

Rebouças adopted the racist ideology of bleaching the population. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that he experienced racism in Brazil and abroad (in the United States he was not allowed to stay in hotels, restaurants, etc., because of his “colored” skin).

What Trindade does do is to delineate the apogee and the decline of a man and his ideas about modernization, economics, slavery, and monarchy. This includes the Rebouças who built bridges, roads, railways, docks, ports and Rebouças the businessman who wrote articles and books, died alone in Funchal, Madeira Island. This death was due to a suicide committed in 1898, ten years after the abolition of the Brazilian slavery he helped fight as part of a decidedly liberal, democratic, and capitalist approach to national “development.” Trindade’s study is thus important to debates about ostensibly peripheral capitalism, Afro-Brazilian agency in extinguishing slavery and structuring modern labor markets, and thus the particular relationship between relatively elite Afro-Brazilians and postcolonial Brazil.

Killing with Kindness: Haiti, International Aid, and NGOs. *Mark Schuller.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012. xvi+233 pp.

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When a devastating earthquake hit Haiti in 2010, one fact circulated more widely than any other in reports and press coverage—there were an estimated 10,000 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working in the country before the quake. It is a staggering number, and if true it would

mean that Haiti has the highest density of NGOs per capita in the world.

Over the last few decades, NGOs have become a central part of global governance. Today, the vast majority of international aid is distributed through them rather than through the UN system itself or through direct bilateral assistance to governments. In other words, in an era of ostensible democratization, the international community has used private nongovernmental organizations to bypass states, channeling vast amounts of aid monies directly into organizations staffed and directed by foreigners. The basic story of the rise to power of NGOs is well known. What is less clear, however, is how NGOs operate on the ground. Most accounts of NGO operations come from practitioners themselves (including many auto-critiques of international aid). In *Killing with Kindness*, Mark Schuller provides something that has been sorely lacking from this story—an ethnographic account of nongovernmental politics in Haiti, a country many now dub “the Republic of NGOs.”

Schuller divides his text into five substantive chapters, all framed by an introduction, conclusion, and afterward that offer both a strong ethical standpoint for the ethnographic analysis at the core of the book and concrete policy recommendations for international aid in Haiti (a rarity in ethnographic writing). The first chapter provides a context for the period under investigation and describes conditions in Port-au-Prince during the final months of President Aristide’s second term and the two-year-long provisional period between 2004 and 2006 when an unconstitutional government sanctioned by the international community ran the country. Schuller historicizes the crisis that led

to the removal of Aristide and provides a vivid description of the violence and insecurity that followed his departure. While the provisional period is the main focus of the ethnography, Schuller extends his discussion back in time and forward to the present situation in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake. Chapter Two unpacks the central concept in the world of international aid and development—participation. Schuller gives a sophisticated deconstruction of the concept and backs this up with a view from the ground, showing how NGOs and the communities they serve talk about and think about “participation.” The subsequent two chapters are perhaps the most unique, providing a nuanced understanding of the workings of two different NGOs, one that is organized hierarchically and beholden to its donors (primarily the US Agency for International Development) and one that strives to be more egalitarian (although it does not always succeed) and has considerably more autonomy from its (European) donors in determining projects and programs. Schuller discusses the formation of projects in detail, but the true novelty lies in the deep ethnographic account of daily life in these NGOs (from the spatial arrangements of the office to the temporalities of work) and of what Schuller calls “civic infrastructure,” by which he means the social relations among workers and between the organizations and the various stakeholders that they serve.

In the final chapter, Schuller turns his attention to the politics of international aid. Much of this discussion centers on the role of USAID and the chapter provides an interesting account of the history and structure of the organization, as well as some of its leading competitors such as the Global Fund. In order to

track the political interests that are bound up with foreign aid, Schuller examines the social life of two policies: abstinence promotion and results-based contracting. He links both policies to the new security paradigm that has transformed earlier development models in recent decades and to the effects of neoliberal policies on aid. Schuller continues this analysis in the conclusion, where he makes three interventions. First, he argues for a shift from dualistic accounts of globalization and civil society to a tripartite view that includes transnational actors, states, and communities. Second, he argues that NGOs are a new elite class that functions in a similar manner to the middle class in the United States. Citing Howard Zinn, Schuller refers to NGOs as the “guards of the system” that play a crucial role in “gluing” globalization and reproducing the world system. Finally, he outlines an approach to power and inequality in the world system attuned to the effects of neoliberal governmentality, or what he calls “trickle-down imperialism.” This view fits well with the dominant paradigm in anthropological studies of emergency, where many theorists see humanitarianism itself as a key discourse that both conceals and congeals global inequalities. In a brief afterword, Schuller offers a set of concrete policy suggestions aimed at grassroots and community organizations, in which he situates development as a human right. There is a lost opportunity here for Schuller to compare the NGOs with which he worked to Partners in Health, one of the few organizations working in Haiti that has successfully developed a model of intervention and assistance based on participation, community involvement, and capacity building. Still, Schuller’s recommendations, while not always new, are urgently needed.

Killing with Kindness makes an important contribution to Haitian studies, but its significance extends far beyond: Schuller's account of NGOs and international aid will be of wide interest to scholars of the Caribbean, especially those interested in the relationship between the region and the United States. Many who work in Haiti now see the country as an experiment in which new techniques of global governance and new modes of Western imperialism—both mediated by the rosy blush of humanitarianism—are being actively worked out. In this context, Schuller shows us how the Caribbean has become yet again a site from which to view the intricacies of global power.

La razzia cósmica. Una concepción nahua sobre el clima, deidades del agua y graniceros en la Sierra de Texcoco. David Lorente y Fernández. México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social y Universidad Iberoamericana, 2011. 244 pp.

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La razzia cósmica is an excellent example of the work that Mexican-trained anthropologists are carrying out among Nahua speakers in Central Mexico. Two pillars of Mexican anthropology are ethnohistory and ethnography, and this book reveals how a young scholar trained at the Universidad Iberoamericana and the UNAM combined them both to produce a richly textured and nuanced account of the cult of fertility as practiced today by Nahuas living in the Sierra of Texcoco on the outskirts of Mexico City.

David Lorente began his project when he participated in a field-training school in Texcoco under the direction of David

Robichaux and Roger Magazine, both of the Universidad Iberoamericana. He also studied at the UNAM where he became acquainted with the ethnohistorical works of Alfredo López Austin and Johanna Broda, among others. While attending the field school, Lorente worked in Santa María Tecuanulco where he met “Enrique” who bathed daily in a spring and spoke with invisible beings known as *duendes*, but who are actually *ahuaques* or owners of the water. Lorente also discovered that children between the ages of 10 and 13 know about these beings. He thus followed leads patiently until he came upon a ritual specialist, known as a *tesiftero* or *granicero*, who used his powers to avert damaging hail storms, cure those suffering from soul loss, and call for rain to drench thirsty cornfields.

Lorente realized that he had come upon a modern day version of the fertility cult that López Austin and Broda described from their work with the sources on the ancient Nahuas. The people of the Sierra consider the *ahuaques* to be the children of Nezahualcōyotl, who became the ruler of city state of Texcoco in 1431 and who directed the construction of irrigation canals that still cut across Santa María Tecuanulco and neighboring towns where Lorente did his fieldwork between 2003 and 2010. The people of the Sierra have merged the personalities of Nezahualcōyotl and Tláloc, the ancient Nahua rain god, into a single persona whom they regard as the father of the *ahuaques*. Like many anthropologists, Lorente made his most significant discoveries after meeting a key informant, Don Cruz, whom he found working in his cornfield. Don Cruz looked up at the sky and spotted a cloud that looked like a snake and announced that the cloud was filled with hail. He declared he had to speak with the *ahuaques* to avert