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*Spaces of Capital / Spaces of Resistance: Mexico and the
Global Political Economy* by Chris Hesketh (review)

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Spaces of Capital / Spaces of Resistance: Mexico and the Global Political Economy. Chris Hesketh. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017. Pp. x+223, photographs, tables, notes. \$79.95, cloth, ISBN 978-0-8203-5174-2. \$26.95, paperback, ISBN 978-0-8203-5284-9.

In a world of ever-growing nationalist protests against globalization, it is sometimes overlooked in the West that resistance in the non-Western world is commonly led not by the disenfranchised working class but by indigenous communities in rural areas. Chris Hesketh's *Spaces of Capital / Spaces of Resistance* highlights how interlaced scale and globalization are in shaping the agency and opposition of native populations in Mexican rural states against the construction of globalized spaces of capital.

By focusing on the indigenous rebellions in the two southern Mexican states of Oaxaca and Chiapas since the 1990s, Hesketh's research goal is to explore "spaces of resistance, understand why they have risen, and synthesize what they mean for comprehending (geo)politics today" (2). He argues that in order to understand these movements and their corresponding constructions of new geographical relations of power, one must understand not only history but also scale. The global political economy, Latin American regional positionality, Mexican state formation, and economic development all contextualize these movements. The author employs a historical-geographical sociology methodology, incorporating all three of these branches of knowledge to provide a more holistic understanding of the local situation and shed light on the international circumstances of indigenous movements. Indigenous agency is emphasized to demonstrate those communities' continued significance in Latin American development.

Chris Hesketh is a senior lecturer in international political economy at Oxford Brookes University in the UK. Since obtaining his PhD from the University of Nottingham, he has pursued his interrelated research interests in the geographic development of capitalism, especially in regard to uneven and combined development in the global economy. For this book, he applied an extended case method of fieldwork in both Mexican states, which enabled him to connect the micro to the macro, extending scale outward. This is reflected in the presentation of material in the book. Chapters concerning nation and region contain data and charts, while those regarding the states have photographs of daily life and interviews.

The book's chapters progress smoothly and logically by level according to the author's argument. The first chapter presents the abstract level that discusses the spatial features of capitalism. The subsequent chapters are scalarly ordered: Latin America, Mexico, and then the two states of Oaxaca and Chiapas. With frequent citations from the works of Marxist theorists Antonio Gramsci, David Harvey, and Henri Lefebvre, Hesketh's scalar analysis historically examines Latin America and Mexico's incorporation into the world economy through colonialization and later debt resettlement as a form of hegemony, which reverberated scalarly. In Mexico the hegemonic political party, Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), and its Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) policy, the fostering of domestic industrialization, brought together different social classes under one roof. The economic policy, however, was in fact financed by exportation. The government borrowed heavily to support the export infrastructure, which eventually led to debt default in the 1980s. This precipitated a new form of spatial reorganization required by the International Monetary Fund bailout.

Hesketh's argument then transitions internally into Mexico. Globalizing neoliberal policies compelled changes in Mexican society. The *ejidos*, communal property enshrined by the PRI, were privatized, and tariffs were lowered to allow more foreign direct investment. In the two states this translated into "clashes of spatializations" (137), where spatial organizations based on capital and indigenous life vied for control. In Oaxaca many municipalities converted control to local assemblies, *usos y costumbres*, and social movements organized themselves to fight against government plans to transform land to support international tourism. Counterspaces of resistance were established in Chiapas as well. With the breakdown of the *ejidos*, the PRI lost the support of the local indigenous communities, which switched their allegiance to the rebel Zapatista movement. The Zapatistas established their own autonomous communities based on indigenous traditions of community assemblies. The government, for its part, established "rural cities" to regain the population's backing by reterritorializing communities and offering material incentives.

The argument of the importance of scale in the historical development of the indigenous movements is intriguing. However, the specific application of how the book bridges geography and historical sociology,

a claimed novelty, remains unpersuasive. The introduction of the book is rather dense with a mixture of theories that stresses weaknesses of many different academic disciplines. It seems as if the new methodology would offer a flexible, multidisciplinary approach available to various analytical endeavors. Hesketh includes in this new methodology Neil Brenner's proposition of three analytical levels: theoretical system-wide, meso institutional, and national/subnational (*New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*, Oxford University Press, 2004). However, the detailed explanations throughout the book often read simply as a historical materialist examination with a scalar focus. This type of theoretical examination is appropriate for a Marxist analysis, which does not necessary call for a new hybrid approach.

In spite of some theoretical murkiness, Hesketh adeptly draws on Gramsci's passive revolution and hegemony to demonstrate not only how space has been historically configured in Mexico but also the flexibility of these analytical tools. He argues that there were two passive revolutions in Mexico. First, the Mexican Revolution ought to be considered a passive revolution. While the PRI captured subaltern support with its spatial project of communal land *ejidos*, this project allowed most of the arable land to remain in the hands of the commercial haciendas. Global neoliberal changes forced the second passive revolution, during which the PRI privatized *ejidos*. Because the passive revolutions occurred in response to two dramatically different economic situations, Hesketh demonstrates how passive revolutions are a category of interpretation, not a particular program. In both instances the ruling class attempted to install the spatial projects progressively to maintain capitalistic social relations. Furthermore, the author displays how class is flexible and relational. As the global economy adopted neoliberalism, indigenous communities in Mexico have taken on the position of the working class in traditional Marxist dialectical understanding. They are now the vanguard of struggle against spatial exploitation. Passive revolution, hegemony, and class are malleable methodical tools that should not be frozen in rigid ideology.

Spaces of Capital / Spaces of Resistance is a valuable contribution to the scholarship in Latin America, radical geography, and development studies. It presents a detailed argument of how global, national, and local scales are intertwined in forming Mexican spatial configurations

and class. It also reminds us of how traditional theory is amendable to a changing world.

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Race, Class, and Politics in the Cappuccino City. Derek S. Hyra. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017. Pp. 240, black & white maps, illustrations, appendix, notes. \$90.00, cloth, ISBN 978-0-2264-4936-4. \$30.00, paperback, ISBN 978-0-2264-4953-1.

Race, Class, and Politics in the Cappuccino City offers a detailed and very well-written account of Washington, DC, in the specificity of the Shaw/U Street neighborhood. Author Derek Hyra takes the reader on a journey of the redevelopment and gentrification of this neighborhood through local and intimate stories. Hyra does so with eight chapters divided into three parts.

The first part is called “The Setting” and contains three chapters. This part sets the scene for the redevelopment of Shaw/U Street with the concepts of “gilded ghetto” and “cappuccino city” to show the demographic change from a predominantly black city to a more “cappuccino- colored” city with the arrival of white newcomers. These two metaphors are used throughout the book. They create the perfect flow for the reader and fit very well with the processes that are described. This part goes on to discuss the unusual political background of Washington, DC, and how this affected the development of the city and the behavior of the inhabitants as they fought for decades to be even locally represented. This situation creates both resentment and strengthens the community ties in the city at the same time. This is also apparent in the choice of black Washingtonians’ mayor (Marion Barry), who wins the people’s support, in spite of his corrupt ways, mostly by being on the street and being with the people in general. This part ends with a chapter on Washington’s increasing importance as a world city and its connection to the globalization of the economy.

The second part of the book, titled “What’s Going On?” is the most interesting part in terms of contributing to gentrification studies. It opens with a chapter on “black branding.” Here, Hyra successfully explains how African American culture, important African American