America. As always with collections of essays, some of the contributions are better written than others. I particularly liked Lee Baker's chapter on the links between religious practice and the processes of late 19th century and early 20th century colonial state formation and cultural reform; Robert Adams' examination of Dominican alternative definitions of community and progress that involve Africa and *Vodú*; Jacqueline Nassy Brown's investigation of the changing connections between black Liverpool and black America in the aftermath of WWII and during the period of U.S. civil rights and black power movement; Tina Campt's focus, from the perspective of her work on Afro-German history, on the ephemeral lateral connections between black communities throughout the world; Naomi Pabst's analysis of the double marginalization of black Canadians, once by the official discourses of multiculturalism and once by hegemonic (read U.S. based) definitions of blackness; Kamari Clarke's exploration of Yoruba networks: the emergence of U.S.-based cultural heritage and its implication for "new" notions of political belonging; Isar Godreau's examination of the Puerto-Rican government's representation of blackness as a vanishing and distant (in time) component of Puerto-Rican-ness; Ariana Hernandez-Reguant's analysis of the political economy of race, sexuality, and nation that is found in the performances, representations, and labor practices of *timba* ("Cuban music"), in which young Afro-Cuban men crafted an ethos of black machismo and male hypersexuality during Cuba's Special Period development of mass foreign tourism; and—the volume's last essay—Deborah Thomas' analysis of the changing, through time, Afro-Jamaican definitions of progress, which paralleled other material and ideological transformations, and which gives her the opportunity to emphasize what she sees as one of the major points of the collection: a call to understand binary formations, such as modernity and tradition, global and local, hegemony and resistance, and so on, as mutually constituting conceptual tools rather than as poles of oppositional categories.

Intolerância religiosa: impactos do neopentecostalismo no campo religioso afro-brasileiro, *Vagner Gonçalves da Silva(org.).* Edusp, São Paulo, 2007. 323 pp.

Roger Sansi
Goldsmiths College, University of London

The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Igreja Universal do Reino de Déus, IURD) has been an object of both fascination and repulsion among Brazil's intellectual elites. This is due in great part to its active confrontation with traditional religions, Catholic and Afro-Brazilian in particular. In this situation of open conflict some intellectuals have felt compelled to take sides "against" the IURD. This volume may help analysts move beyond such an initial opposition by addressing the conflict directly and offering insights into recent transformations of religion in Brazil.

Most contributors are Brazilian scholars who have long worked in the field of religion. Frigério and Oro's essays concentrate on the failed political reaction to

the IURD on the part of Afro-Brazilian religions in Argentina, Uruguay, and Rio Grande do Sul. Hedio Silva's contribution presents the question of religious intolerance from a legal perspective, while Natividade and Oliveira's chapter address the intolerance directed at homosexuality in the religious field. The other papers (by Silva, Giumbelli, Mariano, and Almeida) are rather more general in scope, presenting the ambiguous relation between Afro-Brazilian religions and the IURD in terms of a "reverse syncretism," discussing the presence of religion in the public sphere in Brazil, and introducing possible shifts in Brazilian religious hegemony.

One might read this collection as an "emergency anthropology" that describes a battle between the IURD and Afro-Brazilian religions in which the second component seems to be losing. The IURD abandoned its open confrontation with the Catholic Church after a 1995 "kick of the saint" affair (in which an IURD minister kicked and insulted an image of Brazil's patron saint, Nossa Senhora Aparecida, during his television program; see Almeida's essay). The resulting backlash made clear that Catholicism was not simply a religion, but part of Brazil's cultural patrimony. On the other hand, an explicit identification of Afro-Brazilian gods with "devils," although now more moderate and subtle, is still central to the IURD (see in particular Mariano, Oro, and Silva's contributions to this volume). And in this context, it may be that a confrontation with Afro-Brazilian religions is less challenging for the Brazilian establishment than the opposition to Catholicism. After all, Afro-Brazilian religions were persecuted by the police until relatively late in the 20th century, and in many parts of Brazil they have never attained complete public legitimacy.

As this volume suggests, the war between IURD and Afro-Brazilians seems extremely unequal. On the one hand, the IURD is wealthy, its flock is counted by millions, and it plays a massive role in the media (owning one of the major broadcasting companies). It is also a growing power in electoral politics. On the other hand, Afro-Brazilian religions (Candomblé and Umbanda) have a limited following, according to recent statistics (1.3%), they are disorganized and fragmentary, and their practitioners often reluctant to emerge in the public sphere (Oro and Frigerio papers present further considerations of this situation's political implications). Yet the actual picture is more complicated, as some of the contributors argue. First, a depiction of Candomblé and Umbanda as waning, poor, marginal, and weak religions is misleading. If these religions are marginal, why would the IURD put such effort into fighting them? In fact, Afro-Brazilian religions (like race) are not represented well in the statistics on Brazil: many Candomblé and Umbanda practitioners describe themselves as Catholic. Thus in spite of the modern "antisyncretistic" movement within Candomblé that has claimed a total separation from Catholicism, in everyday life "syncretism" seems very much alive. And perhaps this is key to understanding the relation of the IURD to Candomblé and Umbanda, as well as Catholicism. Some contributors to the book (Almeida and Silva in particular) mention that the IURD practices a "reverse syncretism," taking rituals, objects, and terms from Afro-Brazilian religion, so as to destroy them. In fact, most of these terms and objects do not

come from Afro-Brazilian religions, but from a wider field of magic and sorcery. The use of salt and *arruda* to fight evil spirits, and terms like *encosto*, are not African in origin, but have been used in Portugal since the Middle Ages. Only in the last centuries, through colonialism and slavery, have magic and sorcery become closely identified with Afro-Brazilians. And this has taken place in a continuum with Catholic practices. Such "syncretism" cannot be described in terms of "tolerance." It attests instead to a conflictive and violent mutual interpenetration in which Afro-Brazilians came to be identified with "sorcery" and evil in contrast to a Brazilian Catholicism associated with religion, rather than magic, and goodness and mercy.

What the IURD is performing is thus more than an appropriation of Afro-Brazilian beliefs and practices. It is revitalizing an older discourse of sorcery identified with Afro-Brazilians. In this way, the IURD presents itself as the true "religion" that replaces Catholicism in fighting sorcery. In fact, this is what is perhaps most surprising and outrageous for Brazilian intellectuals: a new form of Christianity has emerged to resuscitate and revitalize old confrontations at a moment when the Church appeared to have abandoned its persecution of Afro-Brazilian beliefs, the discourse of sorcery seemed to have lost its bite, and Candomblé had become accepted as a "religion" and "culture" rather than sorcery. The IURD's success demonstrates that maybe these old battles and discourses were not so old. It appears that significant segments of the population had not accepted the official discourse on Candomblé as Afro-Brazilian religion and culture. Instead, they seem to have continued to see it as sorcery.

The IURD is not the first religious movement that has sought to occupy this space carved out of a confrontation with magic. Spiritism and Umbanda, during the 20th century, were also constructed as alternatives to "black magic" (Macumba, Candomblé). And in the 1960s and 1970s, according to Bastide (1978), Umbanda appears as a final synthesis, or the definitive Brazilian religion. Yet this Umbanda started to lose its grip in the nineties as Candomblé became more prestigious, in part because of the value intellectuals gave to its "authenticity." In this context of Candomblé's public acceptance, the IURD launched its much more radical message. The IURD does not only present itself as an alternative to "black magic," but proposes to destroy it. Furthermore, it does not accept Catholicism as a frame of reference (like Spiritism and Umbanda) but it proposes to replace it, in part due to its battles against ostensibly malignant forces.

The IURD's analogy with Catholicism is critical. As Giumbelli argues in the volume reviewed here, the IURD seeks to build a new "hegemony" in the Brazilian religions by occupying Catholicism's formerly central place. Whether or not this is feasible is not so important: it is a working strategy to gain adherents. To occupy this hegemonic space, the IURD is doing much that the Catholic Church still does (notably involving itself in politics and the public sphere and claiming a primacy in charity). But it also does much the Church does not do any more, like fighting sorcery. This may explain a certain success among those who miss Catholicism's more magical practices.

By attacking Afro-Brazilian religions, the IURD is in fact replacing the Catholic Church. The important question is thus

about the Catholic Church's reactions. One answer involves the charismatic movement. But that is not the subject of this book that nonetheless makes important contributions to a reassessment of the late 20th-century development of one of the world's fastest growing religions.

Reference Cited

Bastide, Roger
1978 The African Religions Of Brazil. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1918–1945. *Anthony J. Stanonis.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006, 317 pp.

Joseph L. Scarpaci
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Boosterism was an important tool for U.S. cities bent on economic development and place making during the interwar period. Most historical accounts of U.S. cities focus on the role of migration, resource extraction, and general services at a time when America's industrial prowess was on the rise. Anthony J. Stanonis, a native of suburban, white, and Catholic New Orleans is an adept historian who combines these complex matters to analyze an important chapter of U.S. cities in general, and "The Big Easy" in particular. Cultural myth, particularly the allure of Mardi Gras, whipped into multicultural and gendered narratives about this once sleepy port town make this an inviting read as Stanonis holds up serious political, cultural, and historical lenses to illuminate the windy path of the Crescent City. Scholars and friends of the city will all be the wiser for his efforts.

To set the stage, Stanonis explores several myths: dangerous city, carnival town, and mass tourism serve as backdrops to this tome. Drawing on the works of Urry and others, the author argues that a post-Fordist consumption pattern, emblematic of a disorganized capitalism, set the stage for promoting New Orleans as a serious destination. Like Havana or perhaps Miami, the city takes on a safe-but-exotic narrative and positions New Orleans firmly in the minds of many Americans. Local businessmen craft the city's image as a foreign and romantic place instead of an efficient American metropolis (although that too was promoted). Although the nation watched the 2005 Katrina horror devastate the Lower Ninth ward and the French Quarters, the "newer" technology of the city was out of the TV audience's view. This levee breech

> turned back the clock to 1718. Some … [media] could barely see beyond the French Quarter, as if the city remained a colonial outpost precariously perched on the banks of the Mississippi … . Perhaps this delayed reaction was the cost of being too dependent on tourism. How could anything serious happen in New Orleans? What most Americans did not see … was the modern New Orleans.