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Griffith, David

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Soltero's use of ongoing academic debates of the times, such as that found on page 21 in his analysis of *Balzac v. Porto* [sic] *Rico* 258 U.S. 298 (1922) and his inclusion of a summation of the Spanish American War of 1898, for example, allow the reader to gain a more complete and meaningful understanding of the double standard that Puerto Ricans and other Latinos/as faced from the government of the United States. However, Soltero could also have organized his precedent cases more clearly for the reader (see page 50) and could have included dates of events such as the day Senator Robert Kennedy passed § 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act. Again, this would be beneficial to make this book a more effective research tool for law students and young scholars. To this extent, I found that each chapter's level of scholarship varied. I also would have liked to have seen more citations in chapters eight through ten. For example, in chapter eight, he does not provide citations on page 107, where he discusses discrimination faced by Asians, Southern and Eastern Europeans, Germans, and the Irish. I also found that throughout the book there was a lack of smooth transitions between ideas, for example in chapter five, which discusses *Miranda v. Arizona*. Soltero explains the situation of Mexicans and the Zoot Suit Riots, but then there is no transition in linking its relevance to *Miranda*. This erroneously assumes that the reader would be able to place the case in context.

Despite Soltero's attempt to fit too much in one book, he does offer great insight to readers on Justices of the period. For example, pages 54 and 55 offer valuable insight into the stance taken by Justice Brennan in regard to current social issues of ethnicity and race; his discussion results in a deeper understanding of the case as it relates to Latinos/as. Through his descriptions of the political climates of the time, he allows the reader to understand how, for example, the Warren Court allowed for the expansion of civil rights for Latinos/as. He maps out the mistreatment of Latinos/as throughout history and provides insight as to how these cases continue to be relevant to Latinos/as today. His descriptions of the judges allow for the reader to understand that they are also influenced by social and political external pressures when it comes to judicial decision-making, despite popular belief to the contrary. It also provides the reader with a different view, one that is more critical in nature of the law. The cited case law also provides a social construction of the realities of race and racism in U.S. society.

The State and Small-Scale Fisheries in Puerto Rico

By Ricardo Pérez

Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005

218 pp.; \$59.95 [cloth]

REVIEWER: DAVID GRIFFITH, East Carolina University

Over the course of my career, I have had the good fortune to have been exposed to the work of several Puerto Rican scholars whose insights have challenged North American social science, forcing many of us to reconsider what we mean by concepts like development, capital, the state, and modernization. In the past twenty years, I have had the even better fortune of working closely with a few of them, experiencing these relationships with a rewarding mixture of being both humbled and enlightened. To the list of superb scholars such as Carlos Buitrago Ortiz, Manuel Valdés Pizzini, Jorge Duany, and Fernando Picó, now, with the publication of his

The State and Small-Scale Fisheries in Puerto Rico, we can add Ricardo Pérez. Pérez manages to take a relatively tiny and, to many, quaint segment of Puerto Rican society—three small fishing communities on the main island’s southern coast—and engage issues relevant not only to Puerto Rican economic development but to political economy, economic anthropology, and the complex relationships between modernization and the conservation and degradation of natural resources.

Small-scale fishing, Pérez acknowledges, constitutes a minor economic niche in an otherwise complex and highly industrialized settings, one that serves as the target of very large-scale capital investment in the petrochemical industry, whose massive networks of steel walkways, piping, tanks, fences, and other equipment loom over the fishing vessels, monofilament line gill nets, fish markets, and the *Villas Pesqueras* (fishers’ associations) of the south central coast’s fishing communities. Encarnación, Playa de Guayanilla, and El Faro—the three communities where Pérez focuses his work—differ from one another in the extent of their involvement in fisheries and with the state. The first is reported as the most successful, in large part due to state support; the second is seen as far less so (a “fishing community in continuous deterioration and decay”—p. 7); and the third is described as never having been a large fishing community in the first place. The differences between the three communities provide Pérez with a platform to compare the uneven development of Puerto Rican fisheries during the 20th century. This development created dependence on the state among some fishers’ households, without enabling a way of life sufficient to sustain expected standards of living.

Few, if any, can make a living from fishing full time. Instead, fishers in Puerto Rico, along the southern coast and elsewhere, typically engage in multiple livelihoods—semiproletarianization, as Pérez calls it, building on work that Valdés Pizzini and I began in our *Fishers at Work, Workers at Sea* (2002). This involves moving among several economic pursuits, including labor migration, to make ends meet, and in Pérez’s case involves periods of fishers’ lives working to build and help maintain an industry that, ironically, undermines their opportunities to fish. During the same and other historical time periods, this also involves taking advantage of the state’s lame attempts to enable fishing. Pérez understands these complex economic strategies as indicators of agency among fishers, portraying them as active participants in their own fates rather than passive recipients of help from the state or employment opportunities from the petrochemical industry.

Drawing on a battery of historical and ethnographic methods, Pérez thus sculpts an analysis that transcends a mere description of three small Puerto Rican fishing communities. In addition to archival work, he has drawn on direct observations and interviews with fishers, fishery agents and scientists, and government officials in his understanding of the uneven nature of government policy and industrial development in the lives of local fishers. His assertion that this is a work of local history, which it is, is too modest, given the importance of the work to our understanding of how the state and capital intervene, temporarily but with long-term consequences, in people’s lives.

The way Pérez links his discussion of fisheries policy to petty commodity production is unique in that many works joining state policy to capitalist and other forms of production give an instrumentalist view of the state. By contrast, Pérez views the interactions between the state and petty commodity production as more dynamic, confounded by the “parallel institutionalism” of both the federal and insular governments and the various contradictions between fisheries development/modernization and conservation of fish stocks and other resources (e.g. mangroves and reefs) that influence fishery resources. Further confounding

these relationships has been the industrialization of the coast line, a development that fishers recognize and remember as fraught with contradictions, emerging from a past of sugar production and seasonal rural work that also encouraged engaging in multiple livelihoods. Pérez's analysis of fishers' narratives, especially their memories of state intervention of fisheries and the development of the petrochemical industry, highlights the profound ambivalence that often attends so-called development.

His nuanced understanding of fisheries development, in Puerto Rico and elsewhere, gives him a basis for criticizing previous works on modernization in fisheries, particularly those that view modernization as a cumulative, progressive process of acculturating to the state and private institutions of capitalist societies and the motives of neoclassical economics. Pérez thus deepens an ongoing critique among anthropologists who have questioned applying capitalist principles or neoclassical economic theory to understanding fishing households or fishers' motives or to helping them "develop." Indeed, Pérez's work emphasizes, again and again, that the ways fishers remember and imagine their lives and work have been entangled in patterns of "development" that led to severe environmental degradation, cycles of economic dislocation and reward, and sporadic rather than sustained state intervention.

Organizationally, Pérez has structured the book in a way that moves between local and broader contexts, keeping the fishers' lives in view even as he steps back to examine the history of state intervention in fisheries on the one hand and fishers' memories of industrial development on the other. Following a general theoretical overview of petty commodity production in the economic anthropology of fishing communities, he situates his detailed description and comparative analysis of the three fishing communities (Chapters 4 and 5) between his historical account of state intervention in fisheries (Chapter 3) and his own work, in the wonderfully entitled "Fragments of Memory" (Chapter 6), on the contradictions brought about by short-lived industrialization. He is right in his contention that too little work has focused on the role of the industry and other sources of coastal pollution (including, I would add, recreational boating and other activities perceived to be "clean") in the degradation of fishing habitats and the lives of fishers, leading fisheries scientists and managers to focus on overfishing as the principal cause of stock declines. This, in turn, has led fisheries managers to policies aimed at regulating fishers and fishing communities at the expense of exploring methods of addressing the destruction of habitat by nonfishing populations. Pérez, toward the end of his work, offers a mild plea for co-management, but his work is ultimately less a prescription for fisheries policy than a critique of fisheries policies.

In much the same way that the ambivalent relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States has helped to engender a critical scholarship that can teach North American social scientists much about their methods of representing populations throughout Latin America, the fishers Pérez encounters and represents in his work descend from ambivalent relations with the state and capital, relating memories that are at once critical and nostalgic, true and false, empowering and confining. Negotiating the currents of that ambivalence, Ricardo Pérez presents a clear, highly readable, and engaging account of a small group of people whose survival, though small-scale and local, seems more and more the lot of much of the world.

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