

También es importante situar a Goyri como una pieza clave en el desarrollo del hispanismo y las relaciones artísticas, literarias y pedagógicas que se pusieron en marcha entre España y los Estados Unidos. María Goyri aprovechó el viaje que hizo a los Estados Unidos con Menéndez Pidal en 1909 para visitar diferentes universidades y escuelas de mujeres que describió muy positivamente a su madre: “Estos colegios de mujeres que estamos visitando hacen perder el juicio a cualquiera” (104). Además, fortalece relaciones con personas fundamentales en el desarrollo del hispanismo como Caroline Brown Bourland o Archer Huntington (104, 107).

Mención aparte tiene el capítulo quinto (153-62) donde Carmen Oliart destaca algunos rasgos de la vida de María Goyri a partir de los años treinta y hasta su muerte. Destaca el trabajo conjunto que llevaron a cabo María Zambrano y ella como jurado del Premio Nacional de Literatura (153-54) y las pinceladas que se dan de las difíciles situaciones que tuvo que vivir ella y su familia durante la Guerra civil y la posterior Dictadura franquista. Oliart reproduce el informe negativo enviado a la Junta Militar de Burgos sobre la familia Menéndez Goyri y especialmente acerca de María, señalándola como la “que ha pervertido a su marido y sus hijos; (...) y de las personas más peligrosas de España” (156).

María Goyri. Una mujer asombrosa es otro testimonio más de cómo una mujer como María fue construyendo su personalidad como profesora e investigadora de la lengua española. El tono íntimo del discurso epistolar nos permite acercarnos al desarrollo profesional de la autora al calor de su vida privada. Este ámbito privado suele escaparse al plantear cuestiones de autoría y escritura firmada por mujeres, pero gracias a la conservación de colecciones de cartas y su posterior publicación en ediciones críticas, cada vez contamos con más ejemplos, que nos permiten comprender cómo las mujeres desarrollaron sus carreras dentro de las letras ibéricas.

Ana I. Simón-Alegre
Adelphi University

Silvia Bermúdez

Van Vleet, Krista E. *Hierarchies of Care: Girls, Motherhood, and Inequality in Peru*. U of Illinois P, 2019. 212 pp.

The result of in-depth ethnographic research conducted between 2009 and 2014 at Palomitáy (Cusco, Peru), a residential care center for adolescent mothers between the ages of twelve and eighteen and their children, *Hierarchies of Care: Girls, Motherhood, and Inequality in Peru* sets out to understand the ways in which insecurity and precariousness are subjectively experienced by these young, still-growing adolescent mothers as they seek to better their lives and that of their infants. Van Vleet specifies that while her research focuses on a home for young mothers, the true object of her analysis is how, within the notion that care “is a significant arena of moral engagement,” these teenage mothers “navigate multiple and entangled discourses of power in contemporary Peru” (5). By so doing, the scholar seeks to enlighten broader feminist conversations on social, political, and economic patterns regarding care and self-transformation within vulnerable groups. To accurately assess all of these, Van Vleet relied on the following methodologies: a) participant observation, spending hundreds of hours in Palomitáy engaged in diverse every-day live practices as well as specific

events and activities; b) conducted open-ended ethnographic interviews with the teenage mothers—either individually or in pairs, as per their request, along with the analysis of over 150 case histories; c) documented via photography and video events and workshops; d) interviewed Palomitáy directors, staff, and interns, while also observing monthly meetings; and e) conducted research on six other centers for children and youth in both Cusco and the Sacred Valley as cross-reference. Moreover, *Hierarchies of Care: Girls, Motherhood, and Inequality in Peru* benefits from the over thirty photographs strategically placed throughout the book, many of them attesting to “the affect turn” in recent ethnographic and anthropological studies of development of adolescent mothers.

The book is organized in six chapters and a Conclusion, with the following self-explanatory titles preceding each chapter, “Young Mother, Moral Experience, and the Politics of Care;” “Dimensions of Precarity and Possibility in Peru;” “Shaping (Modern) Mothers in Palomitáy;” “Dynamic Selves, Uncertain Desires;” “Making Images, (Re)Visioning Mothers (a Photography Workshop);” and “Moral Dialogues, Caring Dilemmas (a Theater Workshop).” Chapter 1, which serves also as an Introduction as per the presentation of the “Chapter Overview,” is subdivided in six sections, as follows; “Just Me and My Child Are Enough” (1-5); “Conceptual Foundations” (6-11); “Ethnographic Encounters” (11-20); “Caring by (and for) Youth” (20-23); “Fieldwork as Faithful Witnessing” (23-28); and the already mentioned “Chapter Overview” (28-30). In this introductory chapter we are provided with the pertinent information regarding Palomitáy—a secular orphanage founded in 2000 and run by a European nongovernmental organization with the purpose of helping young mothers and their children. Along with food, shelter, and clothing, the teenage mothers are also provided parenting classes and childcare, educational and co-curricular enrichment activities, psychological counseling, access to reproductive and early child health care, and job training opportunities. Only sixteen such teenage mothers and their children (newborn to six years) are housed at any given time. However, Krista E. Van Vleet specifies that over two hundred teenage girls and their children from all over Peru had been aided between 2000 and the end of her research period (12).

Two important caveats are presented by the ethnographer. The first one, regarding positionality and privilege, indicates that she does “not claim a position of neutrality or innocence, as an ethnographer or as a feminist” (26), a recognition that helps readers better understand some of the power dynamics between the scholar and her “cultural other subjects.” Second, the recognition that these teenage subjects, both deserving of care and responsible for caring for others, are placed at the crossroads of state—e.g., Peru’s judicial, legal, and administrative structures—and non-state actors—e.g., the policies of the NGO supporting the orphanage—while navigating racial, ethnic, class, and gendered inequalities as they search for bettering their lives and that of their infants. This honest acknowledgment validates Van Vleet’s work since it lays bare the complexity and difficulties of balancing out the assessment of socio-politically shaped vulnerability while approaching gendered analysis of capacities for transformation by attending to the dynamics of affective life.

Chapter 2, also subdivided in six sections, presents how, against the backdrop of social, class, and gendered marginalization experienced by these adolescent mothers from rural and indigenous backgrounds, many of whom are survivors of sexual violence, are determined to better themselves and their offspring within the “Dimensions of Precarity and Possibility in Peru,” as per the chapter’s title. Whereas in Chapter 3, divided in eight sections, VanVleet delves into the specifics of daily life at the residential care center, providing some details on the manners in which Palomitáy encourages their residents to develop and

establish affective connections with their children that are to last a lifetime but do so within neoliberal global and national structures of inequality.

A shift from a governmental and institutional focus to that of individual resistance and mobilization is the focus of Chapter 4, divided in five sections. Here the voices of three mothers, Jeni, Laura, and Marina document the dynamic ways in which each one alters and reimagines the dominant discourses on motherhood and their aspirations to do better within systemic structural inequalities. Chapter 5 follows how individual actors, such as Jeni, Laura, and Marina, negotiate their sense of self and, potentially, also their identity as “mothers” by exploring creative expression in a photography workshop conducted by an instructor working for another European NGO, identified by Van Vleet as Syanchis. The project of the workshop was to produce nude portraits of mother and child, in the style of traditional Catholic Madonna and Child paintings, which first confused the young mothers as per their questioning of why would they be photographing each other naked? (106) and where would they take such photographs? (106). The Palomitáy residents that ended up participating in the final project produced beautiful depictions of intimate skin-to-skin bond between each mother and its child. However, as the author recognizes towards the end of the chapter, we must be mindful that while the images produced in the final project expressed physical and emotional connection, they do so by perpetuating long-standing ideological discourses regarding maternal love but also suffering in Peru as derived from the suffering of the Madonna, the Virgin Mary.

Following in the exploration of artistic expression, Chapter 6, divided in nine sections, centers on Van Vleet’s analysis of the dramatic piece titled *Historia de Natasia*, written, produced, and performed by twelve residents, under the supervision of two interns who instructed the teen-aged girls to create a collaborative story about a young mother. The author brings to the fore the unspoken connections between dramatic scenes and situational contexts by exposing how these 12 young women, in the creation, rehearsal, and the one-time performance of *Historia de Natasia*, acquiesced to stereotypes of women and indigenous people like them, while also challenging the hierarchies at the heart of the upward mobility they seek.

In all instances, *Hierarchies of Care: Girls, Motherhood, and Inequality in Peru* unpacks the complex issues that arise when trying to make sense of care and moral engagement by adolescent mothers in precarious situations while traversing national and global relations of power. This monograph is a timely and nuanced contribution to Ethnographic and Peruvian Gender Studies, that not only advances these fields through empirical evidence and detailed analysis, but that also participates in the larger conversation within feminist theories and studies that address youth, reproduction, motherhood, care, and moral experience within unequal power structures.

Silvia Bermúdez
University of California-Santa Barbara