Montevideo. Andrews has clearly done his drumming homework, and his personal experience surely helps shape his understanding of candombe as a collective form of movement with tremendous force. Yet, inevitably, its extensive treatment does mean that some elements in this broader national story get less attention. For instance, although Andrews documents the black response to white discrimination in all sorts of arenas, we never truly understand the shift in white elite attitudes that allows candombe to go from being illicit to being a source of national pride. And while the focus on candombe is revealing in many ways, to use it as a primary emphasis in the book means that other potential tensions in the black community remain less clear.

In the end, however, these quibbles do not change the fact that the trajectory of racial ideology and candombe in Uruguay makes for fascinating reading. George Reid Andrews contributes an important work of research and synthesis that brings 200 years of history together in a well-written, vibrant narrative.

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Peter Wade, *Race and Sex in Latin America* (London: Pluto Press, 2009), pp. x + 310, £17.99, pb.

Peter Wade begins his book with reference to Roger Bastide's 1961 article 'Dusky Venus, Black Apollo', in which Bastide noted that when he asked about race in France and Brazil, the answer was often enough 'sex'. This gives Wade a perfect starting point for the principal argument of his book: that race and sex should be treated not as separate spheres, but rather as mutually constituted and therefore inextricably linked. 'Together', he says, 'race and sex form an articulation that is more than the sum of its parts'.

Bastide observed that while Brazil elected the mulatto woman as the supreme object of male sexual desire, France chose to sexualise black male immigrants. In both cases, however, he argued that far from providing proof of an absence of prejudice, these encounters should be understood rather as a manifestation of such prejudice: 'In these bodies finding each other, fusing, there are two races at each other's throats'. Wade does not question the importance of sex as constitutive of processes of domination and subordination of men over women, masculinity over femininity, conquerors over conquered, Europeans over indigenous people and those brought under chains from Africa. He does, however, make a strong effort to ask questions that Bastide's approach avoids, namely how some social categories are highly sexualised while others are not and how desire operates in societies of intense social inequality marked by colour. He argues strongly that when it comes to race and sex, ambivalence is the key, where hate, loathing and fear coexist alongside love, desire and fascination. Furthermore, he makes a point of challenging the heteronormativity inherent to Bastide's analysis, bringing to the fore recent work on homosexuality in Brazil and Colombia above all.

Having set out his agenda, Wade marshals an impressive array of theory and ethnography to investigate the ways in which sex and race intertwine throughout Latin America. This is a daunting task, as the author himself recognises, given the dubious epistemology of the term 'Latin America' itself and the considerable cultural and linguistic variation that exists across the region. Necessarily, therefore, idiosyncrasies

lose out to broad generalisations. In particular, of course, Wade is concerned with understanding the origins and logic of *mestizaje* and *mestiçagem*, and the ways in which the men and women associated with certain races or ethnic groups are characterised in terms of sexual attractiveness and power. He seems to accept the commonly received wisdom that the ideology of mixture in Latin American societies arose *faute de mieux*. 'The nation-builders' racial projects', he claims, 'could hardly hope to emulate those of North America or Europe in terms of racial purity (or segregation) and had to adapt, using more positive ideas of mixture'. This phrase takes as given that Spanish and Portuguese colonisers would have preferred to be as the British or Dutch but 'could hardly hope' to be so. Surely one would have to understand the cultural predispositions on all sides of the colonial order that allowed these choices to be made in the first place. Commenting on Brazil, the sixteenth-century Dutch theologian Casparus Barlaeus produced the now clichéd aphorism 'ultra aequinoctialem non peccavi' ('there is no sin south of the equator'). This religious man and his Portuguese contemporaries described a world that bordered on the old anthropological notion of primitive promiscuity. Latterly the phrase has been invoked to justify all manner of sexual excess on the subcontinent.

Wade brings psychoanalytic theory to help him understand all this in terms of the process of what he calls 'othering'. The problem here is that the theoreticians of the human psyche are not overly interested in cultural difference and most often argue from a Western European cultural standpoint. I wonder why he felt the need to abandon his anthropology. Victor Turner and Mary Douglas had a lot to say about the magical power of margins, while Roger Bastide and Edmund Leach did not deny that all manner of sexual encounters might occur in all colonial situations, but plausibly suggested that the option for celebrating mixture and *the recognition of paternity and incorporation of children into the dominant culture* had to do with Catholicism, above all Mariolatry. In his 1969 essay 'The Virgin Birth', Leach had this to say:

> it does seem to be a striking feature of Catholic colonialism (which distinguishes it sharply from the Protestant variety) that rulers, with their bias towards Mariolatry, have tended to pull their half-caste sons into the ranks of the elite. In contrast, Protestant colonists who generally speaking tend to reject the myth of the Virgin Birth have always pushed their bastards into the ranks below, insisting that the status of ruler-god is exclusive to the pure-blooded. God and Jesus fit well enough into the English Public School ethos; the Virgin-Mother has no place at all.

In recent years, the ideologies of mestizaje in Spanish-speaking countries and 'racial democracy' in Brazil have come under concerted attack from black and indigenous activists and their allies, who argue that such concepts deny institutionalised racism and impede what they term 'racial consciousness'. They plead for a multicultural understanding of Latin American societies. The author provides a succinct account of how sex/gender issues also permeate these movements, particularly in the context of health programmes directed at indigenous and black groups. He finds that the new multiculturalist discourse which underpins these movements tends to reproduce ancient notions of sex/gender and racial hierarchies – the sexual supremacy of black men, for example. Indeed, in practice, the old ideas remain strong throughout Latin America, where sexual desire increasingly crosses lines of class and colour and results in formal unions and the recognition of paternity.

Wade underplays the apparent rupture with mestizaje claimed by the discourse of multiculturalism, however. He argues that both discourses have much in common.

While the ideology of mestizaje celebrates mixture built on the supposed biological and cultural differences between the various races involved, multiculturalism in Latin America preaches racial and ethnic singularity without abandoning mixture. What is particularly interesting – and this appears en passant in Wade's interesting discussion of Latinos in the US who tend to reject the North American system of racial classification – is that while activists/intellectuals in Latin America become more and more committed to an ideology of multiculturalism coupled to a persistent if latent heteronormativity, a growing number of their contemporaries in North America now challenge the old ideas associated with race, sex and gender, arguing for the recognition of complexity and, yes, mixture. Peter Wade's fascinating book shows clearly how the Latin American experience is of increasing relevance to the debate on these fundamental issues much further afield.

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Karem Roitman, *Race, Ethnicity, and Power in Ecuador: The Manipulation of Mestizaje* (Boulder, CO, and London: First Forum Press, 2009), pp. xvii + 319, £36.95, hb.

Karem Roitman has written an insightful and powerful indictment of the ideology of *mestizaje* in Ecuador. She is not the first to have done this, of course, but the particular contribution of her book is that it focuses on elites – their perceptions and identifications – and on how mestizaje works among the vast majority of the Ecuadorian population according to the 2001 census – that is, those who identify as *mestizos*. Other studies, of Ecuador and elsewhere in Latin America, have tended to focus on how regimes and ideologies of mestizaje affect racial and ethnic minorities, usually indigenous and black groups. It does bear noting, however, that some other work, most of it not cited by Roitman, while perhaps focusing on such groups, has encompassed non-black and non-indigenous categories. France Winddance Twine's *Racism in a Racial Democracy* (1998) is one example among the Brazilianist literature steadfastly ignored by Roitman; Marta Casaus Arzú's *Guatemala: linaje y racismo* (1992) is absent, as is Charles Hale's *Más que un indio* (2006). Other work on Colombia could also be cited.

Some of the picture Roitman paints will be familiar to students of race in Latin America: the tendency to avoid explicit reference to racial categories in public discourse, while such categories emerge more in the domestic and private domain; the preference for talking about inequality and disadvantage in terms of class, not race or ethnicity; the predilection for blaming the victims, who have an 'inferiority complex' that prevents them from competing and makes them into the purveyors of racism against their own peers; and the constant recourse to tropes of sameness and equality (of opportunity at least), underwritten by claims to a common mestizo heritage. All these elements have been noted in the literature. The power of Roitman's book lies in the clarity with which she shows how racial hierarchy and racialised identifications pervade the discourse of elites in Guayaquil and Quito, often in remarkably frank and revealing narratives. These are found above all in the central two chapters of the book, where she describes and analyses her interviews with these people, who include some of the crème de la crème of Ecuadorean society.