

how these new policies implemented in the 1980s were rooted in what she terms the “Reagan imaginary” (1), a process of white nationalist state-making rooted in neoliberal economics, neoconservative policies, and long-rooted settler colonialism.

The book looks, in part, at actors in Washington and how they responded to three major waves of migration: from Cuba, Haiti, and then Central America. Crafted by administration figures such as Rudy Giuliani and Kenneth Starr, that response—spelled out in a Mass Immigration Emergency Plan of 1982—included the detention of asylum-seekers, maritime immigration interdiction, and border militarization. A panoply of agencies implemented the plan, including the Drug Enforcement Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and Border Patrol. As Shall shows, the unfolding of a punitive system meant to deter further migration paralleled the entrenchment of the carceral state throughout the United States, with the rise of private-run prisons and increasingly militarized police forces.

However, the book is not only about the government officials who oversaw these policies, but also migrants themselves as well as activists who fought against these measures. Indeed, Shall places a welcome emphasis on the voices of those who were victimized by punitive immigration measures, testifying to the lived reality of asylum-seekers.

Shull marshals a broad array of archival documents from government departments and private individuals and groups, as well as other material from news outlets and activist groups. This impressive mixture of printed material is complemented with interviews and oral histories. The result is a book that sheds much needed light on a dark area of the American empire.

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NEOLIBERALIZATION’S IMPACT IN CHILEAN SOCIETY.

Identity Investments: Middle-class Responses to Precarious Privilege in Neoliberal Chile. By Joel Phillip Stillerman. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2023. Pp. 283. \$90.00 cloth; \$32.00 paper.
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Developed in the mid-1970s during Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship and sustained by the democratic governments that followed the authoritarian regime, Chile’s neoliberalization founded a political, economic, and cultural project that has had a significant impact in Chilean society. Probably one of the most salient phenomena in this regard was the expansion of the middle classes. Joel Phillip Stillerman focuses precisely on this group, in an attempt to offer a compressive picture of how middle-class families signify their

living conditions and construct their identity through discourses and practices around work, housing, cultural consumption, school choice, and taste preferences. To do this, Stillerman carried out a qualitative study in which he conducted almost seventy semi-structured interviews and participant observation in homes and schools. In addition, he took pictures of living rooms to delve into people's lifestyles and decoration preferences. The data was gathered primarily in the late 2000s in two *comunas* (districts) in Santiago, Ñuñoa, and La Florida, as is clearly explained in the methodological appendix.

In theoretical terms, Stillerman's book is organized around two main concepts: *identity investment* and *precarious privilege*. Based on Bourdieu's seminal work on class-based *habitus*, the former is defined as "the set of motivations and practices that guide economic decisions so that they affirm individuals' deeply held values" (7). The latter, in turn, is used to "understand the fragility of the middle-class in contemporary Chile as well as middle-class Chileans' motivations for constructing symbolic boundaries with other groups" (9). The concepts of identity investments and precarious privilege allows the author to build one of the main arguments of the book: the middle classes in Chile draw on partisan, organizational, and ideological legacies of Chile's recent past to carry out their investments in different markets (work, housing, schooling, home decorations, and cultural consumption) through which they differentiate themselves from other middle-class groups. With this argument, Stillerman is engaging critically with scholars who have also examined the middle classes in Chile, but who have focused mainly on lower-middle class families' pursuit of upward mobility and upper-middle class families' attempts to preserve their privileges. In contrast, Stillerman reveals that a significant part of the middle classes "use identity investments as a means of symbolic struggles against more economically successful families and to manage fraught relationships with the poor" (204).

To provide the reader with a broad image of Chile's middle classes, Stillerman constructs a typology of middle-class groups (activists, moderate Catholics, pragmatists, and youngsters), each of which is composed of families with different backgrounds and ideological orientations. Each chapter is dedicated to examining how these groups behave in the distinct markets described above, which allows us to understand the varieties of families and lifestyles that are included in the middle classes, as well as how they respond to their precarious privilege. For example, when talking about the labor market, Stillerman shows that, while, activists and moderate Catholics emotionally withdraw from competitive workplaces as a way to deal with labor instability, youngsters experienced an upward labor trajectory. Likewise, when talking about schooling, Stillerman demonstrates that while some groups based their school choice on ideological or political principles (activists and moderate Catholics), others look at schools as a means to promote upward mobility (pragmatists).

Methodologically innovative and theoretically robust, Stillerman's book is a brilliant work which provides the reader with a detailed representation of the middle classes in neoliberal

Chile. In addition, the author offers suggestive reflections on Chile's recent political history, which has been framed by intense mobilizations for rights and an unprecedented constitutional process, focusing on the ambivalent ways in which the middle classes have taken part in politics. In sum, this is a fascinating book for anyone interested in understanding how middle-class groups form their identity by participating in different markets and the ethical, symbolic, and political implications of such involvement.

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EXTRACTIVISM, INFORMALITY, AND THE COLOMBIAN GOLD BOOM

Shifting Livelihoods: Gold Mining and Subsistence in the Chocó, Colombia. By Daniel Tubb.
 Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020. Pp. 217. \$105.00 cloth; \$32.00 paper.
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Daniel Tubb examines gold mining in Colombia's Pacific coast rainforest at three levels: within the household, on small mechanized teams, and within corporations. Tubb also follows gold as it moves from the Chocó region's eroded riverbanks through many hands and markets to be transformed into different kinds of currency, laundered, and again banked. He also examines fictive gold or the use of so-called reserves and speculative futures to pump up stocks in companies with no intention to mine. In this sense, the title sells the book short; yet, Tubb's heart is clearly with the subsistence farmer-hunter-hawkers who pan gold close to home, people he lived with and learned from during fieldwork starting in 2010. Tubb chronicles how gold mining fit into their shifting livelihoods and how this changed with the gold cycle of the early 2010s.

Tubb centers on *rebusque*, a word with many connotations, from prospecting to street hustling. As a "shifting" gig, mining gold by hand in the world's wettest jungle requires strength, stamina, and skills, techniques passed down from the era of slavery in the case of Tubb's teachers. Tubb explains how tough it is just to pan for gold without letting it slip away, much less to locate paydirt in the jungle. Indeed, it is the facility at which the mostly Afro-Colombian families he lived with extract gold from minor diggings that shines through in Tubb's account. Household mining is a family affair, habitual if not casual, an extractive supplement enabling market participation. These part-time miners self-identify as *libres*, "free people," and Tubb argues that gold mining—when practiced on their terms—ensures freedom.

But Tubb is no romantic. He graduates to so-called small-scale mining, which entails tearing down trees and laying waste to large swaths of rain-soaked earth with backhoes