

## Reviews

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Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre, and Gilbert M. Joseph (eds.), *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since Late Colonial Times* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. xxiv + 448, £49.95, £16.95 pb.

In recent years the legal histories of Latin America have simultaneously undergone a deep revival and revision. Institutional histories of legal institutions were once a mainstay in Latin American historiography, but lapsed in the 1960s in the wake of economic, social and cultural historical trends. That tradition too, as Salvatore and Aguirre point out in their very useful introduction, was wedded to some formalistic styles which soured as historians tried to recover the lives of social actors and paid less attention to the designs and intentions of institutions and their (often lionised) architects.

This volume brings together a selection of what might be called the ‘new legal history’ which returns to the legal institutions with the social actors in mind. No longer do the designs of institutions and their supposed effect exhaust the many stories here. Indeed, what is clear from the contributions as a whole is that the designs were never as uniform and consensual (at least among elites) as was once thought. Nor did the institutions work in quite the way that architects envisaged. Indeed, as the chapters by Walker, Díaz, Palacio and González show, there was much give and take – often downright confusion – when it came to enforcing a legal order from the top down. Whether it is a matter of upholding the power of colonial *corregidores* (Walker), codifying proper gender relations (Díaz), empowering justices of the peace to lay down rural laws (Palacio) or creating courts to solidify labour relations in sugar belts in Brazil (González), the state institutions were never as stable, nor as effectively functional to their orderly purposes. Legal officers often wound up taking on the causes of those they were supposed to rein in, acting more as mediators than enforcers. Importantly, the ‘state’, even as it begins to consolidate in Latin America after the turbulent post-Independence struggles, never became the monolith it was once depicted as.

Part of the reason for state legal structures being so internally fraught with conflict was because the very cultural norms that they were expected to project onto a social order were themselves highly contested. A series of essays by Rivera-Garza, Borges, Ruggiero and Piccato all illustrate how even in the highest moment of positivist criminology, sociologists and jurists of crime and misdemeanours quarrelled over how to gauge and study lawlessness itself. To make matters worse for the criminologists, the subaltern folks they were supposed to control – from prostitutes (Rivera-Garza), *curanderas* (Borges), criminals of passion (Ruggiero) and vigilantes (Piccato) – proved artful not just at avoiding law enforcers, but twisting the law in their favour precisely because laws were so often ambiguous. All told, we start to see how dis-functional laws were at a time when they were expected to be the arms of order and progress.

There were, of course, limits to all the limitations in state formation. As the chapters by Paton, Salvatore, Aguirre, Guy and Caimari show, laws and law enforcers did impose punishments on the infractors, often brutally, as in the case of wayward ex-slaves (Paton), or former supporters of caudillos (Salvatore). But still, the subjects of the law found ways of resisting and tempering their sentences, as the other essays show.

As the final chapter by Douglas Hay, a Canadian legal historian, illustrates, this volume offers many insights into comparative histories with other formative legal orders. There appears to be a much broader Atlantic issue here, when popular and 'state' legal cultures meet – giving way to unstable compromises and often unfinished conflicts. Latin America, in this regard, stops looking like such an exception to modernity's happy unfolding. If this volume, as with many edited books, lacks some cohesion (it does not really cover the temporal span in the title, and never tries to explore the larger dynamic shifts in legal ideology, culture or capacities), it is nonetheless a real milestone for historians wanting to take legal institutions seriously without portraying them in some of the rigid ways they once were.

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Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810–1821* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. xvii + 702, £55.00; \$75.00, hb.

Eric Van Young has produced a major work, which should rank alongside James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico. Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, 1992) and William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth Century Mexico* (Stanford, 1996) in the leadership of US scholarship on Latin America. Significantly, all three works deal with aspects of the Spanish Colonial era. In fact, a strong case could be made for reading the three in succession, although the length and depth of each would require considerable dedication. Van Young's innovation is to have identified 'ethnocultural' factors as the prime motivation for rural political action during the Mexican insurgency of the 1810s. He argues this persuasively through many case studies in the course of his analysis. At the same time, he is at pains not to deny the importance of social and economic factors in contributing to the sources of popular unrest. He discriminates between the pre-insurgency conflicts, motivated especially by these latter, and the more intensified defence of community and identity during the 1810s. The focus on the ethnocultural dimension responds in part to current attention both in political life and historical writing to the issue of indigenous corporate identity, and in part to a reading of the primary sources. Since the book is not dealing with either formal ideologies or elite perceptions, Van Young's use of the term 'ideology' in the subtitle presumably refers to this defence of community and identity. To my mind, the phrase, 'The Other Rebellion', in the title deflects the impact of the book. I assume the phrase derives from post-modernist employment of the term, 'the other', to denote the obverse to the accepted, the sanctioned, the dominant. His use of the term, 'subaltern' in various places in the book lends credence to this assumption.

There are several incongruities. At the beginning, the author tells us that 'the 1810–21 insurgency was arguably the first great war of national liberation of the post-Columbian age in which ethnic difference between colonisers and colonised

became a major political issue' (p. 7). On the other hand, the concluding remarks argue that 'popular insurgency in New Spain in the years 1810–21 ... sought primarily to effect some sort of standoff in a prolonged process of cultural resistance by rural communities against the forces of change both internal and external, rather than to achieve the observed outcome of the political-military struggle, the consolidation of independence from Spain' (p. 496). This latter view sacrifices the original idea of 'national liberation'. Van Young's thesis in the book is that 'Indians' accounted for a large part of the insurgent movement but had little concern with the 'creole nationalist' project of independence from Spain. What he has set up is a dualism, which sees two very different movements – 'an elite creole rebellion and a popular rural rebellion' (p. 523) – although 'interwoven'. He views the popular rebellion – rural and indigenous in character – as 'deeply conservative' (p. 523). In effect, much of the book contradicts the notion of a war of national liberation, posited in the earlier quotation. He speaks strikingly of 'communalism' rather than 'nationalism' as the essential characteristic of popular participation in the events which traditional historians have described as the 'War of Independence'.

Although the initial insurrection took place in the centre-northern province of Guanajuato, within the most urbanised and culturally integrated area of New Spain, the principal focus of the book is central Mexico. Examination of surviving records relating to the large numbers of indigenous communities in the area between the cities of Querétaro and Puebla provide Van Young with his rural and Indian focus. Accordingly, he disagrees with John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico. Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, 1986), which put forward the idea of a 'symbiosis' in the central Mexican countryside during this period, in contrast to the centre-north and other areas. Van Young argues, instead, particularly with respect to central Mexico, that 'the political convulsions of the insurgency period involved on a continuing basis many thousands or tens of thousands of indigenous country people' (p. 45). He justifies this from close study of village and individual cases. He states that 'Indians in a real sense constitute the cornerstone of this entire study' (p. 127). In adopting this approach, however, a conceptual break is made between the original geographical (and cultural) base of the insurrection and the central Mexican areas given focus here. Perhaps this illustrates the 'Other' aspect in the title. It certainly highlights the dualism at the heart of Van Young's argument. In differentiating the popular and rural rebellion so strongly from the creole-led insurrection, Van Young perhaps overlooks one significant connection. The insurrection in the Bajío from mid-September 1810, which took the viceregal government by surprise, provided conditions for peasant communities in central zones to attempt the type of self-defence or revindication, which he identifies. It may have been the case that official military weakness in the core zone enabled the broadening of community strategies and a momentary linkage to wider and external movements. I certainly go along with Van Young's insistence on the turbulent nature of rural politics in the central zone during the earlier part of the insurgency. However, the dualism posited in his book leaves me uneasy.

I feel that Van Young overplays the weakness of New Spain's institutional integration in pursuit of a thesis of weak outside links and predominant local hierarchies. I do not disagree with the emphasis given to specific and divergent local conflicts, since this was a view I developed in *Roots of Insurgency. Mexican Regions, 1750–1824* (Cambridge, 1986; paperback 2002). At the same time, however, creole and resident European complaints (admittedly not the focus of Van Young's book) suggested that

tighter imperial control and internal fiscal pressure had become a bugbear during the period from at least the 1740s until the mid-1790s. What precisely were the pressures on central Mexican indigenous communities during this long period, which might have influenced them in opting for a defence of ethnicity and community during the 1810s? If an ethnocultural explanation for the violence of this decade is to be prime, then what led to an intensification of indigenous self-consciousness in the years immediately preceding it? Do 'Indians' see themselves as *more* Indian in the 1810s than in the 1740s, for instance, even though historically they are still further from the Conquest? In other words, is the indigenous self-defence, posited by Van Young for the 1810s, a conscious political re-creation from within communities themselves? That certainly has been the case from the 1990s, but the context was widely different in the late colonial era. What grounds are there for assuming the existence of these re-created identities – especially since the ethnohistory of central Mexico differed so strikingly from that of the central Andes? We are told that, after Spanish colonialism dismantled the higher levels of indigenous political and religious life during the sixteenth century, 'indigenous societies harboured hidden reserves of belief and cultural resilience which made of the new European-constructed social category of Indianness the key element in collective identity well into modern times' (p. 511). But what caused these 'hidden reserves' to be released, if they existed and if they were released, specifically during the 1810s?

The book rightly reacts against materialist and structuralist approaches to social history, and specifically sets out to route an alternative to relative deprivation theories. It questions interpretations of peasant collective action based primarily or exclusively on economic grievances and conflictive class relations. The alternatives, however, are difficult to establish, as the author is ready to concede. The length of the book and its close reading of the sources perfectly illustrate this difficulty. Historical evidence does not automatically substantiate how popular actions were informed by 'systems of symbolic understandings, suffusing everyday discourse, social relationships, events, and even economic relationships themselves' (p. 8). In preference to the now hackneyed use of the notion of 'moral economy', Van Young puts forward the concept of moral community. This involved 'collective mental representation . . . , religious worldview, the constituent elements of group identity, political culture, or the architecture of community' (p. 14). In this sense, participation in the insurgency of the 1810s indicated, Van Young argues, not defence of village lands but of community identity (with its degree of political autonomy), in opposition to what he describes as the late colonial order's corrosive impact.

Social and economic factors still rate highly in his analysis. With regard to the Jilotepec-Atlaconulco conflicts, analysed at length (see pp. 395–6), an essential part of the explanation given for the violence there is the increased competition for local resources and labour between large-scale mixed farming estates and peasant producers. From the mid-eighteenth century, these localities were drawn into the commercial market. At the same time Van Young is at pains to argue that the insurgency was not, in spite of its rurality' (p. 510), an agrarian rebellion. The crux of his argument is, in fact, that 'although collective political violence was fueled in part by the agrarian grievances of peasants', they thought they were doing something else. This, he argues, was the defence of indigenous identity and community. 'The overall picture that reemerges . . . is one of intensely localised and ethnicized collective identifications and political action' (p. 407). Certainly, I go along with the view that the insurgency provided a broader scope for popular action: 'at a guess, local grievances

were more important than ideological difference in determining where actors stood in relation to the rebellion ... The wider rebellion provided a pretext, a framework, an organizing principal upon which existing lines of enmity, rivalry, faction and conflict could be mapped out and moulded' (p. 382). I am less convinced, however, by the thesis of defence of Indian identity. I find his discussion of the perceived messianic status of the Spanish monarchy (pp. 471–5, 483) the least convincing section of the whole book.

Further, I recoil from his use of the term 'feudalization' (pp. 141–2, 165, 181, 188, 198) to describe the fragmented nature of the insurgency soon after its inception. Technically, this term refers to the process of reducing individuals to the status of vassals. This, clearly, is not what is intended here. The confusion with another technical term, 'feudalism', which represented an attempt to put European society back together again in the period, 950–1150, after the impact of invasion and dislocation, is obvious. Even though the author's intention is to stress the ethnic dimensions of the insurgency, I presume he himself would stop short at the term 'balkanisation' to describe the process of fragmentation.

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Paul Garner, *Porfirio Díaz* (Harlow and London: Longman, 2001), pp. ix + 269, \$13.95 pb.

This is a sophisticated revisionist analysis of Porfirio Díaz's political career. Against a backdrop of historiographical extremes, Garner's study becomes all the more impressive for the way in which he succeeds in providing a balanced and subtle interpretation of Díaz's achievements and failures. He weaves a persuasive argument that, on the one hand, forces us to understand Díaz's political evolution within the strict parameters of the period in which he lived, and that, on the other, highlights the multiple inaccuracies and misguided assertions that have characterised or tainted previous interpretations. Garner's achievement is indeed great when one considers that for every statement he makes he has had to question, challenge and overcome three schools of thought, all of which emerge, in one way or another, as having [mis]interpreted don Porfirio's political role[s], because of their own separate and pronounced political agendas. In other words, Garner's *Porfirio Díaz* is neither a *porfirista*, an *anti-porfirista* nor a *neo-porfirista* account. As the volume progresses, he methodically demonstrates the shortcomings of the 1890s–1910s *porfirista* hagiography, with its propensity to glorify unquestioningly the achievements of the Master Builder of Mexico. He does the same with the post-revolutionary *anti-porfirista* vilification of the 1920s–1990s, which consistently interpreted don Porfirio's presidency from the perspective of the Mexican Revolution (1910–20). And likewise, he challenges the *neo-porfirista* view of the Mexican historians of the end the twentieth century, whose attempts to rescue or reinvent Díaz are seen to have been coloured by their own commitment to the neo-liberal policies of presidents Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Ernesto Zedillo. In brief, *porfirismo* ignored the failures of Díaz's long-lasting regime, *anti-porfirismo* ignored Díaz's achievements and legacies, and *neo-porfirismo* twisted its interpretation of Díaz to suit and justify the neoliberal mood of the *priista* political class of the 1990s.

Garner's Díaz is, as a result, neither a hero nor a villain. He is neither a diabolical dictator nor a benign patriotic patriarch nor even a precursor of neoliberal *priismo*.

Garner's Díaz is, first and foremost, a man of his own time, intelligent and contradictory, who (as happens with most of us, I guess) changed and evolved as time went by. We find, as a result (and this should have been obvious years ago), that the Díaz of the 1860s was clearly not the same man as the Díaz of the 1900s. Experience, together with a whole range of external factors (such as US pressure after 1898) affected, moulded and transformed the radical liberal *puro* of the 1850s–60s into the ageing conservative/authoritarian personalist liberal caudillo of the 1900s. Garner eloquently shows how we cannot select one particular Porfirio as the most representative of them all. Decontextualising Porfirian slogans such as *pan o palo*, or claiming that the repression that characterised the government's handling of the Cananea and Río Blanco strikes in 1906 and 1907 was representative of the three decades in which Díaz presided over Mexico, result in a distorted and misleading interpretation. Prior to the 1900s Díaz's regime was far freer and much less repressive than has been generally acknowledged ('blanket censorship and the suppression of dissident voices [...] were never part of the Díaz strategy,' p. 123). Following a similar line of thought, we also discover that there were significant changes in policy between his different presidential terms, thus making any generalisation untenable. The *tuxtepecano* era (1876–80) differed considerably from his terms in office between 1884 and 1900, and again from his terms in office thereafter (1900–1910).

The book is, as a result, full of surprises, especially for those of us whose Mexicanist formation was deeply influenced by the *anti-porfirista* historiography. There is no space in a review of this nature to highlight each one of these surprises. However, just to offer a gist of the revelatory nature of the book, we learn from Garner's study that: Porfirio preferred negotiation to confrontation, was deeply suspicious of US influence in the region (even before 1898), that the Pax Porfiriana was not as peaceful as generally suggested, that the private Porfirio was not always the same as the public one (as can be sampled with regards his private and public views on the Church, US–Mexican relations, free market economics, the sale of public lands, the encouragement of foreign involvement in transportation and infrastructure policies, etc.), that the Mexican revolution was not inevitable as a result of Porfirian policies *per se*, and that Porfirio was, ultimately, a liberal to the end. Garner thus manages to pay tribute to Porfirio's achievements (e.g., economic growth) and criticise his failings (in particular, in the last ten years of his regime) at the same time, adopting a stance that comes close to being described as 'objective'. There is little doubt that Garner's study will dramatically change the way in which the *porfiriato* has been depicted and understood. Maybe, just maybe, as a result, the day will come when a balanced view of don Porfirio becomes strong enough to enable his remains be 'returned from the Parisian cemetery of Montparnasse to be buried in his beloved Oaxaca' (p. 229).

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James Schofield Saeger, *The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuruan Experience* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2000), pp. xviii + 266, \$50.00 hb.

Missions in the interior of South America have enjoyed a recent burst of historical investigation. Studies of Paraguay, Moxos, Chiquitos, the Peruvian *montaña* and the Venezuelan and Colombian *llanos* have made significant contributions to our store of knowledge on the Orinoco, Amazon and Platine watersheds. James Schofield Saeger's study of the Chaco missions adds this region to the list and continues the

current historiographical trend of emphasising the role of native people in frontier history.

Saeger's interests, as I understand them from his preface, fall into a three-part hierarchy: Catholic missions on the frontier; the effectiveness of frontier missions; (measured by) native peoples' adaptations to them. Thus, by reconstructing the history of Guaycuruan peoples' involvement in the Chaco missions, he aims to enhance our understanding of mission effectiveness and of Catholic missions on the frontier. This is a tall order.

Guaycurú was the Guaraní name for the largest indigenous group residing in the Chaco. The term, linguistic rather than political, subsumes several identifiable sub-groups, Abipones, Mocobis, Toba and Mbayá, all bellicose hunter-gatherers, whose interrelations were a constantly shifting set of antagonisms and alliances. As Saeger points out, to European eyes the colonial Chaco was a wilderness, lying between the core regions of the central Andes and Rio de la Plata. It was a land without natural resources that Europeans considered valuable, peopled by small, independent bands – just the place for undaunted missionaries. But the missions came late, two centuries following initial European contacts, more than 150 years after the first reductions in Paraguay, to the east, and nearly a century after missionary establishments in Chiquitos, to the north.

Missions came late to the Chaco because its native people long rejected their *modus operandi*. Guaycuruans' martial ethos denigrated both static location and subsistence agriculture and fostered a relationship of cattle rustling and kidnapping with their settled aboriginal and European neighbours. Guaycuruans raided the Jesuit missions in Paraguay and terrorised Spanish settlements from Jujuy to Corrientes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet by 1740 they viewed missions in their homelands as a survival imperative, and at the foundation of the Platine Republics Guaycuruans were largely absorbed into the national socio-economies. Thus, the mission period, Saeger's principal focus, was rather short and is more useful to him as a platform – for looking backward and forward – than as a critical period in itself.

What the mission years do provide is a workable corpus of documentation, and this Saeger uses very well. He has teased out a great deal of information from a few detailed Jesuit missionary accounts, discovered a small but significant set of Spanish administrative papers and resynthesised the secondary literature to advantage. Saeger is at his best examining social change in the missions. For instance, he adds gender to mission history, presenting convincing evidence for why women found mission life attractive. He also documents the change in native views of commodities, from status through redistribution to status through accumulation. In the Chaco missions accumulation confirmed, enriched and expanded native leadership, a tendency widespread in frontier missions.

Saeger carefully marshals his evidence to reveal elements that distinguish the Chaco experience from that of other Spanish missions. He provides little of the copious population analysis that characterises recent mission studies. But, reading carefully, we learn that the total of Indian neophytes never exceeded 4,000, less than 15 per cent the size of Chiquitos or Moxos and only 2 per cent of the Paraguayan reductions. These small mission populations fluctuated wildly, but from periodic departure of its inhabitants for the bush rather than from epidemic disease that plagued other regions. Saeger also discovers that some of the early Chaco missions were founded with resources donated, as a kind of peace offering, by Spanish settlements, in the hopes that sedentary Guaycurú would become more docile than their wandering

counterparts. This contrasts with descriptions of mission foundations elsewhere, almost wholly the responsibility of religious orders.

However, at significant points, the information at Saeger's disposal does not fully support the conclusions he draws from it. Treatment of the premission period is especially illustrative. What happened to bring these proud warrior societies to the point of pleading to Spanish authorities for what they traditionally held in contempt? Saeger offers several hypotheses – the onset of serious Spanish counterattacks into the Chaco heartland, environmental degradation and the increasing Guaycuruan dependence on European material culture for their subsistence. While I find these explanations plausible, I do not find their assertion adequately illuminated by available documentation. As a result, Saeger's portrayal of Guaycuruans as stronger, larger and more predatory with the full development of their horse culture at the end of the seventeenth century clashes with his characterisation of missions as survival imperatives, a mere forty years later.

*The Chaco Mission Frontier* opens this previously inaccessible region to historical scrutiny. Saeger's treatment confirms the universality of parts of the mission experience and identifies a new set of variations on the Iberian missionary theme. These variations stem largely from the nuances of Guaycuruan culture change in the eighteenth century. In the Chaco, warrior societies, traditionally opposed to a settled life, first reached accommodation with the European world through a short-lived missionary experience. Saeger's most compelling message is not so much the effectiveness of the missions – which he argues principally through challenging David Sweet's dour assessments, published in 1995 – but the effectiveness of the native people in accommodating to them.

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Marco Bellingeri (ed.), *Dinámicas de antiguo régimen y orden constitucional: representación, justicia y administración en Iberoamérica. Siglos XVII–XIX* (Turin: Otto Editore, 2000), pp. 509, £35.00 pb.

The thirteen essays in this volume were presented originally as papers at a conference held at the University of Turin in 1999 on 'Absolutismo, constitucionalismo y orden liberal en América Latina'. They are intended, according to Marco Bellingeri's introduction, to 'presentar al lector, no necesariamente especializado, un conjunto lo más posible coherente de algunas nuevas llaves interpretativas de las dinámicas reformistas de la última etapa del Antiguo Régimen y de las primeras del nuevo orden republicano y liberal en Iberoamérica'. In broad terms this relatively modest aim is achieved, and in a few cases surpassed, given that some of the contributions – notably Alberto Gallo's (over-)lengthy (pp. 97–175) analysis of 'La venalidad de oficios públicos en Brasil durante el siglo XVIII' – go beyond the rehashing of familiar material to present original findings of potential interest to specialist researchers. In this chapter – the only one that deals with Brazil – Gallo provides a mass of information about the sale of posts in the colonial bureaucracy, particularly during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when Portugal's chief minister, Pombal, sought with limited success to curb the hereditary tenure of senior fiscal and judicial posts, while municipal councils continued the practice of auctioning subordinate appointments. The persistence of the latter custom, Bellingeri concludes, inhibited attempts to professionalise provincial administration. Similarly in the Spanish kingdom of



Quito, as Tamar Herzog demonstrates in her analysis of judicial administration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the switch in the early-Bourbon period from the sale in perpetuity of judicial appointments to their auctioning for limited periods benefited the exchequer, but did little to improve the abysmal standards of judicial administration at the local level. These essays form part of the section of the volume devoted to ‘Las dinámicas del reformismo ilustrado’. The two remaining contributions are Horst Pietschmann’s analysis of ‘Justicia, discurso político y reformismo borbónico en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII’, and Annick Lempérière, ‘La representación política del Imperio español a finales de Antiguo Régimen’. The former treads a familiar path in its articulation of the eighteenth-century debates in both Spain and Spanish America about the nature of the state, society and justice, concluding persuasively that ‘este enfrentamiento no se puede definir en términos metrópoli colonias’ (p. 50); the latter is somewhat more innovative in its analysis of the attempts of the later Bourbons to shift political influence and representation from municipal corporations to functional groups, primarily miners and merchants, considered more likely to promote economic – and thereby fiscal – growth. The emphasis throughout is upon New Spain/Mexico.

The second part of the volume ranges more widely in geographical terms in its consideration of local government under the umbrella title ‘Territorio y poderes entre Antiguo Régimen y orden republicano’. Piero Gorza presents an ethnohistorical analysis of the functioning of an indigenous community – San Andrés Istacostoc – of Chiapas in the period immediately prior to the introduction of the Bourbon reforms, while Gabriela Tío Vallejo goes to the opposite end of Spanish America to examine municipal government in Tucumán in the period following the introduction of the intendant system. The conclusion that the administrative reforms of the late-Bourbon period contributed to the construction of regional identity confirms the findings of previous commentators. Federica Morelli shows in her study of the *cabildo* of Quito in the period 1765–1830 that the municipal corporation there was able to take advantage of the political instability during the Independence period to extend its influence into rural zones; in the province of Buenos Aires, by contrast, as Marcela Ternavasio demonstrates in her scrutiny of ‘Entre el cabildo colonial y el municipio moderno’ in 1821–1854, justices of the peace appointed by the provincial government fulfilled both political and judicial functions until the fall of Rosas (in 1852) ushered in ‘La época moderna del municipalismo’ (p. 329).

The third section of the volume contains five essays grouped under the heading ‘Las reformas jurídico-administrativas del primer liberalismo’. The majority present useful summaries of fairly well-established interpretations rather than innovative conclusions. In ‘De la Intendencia al Departamento, 1810–1830: los cambios en la administración pública regional del Perú’, Teodoro Hampe Martínez and José F. Gálvez Montero provide a systematic survey of the framework of provincial government that was introduced in Peru in the immediate post-independence period. Marco Bellingeri and Daniele Pompejano analyse the difficulties faced in Zacatecas in 1829 and Guatemala in 1836–1837 respectively in attempts to erect liberal juridical structures in regions lacking significant experience of representative government. José Enrique Covarrubias uses a discussion of the minting of coins in New Spain in the century 1733–1833 as a peg on which to hang an examination of ‘neo-Bourbonism’ in independent Mexico. Finally, Rosa María Martínez de Codes analyses shifting attitudes to the ownership of property in the period 1750–1860, emphasising the shift in the post-Independence era from an insistence upon corporatism and collectivism

to the concept of private property. The volume as a whole makes a useful contribution to the longstanding historical debate about continuities and contrasts in the period 1750–1850, despite the reluctance of the editor to draw general conclusions on this and related ‘temas que quedaron abiertos’ (p. 12).

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Aviva Chomsky and Aldo Lauria-Santiago (eds.), *Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State: The Laboring Peoples of Central America and the Hispanic Caribbean* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. vi + 404, £44.00, £14.95 pb.

This volume compiles ten chapters on the social history of rural workers in the region during a period characterised by the consolidation of agro-export economies and national states (c. 1880s–1940s). As many social historians have been doing for the last two decades, the editors aim to incorporate issues of cultural identity, state formation and elite discourse into the volume’s histories from below. In part because the last two issues are more visible in the sources and easier to access methodologically, these old calls to ‘bring the state back in’ often end up leaving the social history out. Instead of inquiries into the less evident, but more common, quotidian practices that exist below the shroud of formal institutions and public rhetoric, we end up with histories from above of the latter. To their credit, most of the contributors to this collection find a way to avoid this pitfall.

In the first chapter Aldo Lauria-Santiago does so by examining a macro process, the development of commercial agriculture, at a micro level, in the Salvadorean coffee district of Chalchuapa. At this level we find not a few oligarchs dispossessing peasants of their lands and imposing agrarian capitalism with the support of an instrumentalist state, but a complicated process of pressures and opportunities in which the ladino peasantry played the critical role. The instrumentalist state does appear in the other chapter on El Salvador, another regional study, by Patricia Alveranga, of the nearby district of Santa Ana. But here also the peasantry plays a critical role: as an auxiliary civilian force in the state’s repressive system – a system characterised by coercion, resistance and a form of Foucaultian consensus ultimately based on implicit force.

Two chapters deal with Nicaragua. Drawing from material in his last book, Jeffrey Gould argues that the presumed disappearance of Nicaraguan Indians (who according to official statistics accounted for a third of the population as late as 1906) reflected a discursive process of exclusion more than actual demographic decline and socio-cultural amalgamation into ladino society. The definition of the country as a mestizo nation turned the indigenous population invisible as this elite ideological project became increasingly hegemonic, i.e., naturalised and customarily accepted. In what may be the volume’s most methodologically sophisticated chapter, Julie Charlip uses property registries and mortgage documents to assess the impact of agrarian commercialisation on the peasantry in the district of Carazo. Her findings concur with Laura-Santiago’s for El Salvador and with the notion of coffee as a ‘democratic crop’. Larger owners and exporters obviously profited from, and often exploited, their less powerful neighbours. But the coffee economy did not lead to peasant displacement and proletarianisation. Small and medium producers proved remarkably successful in holding on to their lands and obtaining credit and continued to dominate the coffee economy.

One would imagine that, in terms of land tenure, bananas must occupy a place close to the other end of the spectrum as an ‘undemocratic’ crop. A chapter on the banana enclaves in Honduras by Darío Euraque, however, tells us nothing about these socioeconomic realities. Instead the author restricts his scope to elite rhetoric, repeating Gould’s argument about the ‘myth of mestizaje’ with immigrants playing an unconvincing role as the ‘others’.

Costa Rica is often viewed as an exceptional oasis of yeoman democracy in the Central American desert of latifundia and landless peasants. While not questioning this general vision, Aviva Chomsky shifts the focus from the family farms of the central valley to the US-owned gold mines of the highlands with their West Indian company guards and exploited migrant labourers. The fact that this picture seems less ‘Costa Rican’ than that which Laura-Santiago and Charlip describe in their chapters on El Salvador and Nicaragua indicates that local environments and conjunctions are more significant in determining social structure than national conditions. The last chapter on Central America, by Cindy Foster, deals with a different period: the Guatemalan revolution of 1944–54 and its defence by rural workers in a Maya district and in a banana township.

Three chapters deal with the Caribbean. Eileen Findlay examines the appearance of feminist claims in the Puerto Rican labour movement in the years before World War I. A group of militants, particularly the anarchist Luisa Capetillo, formulated a critique that targeted both capitalist exploitation and domestic inequalities – an integrative vision that Findlay claims was abandoned in the post-bellum period as the left became increasingly absorbed with labour and electoral politics. Barry Carr examines how the scarcity and mobility of labour, the availability of subsistence farming and, eventually, unionisation hampered the efforts of large sugar-mills in eastern Cuba to procure and control a labour force. Richard Turits shows a surprising degree of rural populist reform, and peasant support for, from the Trujillo government, a regime that has often been portrayed as purely ‘sultanistic’, ruling simply through coercion and terror.

In the conclusion Lowell Gudmundson and Francisco Scarano highlight the principal themes of the volume (the influence of workers, both through collaboration and resistance, on state-formation, and the central role of race in this process) and offer suggestions for future research. They reiterate, several times, the diversity of historical experiences and the impossibility of ‘easy categorization’. But some categorisation could have provided an analytical framework, however tentative, for the wealth of information that the individual chapters provide.

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JOSE C. MOYA

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Roy Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas: A Social and Political History 1860–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. viii + 264, £40.00 hb.

*The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas* is an important contribution to the historiography of modern Argentina. Based on solid research, the book studies the social and political evolution of the landed elite during the golden age of the Argentine agro-export economy. The study, which focuses largely on the *estancieros* of the province of Buenos Aires, revises some long-held misconceptions about the role of the landed elite in the history of Argentina.

It was long considered common sense that the *estancieros* had been a coherent and, indeed, the most influential class in the country since the colonial period. Recently, however, historians have argued that colonial *estancieros* were landed but not necessarily powerful; instead, the urban-based merchants formed the most influential and prestigious class. Hora carries this line of inquiry into the second half of the nineteenth century and shows that this was still the case in the 1860s and 1870s: cattle raising was technologically primitive and the elites held a rather negative view of rural life. To address some of the problems of cattle raising, a small group of landowners founded the Sociedad Rural Argentina in 1866. The SRA articulated an ambitious programme for the modernisation of the countryside that, however, failed to attract most peers and lost its relevance after 1879, when the national state provided security in the pampas and granted landowners access to millions of hectares.

It was only after 1880 that the *estancieros*, Hora convincingly argues, became the wealthiest and most prestigious class in Argentina. This reflected not only their centrality in the Argentine economy, but also the process of technological modernisation that they led. The development of fine breeding along with other important technical achievements gave the *estancieros* a 'progressive identity' encapsulated in the figure of the 'modernizing, aristocratic stockbreeder' (p. 65).

Yet, as Hora shows in his insightful analysis of the *estancieros'* involvement in politics, wealth and prestige did not easily translate into political power. The author demonstrates that the state and the political class were not an instrument of the landed elite, as has often been assumed. Actually, their relationship was complicated by issues such as the Partido Autonomista Nacional's (PAN) platform of moderate protectionism (favouring the interior provinces, where their political base was located), which made the *estancieros* vulnerable to retaliations in foreign markets. But, more importantly, the *estancieros* resented the bossism and patronage of Argentine politics that were fed by increasing public spending and largely paid for by the property taxes collected from the landowners. Seeking to get rid of a corrupt and inefficient political class, the *estancieros* organised their own political parties on two occasions. However, given the complexities of pampean society and the landowners' shallow influence on the rural population, these proved incapable of challenging the PAN or the Partido Conservador.

Hora clearly indicates that it was the *estancieros'* disaffection with the political class that led them to support the political reform carried out by President Saenz Peña in 1912. The landed class expected that cleaner elections would eliminate the worst political vices and allow the most prestigious people to run the government. They were soon disappointed. If anything, the new rules made politics more responsive to people's demands and needs, thus creating more room for patronage and public spending. It was then, in the late 1910s and 1920s (and not in the period 1880–1916, as often alleged), that the *estancieros* approached the Partido Conservador for the first time with the purpose of opposing the dangerous hegemony of the Partido Radical. At the same time the landed elite started to question its own commitment to democracy. The analysis of the *estancieros'* ambivalent feelings toward the *Radicales* and democracy provides a good background for the study of their relationship to the 1930 military coup. Unfortunately, however, the treatment of this fundamental question is thin and lacks the richness of other sections of the book.

After War World I the market for beef declined and numerous *estancieros* shifted to grain farming, a market that would also prove slippery. But this time the *estancieros* left production in the hands of *chacareños* or tenants with very little leverage. As the grain

markets also declined, the *estancieros* became engaged in an exploitative relationship that brought conflict to the countryside and deeply affected their leadership. The condemnation of the landowners by other sectors of Argentine society took a new form that has often been wrongly attributed to a much earlier period: the *estancieros* became the archetype of the speculative and backward-looking rentier. The Great Depression made these problems more acute and accelerated the transformation of the landed elite. When profits in rural enterprises declined, the *estancieros* began to redirect most of their investments toward the rapidly-growing industrial sector of import substitution or other urban businesses: by the early 1940s most of the wealthiest people in Argentina derived their income from such sources. In 1943 the Peronist legislation on rural contracts, which froze rents and induced large landowners to sell their lands, constituted the definitive blow against *latifundismo* in the pampas.

In sum, Hora's is an important work that successfully revises the history of the landed elite in the pampas and that should spark new debates.

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Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, *Caudillos y constituciones, Perú: 1821–1845* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Instituto Riva-Agüero, and Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000), pp. 354, pb.

Recent historiography on Peru has focused on the changes between colonial and post-colonial society, but whereas Charles Walker, Sarah Chambers and Mark Turner have narrowed their attention to specific regions (Cuzco, Arequipa and Ancash respectively) over the longer period between the 1780s and the 1850s, Aljovín has concentrated on looking at the whole country in a shorter time span. He attempts to explain the political culture that emerged after Independence, and how the nation was built on the ruins of the colonial state. The value of this study lies in its interest in the development of the political system in Peru and the overall analysis of *caudillismo*, and attains more relevance in the current discussions of democracy and authoritarianism in the country.

*Caudillos y constituciones* describes the delicate balance struck between constitutional order, seen as the only source of legitimacy after the end of the monarchy and the caudillos who emerged as the strongest political force in the newly independent nations. Aljovín de Losada contends that the language of republicanism based on the notions of liberty, reason and equality created a new set of political practices and discourses in a highly traditional society, albeit different to that envisioned by its founders. The result was therefore not necessarily that government became more democratic or representative, but that its claim to legitimacy arose from a democratic discourse. He also introduces an innovative way to see Independence and the political violence it generated, as an 'employment revolution' inasmuch as the revolts were a medium to obtain employment, creating a triangle between work, nation and constitution that resulted in a system of patronage.

The book is divided into six chapters with further subdivisions that look at many of the issues related to the political culture, ranging from the very detailed analysis of constitutional theory and how it was applied in the several attempts to write a definitive charter; to wider issues of population and how different groups participated in shaping the space for political action both in the urban and rural areas. The author

revisits the historiography on both Independence and *caudillismo*, concentrating on the economic constraints faced by those who governed, as well as the issues of regionalism and population. He describes the challenges faced by democratic ideals such as equality in a hierarchical society that had changed little since colonial times. This becomes increasingly poignant with the discussion of issues of citizenship and enfranchisement especially in the case of Indians.

Also present in the work is the idea of nationalism and that the different South American states were created by opposition, waging border wars and xenophobia. This is linked to the author's proposal that the nation states in the region emerged from a 'balkanisation' of the Independence movement. Finally the link between violence and legitimacy in revolutions is examined, and how rebellion became an accepted medium to obtain power because caudillos were seen as the saviours of a republic on the verge of dissolution. The leaders had to be seen as the interpreters of popular will, but having the army to guarantee order and stability they faced the threat of being toppled if they lost popularity or ceased to be 'true' in the eyes of their supporters.

Aljovín de Losada succeeds in creating a very complex and detailed picture of the period he studies, arguing very strongly for the need for all political actors to use the language of democracy and representation to consolidate their power, even though their actions to attain and maintain it were only based on the myth of popular representation. The book, however remains somewhat too immersed in the description of the political culture itself, giving the reader at times the feeling of being very far from the personalities, civil wars, disruption and sheer chaos of this period of national consolidation.

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NATALIA SOBREVILLA PEREA

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José R. Deustua, *The Bewitchment of Silver: The Social Economy of Mining in Nineteenth-Century Peru* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000), pp. xvi + 290, \$28.00 pb.

In Clorinda Matto de Turner's 1889 *costumbrista* classic, *Aves sin nido*, Lucía Marín and her industrialist husband venture to Killac, in the heart of the Andes, to build a modern future and discover, instead, the weight of tradition as it plays out through race, gender and religion. Significantly, their hopeful trip into Killac, and disheartened voyage out, is by train, the symbol of modernity. That the train derails on the return passage suggests something of the difficulties that Peru will have in locating its portal to an industrial future.

José R. Deustua's *The Bewitchment of Silver* is an attempt to locate explanations for Peru's halting move towards economic development through an evaluation of the social economy of mining in the nineteenth century. Were he to rewrite Matto de Turner's novel, Fernando and Lucía Marín would probably leave Killac on muleback, for Deustua finds that the railroad was not 'the best way to consolidate national integration or to build a strong domestic market', but rather 'a speedy mechanism to make the Peruvian economy more dependent on the international market' (p. 156). His short study, based on archival research in Lima, Cerro de Pasco and Huanacayo, looks at the development of mostly small-scale silver mines in the nineteenth century. He closely explores the nature of production in the mines, the relationship of the

mines to their surrounding commercial zones, and the way in which industrial inputs found their way into, and minerals and ores their way out of, the producing areas.

While this is a wholly competent synthesis of the nature of mining production in Peru in the nineteenth century, the author adds relatively little new data to help the reader understand production in the mines, the social and economic formation of the peasant-miner class, the commercial nexus which tied the mines to a larger regional economy, the source of capital formation in the mines, or the relationship of mining to the larger Peruvian national economy. All have been perceptively explored by Gootenberg, Mallon, DeWind, Larson, Manrique and others.

On the other hand, Deustua's work on muleteering and its ability to compete with the rapidly expanding rail network through the end of the nineteenth century, does provide a new picture of a fascinating interaction between traditional and modern economies. A mining economist writing late in the nineteenth century found that it cost less to transport ore by mule from Cerro de Pasco to Chicla than by railroad from Chicla to Callao, roughly the same distance, in 1892. Yet by lamenting the decline of mule transport in an argument that faults the railroads for being 'an extension of the export economy ... and not the result of the internal development of domestic resources within the Peruvian economy' (p. 150), the author seems to be suggesting a rather romanticised notion of the prospects of Peru's future.

The author suggests that, as opposed to guano, which was fundamentally geared to an export market, and copper mining, which required substantial capital investment to be truly productive, silver offered the best possibility to develop a dual internal and export market, and the interaction of merchants, muleteers and the railroads was the best indication of this potential. In that context, the destruction of the mule drivers by the railroaders becomes a metaphor for the loss of local control over the economy. While the reasons Deustua highlights for the inability of internal markets to flourish have been well rehearsed – a lack of investment capital, monopolistic merchants bent on controlling circulation of silver and the supply of goods to mining centers, the lack of investment in worker training, etc. – this reader remains unconvinced that silver mining actually provides a better instrument for exploring the nature of the interaction between internal and export markets than were, for example, copper or guano.

Deustua suggests in his conclusion that his work in mining in nineteenth century Peru has the goal of being 'empirical rather than interpretive', (p. 176), an accurate summary. And, while we are invited to 'listen to the noise we hear when the Peruvian mines are worked' (p. 18), I am not convinced that the whispers we are promised provide any significant insight on mining and the nature of the Peruvian social economy at the turn of the twentieth century.

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Anne Pérotin-Dumon, *La Ville aux Îles, la Ville dans l'Île: Basse-Terre et Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, 1650–1820* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 2000), pp. 900, pb.

For the past thirty years it has been axiomatic in the history of plantation societies in the Atlantic world that cities were of little or no importance. Whether looking at the southern colonies of English America, the Portuguese in northeastern Brazil or the English, French or Spanish controlled islands of the Caribbean, historians have argued that these were overwhelmingly rural societies. Indeed historians have concentrated their attention on plantations to the almost entire neglect of urban places,

assuming that social, economic, and political power resided in the countryside and not in what has been assumed to be rachitic, underdeveloped urban places.

Certainly one of the places included in this paradigm has been the island of Guadeloupe. Discovered in 1493 by Columbus on his second voyage but never effectively occupied by the Spanish, in part because of the hostile Caribs, Guadeloupe was only effectively occupied in 1635 by the *Compagnie des Îles de l'Amérique*. Located in a region where Spanish and Dutch incursion was a constant threat, the colony was taken over by the French Crown forty years later. The historiography of the region has stressed the importance of sugar plantations, managed by a handful of resident French and worked by African slaves.

In her new book Anne Pérotin-Dumon's convincingly argues that port cities were important places in the history of Guadeloupe and the Caribbean in general. At the same time she skilfully demonstrates the diversity of urban places within a limited geographical area. The two cities that Pérotin-Dumon has chosen to focus on are both located on Guadeloupe, twin islands found in the southernmost part of the Leeward chain, between Montserrat and Dominica. The cities, like their respective islands, demonstrate startlingly different geographies. Basse-Terre to the southwest and Grande-Terre to the northeast, are separated by a narrow strait. The city of Basse-Terre, on the southern end of the high, rugged volcanic island of the same name, was slow to develop. Beginning in about 1650 as the location of a rudimentary fort and some warehouses, it was described as a small town until the 1690s. Eventually emerging as the administrative centre of the entire region, Basse-Terre was an urban place that grew without any preconceived plan. Pointe-à-Pitre, located on the flat and low-lying island of Grande-Terre and enjoying a good natural port, emerged as a more modern city in the middle of the eighteenth century. Set out along a well-elaborated grid plan, and it quickly established itself as the economic capital of the region.

The author examines the history of each of these cities and also focuses on the continuous interaction between these urban centres, and their ties to their respective hinterlands. Concentrating on the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, she examines a wide range of issues including population, architecture, material culture, urban planning, urban culture, society, trade and the economy, modernisation, local political developments to demonstrate the dynamism of these urban places. Pérotin-Dumon skilfully moves between the histories of each city, that of the island and that of French colonial policy. Home not only to French colonists and slaves, the cities were also where semi-skilled and skilled artisans plied a multiplicity of trades. It was these cities that, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the movement to end slavery was born.

This massive work, an exhaustively researched tour de force, is a noteworthy contribution to the history of the French Caribbean. Pérotin-Dumon not only makes use of just about every archive (archives in France and Guadeloupe as well as those in Spain, Sweden and England) and source available on the region (notary records, parish registers, commercial records), she also includes a large selection of the most interesting material in a 162-page appendix that contains royal decrees, lists of merchants, notaries, pharmacists and skilled artisans, contacts for public works and census data.

Pérotin-Dumon also takes care to place her entire discussion of urbanism in Guadeloupe within a wider context of international competition and political manoeuvring. Knowledgeable in the history of Spanish and Portuguese America, she also places the history of these two cities in the French Caribbean within a comparative



American colonial context. Indeed Basse-Terre and Pointe-à-Pitre were as large and as economically important as many of the major cities of colonial Spanish America with the exception of the behemoth Mexico City. Thus this work should cause historians of so-called 'plantation' societies throughout the colonial Americas to reconsider the role of urban centres, while encouraging other colonial scholars to engage in greater examination of the comparative American colonial experience.

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Carlos Eugênio Líbano Soares, *A capoeira escrava e outras tradições rebeldes no Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (Campinas, SP: Editora da Unicamp, 2001), pp. 608, pb.

The rapid expansion of capoeira throughout a globalised world has also resulted in growing academic interest in this Afro-Brazilian martial art. An ever increasing number of monographs and theses bears testimony to the fact that capoeira is becoming a field on its own. Soares' book is not only important for the history of capoeira, but more generally for the understanding of the genesis of slave and Afro-American culture. He has dug out an incredible number of primary sources from the archives, most of which have not been used by previous researchers.

Capoeira practitioners and scholars alike will be interested in his material regarding the origins of the art. Some 84 per cent of the hundreds of Africans arrested for capoeira during the period 1810–1821 (when the practice first appears in historical records) came from the Congo/Angola region; and among these slaves from the estuary of the Congo basin were particularly prominent. This detail might not please those who believe that the *n'golo* from Benguela was capoeira's principle ancestor. However, given the presence of Creoles at that early stage, the author emphasises that capoeira was above all a slave, rather than 'an exclusively African activity. In reality, it appears that it was the fruit of a combination of disperse African traditions and Creole cultural "inventions"' (p. 125).

Present-day *capoeiristas* might be disappointed because records provide so few concrete details on the game itself. It is never described by police officers or other administrators, we therefore still don't know much about its practice compared with later periods, on which Soares himself has written another classic book. But he provides a dense account of how capoeira was embedded in urban slaves' and freedmen's lives. Capoeira exercises, including the always mentioned head-butts, were practised on the cities' squares, in the port area, around churches housing black brotherhoods and near the *zungus*, the residences of slaves 'for hire' and free coloured people. Capoeira offered a fundamental space for male slave sociability, but also a weapon to confront other slaves or the police. Early *capoeiras* wore coloured ribbons, hats or caps that probably marked their ethnic belonging. Soares suggests that fights over access to fountains and control of squares resulted in gang formation, but as he seems to recognise himself, evidence for capoeira gangs before the 1840s is rather weak.

Very well documented on the contrary are the attempts of the authorities to eradicate capoeira, and how policies changed over time. No other cultural practice was ever the object of such intense, and ultimately unsuccessful, repression. Slaves were administered 'immediate correction' of between one and three hundred lashes if caught, and often sent to forced labour in the dockyards. Free practitioners who indulged in this unacceptable behaviour associated with slaves were also frequently

mistreated and usually drafted into the armed forces. A substantial part of the book deals with life of *capoeiras* and slaves more generally in the different prisons of the city and the dockyards. Soares sees the latter especially as an important space for the generation of more encompassing practices of resistance, given that slaves socialised here with political prisoners, sailors and soldiers. His book also covers the crucial role of *capoeiras* in the subduing of the mutiny by Irish and German soldiers in 1828, and the part played by the incoming Minas in the Cariocan slave community. He emphasises the divergence of interests between the state and the slave owners, the latter often complaining about the formers' intrusion into their property rights.

The picture that emerges is of two parallel terrors. The authorities adopted policies of intimidation against the *capoeiras*, and these in return instilled fear among the elites. Soares insists on – and often reiterates – the headaches of the police chiefs and the nightmares of the elites. This extremely gloomy picture of a desperate battle to enforce law and order on a rebellious slave population clearly is a reflection of the type of sources he used. Some might consider this view exaggerated, since in the end no major slave revolt ever occurred in the city of Rio de Janeiro. But that is the easy judgement with hindsight of the contemporary observer. Capoeira emerges from this study not as an irrelevant niche for cultural historians but as a lens through which one can apprehend the complex interaction of slave culture and elite politics.

Since the book is structured both thematically and chronologically, it tends to repeat evidence and arguments. Why replicate what every scholar might have said at some stage on nineteenth-century capoeira? This might be a common problem when finishing a PhD thesis under time pressure, but one would expect academic publishers to take more care in proofreading and editing. The book would have greatly profited from a compression of the text and the amendments of some weird statistics (for instance, percentages on p. 599 add up to 200 per cent and still leave out the 9 per cent Moçambiques!). Despite these editorial problems it remains an outstanding contribution to the social history of slavery and a landmark in capoeira studies.

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Sandra Gayol, *Sociabilidad en Buenos Aires. Hombres, honor y cafés, 1862–1910* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Signo, 2000), pp. 284, pb.

Near the end of the *Belle Époque* there were about a thousand cafés and *despachos de bebida* in the city of Buenos Aires. These stores varied according to their location and clientele: from the rustic *despacho* to the elegant *café principal*. Some were drinking bars adjacent to a general grocery store. Others were sophisticated coffee houses with large mirrors, billiards and uniformed waiters. In general, these were places where men could spend hours drinking, playing cards, listening to music or singing. Due to the low initial investment required, this was a quite competitive activity dominated by immigrants.

To the police, the cafés were sites of wild sociability, where men got drunk, women prostituted themselves and minors were exposed to different forms of 'vice'. Because of concerns about the question of social disorder, cafés were heavily regulated spaces. There were regulations about almost everything the cafés did. But, at the same time, the police tolerated quite a few irregularities and excesses, because of the impossibility of controlling such a huge number of them. Unlike other forms of popular entertainment (such as the theatre and the circus), cafés were not considered places of *diversión*.

Since they were always associated with prostitution and alcoholic consumption, cafés were places of danger for respectable people.

The city of Buenos Aires during the age of mass immigration generated an environment propitious for casual encounters among strangers. Many of those who met in cafés were also strangers. When interrogated by the police, they could not tell the name of the person they were drinking with. After a rapid gaze at the other's clothes (to check for the minimum of respectability), a man would accept an invitation to drink. Soon, after a friendly conversation, the drinking partners would exchange promises of *amistad*. This casual and 'easy' sociability was pertinent for a city where many immigrant men, lacking emotional support, sought companionship, information, and entertainment. As the author shows, a heterogeneous clientele filled the cafés of Buenos Aires. Among those whose name reached the police records Gayol found 107 different occupations and 26 different nationalities. This type of heterogeneity must have created significant problems of communication and interaction. But, as the author points out, men of similar occupations tended to patronise particular cafés or *despachos*, and large part of the groups within these stores were organised along ethnic lines. (Although other encounters were not determined by ethnicity or occupation.)

Women occupied ambiguous space within cafés. Some were the owners of these stores, others were customers, whose drunkenness and 'scandals' left imprints in the public records. More often, however, the women of the cafés were suspected of being prostitutes. The cafés simply replicated the gender divisions of society at large: women were supposed to remain at home, taking care of their families, while men spent time after work at the cafés. The women who, breaking this code, appeared in these public places, could only be '*mujeres perdidas*'. Men attended the cafés on their way to work, during a break in their daily labours or after the working day was over. For the cafés and *despachos* catered mainly to a working-class clientele. Within the cafés men drank, talked, played cards and sang. They conversed about their women, their crafts and their social connections. Buying a round of drinks was an obligatory ritual, one that was costly to the pockets of working-class men.

The chapter about honour is the longest in the book and the most crucial for the understanding of masculinity. Gayol suggests that honour was a common language shared by the men who patronised the cafés and that this was the most precious capital men had to exhibit. In these spaces of sociability, men found themselves having to defend their own sexual identity. Trying to establish their credibility as men made public their private affairs with women. By doing this, they put the respectability of women and of other men in jeopardy. To restore their own respectability, men were ready to risk their own lives. The cafés were thus the theatre for the enactment of masculinity: men used these public places to establish themselves as men. This meant conveying to other men clear messages about their power over women, their physical strength, their courage, their economic capability and the credibility of their word.

*Sociabilidad en Buenos Aires* is an excellent study of masculinity, honour and public sociability among immigrant men in Buenos Aires during the Golden Age. The author has carefully examined hundreds of police and criminal records to present us with a complex reading of cafés and their social milieu. To a degree, this study challenges us to revise our understanding of the period, placing more emphasis on the construction of informal social relations among men. But, at the same time, the study complements and confirms the traditional view of *Belle Époque* Buenos Aires as a melting pot of languages, identities and experiences. Closer attention to cultural differences among immigrants would have rendered, perhaps, a more multifaceted view of public life and

masculinity. Honour might have been a common idiom among men, but the different immigrant communities perhaps attached to it quite different connotations and importance.

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Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2000), pp. xiii + 408, £44.00, £14.95 pb.

*Mestizaje* (mixture) has been a trope of Latin American nation-building and a focus of academic debate for over a century. It has been seen as heralding democratic inclusion, but equally ethnocidal exclusion; as opening possibilities for creative, unpredictable innovation, but also as enforcing bland homogeneity. In this engrossing book, de la Cadena argues that Peru is an exception in Latin America in that *mestizaje* never became a state-sponsored ideology of nationhood. While in the late nineteenth century, some elite figures espoused the notions of ‘constructive miscegenation’ (p. 14) – de la Cadena borrows Nancy Stepan’s useful phrase – by the 1920s *indigenismo*, in the form it took among highland Cuzco’s local elite, tended to reject *mestizaje* as a pernicious process that would harm indigenous peoples who should retain their own culture and stay in their ‘proper’ place. This regional view had a major influence on nationalist thought; ideas about a positive *mestizaje* became rather marginal or associated with specific regional intellectual elites.

Linked to this, Peruvian indigenismo rejected the biological notions of race that were still dominant in Anglo-American thought in the early twentieth century and adopted instead a culturalist definition, albeit an essentialist and naturalised one, grounded in a racialised environmentalism which associated geography with innate culture, thereby intertwining race and culture. In this view, Indianness still occupied a lowly social status, while urbanity, education and good manners (*decencia*) were highly valued traits.

Today, argues de la Cadena, working-class people from Cuzco both contest and reproduce the ‘silent racism’ inherent in these views. On the one hand, they positively identify as mestizos in a way that, while it makes reference to their urban residence, literacy and economic success, does not distance them from the indigenous culture of which they are proud. They are not ‘incomplete participants in two discrete cultural formations’: they participate completely in both (p. 318). ‘Indian’ is, for them, a social not a cultural condition: a ‘mestizo’ is a successful Indian. On the other hand, this process of de-Indianisation, as de la Cadena calls it, also reproduces racism as it reiterates the lowly status of ‘Indian’ as illiterate, rural and poor. These identifications thus take place on a hierarchical terrain in which, while one person’s ‘mestizeness’ is another’s ‘Indianness’ – giving rise to highly fluid and situational identities – some hegemonic values are constantly restated.

The book’s six central chapters elaborate these ideas with historical and ethnographic material from Cuzco. De la Cadena looks at ideologies of *indigenismo* in the 1920s and at perspectives taken by local elite and indigenous leaders on indigenous rebellions of the same era: in both cases, Indians were defined as essentially illiterate and literacy automatically connoted mestizo identity from an elite point of view. In the 1940s, there emerged in Cuzco a neo-Indianist populist discourse of *mestizaje* which glorified the tough masculine *cholo*, but this eventually succumbed to a national liberal *indigenismo* which favoured a more purist line. In chapter four de la

Cadena examines how working-class women, such as market vendors, were seen from different perspectives as impure and immoral or glorified as *cholas*, sexy and available to non-Indians. Women market vendors themselves identified as *mestizos* and valued an ethic of hard work which won them respect, while with their ‘insolence’ they also challenged the city authorities who sought to control them and their markets. These women saw themselves as mestizas but also indigenous; the difference between them and the Indians – whom they did not hesitate to abuse as dirty and stupid if they saw fit – was that they were successful and had gained respect. Elite values of *decencia* thus seeped into working class values of *respeto* (respect). Chapters five and six look at *mayordomías* (the well-known cargo system) and at folkloric dance groups. De la Cadena shows how hierarchies of race and class inform the status competitions and notions of value that are deployed in both contexts.

De la Cadena has produced an invaluable addition to the literature on *mestizaje*, race, class and culture in Latin America. The book is richly documented both historically and ethnographically and the idea of an ‘indigenous mestizo’ who embodies a ‘fractal’ identity (p. 318) and yet is caught up in hegemonic hierarchies of race and culture is a welcome departure from tired ideas of a progression from Indian to mestizo and from celebrations of hybridity.

I found the idea of a shift from ‘biological’ to ‘culturalist’ notions of race a little too restrictive. As de la Cadena shows at some length, these culturalist ideas naturalised culture and saw it as innate. Yet de la Cadena sees this as somehow opposed to ‘biology’. Sure enough, in the early decades of the twentieth century, Peruvian intellectuals – like many of their Latin American contemporaries – were anxious to distance themselves from the particular versions of biological determinism current especially in Britain and the USA (though less so in Germany and France). But if culture was seen as innate and natural, did this not link into ideas about physical bodies? Only if biology is defined in a very narrow way could one really say that it had been rejected by these thinkers. In de la Cadena’s approach, ‘race’ loses its specificity as it is defined simply as involving ‘a belief in the unquestionable intellectual and moral superiority’ of one group over another (p. 4). It seems to me that, in its emphasis on bodies, the discourse deployed about Indians and mestizos retained a ‘biological’ element. Interestingly, de la Cadena documents how, in the 1950s, beauty contests for Indian women resurrected ‘notions of racial purity’ by requiring entrants to supply proof of ‘racial purity’ and ‘indigenous lineage’ (p. 178). The rules also specified that contestants should have certain physical attributes thought to be characteristic of authentic indigenous women. I wondered, then, if a little more attention to what it meant in contemporary terms for culture (or ‘spirit’) to be ‘innate’ and ‘immanent’ would have been productive. This does not detract, however, from a fascinating and thought-provoking book.

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James Mahoney, *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. xv + 396, £29.50 hb.

Liberalism was the ideology that presided over the re-shaping of Latin America’s insertion to nineteenth-century capitalism. The theoretical principles of free-market, laissez-faire and individualism were implemented through pervasive, direct and long-sustained, not infrequently harsh, government interventions in public and private

affairs. Central America was no exception to this pattern. And, according to James Mahoney, the way liberal reforms were enacted in each country imprinted subsequent political regimes of an indelible pattern whose legacies persist well into the twentieth century – and beyond. This book is devoted to the verification of this hypothesis.

Re-articulation to international markets through the expansion of commercial agriculture performed as a shared pattern of liberal reforms across Central America, with variations in terms of state-building and class structure transformations. According to country differences in the scope and depth of both, Mahoney identifies three types of liberal reform: radical (as in Guatemala and El Salvador), reformist (Costa Rica) and aborted (Honduras and Nicaragua). Radical reform involved a sharp differentiation between the state coercive power built upon an emergent agrarian bourgeoisie, and an increasingly polarised rural class structure. In the reformist Costa Rican experience the rural class structure remained comparatively more homogeneous than in El Salvador and Guatemala, which in turn reduced the chances of building a strong, centralised military-coercive apparatus. Yet in these three republics domestic actors were able to achieve political control of state apparatuses as well of export-led agriculture. By contrast, foreign control of key political institutions and strategic economic decisions in both Honduras and Nicaragua at different moments in liberal reforms, stunted the development of centralised states as well of an at least semi-autonomous agrarian bourgeoisie.

In the aftermath of the reform period, failed democratic movements in Guatemala and El Salvador brought about the conditions for the economic elites to push national politics in an exclusionary direction, with the military exercising institutional control over the state and appealing to open coercive rule. The consolidation of a national state together with the development of a certain autonomy of the latter vis-à-vis the ruling classes were thus achieved in an authoritarian manner. In Costa Rica, on the contrary, democratic pressures were able to secure a gradual institutional openness and a certain intra-elite political competition which eventually led the country to a post-Second World War democracy with clear social overtones. In turn, foreign ownership of export production in both Nicaragua and Honduras afforded them a typical neo-colonial stance. Deprived of effective control over strategic economic and financial resources, the domestic elites exacerbated their reciprocal competition to preserve direct control of state institutions and thus the maintenance of political links to foreign actors. Interventions of these actors not just prevented the full success of reforms; they also contributed to the consolidation of subservient personalist dictatorships, such as those of Tiburcio Carías Andino and Anastasio Somoza García.

While most of the academic literature devoted to Central American past and current history pays a great deal of attention to socio-economic factors, Mahoney stresses the relevance of power politics in the making of Liberal reforms and their legacies. Power-seeking strategies and government policies, as much as structural determinants or possibilities, underpin successful reforms, as well as failed ones. In the final analysis, it was the ability or inability of power elites to take advantage of both domestic and international settings and structures which affords a reliable explanation of their successes and failures, as well of the endurance of their legacies in terms of building sustainable political regimes, either of a democratic or an authoritarian content.

Political strongmen were the leading actors of reforms: Justo Rufino Barrios in Guatemala, Rafael Zaldívar in El Salvador, Tomás Guardia in Costa Rica, Marco Aurelio Soto in Honduras, José Santos Zelaya in Nicaragua. While liberal reforms

afforded decisive leverage to capitalist accumulation, Mahoney points to the leaders' relative aloofness with regard to the economic elites that were the beneficiaries of reforms. Yet it seems too much to present their governments' strategies as fully-fledged options either for a radical or reformist political programme, as Mahoney does. As usually happens, effective results were an outcome of rational options as much of contingency, of explicit will but also of crass necessity.

Furthermore, the relevance given to political agency is in uneasy articulation with the structural historical, path dependent assertion of the long-term conditioning effects of nineteenth-century Liberal reforms. According to Mahoney's historical conception, the only 'critical junctures' in a century-and-a-half of Central American history are those related to liberal reforms. Subsequent history appears merely as the logical consequence of the way those reforms were carried out, and of the immediate actions and reactions they generated. No further historical ruptures are to be found in Mahoney's narrative: just one thing leading to the next one. Yet it is not evident how political agency does fit, within these somewhat deterministic movements, short of in a conservative fashion.

Perhaps at bottom of these and other interpretive shortcomings is the heavy reliance of this book on secondary sources. In order to advance his new reading of Central America's modern political history, Mahoney conducted a gigantic, yet not always successful effort to homogenise a not homogenous or consistent academic literature – neither in methodology nor in theoretical interpretations. Due to the priority given to support his central argument with enough authoritative references, a number of questions are left unresolved – e.g. the causes of the differences between Carias Andino's and the Somozas' traditional dictatorships in Honduras and Nicaragua; the economic foundations of democracy in Costa Rica; or the reasons why Honduras' military rulers launched an agrarian reform while the Somozas promoted peasant eviction and repression. On the contrary, more recent events not directly related to the offspring of the Liberal reforms are conspicuously put aside – such as the Honduras–El Salvador 'football war' and subsequent expulsion of Salvadorean peasants, which increased demographic and social pressures in Chalatenango while affording López Arellano and subsequent military governments in Honduras opportunities to settle Honduran landless peasant families through agrarian reform. Whether or not these events qualify as 'critical junctures' in Mahoney's terms, they drove both countries towards quite different, though interrelated, political paths.

In all, Mahoney proposes a re-reading of Central American history which may horrify historians due to its many teleological biases, as well practitioners of comparative analysis because of its not always consistent parameters, or political scientists due to its loose use of the concept of democracy when referred to political regimes. Yet, it affords a complementary hypothetical perspective to what we already know about this always seductive region.

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Timothy J. Power, *The Political Right in Postauthoritarian Brazil: Elites, Institutions, and Democratization* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000), pp. xvi + 284, £46.50, £16.95 pb.

How does a society suffering under an authoritarian regime make the transition to a more open system? Well-informed readers might respond that Juan Linz and

Al Stepan have more than answered that question in their massive survey, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, 1966). In fact there is much more to be said, as Timothy Power demonstrates in this valuable monograph on postauthoritarian Brazil. Power's concern is not so much how the path out of authoritarianism got blazed, but how the nature of the transition affected subsequent politics. In particular he focuses on the political right and how its tactics distorted the expression of class/sector influences and their processing by the institutional structure created by the constitution of 1988. Power was wise in choosing to study the right, whose political effectiveness is too often underestimated or ignored.

Power lays bare some interesting aspects of rightist political behavior. One is that politicians of the right seldom acknowledge their true ideological position. Instead they disguise their beliefs, hiding behind such bland labels as 'centrist'. Furthermore, they maintain a low profile in congress and in the press. This tactic has had the result of often leaving the left and the (authentic) centre without a visible enemy, thus leading to miscalculation and frustration. It has also contributed to the notoriously undefined quality of Brazilian political parties.

Drawing on his careful research and equally careful reasoning, the author shows how the right, by virtue of what it did or did not do, helped to maintain a crippled democracy where a passive or obstructionist congress did nothing to correct the grossly misweighted formula for allocating seats in the lower house. Since the right benefited electorally from the overweighted quotas in the north and northeast, they had little interest in changing the system and they had the votes (in alliance with other pro-status quo deputies) to block the constitutional amendment that changing electoral roles required. There were numerous other reforms that the centre and left promoted but which the right blocked.

At the same time it should be noted, as Power does, that many of the institutional distortions, such as the skewed allocation of congressional seats, had been inherited from the military regime (1964–1985) which freely manipulated the system to avoid ever losing an election. On the other hand, the military repression was relatively less pervasive, compared to the Argentine or Chilean experience, thus leaving a political climate that was, accordingly, less bitterly polarised. That undoubtedly bequeathed a less radicalised atmosphere when the transition came.

Readers should note that Power's concentration on the sources (or non-sources) of institutional change means he devotes little attention to the substantive socio-economic issues around which everyday politics revolved. For that the reader should consult Leigh Payne's *Uncivil Movements: The Armed Right Wing and Democracy in Latin America* (Baltimore, 2000) or Kurt Weyland's *Democracy Without Equality: Failures of Reform in Brazil* (Pittsburgh, 1996). But Power has given us an illuminating study on how the Brazilian right obstructed, distorted and undermined the democratic state for which millions of Brazilians had worked and prayed.

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Carlos de la Torre, *Populist Seduction in Latin America: The Ecuadorian Experience* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000), pp. xix + 185, \$22.00 pb.

It should be no surprise that Latin American politics in the 1990s has given rise to a return to the study of populism, a subject more or less discarded in the 1960s with



the demise of an earlier generation of populist regimes. But what is populism? In what circumstances does it occur? What is it that seems to make it a recurring feature of the region's politics? These are some of the central questions addressed by Carlos de la Torre in what is a lucid and rewarding study that resumes much of the current thinking on the matter.

Defining what we mean by 'populism' has long been one of the trickier tasks confronting political scientists who study Latin America. De la Torre takes issue with those who think that populism is an intellectual blind alley that is best avoided. He believes that it is all too common a phenomenon to be dismissed out of hand, even though this leaves us with problems of definition and measurement. He is fairly clear in saying what it is not. It is not the political counterpart of import-substitution industrialisation. Nor is it necessarily a product of economic or institutional hiatus. Nor is it a substitute word for bouts of macroeconomic irresponsibility used for the purpose of mobilising political support.

The core definition that is asserted – and one which this reviewer believes moves us in the right direction – is to see populism as a facet of the introduction of mass politics in societies where individual civil rights count for little and ordinary people need a figure greater than themselves to give their social and political rights some meaning through collective action. It is thus typical of countries with large inequalities in which elites, one way or another, exclude the mass of the population from any real sense of participation.

De la Torre seeks to use this definition to bring together traditional populism and the so-called 'neo-populists' of recent years. To this end, he uses Ecuador as a case study, a country that has not received the amount of study that it arguably deserves. In fact, the book is really a sequence of four interrelated essays. The first and last chapters deal with populism and 'neo-populism' respectively, whilst chapters two and three address the experiences of José María Velasco Ibarra and Abdalá Bucarám in the 1940s and 1990s respectively. With its accentuated social (and other) divides and its scant history of democratic institutionalisation, Ecuador is an interesting example that tends to be eclipsed in the literature by the study of populism in larger Latin American countries.

De la Torre distances himself somewhat from structuralist interpretations, stressing rather the role played by charismatic figures and their political discourse. The capacity of populist politicians to generate collective solidarity by posing as 'saviours' or 'redeemers' and to whip up an 'us-versus-them' and 'good-versus-evil' mentality ('Manichaean discourse' according to de la Torre) are therefore key tools of the trade. An understanding of mass psychology is therefore a vital requisite, although this may take quite different forms. Velasco Ibarra's ascetic image is contrasted with Bucarám's anti-establishment antics and his sexually evocative public discourse. Populists, de la Torre believes, actively need to 'seduce' (hence the title) their supporters. While clearly this is important, it can only be successfully done in the right conditions where other channels of popular participation do not function. On balance, perhaps too much is made here of discourse at the expense of the context in which it is expended.

To what extent is populism a transitory phenomenon, or is it here to stay? This is a question that clearly has important implications with respect to debates over democratic consolidation in Latin America. De la Torre takes issue with those who see it as an historically defined 'phase' that will work itself out. Rather he sees it as the product of a set of social and political relationships that tend to repeat themselves, and that populism resurfaces in new guises at different times. Certainly, neither of his

case studies suggests that populists are good at creating stable regimes. Unable to engage and interact with their opponents in ways that nurture the development of political institutions, populist regimes encounter severe problems in perpetuating themselves over time. But whereas many earlier experiences of populism ended in military rule, it is less clear where the ‘neo-populists’ of the 1990s will now lead us. Observation of the contemporary scene in Latin America – Ecuador included – would suggest that the contradiction between elite-dominated constitutional democracies and populist ‘direct’ democracies still has quite a long way to go in working itself out.

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Nikki Craske and Maxine Molyneux (eds.), *Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. xv + 226, £45.00 hb.

The process of democratisation in Latin America, coupled with mounting global emphasis on rights in social and development agendas, has set struggles for gender justice in Latin America in arguably more fertile terrain in the last decade and a half than at any previous point in the region’s history. This impressive collection of papers, drawn from a workshop organised by the editors in collaboration with the prominent Peruvian feminist Virginia Vargas, marks the first major attempt to explore how women’s movements operating in different arenas in Latin America have used the new spaces opened up for democracy and rights at local, national and global levels to advance gender equality in the continent. In so doing, the discussions also serve to show that negotiating these spaces is far from straightforward. The book’s critical reflections of the ‘limits and difficulties of rights-based work’ (Molyneux and Craske, p. 2) embody important conceptual perspectives that not only illuminate the tensions experienced in feminist struggles in Latin America’s post-authoritarian regimes, but have resonance for debates on women’s movements and gender more generally.

The subject matter of the diverse chapters in the volume ranges from political reform, to domestic violence, to rights in the domains of reproduction, sexuality, the labour market and the economy. While each chapter tends to deal with a specific country or set of countries, between them they cover most parts of Latin America. In turn, the case study discussions are contextualised in a most informed and insightful manner by the editors’ introductory chapter. Not only do Molyneux and Craske expand on each author’s contribution in such a way as to bring out its wider theoretical and geographical significance, they also precede these synopses with a comprehensive, yet succinct, review of general developments that have a major bearing on the issues involved. This comprises a resumé of the importance of women’s struggles in bringing about the transition from military to civilian rule in key countries in the region, an account of political and economic contrasts and commonalities where attention is drawn to the obstacles to redressing social inequality posed both by neoliberalism and the fragile nature of emergent democracies in the continent, and last, but not least, salient developments pertaining to gender and women’s and human rights in the international arena in the second half of the twentieth century. Two issues of particular note singled out by the editors are first, that despite caution on the part of women to work with states as they have increasingly become ‘sites of engagement’ (as opposed to ‘hostile forces’) (p. 13), and the fact that for the most part Latin American feminist movements have retained their strong

grassroots allegiances and/or tradition of working outside the state, a greater tendency to collaborate with governments has been in process since the 1990s. Second, regional networking and collaboration have also increased. While not unique to Latin America, Molyneux and Craske assert that this has been both a distinguishing and positive feature of the women's movement, contributing to 'the continued struggle for engendered citizenship and women's rights in key ways, as well as helping to support local civil society activity through an exchange of expertise and experiences' (p. 14).

These themes come through to a greater or lesser degree in different ways in the case study chapters, as in that by Virginia Vargas, for example, which discusses developments in second wave feminism in Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s. Her review highlights questions that in many respects are as central today as they were (in certain contexts) then, namely, how to 'maintain the transformational radicalism of feminist thought and action when entering public, political spaces' (p. 206), and how to ensure that the struggle for rights is inclusive of the 'full diversity of voices, subjects, identities and spaces where the dynamic of exclusion is still expressed in hidden ways' (p. 215). The second of these two issues is dealt with in detail in Sarah Radcliffe's excellent chapter on indigenous women, rights and the nation state in the Andes, which discusses the difficulties of reconciling rights which pertain to different facets of women's identities. Other chapters, such as those by Mala Htun and Mark Jones, Elisabeth Jay Freidman, Niki Johnson and Jasmine Gideon, focus more on the nature of instruments designed to promote women's rights, whereas those by Fiona Maculay and Ceri Willmott consider the ways in which awareness and exercise of rights may be facilitated at the grassroots. In virtually all cases, principles and instruments are revealed to be insufficient without due monitoring and enforcement, or where they are introduced in environments that fail to address gender inequalities in an holistic manner.

Given the wide scope of the issues covered in the book, and, more importantly, the ways in which discussion of regional specificities are frequently embedded in broader critical reflections on big themes in contemporary Gender Studies – identity and difference, reproductive rights, domestic violence, social and economic rights and so on – this volume will not only be essential reading for Latin America-specific courses, but should also be a starred choice on general and/or comparative courses, especially at postgraduate and advanced undergraduate level. While the index might have been a little more comprehensive, the general character of its entries will serve specialist and non-specialist readers alike. Given the book's likely appeal to a broad cross-section of scholars not only in the UK but internationally, the publishers would be well-advised to bring out a paperback edition in the near future.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02386711

Roderic Ai Camp (ed.), *Citizen Views of Democracy in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), pp. viii + 293, \$45.00, \$22.45 pb.

This book contains a diverse collection of essays that all derive – with one significant exception, as we shall see – from a single research project. The project uses survey data to investigate how Latin Americans understand the term democracy. Rather than drawing on data available from the *Latinobarometer* it generates new data from a new questionnaire on democracy. In July 1998, with support from the Hewlett Foundation

and from Tulane University, a list of forty-three questions was put to a sample of about four thousand respondents in three selected countries, namely Costa Rica, Mexico and Chile. The data is then applied to the task of ‘getting inside the mind of the average Latin American citizen’ (p. 4).

This bald description suggests that the project is ambitious – and risky. Since everything eventually turns on the single research tool of the questionnaire, the nature of the questions is critical to a successful outcome. The questions should be carefully calibrated to achieve a specific set of research objectives. The overall composition of the questionnaire should reflect an informed and explicit theoretical perspective. Although the editor – Rod Camp – insists on the expertise that was deployed in designing the questionnaire, the design itself is never explained or defended. There is no detailed account of why it is these questions that are asked in these particular ways and in this particular order. Consequently the status of the research findings must remain in some doubt.

Yet it is clear that this survey research does not simply aim to garner opinion data on current social and political issues. On the contrary, it aspires to identify the most important ‘variables’ that shape ‘Latin American conceptualisations of democracy’ (p. 11). But the ‘conceptualisations’ themselves vary between Costa Rica, Mexico and Chile, and between these countries and the United States, and these variations contribute to shape much of the comparative argument. And what explains these variations – implicitly or explicitly – is (national) political culture. By any standard, political culture is a large and amorphous object of research, and one unlikely to be discovered by a single ‘snapshot’ survey.

Much more could be said in similar vein. But on this occasion – very unusually – further commentary is not required. For the editor of the volume asked Alan Knight to write a critique of the project, and this critique is included as chapter 12 of the book, titled ‘Polls, Political Culture, and Democracy’. Rod Camp and Alan Knight have moved around the same conference circuit in the United States for many years, so Camp should certainly have known what to expect from Knight, who is never more energetic and never more polemical than when joyfully debunking the worst excesses of positivist political science. In this case Knight delivers an acute, eloquent and comprehensive critique of the project and its assumptions that reduces the whole stucco edifice to dust and rubble. Is his a fair assessment? Not entirely. But it is a rattling good read that should unnerve at least some within the political science community.

Yes, we do need more survey research on Latin America, and this book can be read as a worthy attempt to begin this important work. Yet the theoretical and methodological problems of carrying out comparative survey research are enduring, and intractable to easy solutions. These problems do not figure largely in this book – except in the Knight essay. Instead, the authors tend to focus on the details of the survey data, before making large inferences to (national) cultural explanations – in a recurrent exercise of the classic ecological fallacy.

This book may appeal to those interested in ‘support for democracy’ and democratic consolidation in Latin America, since it represents a comprehensive – albeit flawed – attempt to address these questions. And for those more interested in the flaws themselves, and, by extension, in the very real difficulties of designing a coherent project of this kind and carrying it out, the essay by Alan Knight provides a perfect introduction to the potential pitfalls.

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Antoni Kapcia, *Cuba: Island of Dreams* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), xvi + 295, £42.99, £14.99 pb.

Antoni Kapcia has spent more than thirty years thinking and writing about the Cuban Revolution, and his latest book is the culmination of his long involvement with its history. Much of the book is concerned with the search for a Cuban national identity, both before and after 1959, and this is followed by a disquisition on myth-making in the pre- and post-revolutionary periods. It concludes with a disquisition on the post-Soviet decade of the 1990s, as the Cubans continue to pursue their historical 'dreams' in a more isolated context. Although the book's framework of myth and dream might seem rather daunting, it can also be read as an invaluable cornucopia of information, gleaned from wide reading, firsthand experience, and personal acquaintance with many participants.

Kapcia's principal concern is with the ideology of the Revolution, a dimension, he suggests, that has been largely 'forgotten or misunderstood' in most of the current literature. This concern leads him to consider a question that obsesses Cuban intellectuals – and indeed many ordinary Cubans – but is rarely given much space or attention outside the island: what is the special, historic ingredient of the Revolution that has enabled so many people, against all the odds, 'to remain fundamentally loyal to a system with so many errors, weaknesses, failures and contradictions'? After more than forty years of 'Revolution', this is a fairly central question.

Along with post-Revolution intellectuals in Cuba itself, Kapcia refers to the Revolution's ideology as 'cubanía', in contradistinction to 'cubanidad' (Cuban-ness), which is often dismissed as an obsession of the (white) Cuban intellectual elite of pre-Revolutionary times. Historians and political scientists, notably in Cuba itself, have long debated the definition of 'cubanidad', and have explored its origins and its usefulness as an analytical tool. 'Cubanía', as Kapcia defines it, is an extension of 'cubanidad' (perceived as a minority, white, intellectual concern), that evolved from an ideology of dissent in the late nineteenth century ('cubanía rebelde') into a post-revolutionary 'cubanía revolucionaria' after 1959. This hegemonic ideology of dissent, developed over a century, was to guide the revolutionary process through its first tumultuous decade in the 1960s, and was to last long enough to guarantee the Revolution's survival in the 1990s.

Kapcia is at pains to point out that 'cubanía' is not just another name for Cuban nationalism. The tradition of 'cubanía' in Cuban history clearly predates anything that could be described as proto-nationalism. (Contemporary Cuban historians, incidentally, prefer the term 'patriotismo' to 'nacionalismo'.)

Much of Kapcia's book is taken up with the various 'dreams' and 'politico-historical myths' that have sustained the ideology of 'cubanía' through the years. The principal 'dream' that forms the subject-matter of the book is 'the true dream of independence', that dates back to the eighteenth century. At certain low points in Cuban history that dream has looked more like an illusion, defined by Kapcia as an 'imagined and even illusory reality, projected on to a possibly unattainable future and stored in a collective folk memory'. This concept of 'illusory dreams' draws heavily on Benedict Anderson's idea of the nation as an 'imagined community'. It is 'the shared willingness' of the Cuban population to defend these dreams, Kapcia argues, that created the success of the Revolution in the first place. It also explains why it has 'sustained popular support, cemented unity, fortified collective resolve and rallied flagging commitment over the years'.

Among the legitimising myths that Kacpia deals with in this original and stimulating book are those of the *mambí* fighters of the nineteenth century, the guerrillas of the 1950s, the iconic figure of Che Guevara, the Afro-Cubans (who were invested with new meaning during the wars in Angola), and the various revolutionary ‘generations’; of the 1860s, the 1890s, the 1930s and the 1950s. (Kacpia admits to two lacunae in his study. Blacks are not adequately dealt with in the development of ‘cubanía’, and nor is the trajectory of the Florida Cubans, who have not remained on the sidelines in the historical debate.)

In illuminating these myths (and their associated ‘dreams’), Kacpia seeks to answer some of the basic questions that must now be asked about the Revolution after forty years: ‘how has such an apparently chaotic process succeeded in surviving a series of crises that ought to have buried it in economic disaster long ago?’ and ‘how, without losing all credibility with its own citizens, has the process been able to continue re-inventing itself so much that its trajectory since 1959 seems to have zigzagged continually’.

In his exposition of the radical nationalism that lies at the heart of ‘cubanía’, and in his illumination of the mechanisms by which that ideology is expressed in the daily lives of ordinary people, Kacpia has produced a valuable and believable explanation for the extraordinary longevity of the Cuban Revolution.

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Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *Regional Integration in Latin America and the Caribbean* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2001), pp. xiv + 322, £14.95; \$19.95, pb.

This edited collection brings together an impressive group of researchers from the UK, the USA and Latin America and the Caribbean. Its focus is on new regionalism within Latin America and the Caribbean, understood as sets of responses by states and socially-constituted groups to the pressures and constraints of globalisation. The range of topics covered in the book is admirably broad and ambitious and chapters are divided into four main sections, economics, institutions, politics and external links. While this format allows authors to explore their particular theme in depth, the ‘whole picture’ on, for example, MERCOSUR, inevitably gets a little diluted between each of the sections. In the end, readers are given the building blocks of a political economy exploration of new regionalism but are left to pull together the holistic analysis for themselves. Despite this caveat, however, the book should be seen as a very welcome and high quality addition to the growing literature on regionalism.

The collection does a particularly good job at synthesising work done on regionalism and setting out an agenda for future research. It is to be commended for the fact that it explores in depth some rather under-researched topics within integration, such as business politics (by Ben Ross Schneider) and monetary integration (by Valpy Fitzgerald). Mature and considered judgements are offered on the present state of regional integration in the region, in contrast to some of the rather extreme views that were more commonplace in the 1990s. Rather than seeing regionalism as ushering a radical change in the political and economic architecture of the Americas, this collection draws attention to limitations, deficiencies and lacunae in integration

processes. Bulmer-Thomas's sober assessment of the state of integration notes that new regionalism has not been able to escape many of the weaknesses that bedevilled integration in the past, namely 'commitments are made and not honoured; inter-regional trade is vulnerable to external shocks and is pro-cyclical rather than anti-cyclical; institutions are weak and inadequately financed' (p. 13). The book is also to be praised for taking regionalism in Central America and the Caribbean seriously, for so many assessments of integration in Latin America are actually studies of NAFTA or MERCOSUR.

All four sections that make up the book are strong. The chapters by Devlin and Estevadeordal, Page and Bulmer-Thomas present rich data on trade and investment in the region. Page shows convincingly how trade liberalisation has not led to total increases in foreign investment across the region. Bulmer-Thomas meanwhile, raises doubts about the extent to which deepening regional integration, on the basis of intra-industry trade, is presently possible. Caution, in other words, is implied throughout this section both about the immediate possibilities for a deeper integration and about the extent of net benefits that can be gained from it. This caution is picked up in the section on institutions, although Bouzas and Stolz present a persuasive and relatively upbeat account of the institutional development of MERCOSUR.

What is notable, in contrast, in the section on politics, is the extent to which regionalism has changed the terrain and the scope of policymaking and is re-making alliances within states and between states and civil societies. Here, factors such as institutional legacies, differing levels of state capacity, executive styles and the porosity of political systems to social pressure – especially from business groups – have all combined to produce very different national styles and approaches to regionalism. In fact, one of the striking, though unconscious, assumptions within the book is that states in Latin America retain considerable agential power, despite the depredations caused by globalisation and the reassertion of US hegemony within the area.

The section on external links is also excellent, although it does tend somewhat to prioritise economic relationships and exchanges. An opportunity is thus lost to compare the different ways states and sub-region formations present themselves more widely on the world stage. By the same token, the range of transnational and regional relationships that are generated by Latin American civil society groups within the framework of new regionalism is also ignored. A small quibble, but an important one, for one of the distinguishing features of new regionalism in Latin America is the extent to which it has spawned and encouraged diverse forms of social activity beyond the state. Overall, though, a book that should be on the shelves of those who are interested not only in regionalism, but in Latin American political economy and development.

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Nancy R. Powers, *Grassroots Expectations of Democracy and Economy: Argentina in Comparative Perspective* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, 2001), pp. xvi + 294, \$19.95; £14.95, pb.

This book studies the relationship between material interests and political views. Powers argues that it is necessary to understand people's perceptions about material

conditions to begin to understand that 'those conditions influence people's ideas about what they want from the political system' (p. 2). She also emphasises the significance of studying the extent of non-elites' support for democratic regimes. The book attempts to analyse the relationship between peoples' satisfaction with and support for a regime, on the one hand, and the benefits they obtain from that regime, on the other. The book opens by presenting two in-depth interviews, which allow Powers to contextualise her work theoretically. Her main research question is: what causes people to perceive or not perceive a relationship between government actions and their own lives? Powers conceptualises material interests that exist prior to political interests. After a brief historical background, the book presents a case study of interests related to problems of housing provision. The different strategies used to pursue interests related to this issue are analysed. Finally, the book explores the issue of political interests, attempting to analyse how Argentines define their political interests within the democratic regime.

The book contributes to current debates over the quality of democracy in Latin America. Although Powers concentrates on Argentina, and more precisely on Buenos Aires, she advances some thoughts about other cases such as Peru and eastern Europe.

Her research uses inductive methods and qualitative data to analyse the relationship between perceived material and political interests. The resulting analysis emphasises the relationship between economic, political and cultural factors in the formation of people's perceived interests.

Three main conclusions can be drawn from this research. First, some individuals perceive the micro and the macro levels as separate, meaning that personal interests are seen as largely independent of national politics. It would be interesting to know whether this is a consequence of the authoritarian years or of the political apathy that seems to have emerged in many new democracies.

Second, the research shows that people's perceptions of their material conditions are influenced by the inequality of Argentine society. People's material conditions are judged not at the micro level but at the macro level. That is, in this respect, a link is made between the two levels. People judge their own material conditions relative to those of others' around them. The book would have benefited from this argument being followed through more fully, to avoid the impression that economic, political and cultural perceptions can be separated analytically from people's concrete responses. However, in her conclusions, Powers does take into account the multi-dimensionality of material interests. Her objective throughout is to build a theoretical framework which helps us to think about individual- and societal-level factors that influence the formation of political interests among non-elites living with low or moderate means. While she successfully does this, her relative neglect of cultural factors weakens the force of her argument. Although the broad Argentine situation is contextualised, only limited attention is paid to the immediate and specific situation of the interviewees. This militates against a linking of perceptions to values.

Overall, Powers' work is a strong contribution to current debates, in particular the conclusion that while democracy itself does not seem to be threatened by material conditions, the quality of democracy certainly is. The analysis of the relationship between the state and individual interests provides a useful guide to future research into this area.

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Danuta Paszyn, *The Soviet Attitude to Political and Social Change in Central America, 1979–90: Case-Studies on Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 2000), pp. xi + 161, £45.00 hb.

The role of the United States and the Soviet Union in Latin America during the Cold War has received renewed attention in recent years as a result of the release of thousands of government documents and the possibility for researchers to access archives that were off limits a decade ago. In this book, Danuta Paszyn addresses a most fascinating question: what was the role of the Soviet Union in Central America during the 1980s? Numerous studies have been written on the role of the United States in the anti-Communist crusade in Central America, but few works have examined the role played by the Soviet Union in the region's imbroglio.

Paszyn argues that Soviet policy toward Central America was not the result of ideological considerations but the product of pragmatism. Soviet leaders were not interested in accepting the burden of supporting another Cuba in an area of secondary importance to the Kremlin. While the Soviet leadership, she argues, did not want to abandon the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, their major concern was to prevent a confrontation with the United States over a region that Moscow viewed as part of the US 'strategic backyard'. The author shows that the Soviet Union was not the potential source of support Central American revolutionaries expected. Moscow was a prudent and often distant actor in the dramatic events of the 1980s.

In contrast to claims that 'Soviet expansionism' was the source of revolution in Central America, Paszyn argues that Soviet policy toward Central America – and particularly Nicaragua – was reactive. The Soviet Union increased its economic and military assistance to Nicaragua in response to US aggression. Soviet aid was quite modest in the pre-Gorbachev years and it decreased even more under the policy of *perestroika*. Paszyn explains that Soviet military aid to Nicaragua before 1985 was restricted to the defence of the revolution from Contra aggression rather than the promotion of insurrection in Central America. After 1985, Soviet policy toward Nicaragua shifted in the direction of Gorbachev's 'new thinking' approach to foreign policy, which emphasised the need to attenuate international tension and promote closer relations with the United States. 'In this context', Paszyn argues, 'Moscow displayed increasing flexibility and willingness to compromise in arms reduction and other East–West negotiations, notably the settlement of regional conflicts in the Third World' (p. 60).

In some of the most interesting sections of the book, Paszyn examines the role played by Cuba in supporting the Sandinista revolutionary process. In contrast to the traditional US view of Cuba as a Soviet proxy, the author shows that Cuba acted as an independent player in Central America, often clashing with Soviet interests and desires. Indeed, 'the revolutionary success in Central America was of higher strategic and ideological importance to Cuba than to the USSR' (p. 2). Accordingly, Havana pursued its own policies in the region and, at various junctures, successfully withstood Soviet pressure not to provide military support to the Sandinistas and the Salvadorean guerrillas.

This book makes a relevant contribution to the debate on the Cold War in Central America. However, it is disappointing in some key respects. The use of primary sources is limited. Obviously, this is a major weakness because the study could have benefited significantly from the archives and other sources of information (e.g., key

actors in the events of the 1980s) that became available to researchers in the late 1990s. Accordingly, the book's claims are not always supported by strong evidence. In addition, Paszyn does not delve into the *process* of making foreign policy in the Soviet Union. Even though she refers succinctly to the declining influence of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus in foreign-policy decisions, her analysis does not convey an understanding of the mechanisms that shaped the formulation of Soviet policy toward Central America from the triumph of the Sandinistas through their defeat at the polls in 1990.

Even though the book's subtitle describes it as an analysis of case studies on Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, the last two cases are treated in a very superficial way. This is unfortunate because the author could have expanded the analysis of these cases to offer a more comprehensive background to understand the position of the Kremlin regarding the various conflicts waged in Central America during the 1980s.

In spite of its weaknesses, this study provides an interesting examination of the Soviet role vis-à-vis the Nicaraguan revolution, which challenges the basic rationale that sustained the US government's counterrevolutionary involvement in Central America. I would recommend this book for courses on US–Latin American relations and the politics of revolution in Latin America.

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Tommie Sue Montgomery (ed.), *Peacemaking and Democratization in the Western Hemisphere* (Miami, FL: North-South Center Press, University of Miami, 2000), pp. iii + 334, £22.95; \$26.95, pb.

While the Western Hemisphere had been entirely off-limits to international intervention before the end of the Cold War, it has seen a number of the most significant and distinctive multilateral peace and democratisation efforts since then. This collection of papers from a 1996 conference at the North-South Center focuses on multilateral peace and electoral operations in the region. It is a valuable contribution to discussions of the possibilities and limitations of multilateralism in the region. However, it suffers from some problems all too common in edited volumes: a lack of timeliness through delayed publication and weaknesses in its thematic and conceptual organisation.

The book is divided into sections on 'political', 'electoral' and 'diplomatic/military' missions. The first of these features detailed chapters on resettlement and demobilisation in Nicaragua and Haiti coupled with more general overviews of UN roles in El Salvador and Guatemala. The second covers the same mix of cases focusing on electoral observation, with the addition of chapters on electoral observation in Mexico and the Dominican Republic. The third briefly visits a military point of view of the UN missions of Central America and then presents two chapters on peacekeeping after the 1995 Peru–Ecuador border confrontation. The volume concludes with a very brief review of developments in Latin America over the period.

The strengths of the individual chapters rest with the experience and knowledge of the authors. Several of these were heads of division or senior members of the missions they discuss, and the other contributions are based on detailed interviews with participants by academics with long-standing interest in the cases. On the other hand, some contributors, particularly where involved in introductory chapters for each section, do not manage or had no opportunity to really draw out the important threads of the case studies or explore a common framework.

The word multilateralism headed the original conference title but did not make it onto the book cover. This is unfortunate, as one of the main strengths of the volume is its contribution to issues in multilateral operations and diplomacy. By contrast, several chapters and the entire third section have no explained relationship to democratisation, and no theoretical outline treating the complex literature on democratisation is given.

Instead, the strength is in the detail. For example, both chapters on Nicaragua identify the non-bureaucratised and flexible local decision-making made possible by the division of labour between the UN and OAS as contributing to confidence building there. The work on El Salvador shows that rigid command structures and personalities were problematic, despite the propitious circumstances of that mission. The chapters on Peru–Ecuador shed light on non-UN or OAS multilateral diplomacy, and comparison should have been made with the early work of the Contadora group to show groups of countries advancing both inter- and intrastate peace processes.

The chapters on Mexico and the Dominican Republic introduce the contribution of electoral observation in non-peacekeeping settings in Latin America, an important issue now that it is clear that democratisation is still an ongoing concern in the region. A further important issue raised by several authors is the tension of ‘verification (which involves criticizing the parties) with institution-building (which involves helping them)’. Multilateral missions have a number of options in the degree of integration or coordination of actors in addressing this tension.

The failure to synthesise the results of the case studies and effectively organise them conceptually is one of the book’s key problems. For example, the introduction to the section on political missions focuses on the integration-coordination axis (favouring integration) but ignores the conclusion in that and other parts of the book that the flexibility and independence of the small and isolated OAS mission in Nicaragua was a boon to its effectiveness. Shelley McConnell in her chapter makes a good case against ‘larger missions’, and ‘instead, for longer ones’, a conclusion that is not discussed in any of the opening or closing chapters.

Similarly, several chapters strongly suggest that an international mission’s effectiveness is enhanced by its taking principled stands on violations even when it cannot do anything about them at the time, an important conclusion also not taken up in the introduction or conclusion. Of course, a seamless synthesis in a conference volume of work by authors from varied backgrounds is not possible, but more thorough and conceptually unifying introductions and conclusions needed to be written here, particularly given the time between the conference and publication. This delay does at times make itself felt in other parts of the book, as many observations would have been well made in 1996 but are commonplace now. In contrast, what seemed to the authors a uniquely favourable set of circumstances for intervention then, now could be imagined in, say, Colombia.

This book makes important contributions, particularly in the study of multilateral diplomacy and peace operations and their functioning ‘on the ground’. It is also refreshingly not limited only to UN activities or peacekeeping activities, but explores areas outside the core international intervention debates. But it is certainly more an examination of the variety of ways to organise peace and electoral missions in Latin America than it is about democratisation, and it has lost some of its force through time and insufficient formalisation of its conclusions.

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