late colonial period many middling to elite families at the provincial level were technically mestizos but represented themselves as having only European origins. Like many in the colonies, moreover, Santa Cruz initially remained a loyal subject of Spain, switching sides only after, a decade into the independence wars, he had been twice captured as a prisoner of war. Fighting against Spain, however, did not necessarily mean fighting for a clearly defined nation to take its place. Santa Cruz had been educated in Cuzco and continued to identify with the former viceroyalty of Peru. After the final defeat of royal forces, the constitutions of both Peru and Bolivia granted citizenship to all veterans, allowing Santa Cruz to serve as interim president of Peru in 1827 and to be elected to the Bolivian executive the following year. Sobrevilla cites letters from the period in which Santa Cruz explicitly stated his desire to maintain political rights in both countries, and his efforts for the next two decades were focused on bringing them into a confederation.

Sobrevilla follows the ups and downs of the federation project, favored by many in southern Peru and the bordering region of Bolivia, but resisted by those both farther north and south as well as by the neighboring nations, most notably Chile, which feared the threat posed by an Andean confederation. Although the effort ultimately failed, the support Santa Cruz enjoyed for a time and his ability to bring temporary stability to the region are important reminders of the complex process of nation-state formation. Santa Cruz was not so unusual if one considers that many of his rivals and allies likewise held political power in regions outside their birthplaces; nonetheless, he has been less commemorated, owing perhaps to his long exile in France after the fall of the confederation.

Sobrevilla narrates an important yet often overlooked historical period clearly and in accessible prose. Students might wish for more of Santa Cruz's own words, which we glimpse occasionally in quotes from his correspondence, as well as more detail on his relationship to his troops and battle tactics. Still they will be rewarded with a story whose ending was by no means predictable to those who lived through this period of political transformation.

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POLITICS & GOVERNANCE

Poverty of Democracy: The Institutional Roots of Political Participation in Mexico. By Claudio A. Holzner. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010. Pp. xvii, 304. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Figures. Tables.

Claudio Holzner's book examines how the institutional incentives created by neoliberalism and democratization have differentially structured political behavior, resulting in a growing participation gap between the middle- and upper-income classes and the

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poor. Most studies of the impact of neoliberalism and democracy on participation use aggregate data on protest or turnout. Holzner bypasses such data to look at the micro-level foundations of political participation. In so doing, he takes on the behavioralist literature, which emphasizes individual gaps in resources as the reason why poor people participate less. His argument highlights the importance of institutions and their uneven impact across social classes to explain the growing lack of interest of Mexico's poorest citizens in most political participation. He relies on data from interviews in four communities in Oaxaca and on a 2003 survey by the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems to demonstrate the broader applicability of his conclusions. Though he affirms the claim of many that neoliberal reforms discourage participation, his contribution lies in careful tracing of the causal mechanisms that connect structural change and individual responses.

Some of Holzner's most interesting findings stem from his examination of the impact of democratization, which turns out to be conditional on the partisan structure of competition. Free and fair elections do not necessarily convince the poor to participate; it depends on whether the right or the left competes with the former ruling party, and on whether the poor see their preferred party as having a reasonable chance to win power. The failures of the Mexican left come into high relief in this story.

However, the book's principal weakness also emerges here. Holzner finds that clientelism, import substitution industrialization (ISI), and participation by the poor are strongly associated: thus, "where provincial [PRI] autocracies endure, political participation rates may be more equalized because political machines tend to target the poor for participation" (p. 193). The author's measure of participation uncritically adds together individual reports of participation in campaign activities (such as attendance at a rally), voting, protests, and petitioning. The author seems quite aware that participation motivated by clientelism does not necessarily reflect influence (p. 193), yet in other passages suggests that, "the poor living in states controlled by the PRI potentially have considerably more voice, more representation, and more clout than their counterparts elsewhere in Mexico" (p. 118), and that "ironically, clientelist political recruitment is one of the only factors that holds some promise for reducing the participation gap between the rich and the poor . . . we would be hard-pressed to argue that more voting is worse than less, even if it is clientelistic voting" (p. 126).

Unfortunately, given the limited resources of the poor, energy expended in one form of participation may directly reduce the energy available for other, more autonomous forms. Moreover, participation of this nature long sustained the PRI in power and limited the capacity of all Mexicans to exert meaningful influence on the government. One must wonder whether we should care about participation by the poor if the quality of this participation is so low that it tends to support authoritarian enclaves rather than establish accountability. Were the days of PRI hegemony really the glory days of participation by the poor? Or should the quantity of participation matter less than its quality?

Nevertheless, Holzner does a good job of highlighting the institutional obstacles to participation. He portrays the poor as rational agents, entering the political arena when

it makes sense and exiting when it does not. Holzner's suggestion that expansion of technocratically inspired poverty-alleviation programs can inspire more participation does not fully fit with his own logic—that people petition the government when it might result in extra (discretionary) benefits. But time will tell whether the increased efficacy he finds in recipients of these government benefits translates into political activity. In the meantime, his work is a useful contribution to our understanding of political participation.

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Demanding the Land: Urban Popular Movements in Peru and Ecuador, 1990–2005. By Paul Dosh. University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2010. Pp. xviii, 288. Figures. Tables. Photos. Appendix. Index.

Paul Dosh examines ten examples of land invasions that resulted in squatter settlements in Lima, Peru, and Quito, Ecuador, between 1990 and 2005. He divides these invasions into three groups. The first was a veteran "Old Guard" that insisted on radical and extralegal strategies that had previously worked, but its lack of innovation resulted in weak and divided neighborhood leadership structures. A younger "Next Generation" group of invaders combined disruptive and militant extra-legal strategies with clientelistic partnerships that focused on material goals rather than higher ideologies. This approach led to a decline in neighborhood participation that resulted in crucial unmet needs. A final group of "Innovators" had a stronger sense of mission and organizational activism. They employed a mix of novel tactics including a flexible combination of legal and extralegal strategies that continued to acquire new services for its members.

Dosh asks how and why some land invasion strategies were successful while others were not, and why leaders adhered to certain strategies even when they were not successful. In seeking to address these questions, he examines organizational strategies, success, and survival. Using social movement theories to analyze these factors, Dosh constructs what he calls a strategy life cycle to conceptualize external and internal factors that explain the success or failure of land invasions.

The result is a very detailed study that incorporates multiple factors to explain the relative successes and failures of different aspects of the ten land invasions. As a political scientist, Dosh employs a quantitative social science methodology with many charts designed to explain why and when strategies succeed or fail. As a historian, I often found myself asking different questions of the rich ethnographic material that Dosh provides in this book. For example, we read about the Old Guard militant Edgar Coral, who emerged out of the communist left as a leader of the Pisulli invasion in Quito. Dosh is highly critical of Coral's authoritarian tendencies but fails to connect them to his political background. A constant theme running through the history of the Latin American left is the tension between a vertical vanguard leadership and horizontal mass movements.