

their introduction which I would tend to endorse. Such difficulties were probably inevitable given that the very newness of the topic makes it almost impossible to effect comparative analyses according to a shared analytical framework which would allow for more definitive conclusions. That will be a task for other future studies. But the very diversity of approaches and topics addressed can be seen as a great strength of this book, as the reader will encounter diverse perspectives which can enrich their understanding of the complex issue of judicialisation of politics in Latin America. Such a plurality of approaches should stimulate the development of new research on the topic.

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Alfred P. Montero, *Brazilian Politics: Reforming a Democratic State in a Changing World* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), pp. viii + 167, £50.00, £16.99 pb; \$59.95, \$26.95 pb.

North American political scientist Alfred Montero has written a very timely and succinct analysis of Brazil's 'New Republic' (1985 to the present). His firm grasp of the literature on contemporary Brazilian politics, both in English and Portuguese, and his detailed knowledge of key events in the country are what one would hope for from such a survey. But Montero also knows how to write for the intelligent non-specialist, using an effective combination of descriptive prose, historical data (and minimal statistics), 'boxed' summaries at the beginning of each chapter and concluding summaries at the end, and no footnotes ... and all in less than 150 pages.

Montero introduces his book with a description of President Lula's controversial participation in 2001 in back-to-back meetings at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland and the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil. In doing so, he finds the perfect metaphor for the dilemma of contemporary Brazilian politics: balancing the dictates of capitalist development and financial (inter)dependence, on the one hand, with increasingly insistent demands of greater social justice and democratic 'quality', on the other. Montero fleshes out this dilemma and organises his analysis around five 'thematic areas' that contain the principal challenges to the country's ongoing efforts at economic and democratic development: the state and state formation/reform, institutions of representation in an oligarchical society, the socio-economic context of uneven development and social inequality, the emergence of a democratic civil society, and the search for a coherent and effective foreign policy. Following a very brief historical overview of Brazilian history prior to the New Republic, each of these themes takes up a full chapter of Montero's book. He finishes with a chapter dedicated to evaluating the first two years of President Lula's presidency within his five-part framework.

Montero understands Brazil's political history to be constructed around extreme inequalities of class, ethnicity, gender and region. Over the last century, a succession of political regimes and institutions has only tended to reproduce and reinforce such inequalities: 'clientelism, state corporatism, and, finally, bureaucratic-authoritarianism limited the extent to which most Brazilians would benefit from the fruits of industrial growth and modernization' (p. 25). Political 'exclusion' continues today

even under formally democratic auspices, in part, because ‘the Brazilian state does not act in the ‘public interest’ and ... acts, instead, on behalf of elite groups with privileged access to it’ (p. 28). At the same time, ‘elite-run political parties do not develop strong interests in representing the voters, but rather are vehicles for the empowerment (and, in some cases, enrichment) of the political class’ (p. 26). This is ‘elitist democracy’: ‘government by and for the few’ (p. 51). But this is also an elitist regime that has coexisted with ‘the emergence of a democratic civil society as a force for change’ (p. 95); a democratic civil society, Montero is quick to point out, that forms the foundation of current President Lula’s Workers’ Party (PT). Well before the advent of the New Republic, a significant number of political activists fought for greater inclusion (‘citizenship’) along multiple fronts, and Montero does a good job in outlining the histories of many of them while also assessing the state of the relevant literature (on urban social movements and NGOs, the landless workers movement, women’s organisations, religious organisations, and so forth) and their various claims of democratisation pressures ‘from below’.

As Montero points out, however, sooner or later these groups are confronted with the *real* underlying causes of Brazil’s socio-economic and democratic deficits, or at least their stubborn persistence: the culture and practice of patrimonialism, clientelism and corruption (as well as their counterpart, the deepening cynicism of the population at large). Many struggle on. Others succumb. Others take up political party activism only to find their parties integrally incorporated into these anti-democratic practices. The PT’s embrace of ‘ethical politics’ is clearly relevant here, as is its seeming ‘fall from grace’ in late 2005 with revelations of high-level vote buying and campaign finance irregularities (the latter necessarily only touched upon by Montero, given publication deadlines).

In this component of Montero’s book, one is reminded of the continued relevance of that standard-bearing volume of a previous generation of Brazilianists and students of Latin American politics: Riordan Roett’s *Brazil: Politics in a Patrimonial Society*. Whether defined as culture, or as institutional practice, there does seem to be a deep-seated ‘Brazilian way’ of doing politics (or social interaction in general) that ends up gravitating back to the clientelist model.

Montero makes it clear that a series of reforms normally associated with the ‘neoliberal agenda’ have also been a factor in challenging Brazil’s elitist democracy. Normally presented in academic analysis as part of the problem rather than part of the solution (most particularly for their impact on furthering income inequality), Montero understands neoliberalism to include a series of policy prescriptions that attack many of the institutions perpetuating elitism and exclusivity. These include privatisation, social security reform, judicial reform, and fiscal re-centralisation. All are presented as critical challenges to many of the primary institutions of patrimonialism, clientelism and corruption; and all are presented and discussed in terms of the actual politics of their advocacy and implementation (or non-implementation) in Brazil rather than as some sort of ideological wish list.

In the end, Alfred Montero’s analysis of contemporary Brazilian politics is a plea that we understand the extreme difficulties, as well as the absolute necessities, of steering a middle ground between the horns of a by-now familiar dilemma: more capitalism versus more democracy. Brazil has traditionally solved this dilemma through different combinations of social hierarchy, political exclusion and clientelism. There are now a growing number of voices and institutions presenting

serious challenges to these 'traditional' solutions from both the right and left. Montero's book ultimately helps us understand these challenges, but also the difficulties they face in moving against the institutional and cultural forces of the long-standing elitist 'Brazilian way'. Of course, neither this core dilemma, nor Montero's five 'thematic challenges' are exclusive to Brazil, which makes this book a useful component in any comparative analysis of contemporary politics in Latin America or other comparable new democracies in the 'developing world'.

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Marcus Taylor, *From Pinochet to the 'Third Way': Neoliberalism and Social Transformation in Chile* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), pp. xi + 224, £17.99, pb.

Despite its relative lack of economic and geopolitical significance, Chile has attracted wide attention for pioneering several processes of transformation. Much has been written about Chile by social scientists and policy makers, some of whom have regarded it as a model for other countries. Taylor refers only briefly to President Eduardo Frei's reformist 'Revolution in Liberty' (1964–70) and to President Allende's democratic 'Chilean Road to Socialism' (1970–73), as his main purpose is an analysis of the neoliberal transformations imposed by the Pinochet dictatorship (1973–90) and the subsequent 'growth with equity' development strategy of the post-dictatorship governments of the centre-left coalition of political parties referred to as the 'Concertación' who have been in power since 1990.

Taylor very competently discusses the neoliberal economic and social reforms introduced by the Pinochet regime. This reviewer found his expert presentation of the social reforms in the fields of education, health and pensions as well as in other social welfare areas particularly interesting. Taylor also discusses the better known neoliberal economic policies such as the privatisation and the liberalisation of foreign trade and investment.

While acknowledging many of the Concertación's achievements, such as the significant reduction of unemployment and poverty, Taylor highlights its contradictions and failings. He questions the sustainability of the primary-commodity-export development process both on environmental grounds and above all because of the volatility and fragility of export markets. Chile's economy has certainly become very vulnerable and dependent on foreign markets but it has succeeded in diversifying the number of its clients. The country has not as yet made the leap into industrial exports which was the key to the success of South Korea and Taiwan. But the exhaustion of Chile's so far successful export model, predicted by many analysts over the past few years, has not so far materialised. Nonetheless, as the author points out, the environmental and human costs of such a natural resource based export model are significant. Thus Chile needs to develop more on the basis of its human resources by promoting skill-intensive industrial and service activities.

Taylor's characterisation of the Concertación's development model as 'reformed neoliberalism', 'Third Way' neoliberalism, or 'refined neoliberalism' is likely to generate controversy. The Concertación governments refer to their own development strategy as 'growth with equity'. Some authors would even describe it as