is grounded in a familiar narrative about neoliberal policies in the Caribbean. The advance of global capitalism in the guise of tourism, information processing, and offshore banking has shrunk the Barbadian state sector along with clear pathways for stable jobs and mobility. Entrepreneurship in theory constitutes an attractive doctrine for the state to promote economic growth, in part because it is a flexible mode of labor and income generation that embraces the precarity of neoliberalism. At the same time, Freeman notes that another kind of flexibility—the intimate pursuit of emotional connectedness to cope with these economic transformations—has become fundamental to an entrepreneurial esprit.

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