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Reviews

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Matthew Butler, *Popular Piety and Political Identity in Mexico's Cristero Rebellion, Michoacán, 1927–1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. xx + 251, £40.00, hb.

Christopher R. Boyer, *Becoming Campesinos: Politics, Identity, and Agrarian Struggle in Postrevolutionary Michoacán, 1920–1935* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. xii + 319, £46.95, £20.50 pb.

Matthew Butler's and Christopher R. Boyer's books on post-revolutionary Mexico have much in common. Not only do they deal with the same period, but both have chosen to work on Michoacán. The state's excellent archives, talented historians and conflictual past have recently attracted many foreign researchers, whose works have not only complimented the efforts of the Colegio de Michoacán, but also pushed the state to the top of the hierarchy of regional relevance, as much a laboratory of the historian as a laboratory of the revolution. Both authors have also decided to examine the political landscape of the period through a focus on popular *mentalidades*, the mental worlds and cultural identities of the overwhelming peasant population of the state. Finally both Butler and Boyer have attempted to challenge some of the shibboleths of revisionist history, which a decade of work by self-declared post-revisionists has failed to shift.

Butler's book examines the popular reactions to the conflict between Church and state in eastern Michoacán. Between 1927 and 1929 peasant rebels or Cristeros rose up through out the central states of Mexico, offering a vocal and violent challenge to the anticlericalism of the post-revolutionary regime, which sought to extirpate what it saw as the ignorant, profligate, and backward culture of Catholicism. In his elegantly written monograph Butler argues that the variegated geography and nature of campesinos' rejoinders to state anticlericalism can only be understood through an examination of different communities' historical conceptions of religious ideology and practice. While the tradition of liberalism, religious dissidence and Protestantism opened the population of Zitácuaro to new revolutionary ideas, in Ciudad Hidalgo the state project was faced with an orthodox, priestly form of Catholicism, deeply hostile to the suggested changes of the post-revolutionary order. Thus, although the men and women of Zitácuaro embraced agrarian reform, federal education and a measured anticlericalism, the peasants of Ciudad Hidalgo maintained religious customs, refused all offers of land distribution and often joined the fight against the profane practices of the state's emissaries.

However, Butler is careful not to replace the straitjackets of socio-economic status, ethnic background or political group with one of local religious practice and the book never descends into simplification, stereotype or generalisation. Subtlety, sympathy and nuance pervade his portrayals of Cristero rebels, covert priests, persecuted *agraristas* and harassed federal teachers. He describes how Catholic peasants used the Church crisis to reassert a measure of control over their religious lives,

backing priests as they slid back towards the social status of *campesinos* and supporting lay preachers, many of whom were women. In a particularly interesting final chapter, his extensive interviews with ageing Cristero protagonists bring to life many of the tradesmen, ranchers, peasants, merchants and landowners that formed the rebel lines. Although he describes the piety of many of the insurgents and concludes that 'the defence of an identity rooted in orthodox religious practice was the most common motive for rebelling', he allows space for the ruthless pragmatists, starry-eyed adventurers and naturally mutinous that also joined the fray.

The book has a sound theoretical base and builds on an understanding of religiosity which collapses the previously rigid dichotomies of 'elite' and 'popular' forms of religion and 'traditional' and 'modern' mental categories, as well as a welcome resurrection of Charles Tilly's early work on the Vendée. The argument is a very powerful one, backed up with exhaustive research of parish, diocese and state archives and interviews with many of the surviving protagonists, and replete with an appreciation of peasant religion rarely found outside the pages of the jaundiced amateur martyrologies on the conflict. Furthermore, it is one of those rare monographs which genuinely challenge previous historiography, countering Jean Meyer's influential conceptualisation of the Cristero movement as the last stand of a traditional, autonomous, spiritual peasantry against a modernising, centralised and secular state, and Jeannie Purnell's recent supposition of the conflict as a succession of Pavlovian responses to age old territorial, ethnic and political rivalries. Finally, the book is a superb addition to the growing library of literature on the historical formation of Mexican Catholicism. Despite its modest, and slightly obscurantist, title it offers insight into a broad range of post-revolutionary religious practice and its political consequences.

Although Boyer's study touches on the religious life of the Michoacán peasants, it is concerned primarily with the construction of their identity as revolutionary *agraristas*. The armed phase of the Revolution failed to disrupt Michoacán as it did many of the surrounding states and the population's first taste of the smorgasbord of radical doctrines and socio-economic reforms came in the form of Governor Francisco Múgica's top-down attempt to redistribute the lands of the haciendas. Boyer argues that this initially unpopular and often poorly comprehended policy combined with local factionalism, dynastic rivalries and inter-village disputes to form a hardcore of Michoacán peasants, who started to reformulate their identities around revolutionary ideas of class struggle, anticlericism and the radical rearrangement of property rights. He explains how this process was often mediated through *agrarista* caciques and schoolteachers, who reformulated and appropriated the lexicon of agrarian reform to articulate cultural norms while retaining a broader vision of national purpose. Through the interaction of state ideology and village revolutionaries as well as the ossifying effect of the bitterly divisive Cristero revolt, *agraristas* gradually began to represent themselves as belonging to a social category known as *campesinos*, a distinct social group united by a shared set of political and economic interests as well as by a collective history of oppression.

Like Butler, Boyer is open to the subtleties of post-revolutionary identity and describes in fluid detail the protean nature of the *mentalidad* of the *campesino*, painting some vivid pictures of peasant communities transforming government cant into workable local practice. He also examines ideologies at the edges of agrarian reform, explaining how liberalism and Catholicism interacted with the new doctrines of post-revolutionary Mexico. Furthermore, the text acts as a much-needed rectification to

three decades of scholarship, which has portrayed *agrarismo* as the Machiavellian tool of a demagogic elite, a series of ill-conceived constitutional norms impressed upon a passive peasantry as a means of pacification and control.

However, unlike Butler's book, which is at pains to stress the historical and geographical formulation of many peasant identities, there is an extent to which Boyer's short timeframe of research limits his ability to describe the changes in *campesino* worldviews. Fifteen years of radical discourse may have morphed peasant ideologies, but there is little evidence outside a few isolated and admittedly powerful incidents. In his conclusion, as if forced to admit defeat, Boyer extends his study into the next half century, to outline the influence of *mugiquismo* and *cardenismo* on the perceptions of new generations of *michoacanos*. However, one is left with the impression of a scholar reaching into the realms of anthropology as defence rather than as a further tool of historical argument.

University of Cambridge BENJAMIN THOMAS SMITH

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Felipe Arturo Avila Espinosa, *Los orígenes del zapatismo* (Mexico: El Colegio de México/Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2001), pp. 332, pb.

Peasant participation in the Mexican Revolution has been a subject of much inquiry and debate. In this book, Avila Espinosa provides a detailed account of the factors that led to the Zapatista movement in Morelos and its subsequent conflicts with the Madero government. Although the analysis covers the long historical period from the conquest to the porfiriato, most of the discussion concerns the rebellion against the Díaz dictatorship, the interim government of León de la Barra and the Madero government until its overthrow in 1913. By concentrating on these years, Avila Espinosa is able to develop his arguments in great depth, drawing on archival records that trace the evolution of the Zapatista movement from its beginnings in local land and political disputes to the consolidation of an independent force that participated in the contest for national power.

The author follows Tutino's theory of rural rebellion by focusing on the conjuncture of local and national factors, specifically, on the one hand, the negative impact on peasant communities of the rapid modernisation of sugar haciendas, and, on the other, the conflicts and divisions among Mexico's political elites. He also notes the importance of political grievances following the violent repression of supporters of the opposition candidate in the Morelos gubernatorial election in 1909. The author's close attention to the social composition of the Morelos rebels allows him to make the additional argument that the Zapatistas differed from other popular movements because local leaders played a predominant role. Outside actors, such as urban-based intellectuals, played a much smaller role in the Zapatista revolt against Díaz, although their influence increased when the rebels fought the conservative elites represented by interim president de la Barra and Madero after his election in November 1911.

Avila Espinosa disagrees with earlier analyses (notably that of Womack), which claimed that it was the expansion of sugar haciendas onto community lands that contributed to the worsening of social conditions and the impetus for rebellion. He makes a compelling argument that, in the central valleys of Morelos, haciendas had already taken over pueblo land in the mid-nineteenth century and that the distinctive

feature of the late *porfiriato* was the impact of modernisation of the hacienda economy. The aggressive promotion of higher productivity through new irrigation works, transportation and financial support, led hacienda owners to plant cane on lands that had previously been rented to members of peasant communities that depended on such access for an important part of their subsistence needs. In this analysis it was not so much the forced seizure of land from independent communities as the re-assignment of land within haciendas that altered existing social relations and the moral codes that had maintained relative stability in the previous decades. In economic terms, the lack of rentier access to hacienda land for corn production increased the pressure on community resources, particularly at a time when a small elite of sugar hacendados was monopolising the use of water resources.

The book provides a clear picture of the motives for rebellion against Díaz, as well as a subtle explanation of the major differences between the zapatistas and Madero. Whereas the former continued to fight for the implementation of revolutionary goals of land redistribution and local political reforms, Madero was reluctant to go beyond the change in the national government, hoping to re-establish order and stability as early as 1911. Avila Espinosa demonstrates how this was an impossible proposition in the case of Morelos, where the Zapatistas refused to disarm until they received guarantees regarding the accomplishment of their goals. Madero's vacillations allowed the more conservative factions of the government to take the upper hand in efforts to suppress the Zapatistas. The book shows in detail how Huerta and de la Barra conspired to undermine any possibility of successful negotiations between Zapata and Madero, leading to the eventual coup and assassination of Madero himself in 1913. The Zapatistas responded to the repression by spreading into neighbouring regions of Puebla, Guerrero, the state of Mexico and Oaxaca, where they adopted guerrilla tactics that defied successive attacks and helped to build a broad base of support extending well beyond the original Morelos rebels.

The author's greatest contribution is to show how the Zapatistas evolved politically in a short period of time, from their original faith in the electoral campaign of 1909, to their support for Madero and their eventual emergence as an independent, agrarian-based revolutionary movement. In addition, Avila Espinosa presents a broad range of responses given by the civilian population towards the Zapatistas, ranging from widespread support to opposition and armed resistance. In doing so, he succeeds in his stated aim of explaining the emergence of *zapatismo* 'from below' and provides a lucid account of the formation of a distinctive political identity, one that has continued to influence Mexican politics and popular movements until the present.

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Jeffrey L. Bortz and Stephen Haber (eds.), *The Mexican Economy, 1870–1930: Essays on the Economic History of Institutions, Revolution and Growth* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. xvii + 348, £42.95, £19.50 pb.

This collection examines the long-run outcomes of contemporary attempts to resolve two problems confronting Mexico in the nineteenth century – chronic disorder and sluggish growth. Drawing on the new institutional economics and the new political economy, the book places particular emphasis on the 'politics' of institutional

changes that under-pinned those attempts. It offers a distinct assessment of the *porfiriato*, exploring the dynamics of the interaction between institutions and organisations to identify both positive, growth-inducing change and the negative distributional impacts associated with the prevailing model. Nineteenth-century Mexico was '… a canonical case of a "coup-trap": a self-replicating cycle of violence, predation, and zero growth' (p. 324). The solution was a semi-predatory political-economic system in which the administration of Porfirio Díaz made a credible commitment to protect the rights of some asset holders, rather than an arrangement in which 'limited government' guaranteed the rights of the many and did not behave in an arbitrary manner. This 'commitment mechanism' led to a serious misallocation of resources. Intrinsic to its design was an upward redistribution of income and wealth.

Divided into three sections (banking and finance, foreign trade and labour relations), the volume opens with a forceful introduction by Jeffrey Bortz and Stephen Haber. Readers familiar with Haber's work will not be surprised by the tone, and sense of mission, of this piece, nor efforts to meld history and economics, and references to Porfirian Mexico as a laboratory in which to appraise broader debates about the relationship between institutions and growth. Revisiting earlier essays, Bortz and Haber assert the primacy of economic history as the discipline most appropriate for an analysis of the causes and consequences of widespread poverty and inequality in Latin America: whether or not '… they self-identify as economic historians, virtually all scholars of the region have had to address the question of underdevelopment and its ramifications' (p. 1). Consistent with the brief, all chapters focus on the ways in which institutions affect the performance and structure of markets, of sectors and of firms: property rights, rents, transactions costs and credibility are considered throughout. These methodological tools permit an assessment of mechanisms designed to govern the state, the market and the firm, and the degree to which these mechanisms fostered or inhibited growth. The over-riding purpose is to deliver a concrete framework with which to analyse the persistent backwardness of Mexico: why, despite periods of rapid growth, has the country has failed to catch up with the advanced economies? The framework offered in Haber's concluding essay is 'crony capitalism' – a theorised version of the oligarchic republic. Crony capitalism delivered rents to a (shifting) constellation of lobbies, yet failed to establish a credible, competitive market structure. While the Mexican Revolution re-shaped that constellation, it had little impact on the underlying structure: crony capitalism was firmly embedded during the *porfiriato*, and endured thereafter. The Revolution reinforced, rather than broke, path-dependence.

Hard evidence, theory and inference are integrated to sustain robust analyses. Chapters on debt and the financial market (Carlos Marichal), financial regulation (Paolo Riguzzi), banking regulation and performance (Noel Maurer), and financial markets and industrialisation (Haber and Maurer) show how money, credit and finance were tailored to buttress government credibility and advance private interests. Corporate privileges were complemented by a system of tariff reform and simplified customs regulations (Sandra Kuntz Ficker) that targeted specific sectors, and by a strategic shift in tariff policy (Edward Beatty) from a fiscal to a developmental imperative – namely, precocious import-substituting industrialisation. Although workers lay well outside the protected Porfirian circle, the Revolution provided them with a window of opportunity. Bortz traces the emergence of Mexican labour law, between 1907 and 1927, as an instrument of corporate defence, the consequences of

which are reflected in Aurora Gómez Galvarriato's persuasive analysis of the wages of textile workers, which shows how labour captured a share of rents formerly monopolised by factory owners.

Essays on the Economic History of Institutions, Revolutions and Growth presents a provocative snapshot of Mexico in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – and makes several large claims. From around the 1880s firms operating in the financial and industrial sectors began to benefit from an arrangement that guaranteed property rights and rents – they were subject to neither state predation nor competition. And, at least for some industrialists, protectionism also underwrote a new accommodation with labour: protection was an institutional response to rising wages (without increased productivity) advanced by manufacturers, organised labour and government. After 1914 organised labour became an important political constituency that no administration could afford to ignore. Indeed, every government in Mexico from 1920 to 1988 integrated organised labour into the ruling coalition, while bankers and industrialists (who had been part of the Porfirian constellation) were similarly represented in every post-Revolutionary power alliance.

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Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson (eds.), *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2002) pp. xx + 792, $84.95, $24.95 pb; £65, £18.95 pb.

The Mexico Reader sets itself, and mostly attains, a challenging goal: seeking to show how histories from above and below 'intersect, illuminating the tension between long-running processes of global economic expansion, national state-formation, and the responses these larger trends have produced at the grass roots' (p. 5). To find and create these intersections of histories, the editors have assembled a noteworthy collection of famous, infamous and little-known documents that take readers on a tour of Mexican history, while also providing examples of the cacophony of voices and perspectives that have made up the 'many Mexicos' described by Lesley Byrd Simpson. Divided into eight sections, the collection begins with 'The Search for "*Lo Mexicano*"', then moves from the pre-conquest period to the recent past. Just over half of the book is devoted to twentieth-century Mexico, and the last three sections focus on Mexico since 1940. Three layers of introductions – for the volume, for each section and for each text – provide necessary contextual information, while highlighting emerging themes. Thanks in part to these excellent introductions, students and teachers of Mexico will find that this volume could supplant textbook histories, while giving students access to hundreds of pages of primary sources, well-chosen images and two photo-essays. The suggestions for further reading develop the issues raised in each section, while also noting important web-based references, such as Zapatista sites and Mexican newspapers.

The volume includes standard texts, such as Zapata's 'Plan de Ayala' and constitutional articles 27 and 123, as well as more unusual selections such as Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's 'On Men's Hypocrisy', *décimas* to Santa Anna's Leg and 'I Don't Believe Them at All' by Maldita Vecindad y los Hijos del Quinto Patio. Many of the documents are available in English for the first time in carefully-crafted translations. The volume also includes secondary sources, both reprints and essays commissioned for the collection. The selections are truly engaging and one text flows easily into the

next. Because the entries are of universally high-quality, each deserves discussion, but I can only highlight a few hoping to demonstrate the collection's range. Irving Leonard's essay on the life and death of colonial Archbishop-Viceroy García Guerra is compulsive reading, describing how the archbishop spent his time sampling the delicacies prepared for him by local nuns or attending the bullfights he had organised, even on Good Friday. The ostentatious, luxurious life of the power-seeking archbishop could not contrast more with the life of Pedro P., a sympathetic, honourable coyote who is the subject of Judith Adler Hellman's chapter. Pedro P.'s nightly work takes him across the increasingly militarised Mexican/US border, as he guides his migrant clients safely to the other side.

Faced with such diversity of historical actors, it is no surprise that the question of what being Mexican actually means emerges as an important theme in the volume. *The Mexico Reader* begins with Octavio Paz and José Vasconcelos on different aspects of identity, and continues with Alma Guillermoprieto's memorable description of *machos* at a Juan Gabriel concert in Tijuana. Lyrics from two ranchera songs compliment the Guillermoprieto text. By the end of this section, the reader, too, is swaying back and forth to the imagined melody of this music that sets souls humming. *Mexicanidad* frequently includes the United States as a reference point, and Mexico's northern neighbour remains a lurking presence throughout the volume, becoming an explicit one in the section on 'The Border and Beyond'. The US presence in the volume is both due to the long history that binds these countries together, for better or for worse, and *The Mexico Reader*'s orientation towards a US audience to help 'provide a deeper understanding in the north of our neighbour south of the Rio Grande' (p. 3). The urgency of bilateral issues, many of them mentioned here, and the changing demographic profile of the United States makes this task all the more necessary.

While the USA has often provided Mexico with a model of modernity, that much trumpeted undercurrent to Mexico's independent history, the editors chose to highlight modernity's many facets and unintended consequences. Joel Simon's 'The Sinking City' reminds us that the most pressing disaster waiting to happen in Mexico City remains water-related: too many thirsty residents. As the city's water system manager told Simon, 'Tomorrow everyone could ride on bicycles and the air pollution would clear up. But where on earth are we going to get our water from?' (p. 522). Environmental disaster threatens the Sierra Madre, as well, as Alan Weisman discovered when he investigated the poppy fields, drug trade and violence invading the isolated canyons and mountains of the northern region. This invasion endangers the lives and culture of the Tarahumara who live in the Sierra Madre, as well as an ecosystem more diverse even than Mexico's cloud forests.

Essays like these make the collection gripping reading that mostly fulfils its goal of representing Mexico's diversity across time and space. Yet precisely because the volume fulfils so many of its promises, I was disappointed that there were few women's voices among the primary sources or, failing that, essays that shed light on women's contributions to Mexican history. While women remain largely invisible as historical agents, masculinity recurs as an unacknowledged theme virtually demanding a gendered analysis. In the first section, the discussions about being Mexican implicitly focus on the Mexican man, especially Octavio Paz's 'The Sons of La Malinche'. Later on, the 'The Socialist ABC's', taken from a Tabasco primer, tells the young socialists that, 'although small, you are already manly … think of your home before you cross the threshold [of the tavern]; think of what you will be

leaving in the hands of the man who exploits your laziness and weakness – the bread of your selfless wife and your beloved children' (pp. 412, 414–15). Their masculinity concerns the orphaned boys living in a garbage dump in Tijuana in Luis Alberto Urrea's essay, and underlies the insults used by the street vendors in San Cristóbal de las Casas, as Marián Peres Tsu describes. Anne Rubenstein, in 'El Santo's Strange Career', even provides a useful theorisation of the poles of Mexican masculinity, the *macho* and the good man. Obviously, for classroom use both of these shortcomings can be addressed through discussions and supplementary material.

Overall, however, the volume succeeds in its attempt to 'convey something of the multiple histories of Mexico's development as a nation' (pp. 2–3). Through its focus on the remarkable lives and achievements of ordinary people, *The Mexico Reader* provides examples of how historical and contemporary actors have challenged their situations and continue to do so, chronicling the achievements and struggle of average Mexicans. Thus, its perspective remains hopeful. As Pedro P. says, 'I don't want to bring up my kids in the United States. I want them to live here, in their own country, where they can feel proud of who they are' (p. 727). The histories contained in *The Mexico Reader* give Pedro P.'s children many reasons to feel that pride.

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Clément Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas: los ejércitos bolivarianos en la Guerra de Independencia en Colombia y Venezuela* (Bogotá, Colombia: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, with Editorial Planeta, 2003), pp. xx + 571, pb.

In *Repúblicas en armas*, the eagerly-awaited translation of his Sorbonne doctoral thesis, Clément Thibaud writes the social, cultural, political and military history of the armies that brought about the independence of northern Gran Colombia from Spanish rule. The study stops in 1821. In addition to immersing himself in an extensive historiography in French, Spanish and English, Thibaud used the collections of service records, pension requests and military rolls in national archives in Bogotá and Caracas. While recognising that the records are incomplete and biased towards veterans who survived the wars rather than those who died, and to officers rather than soldiers, Thibaud's extensive prosopography based on these documents gives a quantitative background to his qualitative narrative. As befits a work supervised by the late François-Xavier Guerra, *Repúblicas en armas* is particularly strong on nascent ideas of the nation. Thibaud shows how 'Colombian' identity was born out of the processes and conflicts of war within the context of international and Atlantic networks of diplomacy, commerce and unofficial foreign intervention. Thibaud stresses the importance of the external reputation of such an imagined entity: the creation through force of arms of 'a nation that could be recognised and feared abroad' (p. 432). Drawing on Véronique Hebrard's work on soldier-citizens in Venezuela, Thibaud concludes that military realities and heroic ideals of patriotic soldiers sacrificing themselves for the nation only deepened the chasm that separated civilians from 'Colombia'. Colombianness therefore became a largely military identity with shallow roots in the general population, quickly evaporating at the end of the wars.

Thibaud's relatively uncontroversial thesis is that 'collective violence is the catalyst of identity formation' (p. 19) and he uses military strategy as a text upon which to read the evolutions and developments of modernity and collective identity in Gran Colombia. He traces the transition from colonial militia and small 'fixed'

regiments of regulars, through the First Venezuelan republic's attempts to fight Spain with an army of 'citizen-soldiers'. He argues that this strategy was doomed to failure but that it led – by way of the irregular warfare on the llanos – to Bolívar's profound reformulation of the armed forces and the state, symbolised and encouraged by the recourse to foreign mercenaries.

Suffusing these developments in the nature of armed service were changes in the individual's relation to the state and in understandings of what it meant to 'enlist' or 'volunteer'. Only seldom did this involve an individual rationally volunteering his services to the nation. Legitimacy and authority were debated in terms of which entity – Crown, Nation, Town, Village or Republic – could recruit soldiers without the recourse to violence (p. 62). For large periods of the wars it seems that neither side could claim such legitimacy and forced recruitment and retention of soldiers were widespread.

In declaring the War to the Death in 1814, Bolívar consciously attempted to root the identities of the two opposing sides in 'national' terms. He did so by making use of an 'ambiguous fiction' (p. 130) where the 'Spaniard' would be the war's scapegoat and by giving Colombian citizenship an ideological and unavoidably military dimension. According to Thibaud, the military melting-pot produced by the 'Colombian' army was a practical necessity: the authorities recognised the importance of sending recruits as far away from their homes as possible in order to minimise desertion. In contrast to the French and British cases in the late-eighteenth century, the result was more a 'military aristocracy' of officers rather than private soldiers with new and strong 'national feelings' (p. 148).

According to Thibaud, the period of irregular warfare in the llanos in 1817–1818 was crucial to collective identity formation. On the Independent side it produced a group who identified themselves as 'survivors' in a de-institutionalised space in which the conventional social and ethnic hierarchies of the regular army were broken down. This created what Thibaud labels the 'republic in arms and in rags' (p. 322), defined purely by the territory it controlled and the men who fought for it. Thibaud emphasises the opportunistic and reactive nature of this process. Until early 1819 there could be no overarching strategy and any 'national' identity was the creation of confusion and circumstance, rather than 'forged' through warfare.

Based on a large database compiled from primary sources Thibaud traces the 'third generation' of 'Colombian' military officers who reached positions of authority in 1818–21 who, he argues, were vital to Bolívar's professionalisation of the armed forces and their subsequent military victories. His argument is full of rich detail, although it is perhaps inevitable in such a wide-ranging book that some leads do not get followed up as far as might be desirable. For example, hidden in the centre of the book, Thibaud suggestively distinguishes between *la patria-Venezuela* and, post-1819, *la nación-Colombia*, which would surely merit more discussion.

If Thibaud's opus has a weakness beyond its testing length, it is when he turns to issues of gender and race. His approach to conceptions of masculinity among soldiers and officers lacks seriousness and the sections on duelling and alcohol consumption are brief, superficial and often (as he recognises himself) over-reliant on a small canon of memoirs by foreign mercenaries. There is only passing mention of the women who followed the army. In contrast to Aline Helg's recent *JLAS* (35:3) article, 'Simón Bolívar and the Spectre of *Pardocracia*', Thibaud is reluctant to engage with claims that Bolívar was motivated in his dealings with rivals by fears of racial upheaval. Thibaud also presents Bolívar's conflict with Manuel Piar purely in

terms of power rivalry and talks down the race aspect. In addition, he allows himself to be lead by his sources into a focus that is a little too Bolívar-centric for my liking and Gran Colombian regions that Bolívar did not visit until after 1821, such as Ecuador or the Cauca valley, are not included in the study.

In an astute prologue Gonzalo Sánchez (p. xviii) suggests that changes in the ways that men thought about concepts of allegiance, loyalty and service probably conditioned the ways that they went about killing each other. This is a stimulating counterpoint to Thibaud's rich argument that the ways in which the war was fought necessarily shaped the ways that it was thought. No doubt both are right and *Repúblicas en armas* is an excellent and innovative work of archival research and historiographical synthesis that will be essential reading for scholars of the period.

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José de Acosta (ed. Jane E. Mangan), *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. xxviii + 535, £65.00, £18.95 pb; $74.95, $24.95 pb.

Written towards the end of the sixteenth century, Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* is widely considered to be one of the most significant and influential works to emerge from the Spanish colonisation of the Americas. Translated into several European languages shortly after its initial appearance in 1590, the publication of a new English language edition of the text is warmly to be welcomed; indeed, it appears to reflect, and will surely contribute to, growing interest in the histories and geographies of (post) colonial Latin America in the Anglophone world. Translated into highly readable contemporary English that nevertheless remains faithful to the original, Mangan's edition includes extensive footnotes to the text that provide a wealth of background information and suggestions for further reading that will be useful for undergraduates and researchers alike. Also included are three useful maps which show the regions and localities that feature prominently in Acosta's text.

The value of this edition, however, lies not only in the quality of the translation and editing of Acosta's *History*, but equally in the presentation of the text by means of a brief introduction and lengthier concluding commentary. Rather than providing a narrowly-focused textual interpretation and biographical portrait, Mignolo situates Acosta's work within the context of global changes in power relations and the emergence of new systems of knowledge. Acosta's *History*, Mignolo argues, contributed very significantly to the creation of what he terms the 'modern/colonial world system imaginary', eclipsing Amerindian forms of knowledge in the process, but was simultaneously the victim of Europe's emerging north-south divide that resulted in the dominance of the Protestant north and the rise of the scientific discourses of the Enlightenment. It is precisely this 'imperial difference' that has confined discussions of Acosta to the realms of Spanish colonial history, while the work of Bacon, produced almost contemporaneously with that of Acosta but on the other side of the north-south divide, has been widely recognised as having contributed to the emergence of modernity.

Insisting upon the continuities that link Acosta's writings and worldviews with a contemporary global order that is still founded upon colonialism, Mignolo invites

readers to think *beyond* the geographical and temporal boundaries within which interpretations and discussions of Spanish colonial texts are typically located. Mignolo's intention, however, is not simply to salvage the colonial Hispanic world from the shadows to which it is frequently confined in scholarly discussions of modernity and globalisation. Equally, he is concerned to promote a reading of Acosta's work that is alive to its absences and silences – that is, the European debt to Arabic culture and learning that goes unacknowledged and, in particular, the denial of legitimacy to Amerindian worldviews and epistemologies. Drawing attention to examples of Amerindian forms of knowledge that were produced in the colonial period, but pushed to the margins by European epistemology, Mignolo insists that our contemporary task in reading Acosta (and other colonial texts) must be to interrogate his writings from subaltern perspectives – a move that he terms 'border epistemology' – as a means of working towards the dismantling of the 'colonial difference'.

Mignolo's emphasis on the marginalisation of non-European forms of knowledge has a certain tendency to obscure the complex interconnections and negotiations between Spaniards, Amerindians and other groups that were forged and played out in diverse arenas of everyday colonial life, if not in the production of formal European-authored texts. I would add, furthermore, that the way in which diverse *European* ways of knowing and experiencing the New World may also have been suppressed or omitted in Acosta's writings and in other canonical texts of the colonial period, deserves greater recognition. These, however, are minor quibbles that should in no way detract from the great achievements of this publication: to contribute significantly to meeting the current need for accessible English translations of Spanish colonial texts that are suitable for undergraduate teaching, and to lay out a compelling agenda for approaching Acosta's work in a way that transcends traditional spatial and temporal borders and that is, moreover, highly relevant to the urgent project of challenging the colonial structures and mentalities that persist in the contemporary world.

University of Cambridge HEIDI V. SCOTT

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04278944

Laura A. Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. xiv + 262, £69.00, £17.50 pb.

Venturing into the world of witchcraft in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century New Spain, anthropologist Laura Lewis has produced a very suggestive study in the growing genre of crossover work between ethnography and history. The book uses denunciations and prosecutions for witchcraft to illuminate the relations among ethnic groups in the colonial period, concentrating principally on the ways in which the power of the colonial regime itself and the elaborate ethnic categorisation so familiar from the *casta* paintings and other representations of the later colonial era were mutually constitutive. She finds that Afro-Mexicans (including slaves), free people of colour, and mestizos served the role of biological, cultural and social intermediaries between the dominant Spanish group and subordinate indigenous peoples. Delivered rather breathlessly in several passages in the book, this conclusion – as well as other assertions about the social construction of race, the fluidity of colonial Mexico's ethnic hierarchy, and the degrees of power and powerlessness

that characterised it – is hardly surprising to most historians, and makes Lewis's claim that her work 'debiologizes' the study of ethnicity look like the demolition of a straw man. Some of what she has to say, therefore, is not greatly original, as in her treatment in the book's early chapters of the colonial economy, labour systems, and social structure, although her synoptic discussions are solid. This demonstrates one of the pitfalls of crossover genres, which is that the explorer in either direction may in certain respects be reinventing the wheel rather than discovering something new. In Lewis's case, however, this is more than counterbalanced by her adept and subtle discussion of the witchcraft cases whose analysis occupies the second half of the book. So it turns out that the major contribution of the work may well be its discussion of this interesting form of heterodox religious practice rather than the conclusions about ethnic hierarchy and power that seem to embody Lewis's ambition for the book.

Lewis finds that the Spanish colonisers (it is never entirely clear which Spanish colonisers, and indeed one of the ironies of the book is that while claiming to unpack the ethnic hierarchy Lewis tends to flatten it into archetypal groupings) created and tolerated intermediate racial groups to manage economically and politically the indigenous majority of the colony. On the other hand, through legal mechanisms such as the colonial court system, evangelisation and the discourse of Indian infantilism and feminisation, the colonial regime expressed its ambivalence in both protecting and exploiting conquered indigenous peoples, giving Indians a certain amount of leverage to protect themselves when they were able to turn these institutions and discourses against the regime. The 'unsanctioned' realm of witchcraft embodied the cultural and social venue from which critiques of the dominant white groups in colonial society were launched. Most of the substantive content of witchcraft, Lewis convincingly points out, originated with Indians and was sent up the ethnic hierarchy through the social intermediaries – subaltern women, but non-Spaniards more generally – in a directional reversal of the 'sanctioned' power exercised from the top of society downward to exploit and control the Indian majority. Although the author acknowledges that ultimately the Spaniards had the upper hand in terms of the ability to enforce their wills, she has built around this symmetry an intriguing representation of the processes of racial zed identities and colonial power. She ultimately concludes that the practices of witchcraft were more a demonstration of colonial hegemony than subaltern resistance, although some readers will dispute with her the interpretation of the evidence she presents in making this case.

The most engaging part of the book is the presentation of the witchcraft cases themselves. For these Lewis draws primarily from Inquisition documents, forms of judicial texts both notoriously slippery and famously detailed, which she handles with great insight. Accusations and depositions were replete with diabolic pacts, *nagualism* (the practice of witches transforming themselves into animals), nasty-sounding love potions and illness-inducing powders purchased for a coin or two on the street, printed texts of mysterious content and provenance, unexplained maladies in the bewitched, ghastly cures (such as the attested sucking of free-floating bones from afflicted body parts), and so forth. What raises Lewis's accounts of these episodes well above the level of quaint and colourful folk practices is her astute analysis of the social relationships in which they were embedded, especially their gendered and ethnic dimensions. Among her most interesting findings, for example, is the fact that while non-Spanish witches (women, for the most part) might induce

illness in their victims, curative magic was almost exclusively the province of Indians. Furthermore, individuals accused of witchcraft might avail themselves of ideas about the racial hierarchy to deflect accusations or discount them entirely, as when they adduced evidence of their innocence through their association with Spanishness in their relations with kinsmen and friends. And Lewis also explores with sensitivity the alliances into which Indians entered with those proximate to them in the ethnic hierarchy in order to exercise their agency and gain some degree of unsanctioned social mobility.

University of California, San Diego ERIC VAN YOUNG

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Laura de Mello e Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004), pp. xxiii + 350, $60.00, $24.95 pb.

Originally a doctoral dissertation that was published in Brazil in 1986 as *O diabo ea Terra de Santa Cruz: feitiçaria e religiosidade popular no Brasil colonial*, this study has been reprinted unchanged seven times. Conceived when the darker days of Brazilian military rule were receding, the author and fellow intellectuals revisited Brazil's past, seeking new lines of enquiry from an historiography that owed much to Sergio Buarque de Holanda and Gilberto Freyre. In the preface to this translation, she concedes that her initial investigations into witchcraft, slavery and popular religion in colonial Brazil's early modern age would now require a major rewriting were she to pursue the more recent 'autochthonous', regional, and comparative cultural universes that are dealt with in studies that she cites in the bibliographic preamble. (pp. xii and xiii)

As it stands, the book is engaging in its breadth as well as in its scope. The epigraph, excerpted from Friar Vicente do Salvador's *História do Brasil*, published in 1627, is a testimony to the inter-penetration of sacred and diabolic influences that are explored in greater detail in each chapter. According to the friar, the land of Santa Cruz, named after 'the divine wood which gave colour and virtue to all the sacraments of the Church', was cast into oblivion. The friar denounced the Devil's influence, under which Santa Cruz came to be known as Brazil 'because of a wood so called, fiery red in colour, with which they dye cloths'.

In Part I Mello e Souza identifies the 'wealth of impieties' that were the colony's lot. She explores elite and popular forms of fantasy and reality, God and the Devil, and good and evil that were blurred in official and informal perceptions in and about the New World. In terms of nature, for example, enthusiasts envisioned the edenic New World as an extension of Europe and a place where the myths of earthly paradise would be realised. Detractors focused on the human world, an infernalised place that was besmirched by cannibalism, the mixing of races, ungodliness and sorcery. Mello e Souza argues that Brazil's unique religious culture was due, in part, to the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants, including a 'family Catholicism' (Gilberto Freyre's term) (p. 45). The fluidity of the colonial state, where 'evangelization was based more on reasons of state than on reasons of the soul' (p. 46), laxity on the part of modern European ecclesiastical organisations and a religiosity that was rife with paganism, ignorance of dogma, and a lack of understanding of the sacraments or of the mass were also contributing factors. According to the Portuguese historian

A. H. de Oliveira Marques (cited on p. 48): 'hidden behind the façade of Christianity, [this religiosity] lent names of saints and Catholic feasts to the forces of nature and to pagan devotions'. European externalism, the penchant for masses and processions, was also, according to Mello e Souza, a constant presence in colonial Brazil, and one that lingered on in the seventeenth century in the aftermath of Catholic efforts to cleanse spirituality in Europe (p. 48).

In Parts II and III the author explores sorcery and magical practices in daily life and draws heavily on the records of Holy Office visitations, ecclesiastical interrogations, and inquisitorial trials from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (still not fully classified in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo in Lisbon). The author uncovered consistencies and inconsistencies in the practices of the Holy Office, as well as overlapping and inter-penetrating popular and elite discourses on love, survival, communication with the other world, and deception. The Holy Office dug deep to identify African, indigenous, and European forms of sorcery, magic, divination and *maleficium*, publicising an edict on the first Sunday of Lent that established the offences that fell within inquisitorial jurisdiction. According to the author, during the visitations to Brazil hearsay and even the testimony of children were deemed to be admissible evidence, aimed at uncovering demoniacal traits that had been attributed to Brazil ever since its discovery (p. 190). Taken separately and collectively, the records of Cecília Fernandes, the New Christian *mameluco* Francisco Lopes, the *mulata* Felícia and the black slave Maria Francisca, to name but a few, attest to the variety and diversity of accusations, ranging from irreverence to familiarity with saints, doubts about the sacraments, blasphemy, the invocation of demons for spiritual and carnal purposes, and even wrath against the Inquisition. Forthcoming from the records, are gruelling testimonies to the time and expense consumed by the Holy Office in inquisitorial proceedings, interrogation sessions, transoceanic voyages, not to mention the long periods, often years, of confinement and incarceration that took their toll in psychological and physical torture, exile, if not the public execution of the accused and the condemned.

Readers will find useful Mello e Souza's reference to beliefs and practices in Europe and their relationship to colonial Brazil. For example, she finds no evidence of sabbats and forms of collective possession, such as took place in seventeenth-century France. Among Brazilian characteristics of possession, she notes that *calundus* were described in one record from 1740 'as spells wherein souls of deceased relatives speak through the mouth of the bewitched' (p. 167). A 1772 document offers a different meaning: the act of 'jumping diverse dances' and 'performing deeds offensive to God and his creatures' (p. 168). In northern Brazil, an exclusive form, *catimbós* were regional indigenous rituals of possession (p. 172).

In Mello e Souza's conclusion she argues that the transparent cultural kinship between sorcery and magical practices that prevailed in the sixteenth century gradually became blurred, resulting in a fusion and inter-penetration of Iberian, indigenous, and African religious beliefs. In the colony 'one sole body of syncretic beliefs began to emerge. It was then that uniquely colonial forms, unlike all others, were born' (p. 91). Therein, almost two decades ago, lay a challenge to future historians who, mindful of the present in which they live, continue to unravel the complexities of the colonial era.

King's College London NANCY PRISCILLA NARO

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Kurt Weyland, *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. xvi + 335, $39.50; £27.95, hb.

Kurt Weyland has written an important and timely book of sweeping ambition to explain the initiation, implementation and political success of neoliberal economic reform in Latin America. To date, the timing and boldness of market reform have been extensively studied, but remain largely unexplained by conventional paradigms. Market reform did not neatly follow from the external imposition of severe adjustment programmes, as structuralists have argued. Political institutionalism was ill equipped to explain the exceptional decisions of crisis situations and policy shifts in stable institutional contexts, and ideational theories failed to recognise that not all leaders were fully convinced of neoliberal programmes in their entirety. Rational choice theories fared no better; they were unable to explain the lengthy postponement of adjustment in crisis situations and then the sudden decision of governments to finally impose it.

In the place of these well-worn paradigms, Weyland introduces a fresh approach to comparative politics based on a cognitive psychological theory, *prospect theory*, which until now has been applied in political science primarily to decisions taken by leaders in the realm of international relations. Building on the finding – based on repeated psychological experiments – that when people have achieved gains they become risk averse, but when faced with the prospects of losses they are willing to incur risk, Weyland argues that severe economic crises – and particularly hyperinflation – throw presidents and mass publics into the 'domain of losses', making them more risk acceptant. Where these losses are palpable, as they were in Peru and Venezuela, the public is quick to embrace new leaders and risky reforms, whereas where the losses are not so great and essentially disguised, as in Brazil and especially Venezuela, the public rejects them. Economic recovery makes leaders cautious, however, and early success in reform may paradoxically stall its further advance as the public, now in the domain of gains, is less tolerant of risk. But the public will be just as reluctant to revert to anti-liberal, protectionist and statist solutions, especially if there has been an economic recovery and they enjoy new social protections.

Weyland's central arguments are beautifully developed and painstakingly empirically supported in the cases of four Latin American countries across nearly two decades of reform experience and several changes of political leaders. The book makes appropriate use of public opinion surveys to tell the story of the shifting tolerance for reform and its dislocations that accompanied shifting perceptions of losses and gains. Above all, the work is supported by an impressive set of interviews with key members of economic teams in each of these countries that confirm both the perception of dire crisis and a need to act, as well as their diminished appetites for further extensions of reform when even modest economic recoveries pushed presidents into the domain of gains. The book also appropriately tests its argument in the concluding chapter against the experience of a broad range of other countries. In this work Weyland displays his customary strength of conceptual clarity and theoretical innovation.

Any book of such theoretical and empirical ambition is bound to raise questions. Five stand out. The first concerns the determination of risk itself. How, for example, do leaders assess the trade-off between *economic* risk and *political* risk? Certainly,

economic risk can entail political risk, such as when it causes unemployment to rise, but this is not always so. The *economically* risky heterodox programmes adopted in Argentina, Brazil, and Peru in the 1980s, which delivered immediate gain and little pain, may have been *politically* less risky than any alternative, including doing nothing.

Second, it is not always clear that voters were as conscious as implied in their decisions to incur risk when they rejected en masse incumbents and their parties. Weyland argues, as he must, that the choices that voters made were more radical than simply electing candidates from established rival parties. Yet, it is arguable that in 1989 Brazilian president Fernando Collor's campaign programme was more radical than those of his first-round rivals and certainly than his second-round opponent, Workers' Party candidate Luiz Ignácio 'Lula' da Silva. It is also debatable whether Argentine president Carlos Menem was the risky outsider – even in the party primary – that Weyland paints him to be; and that the unknown Peruvian presidential candidate Alberto Fujimori, who promised economic security, was perceived at the time as a riskier alternative than the novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, who promised radical neoliberal reform. What seems especially problematic is Weyland's dismissal of the significance of *mandate violations* in Argentina, Peru and Venezuela. How can we believe voters were *accepting* risk if the true risk of the course they were choosing was hidden from them at the time they cast their ballots?

Third, whereas the application of prospect theory to the policy choices presidents made seems quite straightforward, it is intrinsically more challenging to apply the theory to the formulation of mass public opinion and election of little-known politicians. How are individual assessments of risk and gain aggregated? What percentage of the electorate needs to be persuaded to assume or avoid risk in order to persuade decision makers that reform is or is not possible? An intriguing part of Weyland's analysis links economic risk taking with neopopulist politics, typified by leaders that stare down hyperinflation in television appearances. But how is the interaction between political actors to be understood once new actors – key interest groups, governors, and national legislators with their own perceptions of loss and gain – become participants in negotiations during the later stages of reform?

Fourth, much of the work rests on a comparative evaluation of the depth of the crisis, which was more acute in Peru and Argentina than in Brazil and Venezuela (in that order). Predictably, the course of policy reform was more radical, and risk accepting, in Peru than in any other country, and Venezuela boasted the most risk averse administration and populace of the four. Unlike the nominal comparison that requires only a binary classification of whether a country is or is not in a crisis (it crosses that threshold when price increases exceed 50 per cent per month), the ordinal comparison is tricky. The exact point at which worsening problems turn into a crisis in the eyes of leaders is impossible to determine objectively, and the *relative* differences in problem severity once the crisis has passed, which become crucial in explaining outcomes, are arrayed on too small a set of cases to yield the sort of precise predictions that one would want in a study of this sort.

Finally, by the author's own admission, this correspondence between real losses, the perception of losses and risk-accepting behaviour is not always direct and automatic, prompting him, with great intellectual honesty and integrity, to import a host of other factors to explain deviations from the core predictions of prospect theory. However frustrating it is to acknowledge there is a 'confluence of factors' at work, and however much we may want more and better guidance about how to adjudicate among these various explanations, we may have to content ourselves with

the knowledge that reality is very complicated. But it does seem reasonable to ask whether these ancillary factors can be made compatible with the central tenets of prospect theory, and when they represent true *competing* explanations for the observed outcomes. Did Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, for instance, fail to push his social security proposals hard in 1997–98 because after conquering hyperinflation the Brazilian population had entered the domain of gains, or because he did not wish to antagonise those politicians whose votes he would need to pass a constitutional amendment permitting his reelection? The book is strongest when the author can use prospect theory to explain apparently contradictory results, as he does to explain how the IMF bailout in Brazil in 1998 actually made political actors more risk averse than they 'should have' been. Other (but not all) deviations from prospect theory's predictions are resolved in the conclusions, for example when the author introduces the variable of whether or not leadership is *new* (and hence not vulnerable to the prior option bias) – but not all.

Whether or not prospect theory needs an auxiliary theory to explain the success and failure of the risk-incurring or risk-averting efforts of political actors may well determine whether it will successfully challenge the conventional rational actor model on its own microfoundational terms and whether the prospect theory revolution will now come to political science, as it has to economics. Prospect theory may or may not ultimately become a dominant paradigm, but even it falls short of that high perch, it will no doubt be more widely employed by scholars in the future, and one might anticipate they will apply it with more mathematical precision. Kurt Weyland has offered up one of the more promising theoretical frameworks to guide comparative politics since the demise of functionalism. That the author does not answer every question raised here is hardly damning. He has lit a torch for all of us.

University of Notre Dame FRANCES HAGOPIAN

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Kent Eaton, *Politicians and Economic Reform in New Democracies: Argentina and the Philippines in the 1990s* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2002), pp. xiii + 351, $58.50, hb.

Kent Eaton's *Politicians and Economic Reform in New Democracies: Argentina and the Philippines in the 1990s* is an excellent work of scholarship and an essential reference for any student or policy analyst interested in institutional change in the developing world, let alone in Latin America or Asia. It not only details the role of legislatures and electoral institutions in shaping policy, but also presents a rich comparative account of two major reformist countries in the 1990s: Argentina and the Philippines.

Eaton has two objectives. First, he wants to show that legislators matter in economic reform in emerging market democracies. This sets him apart from standard structuralist accounts as well as from studies that argue a priori that legislators have neither the preferences nor the power to participate in policy making and state crafting underpinning liberalisation, other than taking on obstructionist roles. Second, Eaton argues that different electoral institutions (or rules and party systems) fundamentally explain the choices of legislators, even if they are reacting to proposals from the executive or delegating certain powers to the executive. This argument contrasts with those based strictly on interest group and ideological theories of voting.

Eaton develops his arguments in two ways. First, he compares fiscal, and specifically tax, reforms in Argentina and the Philippines in the 1990s. Both countries passed through shaky periods of transition from military to democratic rule and both are presidentialist systems, where newly-elected presidents ushered in an era of economic liberalisation and stabilisation. Fiscal reform was a critical component of this, as it contributed both to redressing distortionary state interventions and to cementing fragile macroeconomic stabilisation plans. Yet the reforms had very different outcomes that cannot be explained easily by presidentialism, divided or undivided government, interest group pressures, or ideology. Rather, the key differences lie in electoral institutions: the Philippines is a candidate-centred system, while Argentina is a party-based system. In short, Eaton argues, candidate-centred systems give legislators strong incentives to build up personal reputations and thus respond to protests against reforms. Party-based systems create career incentives for the legislator to support the overall aims of the parties.

Second, Eaton breaks tax and budget reform down into three outcome variables: change in the tax structure, namely simplification via creation of VAT; development of the bureaucracy for tax collection; and changes in the system of intergovernmental transfers (between the central and sub-national governments). In painstaking detail, Eaton shows how his argument explains changes in each of these key areas of budget reform during the decade. His ability to convince the reader of his argument is based on the dual strength of his approach: careful comparative analysis that connects detail to major theoretical issues and attention to process, rather than simple inference from structural variables (be they economic or institutional).

Given the readership of this journal, consider briefly the case of Argentina. Eaton argues that fiscal reform was not simply about Cavallo and Menem. Rather, the Peronist party legislators in the upper and lower houses of Congress made critical changes to proposals, while also resisting strong pressures from various interest groups. Argentina not only has a closed party list electoral system, but it also has a party structure that is highly influenced by both provincial and national forces. Eaton shows how the split loyalties and intra-party power structures shape the proposals, amendments, resistance and votes of legislators. In so doing, he demonstrates how centre-periphery as well as interest group politics are mediated by electoral rules and party systems.

Eaton is advancing our understanding of how political, namely electoral, institutions can be systematically analysed in emerging market democracies. Too often scholars either focus on the executive or socio-economic structural variables. Eaton does not deny the importance of these variables, but rather he elegantly incorporates them. He admits that his approach cannot explain all reforms, but then places it in relation to other approaches. As such, Eaton's book should be read alongside but not in direct opposition to other recent works on Argentine transformation, like those of Corrales, Levitsky, and Murillo, who also focus on the intersection of interest groups and institutions.[1] Moreover, much of Eaton's analysis is about how

[1] Javier Corrales, *Presidents Without Parties: The Politics Of Economic Reform In Argentina And Venezuela In The 1990s* (University Park, PA, 2002), Steven Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, 2003); Maria Victoria Murillo, *Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions and Market Reforms in Latin America* (Cambridge, 2001).

party systems filter the ongoing conflict between provincial and national leaders. Given the role of the governors in the recent financial collapse of Argentina and the growing cottage industry on fiscal federalism, Eaton's work should have an impact beyond the study of congress or elections per se.

By developing a detailed analysis of Argentina and the Philippines, Eaton sets out a clear comparative framework of how to study the impact of electoral institutions on economic policy. But his choice of the Philippines appears more instrumental in advancing his framework. His comparative points are almost all about Latin American countries, rather than East Asian countries. The greater comparative strength lies in the understanding of how core-periphery politics (and in some cases, 'federalism') is mediated by political institutions and affects national reforms. In turn, Eaton's book should stimulate scholars to undertake two related research projects: one like Eaton's that compares at least Argentina and Brazil; and one that conducts an institutional comparison between provinces or states within countries in Latin America.

University of Pennsylvania GERALD A. McDERMOTT

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Alfred P. Montero and David J. Samuels (eds.), *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America* (Notre Dame, IN: The University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), pp. ix + 309, $47.50, $27.50 pb.

This edited volume explores the political motivations behind the widespread adoption of policies for fiscal, political and administrative decentralisation in Latin America during the past two decades. In their introductory chapter, Alfred Montero and David Samuels argue that explanations focusing on the need for greater efficiency, stressing the role of international financial institutions, or linking democratisation and decentralisation or urbanisation, economic development and decentralisation do not fully explain why so many countries have chosen to restructure power relations among levels of government. Instead, the editors and authors of individual chapters argue for a 'political-institutional' or 'electoralist' approach. The authors are concerned about the structure and changes over time to party institutions, the changing nature of political careers, and the competitiveness of elections in creating incentives for power sharing.

In a chapter discussing Bolivia's decision to decentralise to the municipal level, Kathleen O'Neill argues that the MNR (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario) party, concerned about its future capacity to win elections, found decentralisation to be a promising way to ensure its rural base of support and to create many new electoral positions for its activists. More generally, O'Neill suggests that 'parties … with reliable support at subnational levels and waning support at the national level may find the devolution of power to be in their best interest in the long term' (p. 36).

David Samuels focuses on the interaction of executive branch politicians at local, state and federal levels in Brazil. He shows that political careers now move back and forth among municipal, state, and federal levels and that this has contributed to pressures to increase the extent of decentralisation in the country. In contrast to O'Neill, however, he argues that the pressures in Brazil were not primarily partisan ones; politicians across parties share incentives to promote decentralisation – and to expand their career choices.

In Chile the consolidation of democracy was an important factor in bringing decentralisation to the national agenda in the early 1990s, according to Gary Bland. He demonstrates how bargaining among parties over rules for subnational elections were important for politicians attempting to shape opportunities for future careers.

In Argentina and Brazil Kent Eaton finds that local elected officials put pressure on national governments to increase the extent of fiscal decentralisation; in Chile and Uruguay they did not. He explains these differences in terms of the structure of political parties and the incentives provided to politicians to follow central party leaders or defer to more local party organisations. In Argentina and Brazil decentralised party apparatuses encouraged greater pressure for fiscal decentralisation and more local autonomy, while in Chile and Uruguay party leaders at the national level had the capacity to hold local politicians to national priorities and determine their career trajectories.

Michael Penfold-Becerra also finds structures and incentives important in understanding the move toward decentralisation in Venezuela. He adds, however, that party structures and incentives can change over time. For Venezuela, then, it is important to acknowledge the deep legitimacy crisis that affected highly centralised parties and the way in which the weakening of these parties created incentives for politicians to look more eagerly for opportunities to hold office at lower levels of government.

Caroline Beer argues that elected state and local officials in Mexico have increased the pressure on the national government to continue to decentralise, and in particular to increase the extent of fiscal autonomy for local and state governments. Moreover, she indicates that the greater the electoral competition faced by local and regional politicians, the more they will press for control over policy decision making and resources.

Erick Wibbles looks at this same issue from the perspective of economic policy managers. He focuses on the tension between initiatives to decentralise politically and efforts to maintain fiscal balance and macroeconomic policy at the national level, using Argentina as a case study. Increasingly, he predicts, while pressures for fiscal decentralisation may increase, so may the determination of central economic managers to maintain tight control over how local governments manage their fiscal affairs.

In the final chapter of the volume Stephan Haggard and Steven Webb also consider the highly politicised fiscal bargains struck between central and subnational governments. The cases of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico demonstrate the risk of macroeconomic imbalances, corruption, inequity and poor service provision rather than the increased efficiency that is often touted as a major reason to decentralise.

This volume provides important discussions of the political underpinnings of decentralisation initiatives. It provides a good counterpoint to the oft-proclaimed benefits of decentralisation in the international development literature. The editors have brought together good case studies to demonstrate that decentralisation is a process that happens over 'relatively long historical periods … is not inevitable … [and] is not irreversible' (p. 8). In subsequent work, the editors and authors might make more of a distinction between the motivations that lead to an initial effort to decentralise and those put in play as a consequence of decentralisation. Nevertheless, the book provides an important addition to a rapidly growing literature assessing 'why decentralise?' from a political perspective.

Harvard University MERILEE S. GRINDLE

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04328944

Katrina Burgess, *Parties and Unions in the New Global Economy* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), pp. xiii + 209, $27.95, pb.

This perceptive account of the sometimes puzzling behaviour of union leaders during processes of economic adjustment is a welcome contribution to the emerging body of scholarship on the political difficulties confronting labour and left parties in the era of the 'new global economy'. Burgess examines how the organisational ties between unions and political parties in Mexico, Spain and Venezuela were transformed (or not transformed) as labour–party elected leaders adopted neoliberal economic policies. She begins with a straightforward observation: in the 1980s, 'labor-backed parties around the world were embracing policies that contradicted their traditional platforms and subjected … organized labor … to painful sacrifices' (p. xi). Instead of exploring why labour parties and their leaders adopted those reforms, the author seeks to explain the behaviour of union leaders, who in some cases remained loyal to the governing party, in other cases withdrew their support for that party, and in still others withdrew their support from their party's government but not the party itself.

Two clusters of factors account for the divergent responses of union leaders. First, the capacity of the party and of workers to hold union leaders accountable for disloyal behaviour (their respective 'punishing power') is crucial. Punishing power derives principally from the legal framework for industrial relations (most centrally, the degree of state intervention in labour affairs) and the structure of the labour movement (the degree of competition among unions for members and among parties for unions), though party systemic factors and candidate and leadership selection processes also affect the ability of party leaders to punish union leaders for disloyal behaviour. The second determinant of union leader loyalty/disloyalty is the capacity of parties to act autonomously from governments, itself a product of the location of the party's 'supreme authority' and the degree of dissent allowed in the party organisation.

According to Burgess, in all three cases, unions served as key pillars of support for governing parties based on formally or informally institutionalised bargains between the two organisations. With the transition away from state-led economies, the adoption of market reforms, and (especially in Venezuela's case) declining oil prices, governing labour-based parties failed to hold up their end of those bargains. In the Mexican and Spanish cases the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) lacked autonomy from government, forcing union leaders into a loyalty dilemma – because of the preponderant punishing power of the PRI, Mexican union leaders remained loyal, while in Spain the General Workers' Union (UGT) defected from its historic alliance with the PSOE because of the punishing power of workers themselves. In Venezuela labour leaders faced punishment from both party leaders in Democratic Action (AD) and the rank and file; Burgess explains that the autonomy of AD from its own government enabled leaders of the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV) to challenge neoliberal reforms without severing their ties with AD.

Burgess's use of Hirschman's *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* framework, and in particular her discussion of punishing power, is a compelling explanation for the actions taken by union leaders in the three cases; even for scholars sceptical of rational-actor models, her focus on a discrete set of organisational elites allays many concerns. On

the micro-level, her analysis sheds light not just on these particular 'loyalty dilemmas' but also on the actions of organisational leaders in similar predicaments.

Burgess might have benefited from deepening her macro-level discussions, particularly in her conclusion. She suggests that '[o]n balance, the loosening ties between parties and unions promise to have more positive than negative effects on interest representation in Mexico, Spain, and Venezuela' (p. 165), that the divorce of parties and unions may increase the responsiveness of unions to rank and file concerns, support new modes of worker representation, and facilitate the development of new, more fluid alliances. This prognosis may be overly optimistic. While the weakening of institutional ties between labour and party politics may have those positive effects, it may also undercut labour's political representation. If unions are disarticulated from party systems and no new or alternative secondary associations emerge, or secondary associations themselves are delegitimised, problematic representation deficits seem likely to emerge, with deleterious consequences for the quality of democracy. If anything, the decay of the Venezuelan party system and widespread disaffection with Mexican political institutions suggest that greater (or *different*) institutionalisation, not less institutionalisation, might best suit labour's long-term interests.

These macro-level concerns, however, do not outweigh the extraordinary clarity with which Burgess explains union leaders' exit, voice, and loyalty in Mexico, Spain, and Venezuela. Her framework merits application in other cases of the frequent 'socialist divorces' that occurred throughout both the advanced industrial democracies and the fledgling democracies of the developing world.

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Torcuato S. Di Tella, *History of Political Parties in Twentieth Century Latin America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2004), pp. x + 228, $39.95 hb.

This textbook provides a chronological account of national-level political competition in Latin American countries in the twentieth century. The chapters are organised according to time period: the century's opening decades, the 1930s and World War II, the late 1940s to the mid-1960s, from then to the end of military rule in the 1980s, and the period since the end of authoritarian rule outside Cuba, and cover a range of countries throughout. Di Tella moves at sometimes galloping speed across the Central American and Caribbean countries, while covering key events in each country. In various chapters, he provides more detailed treatment of trends in Brazil, Chile, Peru and, especially, Argentina, about which he has written thoughtfully and intelligently throughout his distinguished scholarly career. The book's principal value lies in this combination of cross-time and cross-country summary reporting.

The narrative political history is built on three analytical constructs derived from Di Tella's previous comparative scholarship and his sustained study of Argentina. He opens with an unattributed paraphrase of Karl Marx. Di Tella writes that, 'Long ago, it was said that men make their own history, but with the materials provided by society' (p. ix). In Di Tella's view political parties are best understood as the interaction between social class and political leadership; and his empirical

chapters present the data along those lines. His concluding chapter offers a ten-label classificatory scheme for parties in Latin America. Five of the labels include the word 'class'; the premise for all ten is that social class is a foundational keystone for Latin American parties.

The second analytical construct is Di Tella's attempt to formulate a bounded conception of populism. For him 'populism may be defined as a political movement based on a mobilised but not yet autonomously organised popular sector, led by an elite rooted in the middle and upper echelons of society, and kept together by a charismatic, personalised link, between leader and led …'. Populist parties result from 'widespread social and cultural traits often found in the periphery'. In his view, such parties emphasise protest against the status quo. Di Tella resists the attempt of others to use the label 'populist' for parties of former military dictators. Populist parties occupy the political space that social democratic parties would otherwise fill, if only Latin America were more 'urban, educated, and secular' (p. 90).

The third construct is Di Tella's hypothesis about the utility of conservative parties for the creation and sustenance of constitutional democracy. Such parties represent propertied classes. Many core constituents may have 'authoritarian tendencies.' Yet 'even a not very democratically oriented [conservative] party' can sustain democratic institutions 'because of the way it funnels and blends basic class interests and feelings into the political arena' (p. 91). Conservative parties make it less likely that their supporters would rely on the military to advance their interests.

There are, nevertheless, various difficulties within the book. Di Tella does not provide sufficient evidence to establish the social class basis for Latin American parties. For more recent decades, public opinion evidence exists on electoral attitudes; none is used in this book. The fuller statistical models of voting behaviour available for several Latin American political systems cast doubt on the preeminence of social class as the over-arching basis for party support, though social class elements do matter to varying degrees in several countries. For previous decades historical sociological analysis of aggregate voting patterns, census materials, labour histories and the like could have provided the means to specify the class basis for parties, but, alas, that work did not make it into this book.

Another difficulty is that, notwithstanding the title, there is little in this book about parties as such. Di Tella does not discuss party organisation and rules or the absence thereof, membership, platforms beyond the most general terms, internal party life, candidate recruitment and nominations, campaigns, electoral laws and the related paraphernalia of scholarly studies of parties. Nor do we learn much about the varying regional, provincial, or municipal building blocks of parties. There is broad, interesting and useful variation along these dimensions between parties across and within countries. A better book about parties would have said more about, well, parties.

I sympathise with Di Tella's battle against 'concept stretching' with regard to populism. But a more complete argument should have demonstrated why it may not be useful to call the former military dictators, born again as politicians campaigning for the presidency, 'populists'. Their principal conceptual disqualification seems to be that they once embodied the status quo. Yet much of the just-quoted Di Tella definition of populism seems capacious enough to include Manuel Odría and Gustavo Rojas Pinillas, just as Di Tella wants it to include Juan Perón.

At his comparative historical best Di Tella teases out intellectually intriguing and thought-provoking empirical comparisons. In the late 1940s and early 1950s

Argentina's Perón and Chile's Carlos Ibáñez attempted to build a 'military trade-union coalition'. But in Chile that was 'an explicitly planned alliance between clearly independent forces in a climate of public liberties,' whereas in Argentina 'a veritable political fusion had occurred' (p. 85). Di Tella also usefully compares the political resurrection of Ecuador's José María Velasco Ibarra in the early 1940s as a response to defeat in the war with Peru with the complex political reactions in Paraguay and Bolivia to the Chaco War in the 1930s (p. 88). Similarly, he shows an interesting parallel in the content and result of alliances between hitherto partisan enemies in Bolivia and the Dominican Republic, respectively, in 1989 between former General Hugo Banzer and the MIR (Left Revolutionary Movement) and in 1996 between decades-ruling President Joaquín Balaguer and Leonel Fernández's Dominican Liberation Party.

Di Tella's broad yet brief summary of a century of Latin American national-level political competition will serve best those who look for a reference work on such politics who will also be rewarded by many nuggets of scholarly insight.

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Carol Wise, *Reinventing the State: Economic Strategy and Institutional Change in Peru* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. xiii + 290, $54.50; £34.50, hb.

Charles D. Kenney, *Fujimori's Coup and the Breakdown of Democracy in Latin America* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), pp. xvi + 379, $60.00, $30.00 pb.

On 21 November 2000 President Alberto Fujimori of Peru announced his resignation via fax from Tokyo. Fujimori's unexpected resignation was almost as surprising as his sudden rise to power in 1990, ending one of the most controversial Latin American presidencies of the last 25 years. While in office, Fujimori attracted considerable attention from scholars and journalists alike. Biographies, scholarly essays and even hagiographic works were devoted to a president who seemed to relish his reputation for a disregard of democratic niceties. The end of his presidency was followed by the release of a significant cache of audio and video tapes dutifully recorded by the shadowy Vladimiro Ilich Montesinos, Fujimori's security advisor and de facto intelligence chief, thus further increasing scholarly interest in this controversial presidency. The books reviewed here are fitting examples of a growing effort to understand this important period of Peruvian and Latin American history.

Carol Wise and Charles Kenney address two topics central to the understanding of this regime. Wise seeks to explain the remarkable economic turnaround that was registered under Fujimori's watch, while Kenney explores the causes of democratic breakdown in April of 1992. While their common focus is Peru, they both raise issues that transcend the Peruvian case. Wise attempts to determine the 'changing role that the state has played in shaping development outcomes' (p. 5) in Latin America. Kenney, on the other hand, asks 'What can Peru's experience tell us about the breakdown of new democracies in general?' (p. 1). Although these two books have different subject matters (Wise's is an analysis of Peru's economic policies after

the Second World War; Kenney's is a detailed examination of the 1992 self-coup), they share a similar methodological approach. Both authors openly advocate and follow institutional explanations of the phenomena they study. Wise argues that the key to Peru's economic recovery in the 1990s was the process of state reconstruction and institutional reform that led to 'the reinvention and/or creation of new state entities geared toward achieving the longer-term goals of economic restructuring along market lines' (p. 180). Similarly, Kenney states that '[t]he central argument of this book is that institutional factors – especially the president's lack of a legislative majority – played a crucial role in the breakdown of democracy both in Peru in 1992 and throughout Latin America over the past forty years' (p. 3). This similarity highlights the growing attraction of the institutional approach to Latin Americanists, who are trying to overcome the limitations of traditional structural explanations without being hampered by the shortcomings of the rational-choice approach.

Carol Wise's book is divided into three parts. The first chronicles the rise of the Peruvian state and the initial process of import-substituting industrialisation (chapter 2) as well as the military effort between 1968 and 1980 to establish state capitalism (chapter 3). The second part is devoted to discussing the decline of the Peruvian state after 1980. Wise notes that the García administration (1985–1990) exacerbated the worst sins of state intervention: strong dependence on external borrowing, neglect of crucial macroeconomic indicators, heavy reliance on state enterprises, a conflictual relationship with domestic capitalists and social policies subordinated to macro-economic needs (p. 174). In the last part of her book Wise discusses the 'reinvention of the state' that took place under the Fujimori regime. She chronicles in chapter six the adoption of market reforms and the institutional changes that were introduced under Fujimori in order to sustain economic growth. Her main argument is that the impressive economic recovery registered during the Fujimori period was due not to the adoption of free market policies (or his 'quasi-authoritarian' rule) but 'to a quiet process of state reconstruction and institutional reform that occurred over the course of the 1990s' (p. 180).

In her introductory chapter, Wise identifies four institutional variables that, according to her, are crucial for effective state intervention in developing countries. These variables consist of state and bureaucratic autonomy, competent state and economic planning institutions, stable leadership at the helm of a manageable ruling coalition, and an effective organisation and intermediation of societal interests (pp. 31–44). In the concluding chapter, Wise proposes a set of both short- and medium-term policies to sustain and expand economic development in Peru. For the short term, she recommends greater oversight and accountability of public expenditures, as well as the full restoration of the rule of law (p. 233). For the medium term, Wise advocates the following: (a) the adoption by ministries of the same professionalisation standards introduced in the state's autonomous agencies; (b) the creation of targeted investments in human capital, and (c) the improvement of Peru's competitiveness in areas such as infrastructure, technology, and quality of management (pp. 233–4).

Charles Kenney's book focuses on a different set of institutional variables: the conflictual relationship between the executive and the legislature during Fujimori's first two years in office. Kenney aptly describes the political impasse that developed as a consequence of Fujimori's inability to secure a parliamentary majority in the 1990 elections. He describes the showdown between an increasingly hostile Congress and

a president apparently convinced that his job was in jeopardy. According to Kenney, the 'conflict between the executive and the legislature was a central cause of democratic breakdown in a multiparty presidentialist regime' (p. 2). He argues that minority presidencies in general pose a higher risk for the survival of democracy than do majority presidencies (p. 262). Moreover, Kenney, following Mainwaring, believes that the combination of presidential regimes and multiparty systems are particularly problematic due to the increased likelihood of minority presidencies to occur under this combination than under any other political arrangement (p. 261).

Kenney's core argument is developed in chapters five and six of his book. In chapter five he describes the gradual worsening of relations between the executive and the legislature. He argues that although Fujimori was able to garner some legislative support from the right-wing parties and occasionally from APRA, he was unable to count on their steady support. Moreover, Fujimori could not even be assured to count on the support from his own Cambio-90 party, which was exhibiting unusual independence from the executive (p. 169). In chapter six, Kenney discusses the months preceding the 1992 coup, and suggests that Congress undermined its own legitimacy by threatening to appeal to the 'moral incapacity' clause in the constitution[1] in order to remove President Fujimori. In Kenney's narrative it seems that Fujimori acted preemptively against a Congress bent on removing him. In his own words, '[b]y threatening to dismiss Fujimori, the legislature provided him with strong motive to close Congress' (p. 186).

In addition to the central theme of democratic breakdown, Kenney tackles additional issues of interest to Peruvianists, such as the collapse of the party system (chapter three), the powers of the Peruvian presidency (chapter four), and the competing interpretations of the 1992 *autogolpe* (chapter seven). For instance, Kenney rejects interpretations that stress changing class structures (the growth of the informal sector) or institutional factors (the electoral system) in the collapse of the party system. He argues that this collapse must be attributed instead to the performance failures of Peru's political elites (p. 70).

Although these two well-crafted books claim to follow institutional approaches, it is clear that these alone are insufficient to explain the choices made during this period. The authors' narratives show that institutional change was introduced as a result of conscious political decisions. In other words, the agency of change was individual not institutional. For instance, Wise notes that in the absence of a political party, Fujimori decided to pursue the autonomous-agency route as the only way in which he could control his market-reform agenda (Wise, p. 204). In a similar vein, Kenney claims that Fujimori's decision to carry out a coup was largely determined by his expectations of the legislature's actions against him (Kenney, p. 117). No one can deny that institutional settings frame actors' choices, but as both Wise and Kenney show, different choices were possible under the same institutional arrangements. The choices that were made cannot be fully accounted for by relying exclusively on an institutional explanation. Individual expectations and preferences need to be added more explicitly to the causal link.

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[1] According to Article 206 of the 1979 Constitution, Congress could declare, by a simple majority vote, the vacancy of the presidency due to 'moral incapacity'.

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Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri (eds.), *Politics in the Andes: Identity, Conflict, Reform* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), pp. x + 324, $59.95, $24.95 pb.

Politics in the five Andean nations are among the most turbulent in the hemisphere. This important book probes the reasons for the continuing problems of political violence and instability in the region. Why have the Andean states failed to become integrated nations? For Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri the primary explanations are structural – the sharp geographical, ethnic and class cleavages in the region. Burt, Mauceri and most of the other contributors to this volume believe that, in the face of these formidable structural challenges, human agency has proved weak. In the scholarly tradition of Charles Tilly, who is frequently cited, the book grimly – but persuasively – emphasises the seeming inevitability of political violence.

To its credit, the volume is interdisciplinary, including perspectives from political science, anthropology, and economics. Also, numerous contributors are based in the Andean nations. While Burt and Mauceri are political scientists at US universities, contributors include a researcher on indigenous peoples based in Bolivia, two scholars at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and two at research institutions in Colombia. These scholars' work is highly knowledgeable – and frequently passionate as well.

The first part of the book is entitled 'The Struggle for Identity', and focuses on the evolution of indigenous and gender movements in the region. In the lucid opening chapter Xavier Albó reviews the historical ethnic composition of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, and explores the reasons for the emergence of indigenous movements in Bolivia and Ecuador, as well as for the relative lack thereof in Peru. Wisely, Albó does not try to prove the importance of one or two reasons, but ranges broadly among such factors as globalisation, migration and the impact of neoliberal economic models. Next, Jennifer Collins provides an in-depth description of the Confederation of Indigenous Nations of Ecuador (CONAIE) and its political wing Pachakutik. The final chapter in the section, by Amy Lind, considers the emergence of women's movements in Ecuador and Bolivia since the early 1980s. Although all three authors are generally sympathetic to the emergence of indigenous and women's movements, they are also concerned about the movements' capacity to not only mount protests but also channel demands into policy-making at the national level. As Collins observes, an 'axis of tension' is 'opposition versus participation' (pp. 53–4).

In the second part of the book, the theme is political conflict and violence, and the country focus is Venezuela, Colombia and Peru. Fernando Coronil and Julie Skurski provide a probing discussion of the violent clashes in Venezuela over President Carlos Andrés Pérez's attempt to implement a neoliberal economic programme in 1989. The chapter highlights the president's betrayal of his campaign platform and Venezuelans' interpretations of the meaning of their oil resources, and is invaluable both in its own right and for understanding the recent political polarisation under President Hugo Chávez.

Ricardo Vargas describes the expansion of both guerrilla movements and paramilitary organisations during the 1990s in Colombia, especially in the departments of Magdalena and Putumayo. Analysing the reasons for their expansion, Vargas emphasises the scant government presence in relatively remote areas and the

concomitant privatisation of networks of social control. Vargas's concern about Colombia's 'weak state' is shared by Philip Mauceri, who in his illuminating chapter contrasts the responses of the Colombian and Peruvian states to insurgent violence. Mauceri calls the Colombian state's response 'abdication and privatization' (p. 154), versus the Peruvian state's 'authoritarian reengineering' (p. 156). Mauceri offers thoughtful explanations for the two states' contrasting responses – and underlines the steep human costs of both.

Two other chapters in the section examine important related issues. While many works in comparative politics ignore the impact of international actors on domestic politics, this book does not. In her chapter 'Collateral Damage', Coletta Youngers shows that, in the name of the 'war on drugs', the US government has bolstered Andean militaries and intelligence services responsible for serious human-rights violations. Youngers persuasively argues that, while the costs to democracy in the Andean countries have been large, the benefits on US city streets appear to have been nil. The final chapter by Mark Ungar assesses a new institution in the five Andean countries, the independent national ombudsman (The Defensoría del Pueblo). In what to my knowledge is the first comparative analysis of the region's defensorías, Ungar emphasises the social and political challenges to their work, yet does not abandon hope that the defensorías can become catalysts for more vigorous engagement between state and society.

The third part of the book explores democracy and the state in Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia and Peru. Highlighting the similarities between a young officers' revolt in Ecuador in 1925 and the uprising that toppled Jamil Mahuad in 2000, Liisa North despairs of 'crony capitalism' and the pervasive corruption among Ecuador's political and economic elites, and rigorously documents the devastating toll on Ecuador's people. Nicely complementing the chapter by Coronil and Skurski on Venezuela's 1989 food riots, Margarita López Maya and Luis E. Lander provide illuminating data on the increases in poverty, crime, and violent protest in Venezuela during the 1980s and 1990s. In a theoretically innovative chapter, Francisco Gutiérrez Sanin and Luisa Ramírez Rueda offer a new conception of democracy as a regime with two key dimensions – consultation among political actors and protection of political actors – and provocatively argues that these two dimensions have interacted in important but unpredictable ways in Colombia. For Peru Jo-Marie Burt focuses on the relationship between state making and democracy making, and cogently argues that state breakdown in the face of economic crisis and guerrilla challenge during the 1980s was the critical condition for 'the authoritarian reconstitution of the state' under Alberto Fujimori in the 1990s (p. 256).

This is not a book for undergraduate courses. It does not provide straightforward accounts of the political trajectories of the Andean countries. Nor is it a tightly structured volume that fits chapters into a Procrustean bed of independent and dependent variables outlined by the co-editors. Indeed, the politics of the Andean nations are not comprehensively treated; there is no chapter on politics in Bolivia.

However, the co-editors and authors – among the most knowledgeable in the world on cutting-edge issues in Andean politics – offer sophisticated and innovative analyses that will be invaluable for scholars. Sadly, but in all likelihood correctly, the co-editors and most of the authors are deeply pessimistic about the possibility that the region's structural cleavages can be transcended and that robust representative, democratic polities can be built.

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Silvia Borzutzky, *Vital Connections: Politics, Social Security and Inequality in Chile* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2002), pp. xv + 300, $59.95, $27.95 pb.

This ambitious book traces the development of social security in Chile from 1924 to present day and challenges what Borzutzky refers to as the 'myth of social unity'. Borzutzky argues that rather than serve to redistribute resources more equitably throughout society, the development of the Chilean social security system in fact reinforced and entrenched social divisions. Her argument is clearly developed throughout the book, which is helpfully divided into accessible sections that review the broader economic and political questions of each selected time period before linking this with a more focused analysis of changes in the social security system.

At the start of the twentieth century the 'social question' was the most pressing national problem in Chile. Widespread urbanisation and industrialisation, particularly as a result of the development of the nitrate industry in the north of the country, resulted in the emergence of new social actors who posed an important challenge to the ruling landed oligarchs. These pressures led to the passing of new social and economic legislation in 1924, followed by a constitutional reform in 1925. As Borzutzky argues, the reforms enabled the elite to include within the emerging social actors into the political system while retaining their economic power base and at the same time restoring social order. However, despite relative improvements for some of the urban-based popular classes, large sectors of the population remained excluded from the benefits of these changes and the working classes became divided along occupational lines as certain groups were favoured over others. Over the next four decades working class groups tried to overcome their political and economic exclusion by becoming the clients of the political parties. It was these attempts to contain the social struggle within the political system that resulted in the over-expansion of state activity in the economic and social sphere and the growth of the social security system.

By the 1960s, as social security provision shifted towards universal access, Chile was at the vanguard of social reform. Understanding the dynamics of the competing political projects in the 1950s and 1960s is central to understanding this trend and Borzutzky clearly sets this out. In an attempt to gain electoral support the Christian Democrats explicitly targeted the urban and rural poor. Once they won the presidency in 1964 Frei did try to organise and provide benefits to these constituencies, promising a 'revolution in freedom' which would correct social inequalities in Chilean society without direct social confrontation. The Frei government actively supported the incorporation of popular sectors into the political system, transforming their status from passive recipients of social benefits from state to a major source of pressure for further deepening and widening of benefits. As a result the Left were forced to respond with ever more radical proposals, many of which were eventually carried out under the Allende government. In contrast to the Frei government, that of Unidad Popular placed the question of social welfare within a broader battle of class struggle and attempted to redistribute resources more equitably throughout society. The failure successfully to implement these changes is well known, culminating as they did in the bloody coup of 1973.

As Borzutzky demonstrates in the latter part of the book, the events of 1973 and the subsequent seventeen years of military dictatorship explicitly challenged the

myth of social unity. A series of neo-liberal reforms reversed the shift towards universal access to welfare services, replacing it with a wide-reaching programme of privatisation that undermined the entire social security system.

The book ends with an analysis of the current situation in Chile. Despite the return to more democratic forms of rule in 1990, successive Coalition governments have not reversed the neo-liberal reforms introduced by Pinochet and Borzutzky demonstrates the ways in which the reforms have subsequently been 'fine tuned'. Despite some attempts to improve the situation of the 'poorest of the poor' the current social security system contains many inherent biases that continue to exclude certain sectors of the population and entrench class divisions. For example, Borzutzky points to the inherent gender bias in both the private pension and health systems.

In the light of current debates around social protection as a means of overcoming poverty, this is a timely book and will be particularly useful for those interested in understanding the ways in which social policy is inextricably linked to broader questions of political economy. Given Chile's status as the 'ideal model' of social security within Latin America, the book should prove helpful in contributing to a greater understanding of how the present model came about and the implications of this within Chile, as well as raising broader issues of relevance to Latin America and beyond.

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Matthew C. Gutmann (ed.), *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. xi+416, £18.95, pb.

Research on men and masculinities in Latin America has enjoyed steadily increasing attention from scholars within and beyond the region in the last two decades. Until this volume, however, most books on the subject had been published in Spanish with restricted accessibility for non-specialist readers. Thus, for non-Latin Americanists teaching and researching gender, or gender and development in cross-cultural perspective, *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America* will come as something of a godsend.

The editor, Matthew Gutmann, whose landmark 1996 book *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (University of California Press), was fallen on enthusiastically by those of us only too aware that our studies of gender had for too long given inadequate attention to men, has gathered together an impressively diverse range of papers by scholars from several disciplinary backgrounds and countries. The subject matter ranges from sexuality, to reproductive health, to fatherhood, to work, to politics, to constructions of masculinity in different parts of the region and, critically, to men's relationships with women and with other men. One of the book's most striking, and commendable, features is that the vast majority of the chapters are based on dedicated empirical research. This provides rich contextual insights into men and masculinity in different Latin American countries, as well as lending weight to issues of broader theoretical significance, which are tackled in more general terms in Matthew Gutmann's introduction and in Mara Viveros Vigoya's review of contemporary Latin American perspectives on masculinity.

Gutmann's introduction, appropriately sub-titled 'Discarding Manly Dichotomies in Latin America', provides an accessible, no-nonsense guide as to how the term 'masculinity' (and the related concepts of 'male identity', 'manhood', 'manliness' and 'men's roles') have been interpreted and deployed by scholars working on Latin America. He identifies four main 'frameworks' (which might have been better termed 'starting points' or 'underlying assumptions'). The first is that masculinity is about men (that is, if men are involved, then so too is masculinity). The second main concept is that masculinity is about what men think, say or do in order to distinguish themselves as men. The third is that masculinity is unevenly distributed across the male population insofar as some men are 'more masculine' on account of 'innate' or socially acquired characteristics. The fourth is that masculinity is negotiated by women in their relationships with men. These starting points are not mutually exclusive, and Gutmann notes a tendency among scholars to work with more than one. To some extent this is indicative of the fluidity of the concepts, but might also be attributed to a 'lack of theoretical precision in approaching this issue' (p. 2). Gutmann's introductory discussion, like many of the later chapters in the book, highlights considerable diversity in men's behaviours and constructions of masculinity, while also noting that this does not detract from the fact that men are generally in positions of power and control. On the basis of the case studies in the volume, he also offers the insightful hypothesis that goes against Nancy Chodorow's classic notion that women are closer to nature and men to culture. In Gutmann's view, it appears that it is men who are actually associated with 'rather instinctual behaviour', whereas women are the ones who are 'able and expected to control situations' (p. 21).

Mara Viveros Vigoya's chapter elaborates further on the points raised by Gutmann. It provides a concise review of how the study of men has entered into and evolved within gender analysis in and on Latin America over time, especially in relation to ethnicity, parenthood and reproductive health and sexuality. This informative chapter is extremely useful for scholars new to the field. Especially inspiring is her 'final reflections' section, in which she calls for more research on the relationship between Latin American men and power, on how men are coping with women's encroachment into male terrain (especially in the labour market), on the relationship between (re)assertions of male power and antifeminism, on the fragmentation of masculinity and male identities by socio-economic status, 'race' and generation and, last but not least, on the roles of women in reinforcing and/or transforming masculinities.

Of all the case studies in the book, one of those which perhaps come closest to answering both Gutmann's and particularly Viveros Vigoya's calls for considering masculinity in relation to changing gendered realities and to generational difference, is that by Agustín Escobar Latapí on restructuring, gender inequality and life transitions in three major Mexican cities – Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey. While Escobar Latapí is arguably better known for his work on labour markets, he provides a richly detailed and informed piece of gender scholarship, replete with observations that at times seem deceptively simple or even self-evident, but which are too often glossed over in other analyses. One major point made by Escobar Latapí, for example, is that discourses on, and negotiations over, gender are 'surfacing' among women and men to a much greater extent than in the past, precisely because they are more negotiable. This has provoked people at the grassroots to break through normative gender performances to evaluate each other as individuals.

Another important contribution of his essay is to point out how inter-generational transfers of assistance play a major role in allowing women and men to accommodate to new gender regimes. This not only flies in the face of the conventional wisdoms regarding the 'breakdown' of the extended family, but also the idea that inter-generational transfers predominantly flow upwards and downwards from adults in their middle years. Even more importantly, perhaps, Escobar attributes the help of older urban generations to their offspring, *inter alia*, to benefits accrued during Mexico's rapid period of development in the 1960s and 1970s. In anchoring domestic transitions within a broader context of time- and place-specific economic and societal change, Escobar not only makes a convincing case for the need to approach gender relations at a variety of scales and times, but also shows the importance of inter-disciplinarity in this field. Although his essay, along with the bulk of other contributions to the volume, concentrates primarily on men, there is much to be mined which is relevant to gender, globalisation and development more generally. In turn, it is not hard to envisage a point at which studies of men and masculinities will converge with more traditional gender scholarship, and in a way which will enrich our understanding not only of what goes on between women and men, and how things change, but what possibilities might be created for more equality and sharing.

Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America has much to offer scholars working in and beyond the region. With the added advantage of it being a reasonably priced paperback, it should definitely be recommended as a student purchase.

London School of Economics & Political Science SYLVIA CHANT

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04388942

Rosario Montoya, Lessie Jo Frazier and Janise Hurtig (eds.), *Gender's Place: Feminist Anthropologies of Latin America* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. xii + 306, £13.99, pb.

Gender's Place is an important and creative book containing ethnographic case studies written by scholars, primarily anthropologists, based in Latin America and the United States. The editors use the concept of *desalambrar*, tearing down fences, to centre the book. *Desalambrar* comes from a song by Uruguayan Daniel Viglietti calling for radical agrarian reform. The book follows the emancipatory project of *desalambrar*, adding gender to its initial concept of class. In addition, the concept is used to tear down and transform existing theoretical views and preconceived notions of gender in Latin America. For example, the articles in the volume attempt to link both material and symbolic analyses, showing that the two are inseparable.

The central strength of the collection is its focus on place. The articles in the first three sections are based on long-term ethnographic research in specific sites, ranging from El Paso, Texas on the USA-Mexico border to Iquique, the regional capital of northern Chile. Each author situates gender relations in their local context, but also addresses the way global political, economic, and social forces are understood and reconfigured in local settings. The book's careful attention to place is particularly welcome given that the paradigm of globalisation can lead scholars to argue that place is irrelevant. As June Nash points out in the book's postscript, 'The current tendency to dis-place place in asserting that global processes force everything into flux threatens to undermine one of the principal coordinates of ethnographic discourse'

(p. 289). Taken as a whole, the articles in *Gender's Place* powerfully demonstrate the utility of ethnographic research in understanding gender as well as other forms of social inequality. The book challenges generalisations and stereotypes about gender in Latin America, as it shows the relevance not only of regional and national variations, but also of differences based on class, ethnicity, race, and city versus countryside. In her article on indigenous women in Bolivia, Susan Paulson notes the ways that place can alter ethnic and gender identity. She quotes an Andean women, Fautina Fernández, who reflects on place's impact on identity: 'When a woman is hoeing potatoes in her field she is a *campesina*, but when she goes to the city to sell her potatoes she is a *chola* [indigenous market woman]' (p. 140).

Following a short preface by Ruth Behar and an introduction by the editors, the book contains fourteen articles divided into four sections. Part I 'Gendered Knowledge in Particular places' examines 'how gendered hierarchies and meanings, and the possibilities for their transformation, are constituted through gendered ways of knowing …' (p. 10). The articles examine students in a ninth grade classroom in a Venezuelan agricultural town, Quichua speakers' understandings of masculinity and resistance in highland haciendas of Ecuador, and women's conjugal and sexual practices in rural Nicaragua.

The articles in Part 2, 'Gender's Place in Reproducing and Challenging Institutions and Ideologies', address the ways gender affects and is affected by state projects and institutions. In her chapter entitled 'Forging Democracy and Locality: Democratization, Mental Health, and Reparations in Chile', Lessie Jo Frazier analyses the gendered processes by which Pinochet's military regime restructured the region and the ways human rights activists make use of 'local knowledge to dismantle structures of power' (p. 93).

Part 3, 'Gender in Movement(s)', examines gender's role in social movements and geographic movement. The articles explore indigenous women's political roles in Ecuador, Latina workers on the USA-Mexico border; *travestis* [transgendered individuals] in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and female sex workers in Mexico City. Taken as a group, the articles in this section demonstrate that while men and women are constrained by dominant conceptions of gender, they actively work to challenge dominant roles. In her chapter, Marta Lamas describes female sex workers and their relationship the space of the street, a space culturally defined as masculine in Mexico City, especially at night. Lamas observes that the sex workers attempt to appropriate the space of the street and de-stigmatise themselves through a collective ritual of sprinkling sugar and holy water on the streets before beginning work.

The book's final part contains three critical commentaries on gender and place. Marysa Navarro's 'Against *Marianismo*' provides a much needed critique of the concept of *marianismo* used by political scientist Evelyn Stevens to characterise gender relations from Central to South America. *Marianismo* labelled non-indigenous women throughout Latin America as passive, self-sacrificing and dependent. Navarro notes that *marianismo* as well as machismo are based on broad generalisations and fail to ground gender relations in specific cultural, geographic and historical contexts. In addition, the concept of *marianismo* ignores the many ways that Latin American women have participated in political movements to challenge gender inequalities.

Navarro's chapter, like the other chapters in the book, presents ethnographic and historic research on gender in order to salambrar, or break down the fences of 'ahistorical, essentialist, anachronistic, sexist and orientalist fabrication' (p. 270). In

sum, this is an important book that makes a significant contribution to understandings of gender and place in Latin America.

University of Houston-Clear Lake CHRISTINE KOVIC

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04398949

Matthew C. Gutmann, *The Romance of Democracy: Compliant Defiance in Contemporary Mexico* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), pp. xxx + 289, $39.95, $19.95 pb; £35.00, £13.95 pb.

Perceptive and thought-provoking, Gutmann's captivating ethnographic study lays bare the manifold responses of working class Mexicans to a reality that for most of them, most of the time, can only appear beyond their capacity to change. Without romanticism but also without gloom, the text presents a complex portrayal of the inhabitants of Colonia Santo Domingo, a poor neighbourhood in Mexico City, and the ways in which *los de abajo* perceive and give meaning to the events that circumscribe the transformation of both their country and their lives. A fundamental component of the personal histories portrayed in this study is precisely these women's and men's understanding of key events within Mexico, as well as in their own neighbourhood and families, in ways that place them face to face with critical questions regarding personal choices and options. The success of the narrative is to take these questions seriously, and to read through them both the personal and social trajectories that provide context to responses that reflect defiance but also, at times, discouragement and accommodation.

The theoretical point of entry to the political lives of Gutmann's subjects in Santo Domingo is 'agency', a concept the author anchors in his examination of Oscar Lewis's contribution to the study of class, gender and the possibilities of change. Agency can provide an effective way of transcending deterministic views about the weight of structures, although in its common usage, agency has also implied a tendency to focus almost exclusively on those situations in which the poor can effectively organise to challenge the conditions that subjugate them (p. xxii). Gutmann offers a strong case against such an understanding of agency since it involves the risk of negating situations in which the efforts of the poor are either fruitless or simply non-existent. Alternatively, the author proposes an enquiry into people's political responses that includes not only the decision and capacity to affect, even if only partially, the social reality that defines the condition of their existence, but also to remain at the margins of political processes (pp. xxii, 114).

Agency is also the tool that allows Gutmann to probe the narrowness of some current interpretations of social mobilisation, resistance, participation and, more importantly, democracy itself. Unfortunately, his discussion does not always facilitate a full understanding of alternative approaches that might overcome the limitations he rightfully identifies in current social theory. Moreover, Gutmann is not always successful in explaining the ways in which the various issues he presents relate to one another. Indeed, the reflections of working class men and women in Santo Domingo on the significance of democracy in their lives provides the main thread connecting both the social and the personal histories related in the study.

Contested views about democracy and its meanings stand at the intersection of the pivotal events in contemporary Mexico that lend structure to Gutmann's narrative. The changing context of nationalism, the rising challenges from the marginalised in Chiapas, the student strike in Mexico's National University (UNAM), the

significance of borders and migration, the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the pressures of globalisation are the events and realities that demarcate the actual scope for democratic change in Mexico. The picture that emerges from Gutmann's observations is one marked by ambivalence. While part of the transformation in Mexico encompasses some success in changing electoral politics, this achievement has been largely irrelevant in increasing the capacity of people to control important factors in their lives (p. 217). But the author's discussion also shows an unresolved tension regarding the extent to which one can consider agency and structure as mutually exclusive perspectives. The problem, of course, is how to integrate them without resorting to determinisms and oversimplifications.

While it is not easy to know the exact meaning of democracy for the residents of Santo Domingo, their discouragement at the course of change over the 1990s provides a strong indication that democracy, for them, requires a broader and deeper transformation. Equally important, because the author introduces heterogeneity as a fundamental characteristic of the working class (p. 117), their views on democracy cannot all be the same. His call is to understand working-class politics and identity in all their complexity, involving a diversity of responses connected to gender, ethnicity, specific experiences and will to action. This does not mean that working-class collective action is an impossibility. It simply implies that sometimes it will be reflected in different attitudes and ways of relating to the reality such action seeks to change.

The author's reflections on working-class women and men in Santo Domingo provide a window through which it becomes possible to observe the tensions and contradictions but also the hopes and dreams that form the substance of daily life within these Mexicans' families, community and the world beyond. While the book focuses on one urban community in Mexico City, its lessons transcend the interest of students of Mexico and its complex transformation over the last two decades. What Gutmann has to say should be of interest to those concerned with ways of understanding political participation, working class forms of resistance and struggle and – probably even more significantly – the ways in which individuals come to see themselves in the context of broad processes of change (or the lack of it). Ultimately the main question in this superbly written study is that of unravelling meaning. Gutmann provides an excellent and telling example of how this can be done without simplifications, romanticism or cynicism.

York University VIVIANA PATRONI

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04408943

Javier Auyero, *Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. xv + 230, £14.95, pb.

Contentious Lives describes two uprisings that took place in provincial towns in Argentina in the 1990s; the *Santiagazo*, a two day protest in the north-western city of Santiago del Estero in 1993, and the seven-day road blockade, (the *pueblada*) in the Southern oil towns of Cutral-co and Plaza Huincul in 1996. Both areas had a history of economic decline presided over by inept and corrupt government. Their long-suffering populations endured high unemployment and poverty, dwindling incomes, dismal politicians and uncertain futures. A widespread sense of hopelessness turned to anger when adjustment policies further threatened wages and jobs. Ordinary

citizens took to the streets, becoming *piqueteros*, organising demonstrations, erecting barricades, burning tyres and buildings, and forcing the authorities to the negotiating table.

The structural causes of protest movements are the background to this book but they are not its main concern. Auyero is interested in interpreting the significance of these 'contentious episodes' for those involved. He deploys the techniques of oral and life history to two main purposes; to produce a rich narrative account of the events as they unfolded as seen through the eyes of key participants, and to make their life histories integral to understanding the meaning of the protests. In other words this is a book that aims to reveal the links between biography and history, through a focus on the 'experiential dimension of politics'. Such a project is not new to sociology or to social movement analysis, but the thesis Auyero seeks to advance, following Phillipe Bourgois, is that participation in protest movements can be understood as a 'search for respect', especially by those, who until then, were denied such recognition.

The book therefore focuses on the part played in the uprisings by two women, Nana and Laura, and on the meaning they give to their experience of political contestation in the overall context of their lives. The women's stories are at once poignant and remarkable. Neither had any prior political involvement, but Laura becomes chief representative of the picketers in Neuquen; Nana, dancing queen of many carnivals, finds herself an activist in the *Santiagazo*. Their testimonies are in the idiom of the emancipatory narrative, moving as they do from a past marked by pain, powerlessness and entrapment to the moment of self-realisation, dignity and agency – one given by engaging with others in an act of collective protest. In choosing two women whose lives were marked by disappointment, patriarchal violence and poverty, but who emerged from a mute 'anonymity' to become central figures in protest movements, Auyero provides vivid illustration of his case.

The two stories also cast light on some of the longer-term indigenous causes of Argentina's ongoing troubles. What stands out in these accounts is an abiding hatred and distrust of politicians and parties, easily inflamed by the manoeuvrings they engage in to divide and buy off the protesters. Santiago del Estero's political notoriety under the 40-year rule of the Peronist caudillo Juárez and his wife (now ended), provides the backdrop to Nana's implacable hostility to politicians. The spark of the *Santiagazo* was a failure to pay state employees' wages, but it was far more than that, as Nana explains: '… I wanted to complain, because I didn't think what was going on was fair. Yes, … you wanted to be paid, but you also wanted to end the disgusting government that we had. To finish somehow with feeding so much corruption.' The uprising was in retrospect (the interviews were carried out between 1999 and 2001) understood as a 'lesson for local politicians', forcing them 'to listen'. Both Nana's and Laura's hatred of authority is infused with memories of humiliation at the hands of husbands and lovers, lawyers and social welfare bureaucrats, and by the desperation they feel to provide some security for their children. These gendered sensibilities resonate through their account of the protests and to some extent also inform the construction of their own 'insurgent identities' within the momentum of the movement.

Auyero's approach and argument will no doubt revive the familiar controversies over ethnographic methods. This is no simple transcript of interviews, but a theoretically informed, explicitly framed interpretation of the informants' stories – it is a 'search for meaning'. In his introduction and appendix Auyero anticipates

charges of being too sympathetic to his informants, too involved in reconstructing the account, overloading meaning and interpretation and of making implicit claims as to the representativity of his respondents. His answers to these charges are deft, assured and refreshingly modest, given in a searching and thoughtful account of his theoretical approach, the conduct of his fieldwork and his relationship with Laura and Nana. Given the nature of the enterprise it is not surprising that Laura says with gratitude 'you are like a psychologist to me, you make me think about things I haven't thought before' echoing Maria Antoinetta Machiocci's characterisation of the research act as a relationship between analyst and analysand. *Contentious Lives* is an act of recovery that succeeds in linking private experience to public acts, and in the process retrieves a social history which is as much about the struggle for justice as it is about the search for recognition.

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MAXINE MOLYNEUX

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X0441894X

Lara Putnam, *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870–1960* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. xii + 303, £38.95, £15.95 pb.

Women and gender have hitherto been excluded from accounts of the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica. Whether writers have focused on the black West Indian migrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, or on the Costa Ricans, Nicaraguans and Guatemalans who began to arrive in the area during the 1920s and 1930s; the prevalence of male migrant workers in the Limón population has served to make women almost invisible. This illuminating book rectifies this imbalance, and, through a focus on kinship structures and the role of women in the economy and society during both of the major migrations, sheds new light on the construction of social relations in Limón over the course of a century.

The Company They Kept is theoretically situated within two major fields: kinship and family practices in the Caribbean and Latin America, and migration patterns within what has been termed the Western Caribbean. Putnam seeks to show that West Indian migration to Limón took place within the context of a much wider movement, and that patterns of migration were strongly influenced by kinship relations and family and friendship networks, along both male and female lines. The book begins with a general theoretical introduction, followed by two further chapters which provide an overview of the evolution of family practices in Jamaica and Costa Rica, and of regional patterns of migration. Four case study chapters then deal with prostitution, communities and kinship, ideals of honour and respectability among women, and masculinity and violence among male migrants.

The book is at its strongest when it showcases Putnam's fascinating primary materials. Judicial records and peasant autobiographies are used to wonderful effect to present richly detailed case studies that vividly reconstruct working women's and men's lives. Two chapters stand out: '*Las Princesas del Dollar*: Prostitutes and the Banana Booms, 1890s–1920s', and 'Facety Women: Rudeness and Respectability, 1890s–1930s'. Adding to the growing literature on prostitution in Latin America, '*Las Princesas del Dollar*' highlights the autonomy of female prostitutes and their immense earning power during the banana booms, and shows how they were able to operate effectively and (relatively) safely by forming strong networks of solidarity

and mutual aid amongst themselves, that helped them to withstand the perennial dangers of venereal disease, unwanted pregnancy and male violence. It also highlights the way in which racial stereotyping prevented the imposition of moralising restrictions and prohibitions, either from the state or from the United Fruit Company, since both Costa Rican and foreign elites believed that sexual immorality was inevitable in tropical, black Limón. The chapter on 'Facety Women' emphasises how lower class women of all colours were keen to defend their honour and respectability, and that they frequently resorted to the courts in slander cases for redress against those they considered to have slighted their reputation. Putnam argues convincingly that this was due to the power of reputation as a commodity among poor women. Bringing together the literature on honour and shame in Latin America, and on reputation and respectability in the Caribbean, Putnam demonstrates that slander cases always centred around sexual accusations. The nature of social organisation meant that male vigilance over female kin could not be the axis of male honour in the region; female sexuality, therefore, did not appear as a symbol in status struggles between men, but rather between women themselves. The final chapter on masculinity in Limón argues provocatively that the similarities between Hispanic and West Indian male street culture should make us question the divergent accounts of West Indian and Latin American masculinity.

The book is not without weaknesses. Occasionally some of Putnam's conclusions are overdrawn and romanticised. In particular she grants too much weight to the autonomy and cultural power of Limonese men and women, implying that it was the sheer will of the people that prevented the Costa Rican state from imposing its agenda of order and progress in the region, rather than the marginality that emerged from state racism and an unwillingness to include 'black' Limón within the national imaginary. There are also several organisational and stylistic shortcomings that at times threaten to undermine the book's many strengths: neither the organisation of the chapters, nor of the material within them possesses a strong logic, and the narrative jumps from place to place, blurring themes and chronology. These problems are exacerbated by flaws in the theoretical framework which at times appears to confuse and condense kinship and gender.

However, these criticisms should not detract from the significance of this book. It puts a human face on the process of mass migration, and demonstrates that the United Fruit Company's economic weight and political control was not matched by control of popular culture and intimate life. By focusing on social and kinship relations it creates a space for women who had been made invisible within the labour histories that had typified studies of the region, it also showed how these social ties and networks shaped the fabric of their lives and created a hedge against social and conjugal misfortune. Putnam also illustrates how women were affected by political and economic changes in the region. The book is important not just for the analysis of the Costa Rican West Indian community, but for our understanding of black women in Latin America as a whole, a topic which has been sorely neglected. It presents important findings which add to knowledge about Costa Rican working class women, and migrant women more generally. There are also valuable leads regarding the ways in which masculinities were constructed and contested among subaltern populations. *The Company They Kept* will be useful reading for students and scholars interested in women, race, gender and masculinity in Latin America and the Caribbean.

University College London NICOLA FOOTE

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04428946

Lorraine Bayard de Volo, *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs: Gender Identity Politics in Nicaragua, 1979–1999* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. xxi + 293, £17.00, pb.

Motherhood is a powerful mobilising identity in Latin America. Women in the region have often mobilised (and been mobilised) from their identity as mothers, invoking ideas of motherhood as being above politics and recurring to the image of the Virgin Mary – the suffering and sacrificing mother. Whereas motherhood has served many women as a starting point for their political mobilisation, some have questioned to what extent mobilisation from motherhood is constraining in that it does not break with traditional gender roles.

The deployment of motherhood as a mobilising identity has been widely examined in the literature for Latin America. However, studies of women and politics in Nicaragua have spent little time examining the mobilisation of mothers and maternal imagery. Taking a feminist Gramscian approach, this book fills this void. In this excellent study Lorraine Bayard de Volo explores the construction of and resistance to maternal mobilising identities in the context of revolutionary and post-revolutionary Nicaragua. Alternating between analysis of macro and micro politics, she explores both the deployment of maternal imagery by elites and the history of a particular mothers' organisation, the Matagalpa branch of the *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs*, which was originally organised and directed by the FSLN, but from 1984 became gradually more autonomous.

Spartan mothers, combative mothers, suffering mothers, *continuadoras* and universal mothers were all competing and conflicting gender identities that both Sandinista and anti-Sandinista elites used in their attempts to mobilise women. However, women did not uncritically accept this maternal imagery. Instead, they appropriated these images and redefined them. The Sandinistas mobilised mothers mainly for two reasons: to strengthen their moral argument in the ideological war and to create consent surrounding the draft issue. Mothers, though, had their own reasons for mobilising. While most women who joined the *Mothers* in the earlier years did so to continue their daughters' and sons' struggle and to find some sort of moral support, women who joined during the Chamorro administration did so mainly in order to obtain material benefits.

One of the most interesting episodes that the book explores is the FSLN's attempt to mobilise the *Mothers* to create consent around the draft. When the draft was enforced in 1984 it was an extremely unpopular measure. Women were the ones who most vigorously opposed this policy, reluctant as they were to lose their children to the war. To change this negative perception, the Sandinistas designed a strategy which depended heavily upon the *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs*' work and which had as a central referent the image of the Spartan mother, a woman who would raise children to give them to her country. Despite all the efforts, the Sandinistas' attempt was not successful and even active members of the *Mothers* only reluctantly accepted this policy. In the end, it was the opposition who won the ideological war by more successfully deploying maternal imagery. The Sandinistas had indirectly paved the way for their loss of the presidency to Violeta Chamorro in 1990, who presented herself as the mother of 'all Nicaraguans'.

During the Chamorro government the economic and social conditions of the population deteriorated sharply. As a response to shrinking governmental social

programmes and the continued economic crisis, many women joined the *Mothers of Matagalpa* out of economic desperation. Ironically, during the post-war period the *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs*' membership rapidly increased. The years that followed the Sandinista's electoral defeat were also characterised by the increasing autonomy of the *Mothers* from the party-line, which coincided with the birth of an autonomous women's movement in the country. For a while, the *Mothers* were able to adapt to the new circumstances, successfully navigating through extreme economic and political shifts. Nonetheless, the tensions that arose during this period led to the split of the *Mothers of Matagalpa* into two groups in 1996, paralleling similar processes within the FSLN.

To what extent did motherhood serve as a mobilising and empowering political identity in Nicaragua and to what extent did it restrict women's mobilisation and empowerment? Bayard de Volo's answer to this dilemma is similar to that provided by other scholars looking at motherist movements elsewhere. While the *Mothers of Matagalpa*'s collective action did not change the world, it certainly changed and fundamentally transformed the world of its members. This is a book about poor Nicaraguan mothers and Bayard de Volo lets them speak with their own voices, filling the text with a warmth and humanity that most of the scholarly literature lacks. While a less chronologically and a more topic-driven structure could have improved the quality of this study, it does certainly provide a very good insight into gender identity politics during the Nicaraguan revolutionary and post-revolutionary period and it is an important contribution to the study of war, identity politics, social movements and gender politics in general.

Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London EDURNE LARRAKOETXEA BOHIGAS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04438942

Norman E. Whitten, Jr. (ed.), *Millennial Ecuador: Critical Essays on Cultural Transformations and Social Dynamics* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2003), pp. xvii + 417, $59.95, $27.95 pb.

In November 2002 Lucio Gutiérrez, a retired army colonel and populist candidate, was elected president of Ecuador. During his campaign he had allied closely with Pachakutik Nuevo País, the political party representing Ecuador's indigenous peoples and many of its social movements. On taking office, Gutiérrez appointed two Indian leaders to his cabinet, thus ensuring that indigenous Ecuadoreans held key positions in government for the first time.

Norman Whitten refers to these appointments as 'an important millennial move' that represents the culmination of years of organised public protest by Ecuador's indigenous peoples and social movements. Key moments of these protests were the indigenous uprising of 1990, the March for Land and Life of 1992, and the indigenous-military coup of January 2000. These events provide the dramatic political framework for this volume edited by Whitten on cultural transformations and social dynamics in Ecuador. As an anthropologist with more than forty years of research in the country, he is well placed to assess the significance of these transformations. By describing them as 'millennial' he is implying a situation in which 'strong antiauthoritarian sentiments are expressed, symbolic inversions abound, and movements of self-determination emerge' (p. x).

The book brings together work by fifteen anthropologists, historians and indigenous intellectuals to explore the rich 'tapestry of *la ecuatorianidad*' (p. 360). Covering a range of subjects from religion, festivals and indigenous art to political organisation, commerce and sexuality, the essays provide in-depth critical analysis of local cultural practices, and the ways in which these have both reproduced and subverted embedded mechanisms of power. In particular, the essays stress Ecuador's cultural diversity: the various case studies focus on at least six different indigenous groups in the Andean and Amazonian regions, as well as Afro-Ecuadorean people in Esmeraldas and Quito.

The book is in some ways a sequel to Whitten's previous collection of essays on Ecuador,[1] which drew attention to the country's resurgent ethnicity in the context of the modern nation state. In the current volume, the modern and the millennial are construed as opposites, representing structural versus contra-structural forces, neoliberal reform versus the quest for self-determination, *mestizaje* as opposed to multiculturalism. And yet, as Whitten makes clear, modernity and millenarianism are inextricably intertwined, resulting in a tension between accommodation and resistance by marginalised groups to the nation's systems of power. This tension emerges clearly in the chapters. Corr, for example, discusses the ways in which indigenous people of Salasaca readily perform and embody the rituals of the Catholic Church. In so doing, however, they read into them their own meanings and symbolism, thereby subverting Catholicism's institutional power.

In a nation of such cultural diversity and socio-economic inequality, it is crucial to appreciate these different interpretations of symbols and discourses. The collection excels in this way. A good example is Quiroga's intriguing study of the devil and development in Esmeraldas: in the context of encroaching capitalist forces, he shows how the multivocalic symbolism of the devil has served to mediate gender, race and class relations. Multiple interpretations also surround the ritualised figures of the Chola Cuencana and the Mama Negra: acting as 'lightning rods for class, racial and gender conflicts within each region,' writes Weismantel, 'social actors strive to redefine them to meet their own needs' (p. 331). These ambiguities are created by the ideology of *mestizaje*, but the essentialisms of racial difference are also ever present – either imposed by dominant discourses or, as the essays indicate, claimed by increasingly self-reflexive ethnic groups.

Another prominent theme that emerges is the significance of movement among Ecuadoreans. Whether in the past, present or in their imaginings of the future, they are often engaged in travel – from countryside to city, from one region to another, and from Ecuador abroad. This mobility has been important for the exchange of different ethnic knowledges, and for drawing on 'global resources for localised dynamics' (p. x). But given the extent of such movement, it is striking that Ecuador remains so culturally fragmented along geographical and spatial lines. This is most evident when social groups are 'out of place,' such as when ethnic minorities reside in Quito – a subject clearly illustrated in the essays by Whitten, Whitten and Chango on the 1992 indigenous Caminata and by Rahier on the narratives of Afro-Ecuadorean women.

Despite this significance of space and place, it is in geographical terms that the book is weakest. It sets out to portray the diversity of social actors within Ecuador,

[1] Norman E. Whitten, Jr. (ed.), *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador* (Urbana-Champaign, 1981).

in particular the most marginalised, and yet a vast swathe of the population is absent: notably, the inhabitants of the coast (excepting Esmeraldas) and of the larger cities. Colloredo-Mansfeld's excellent chapter on Tiguan artists in Quito engages with some of the realities of urban life – including the rise in violent crime – but it is an exception. The lack of contributions on the coastal region may well reflect an absence of ethnographic work in the area, in which case it is clear where future research should be directed. Other spaces of paramount importance to 'Millennial Ecuador' are the destinations of its millions of transnational migrants, who are invoked regularly by the authors but never prioritised. It would have made a truly millennial, and truly Ecuadorean, collection to include ethnography from New York City, or Almería, or Rome.

Overall, however, the volume is undoubtedly a rich, thought-provoking and well-timed addition to the English-language literature on Ecuador, and many of the themes that it analyses in such detail will bear great relevance to the social realities of peoples throughout Latin America.

University of Manchester EMILY WALMSLEY

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04448949

Lynn Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs: Otavalo Merchants and Musicians in the Global Arena* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. xiv + 314, £18.95, pb.

Last year, as I was beginning fieldwork on the concept of the Andean indigenous community in the Otavalo region, my first exclamation was: 'I'll be doing fieldwork in a cosmopolitan place.' The place was Otavalo and I had gone to carry out my fieldwork in nearby communities. I think this corroborates what Lynn Meisch states in her interesting book, which is the outcome of a long-term involvement in this ethnic group's life.

Thirty years of continuous travelling and fieldwork in the Otavalo region allows the author to obtain an in-depth view of the not-so-easily revealed hidden features of everyday life, not easily grasped by foreigners wherever they come from. What Meisch discusses in her book is how people in Otavalo are coping with globalisation, juggling their new access to goods, technology, information and wealth with their 'traditional culture'. Meisch asserts that although there are problems and contradictions, Otavalo's indigenous people are largely successful in combining these processes. To demonstrate this, she focuses on two main subjects: those working within the textile industry as weavers or as merchants of textile goods and musicians. A third subject involved in her analysis is *otavaleños*' emigration around the world.

In chapter two, dedicated to the origins of Otavalo people, the author draws on a wide range of historical sources spanning from pre-Hispanic times to the late 1960s. In this historical review, she identifies the basis of two important features. The first is the textile tradition that goes back to the Inca period, and later reinforced in the Colony through the establishment of two *obrajes* (textile sweatshops) in Otavalo and Peguche. Likewise, she traces the tradition of emigration to pre-Hispanic times, since people in the area were *mindalá* or travelling merchants during the Inca period. *Otavaleños* were not only weavers but also peasants, so the author analyses the consequences of the land tenure system during the Colonial and Republic periods and the agrarian reform in 1964.

Chapters three to six on the growth of the textile activity and its consequences for the region's social and ethnic structure, the development of tourism in Otavalo city, the importance of music in *otavaleños*' life, culture and economics and, finally, emigration.

Extensive ethnographic and bibliographical information results in a detailed and exhaustive description. Meisch highlights several factors. First, the core importance of the quasi-industrialisation of the textile activity in the subsequent prosperity of Otavalo city and its nearby communities, a process that led to agriculture being abandoned as the main economic activity. This quasi-industrialisation process has its own specific features. It is based on kinship groups formed not only by blood relatives, but also by ritual relatives incorporated within the kinship network through the practice of *compadrazgo*. *Compadrazgo* is a key practice among indigenous people in Otavalo and is reproduced not only within the communities and the country, but also abroad. Meisch also provides a fine description of the changes in textile production, from the looms to the designs of different garments, as well as the way in which this textile production 'conquers' Otavalo city.

Her discussion of the tourism boom in Otavalo reveals the way in which foreigners (travel agencies, travel books and so forth) construct the subject and the space of tourism, how Otavalo's indigenous people encounter and respond to those constructions, and how the *Feria de Otavalo* (Otavalo Fair) has become one of the most important tourist attractions in Ecuador and South America. Meisch's treatment of music shows a deep and detailed knowledge not only of its cultural dimensions, but also of instruments, tunes and notes. Meisch argues that music is both commercially and culturally important in helping indigenous people in Otavalo to face globalisation process. Finally, she also describes the importance of traditional feasts in *otavaleños*' lives, identity and in the reinforcement of social relations.

Otavalo is a cosmopolitan environment. However, it is also a space of inequality. As the author notes in some parts of the book, the process of becoming entrepreneurs has changed social relations within indigenous society and between indigenous people and white-*mestizos* from the region and beyond. The changes in this second set of relations are well documented in the book, but the process of differentiation among indigenous *otavaleños* is not deeply analysed. This is significant because Meisch emphasises the importance of entrepreneurial spirit. Although this entrepreneurial spirit is based on kinship relations, these relations are not egalitarian and non-exploitative by definition, being partly defined by power and the social relations of production. The processes described by Meisch, therefore, do not have the same consequences for all *otavaleños*. Many in nearby communities, for example, do not have access to water, roads or other services. They are peasants – not textile entrepreneurs – and land shortage remains an acute problem for them. They do not migrate anywhere in the world, as Meisch's merchants and musicians do, but rather to Otavalo, Quito or other places within Ecuador as wage-labourers.

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ALICIA TORRES

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04458945

Cecilia McCallum, *Gender and Sociality in Amazonia: How Real People Are Made* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), pp. xi + 208, £46.99, £14.99 pb.

This book is about how Amazonian societies conceive and experience gender and sociality, the later vaguely defined in opposition to the Durkheimian legacy in social anthropology of the individual/society dichotomy. Based on over two years of fieldwork, McCallum discusses these issues among the Cashinahua, a people of the Amazon region divided by the frontier between Brazil and Peru, in the upper Jurua and Purus area.

McCallum stresses that sociality is best approached by examining social relations in movement, as part of the endless process of negotiating community life in Amazonia, rather than as a structure of fixed relations and social roles (p. 179). In this vein, she criticises the narrow focus that has dominated gender studies in a literature that has traditionally treated gender as a set of fixed attributes or relations, rather than in terms of how it informs sociality. Her study aspires to go from previous ideas of what gender 'is' or what it 'feels like' to an interpretation of what it actually 'does,' for which she looks at the Cashinahua's day-to-day construction of 'gendered' persons.

As has become clear in recent years, indigenous Amazonian people are made, not born, just as kinship is constructed, not given. The book begins with a description of Cashinahua's processes by which children are progressively imbued with personhood and gender. 'True names', given to a newborn child after birth and taken from a limited stock of moiety names, are essential in this process. 'True names' place everybody in a specific relation to ego, allowing children to learn how to engage in social relationships. Kinship relations, however, are fabricated through daily interaction, loosely structured by the exogamous moiety system and a preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage and local endogamy, aspects common to other Amazonian societies.

'Real' gender differentiation, however, starts after the child has learnt the basic information s/he needs for social interaction, usually between his seventh and eleventh years. At this time, children undergo a series of rites oriented to transform them from infants into adults, from dependants into producers (pp. 41–64). This is the period after which gender is made increasingly visible and boys and girls start an education oriented to mark this difference.

In McCallum's analysis, this process is closely related to their economic specialisation. Sexual differentiation, however, does not reproduce structures of domination or power because the Cashinahua's view of work, just as their conception of marriage, emphasises male–female complementarity and co-operation, rather than competition and hierarchy. Men deal with the 'outside', mediating with spirits and foreigners, hunting, fishing and so forth., but their work is only made possible by women's mediation with the 'inside,' transforming and deciding on the distribution of food, making humans out of babies, working in the settlement and harvesting. Their combined work gives shape to the community – the physical embodiment of sociality – making social and economic reproduction possible.

Exchange is another central aspect in McCallum's analysis of the Cashinahua's production of sociality (pp. 109–28). For the Cashinahua, it is an imperative to be generous with their close kin, which contrasts with their freedom to be mean with outsiders. Exchange is then a way to state a person's willingness to transform

strangers into kin, or the opposite. In recent years, however, as the Cashinahua have become involved in market transactions, the transition from kin-making prestations to market exchanges has not been an easy one. Cashinahua leaders have often found themselves trapped between their need to engage in economic activities that are essential to the community's present needs, but which collide with their own economic ethos. McCallum's analysis of this aspect of their transition to national involvement and its implications for sociality is rich and insightful, but contrasts with her scant attention to social change in other areas. She claims that she makes a deliberate stand against the classic ethnographic distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' social forms. Instead, she opts for a description focused on how 'the successive innovations that have been imposed upon or made available to these people during the twentieth century (…) are, whenever possible, adapted to the internal dynamic of day-to-day village life' (p. 126).

In the final chapter, she addresses an issue raised by 1970s feminist anthropologists, and developed subsequently, who treated the so-called 'rituals of sexual antagonism' as expressions of 'ideology' or as 'discourse' (pp. 129–56). She proposes that they are concerned with the production of day-to-day sociality, and that from a Cashinahua's point of view they might be more related to the re-establishment of the mundane, a celebration of sexuality, the strengthening of community life, or just to 'liven things up', as they put it, rather than simply to mark 'male domination'.

The book synthesises much of what has been written on gender and sociality in lowland South America and elsewhere in recent years. Although many of the ideas on both issues are not new, its ethnographic detail and style make it a remarkable addition to gender studies, in general, and a necessary reference on this issue in Amazonia.

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GERMÁN FREIRE

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04468941

Paulo Vizentini and Marianne Wiesebron (eds.), *Free Trade for the Americas? The United States' Push for the FTAA Agreement* (London: Zed Books, 2004), pp. xi + 240, £49.95, £15.95 pb; $75.00, $22.40 pb.

After the slowdown in multilateral liberalisation within the WTO since 1999, the leading world economic powers have concentrated on promoting trade integration at the regional level. While the European Union have expanded towards Eastern Europe, the United States has pushed for the creation of the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA). Vizentini and Wiesbron's new edited book offers a critical account of the FTAA, paying particular attention to the characteristics of the negotiation and its expected (mostly negative) impact on different countries and regions of the world.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I analyses the reasons behind the US push for regional integration in the Americas. Chapter 2 describes the FTAA as a political project to expand the US hegemony in the region. According to Vizentini, the FTAA would allow the USA to limit Brazil's power and autonomy, to strengthen its bargaining position vis-à-vis the European Union and East Asia, and to secure a market for US imports and a supply of inputs for its domestic production. Chapter 3 uses the experience of NAFTA to evaluate the FTAA's expected governance

structure. NAFTA promoted the creation of new economic and political interactions between the public sector and the business sector, excluding all other social actors. At the same time, NAFTA forced Canada and Mexico to introduce changes in their constitutions, moving both countries closer to the US political system. Chapter 4, which is one of the best in the book, also evaluates the FTAA in light of NAFTA's affect on Canada. It shows that NAFTA has been a corporate-led process that has not promoted workers' rights and which has performed poorly in terms of employment expansion and economic growth.

Part II describes the evolution of the negotiations and highlights some of their main shortcomings. Chapter 5 describes the FTAA's current institutional structure, emphasising the central role of trade and investment. Duquette and Rondeau identify two main challenges for economic integration in the Americas – the regulation of investment and the specific treatment of small, less developed countries- and offer some solutions to increase the positive impact of the FTAA in these areas. Chapter 6 and 7 criticise the FTAA project as currently promoted, because of its lack of democracy and transparency, and because it is unlikely to promote an expansion of social and economic rights in the Americas.

Part III concentrates on the impact of the FTAA in Brazil, questioning the impact that hemispheric integration will have on Latin America's leading political and economic power. Chapter 8 presents a critical evaluation of the impact of the neoliberal policy package in Brazil. Neoliberalism has increased Brazil's dependence on foreign capital inflows, without increasing the likelihood of real development – including the reduction of social and economic disparities and the elimination of external vulnerability. The FTAA is likely to deepen the negative consequences of the neoliberal project, eliminating Brazil's economic autonomy and reducing its influence in foreign affairs. Chapter 9 reviews Brazil's trade policy since the beginning of the 1990s and argues for a multi-front trade strategy that pays particular attention to the promotion of Mercosur and Brazil's role in the WTO.

Part IV extends the analysis of the impact of the FTAA to other regions of the world. Chapter 10 analyses the impact of hemispheric integration in the Americas on the WTO. This is still unclear and will depend on the response of the other leading world traders, particularly the European Union. The EU may try to force a faster move towards multilateral liberalisation (strengthening the WTO) or may opt for an expansion of regional trade agreements within Europe (weakening multilateral negotiations). Chapter 11 studies the impact of the FTAA in the European Union in more detail. Stevens believes that the FTAA is unlikely to harm the EU's position in the Western hemisphere, because the FTAA will result in more trade creation than trade diversion and because the EU is already signing new trade agreements with Latin American countries. Chapter 13 and 14 study the impact of the FTAA in China and Japan, highlighting the negative consequences that the trade agreement will have for the two Asian economic powers.

By emphasising the US-led nature of the FTAA and its potential negative consequences on social and economic development, the book constitutes a useful warning about the shortcomings of the process of regional integration in the Americas. Many arguments, however, lack detailed empirical substantiation, and could be strengthened with further research. Why have Latin American countries agreed to participate in the process despite its (possible) negative consequences on their economic development? Are negotiations led by the USA's search for political hegemony, or by the transnational corporations' demands for a more secure economic environment?

Does it matter? Is Mercosur so different to the FTAA in economic terms? Are Latin American political and economic elites really willing to search for and support a different development project? These are some of the questions addressed by the book but not sufficiently answered and that require more empirical and theoretical research in the future.

Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London DIEGO SANCHEZ-ANCOCHEA

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04478948

David Craven, *Art and Revolution in Latin America 1910–1990* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. x + 228, £35.00, hb.

In 1961 Fidel Castro famously said, 'No one ever thought that every man, or every writer, or every artist has to be a revolutionary, as no one believes that every man, or every revolutionary, has to be an artist.' David Craven often seems to be arguing the opposite: that all the artists he is talking about are revolutionary in both artistic and political terms, and that if not everyone then certainly large numbers of people under the revolutionary governments of Latin America were indeed artists. Not only that, but Craven is unashamedly partisan. This may sound like a rather restricting agenda, but in practice it isn't. This is a highly engaging book and part of the attraction is precisely the refreshing sense that here is someone who believes passionately in his subject matter. There is no cautious hedging of ideological bets dressed up in protective theoretical armour, none of the infuriatingly smug identification of the failure of the past to achieve social, sexual or racial equality, nor the criticism of the scholarship of others in lieu of original research, any or all of which have often passed for radical cultural history in recent years. This is a thoroughly-researched study of the remarkable artistic achievements of three countries during particular historical periods: Mexico 1910–1940, Cuba 1959–1989, and Nicaragua 1979–1990.

The scope is wide. Although this beautifully-illustrated book is ostensibly about the visual arts there are extensive discussions of literature as well as material on film, music and dance, the whole grounded in substantial discussions of the relevant political and intellectual histories and the cultural policies of the three regimes. The central issue is that of the relationship between art and politics in a socialist state and throughout Craven stresses the ways in which artists sought to extend their audiences' understanding both of the possibilities of art and, through art, of social change. He repeatedly challenges the Cold War rhetoric, particularly prevalent in the USA and in relation to Cuba, that these artists were slaves to an outmoded, naively optimistic socialist realist model imposed by the USSR. Sometimes this anxious defence of his subject becomes a little wearing, especially as it is so clearly contradicted by the visual evidence. This book amply demonstrates that this art was not a passive tool of ideology, but rather an active force with the power to express new values and effect social change.

Craven has covered some of this material before – in books on art and popular culture in Nicaragua (1989) and in a biography of Diego Rivera (1997), as well as in several articles – but by putting the experience of the three countries together it is possible to see patterns. In Mexico the two major examples of new, more democratic forms of art were muralism and the powerful woodcuts produced by members of the cooperative Taller de Gráfica Popular. The Cubans were well aware of the

work of the Mexican muralists and although they did not – indeed could not – pursue this avenue, but instead focused their attention, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, on the cheaper and much more versatile medium of silkscreen prints and posters, they engaged in the same debates about a national or nationalist art versus an internationalist, and about the relationship between art and its audiences. In Nicaragua the FSLN again encouraged muralism, attracting artists from around the world, particularly exiles from post-Allende Chile (not otherwise discussed here) and sponsored cooperative print workshops along the lines of the Mexican Taller de Gráfica Popular. In each case Craven is attentive to artists' active engagement with local or indigenous traditions, and the ways in which a new or alternative modernism could flourish in an atmosphere which encouraged the democratisation of artistic practice.

In Mexico the emphasis is firmly on Rivera. Craven evidently much prefers Rivera's optimism to Orozco's pessimism (and draws parallels with Fuentes and Azuela in the process) and his analysis of the murals – commonly described and often dismissed as social(ist) realist – is full of insights. He points to Rivera's avoidance of single-point perspective as part of a modernist (Cubist) aesthetic that is essentially anti-positivist, but also as one of the many ways in which Rivera acknowledges Mexico's alternative visual traditions (pre-columbian, popular) which in turn relate to non-linear views of history. Rivera, he argues, was exceptionally adept at articulating complex ideology in an apparently familiar, legible language, all the more powerful because it so directly engaged with contemporary issues and debates: land reform, indigenism, mestizaje, modernity, industrialisation, internationalism and so forth. Cuba, always rather a case apart, has enjoyed periods of enormously diverse creativity, in particular during the 1980s. The radical fusion of elements from European, North and Latin American high culture and Cuban popular culture, especially *Santería*, has received international acclaim and despite considerable anxiety on the part of the much more culturally conservative central government, Cuban art is now one of the country's major exports. In Nicaragua a genuinely popular art, in the sense of an art created by people with no formal art education, had been encouraged by Ernesto Cardenal on the island of Solentiname during the 1970s. These 'primitivist' landscapes – colourful celebrations of the world of the rural peasantry – were underpinned by the ethic of the elemental Christian communism of Cardenal's Liberation Theology. The settlement and its 'subversive' paintings were destroyed by Somoza's troops in 1977, paving the way for an affirmative explosion of similar work after the revolution.

Some of the most revealing sections are where Craven investigates particular works of art in depth. His discussion of Rivera's famous early experiment with Cubism, the so-called *Paisaje zapatista: el guerrillero*, painted in Paris in 1915, is a case in point. The title dates from perhaps ten years later, but Craven links this picture to the use of the term *guerrilla* by Sandino in 1927 to describe the erratic and unpredictable form of 'little war' he and others developed in Central America in response to aerial bombardment by the USA. The painting, he argues, is in effect a metaphor for the activities of the *guerrilleros* – 'a language of decentred fragments camouflaging the figures in it caused the eye to dart about searchingly, thus eliciting a line between the trail of Cubist clues in paint and the guerrilla's actual elusiveness in nature' (p. 11) – and more generally for projects of national liberation and self-determination: the recognisably Mexican elements of volcanoes, sombrero and sarape. Craven doesn't say so, but the later title would seem to confirm that the artist had indeed

articulated a new type of soldier in visual terms before the concept had acquired a verbal label. And even for those unconvinced that Rivera had all this in mind when he painted it, this is certainly an image that pushes against the ideological and artistic conventions of the time and in so doing invites multi-layered and radical interpretations.

This is an example of what Craven would call 'dialogical art', one of the book's recurrent themes. He uses the term in two distinct ways, in fact, sometimes to mean an art that challenges and engages the viewer (as in *Paisaje Zapatista*), and at other times to mean an art produced as a result of dialogue with a group or community, where the artist has responded to the concerns and enthusiasms, even to the directives of those who will be its consumers. This often provides a useful framework for discussing the art although in neither sense is this quality unique to these three countries during these specific periods. Craven's material also suggests many more dialogues. Sometimes we Latin Americanists are challenged to defend the concept of 'Latin American Studies' but there is ample evidence here of shared concerns. The Peruvian Mariátegui emerges as a key figure for all three revolutions: he had close links with Rivera in Mexico and his 'emphasis on the incorporation of popular philosophies into Marxian thought' (p. 125) was influential in both Cuba and Nicaragua. The educational theories of John Dewey were important, especially in Mexico, as were those of Paulo Freire in Cuba and Nicaragua, and of course the novelists and writers have always been common property, with many of them taking an active interest in Latin America's practical experiments with socialism.

Occasionally the tone is unnecessarily defensive. Craven deals hastily and evidently uncomfortably with negative aspects of these histories and I could have done with a bit less of the itemisation and refutation of the politically-inspired attacks on this art emanating from the USA. These countries produced great art in many forms during periods of extraordinary social and political change as this book amply demonstrates. It doesn't need a soapbox.

University of Essex VALERIE FRASER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04488944

María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. xiii + 366, £65.00, £17.50 pb.

Saldaña-Portillo's point of departure is that revolutionary movements in Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century employed many of the same terms as did the proponents of capitalist development for the region: liberty, progress, prosperity and even democracy. She sets out to account for 'the striking resemblance' between these two supposedly competing narratives of liberation (p. 4). Arguing that neither neocolonial nor postcolonial interpretations – with their respective emphases on hegemony and mimesis – can fully explain the convergence, she adopts instead a dialogical approach to explore how developmentalism was conditioned by revolutionary ideology as well as vice versa. Her main argument is that both discourses were founded on a normative theory of human subjectivity, consciousness and agency, which ultimately provoked resistance from many of the very people that revolutionaries were seeking to liberate. Both discourses were based on a premise of enlightenment and transformation of the subaltern subject, she

contends; and revolutionary leaders of the 1960s and 1970s ascribed to themselves the same catalytic role as capitalists assigned to market forces. Imperial reason, in other words, was still doing its murky, undercover work, successfully disguising its racialised, gendered modus operandi. Thus the internal contradictions of these revolutionary movements at the level of discourse (in addition to the tensions over strategy and tactics that have already been thoroughly analysed in the historiography) were an element in their failure. Subsequent revolutionaries have rethought subjectivity, the author continues, by arguing that class, race and gender particularities were in themselves a product of the historical process of modernisation. These more recent discourses have challenged the idea that Latin American development requires the elimination of difference, and posited instead that it is only through embracing that thoroughly modern difference that revolutionary social change can be realised.

In order to explore the workings of this interpretative model, the first part of the book sets out a comparison of the discourses of developmentalism and revolution, focusing on the key moments of the Bretton Woods conference, Truman's Four Point Programme, Rostow's modernisation theory and dependency theory's challenge to World Bank orthodoxy. Part II analyses the writings (mostly the diaries) of Che Guevara and Guatemalan Mario Payeras, and the agricultural policy of the Sandinistas. Part III looks at the writings and political statements of Rigoberta Menchú and the Zapatistas. There is no conclusion, but instead an epilogue in which Saldaña-Portillo applies her model to Malcolm X and to queer Atzlán as a contribution towards a meaningfully comparative American studies. In any case, her conclusions are set out in the introduction, which perhaps contributes to the somewhat hermetic quality of this book. If you are prepared to see the world from its point of view, you will find ideas worth thinking about. Saldaña-Portillo is good, for example, at integrating gender analysis throughout her text, which is an aim ritually observed by many authors, but far less often realised. She has some intriguing perspectives on many of the texts she has analysed, particularly on the more recent material. The range of her sources is commendable in itself, and by and large her methodology of combining 'the ethnographic study of social movements with the literary analysis of the textual production of revolutionaries' is successful in generating new insights.

There is a 'but', however. Often I found myself cavilling at her statements, mostly from the standpoint of 'is the glass half full or half empty?'. At many moments when she identifies similarity, I would have focused on difference, mainly because while elements in the texts may have been the same, the historical and political contexts were very different. This is the case with her opening two quotations: one from President Kennedy, in 1962, on the Alliance for Progress alongside one by the Zapatistas from 1993. Kennedy may have talked about a need 'to complete the revolution of the Americas', but such a statement, while undoubtedly a product of his wish to woo Latin American leaders into cooperating with his strategy to prevent another Cuba, also invoked nearly two centuries of success for the United States and implicit failure for Latin America. Completion of the revolution' for Kennedy entailed a very different understanding of power relations – and of agency – than the term would have implied in any statement by Latin American revolutionaries at the time. Saldaña-Portillo states that she has placed the Kennedy quotation alongside the Zapatista declaration, rather than, as might have been expected, next to a contemporary statement by Castro or Che Guevara, in order to emphasise that the same

goals behind the Alliance for Progress were still being reiterated by the supposed opponents of US policy three decades later. Again, I found myself struck less by the undeniable similarity of aims ('homes, work and land, health and schools, political liberty and the dignity of the spirit', in Kennedy's rhetoric; 'work, land, housing, food, health, education, independence, liberty, democracy, justice, and peace', in the Zapatistas' words), than by the weight of difference captured by Kennedy's use of the term 'basic needs' (identified and bestowed from above) and the Zapatistas' reference to 'basic demands' (to be fought for from below).

To give another example, I suppose it can plausibly be said that 'Guevara's representation of revolutionary transformation 'leaves behind' a previously immature, complicit consciousness for a fully formed, collective one, resembling a model of development that 'leaves behind' premodern forms of subjectivity and agency for thoroughly modern ones' (p. 89). But such a claim raises more questions than it answers. I would see many of Guevara's writings as an attempt to think beyond the distinction between modern and pre-modern as it was conventionally applied to conditions in Latin America. In any case, the modes of 'leaving behind' in each case are so different (for Guevara, a participatory model of revolution; for developmentalists, capitalist exploitation of labour and environment) that I was left wondering what is historically significant about any 'resemblance' between the two. Similar questions recurred throughout my reading of the whole text. This is an ambitious work of discourse analysis, which offers many valuable insights about specific texts, but it did not ultimately persuade me that its larger claims were valid.

University College London NICOLA MILLER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04498940

Gareth Williams, *The Other Side of the Popular, Neoliberalism and Subalternity in Latin America* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. xii + 376, £17.50, pb.

According to the author, this book examines 'the uneven, incomplete, and ongoing passage from national to post-national cultural and political paradigms in Latin America' (p. 1). Even if one were to agree that there is such a passage, the book fails consistently and convincingly to show it. Phenomena such as the end of the populist nation-state and its normative identities, the demise of the people and of the national-popular, the collapse of hegemonies and counter-hegemonies, the end of centre and periphery, the erosion of transculturation and of national 'fictive ethnicity', and so forth, tend to appear as assumed premises, not something carefully shown or argued for.

In many ways this is more a book on postmodernist theory than on Latin America. True, Latin American examples are used to illustrate the main theoretical points drawn from Derrida, Laclau, Spivak, Bhabha, Blanchot, Baudrillard, Deleuze and others., but the details and inner workings of the Latin American social, political and cultural processes remain absent or are referred to through such a web of abstruse postmodernist theory that they become inevitably obscured.

Williams proposes subalternity as a key concept to examine the cultural transformations of Latin America in the last 30 years:. This is taken from Spivak and Guha, but also from its adoption and adaptation by North America academy in order to understand the neoliberal and postnational phase in Latin America.

Williams advances two definitions of subalternity: first, an obvious one, drawn from Guha, which refers to the general attribute of subordination at all levels; second, a more complex and negative one drawn from Spivak: 'the absolute limit of the place where history is narrativized into logic' (p. 10).

Williams refuses to choose between these meanings, but in practice privileges the second by repeatedly quoting it. In applying the idea of the subaltern to Latin America he refers to 'the limit at which hegemonic narratives and dominant modes of social and intellectual (re)production encounter their point of radical unworkability'. Subalternity 'brings hegemonic thought (… Creole thought) face to face with imminent ruin' (p. 11). Subalternity is then far more than subordination, it is 'the promise of a radical interruption', 'a limit to constituted power', something that is potentially the harbinger of new forms of thinking and acting. It is the absolute limit of what is constituted, which points to alternative cultural and discursive forms.

Therefore, instead of studying mainstream national or popular culture he looks for eccentric or marginal cultural phenomena which could challenge the identities derived from hegemonic and counter-hegemonic processes within the nation. Latin American authors that remain rooted in national peoplehood inevitably perpetuate subalternity. Williams' analysis of the Chilean transition to democracy is a good case in point: in assessing Moulian's vastly influential book *Chile Actual*, Williams maintains that although Moulian carries out an important critique of the Chilean transition to democracy and exposes the myth of the New Chile, he fails to dwell for more than a fleeting moment on 'the affective world of signification that remains senseless (for democratic hegemony), and ungraspable for the order of disciplinary reason …'; in his view *Chile Actual* 'cannot appropriate that affective realm of signification. It cannot constitute it and have it speak its negativity' (p. 286). Williams believes that Moulian 'implicitly upholds the logic of his object of critique' (p. 287).

So, the object of analysis has to be something else that can radically confront the system with its total other. This is, following Blanchot, 'what exceeds me absolutely' (p. 288). Williams finds it in a book of photographs of Chilean couples in love in an insane asylum. It portrays an Other which 'can no longer be an object of intellectual desire to be recuperated and put to work in the name of new cultural or political programmes, visions, or hegemonies' (p. 294). Enthralling as the pictures are, I fail to understand how could Williams think that it is in those mad faces where one can find the promise of 'the radical unworking of all redemptive/constructivist intellectual languages, aesthetics, and consensual/hegemonic projects' (p. 297). He seems to believe that the possibility of a new intellectual engagement, of a new posthegemonic society, depend on this kind of shocking negativity.

This pattern is repeated throughout the book when analysing Latin American novels, essays and films: no matter how critical and well constructed they are, no matter how well they account for or criticise crucial cultural processes, nothing satisfies Williams' search for uncompromising absolute otherness. So in the end, what holds the promise for the future is reduced to the most eccentric and bizarre cultural fringe: insane couples in love in Chile, the violent LA gang member returned to El Salvador, the eye-snatcher hysteria in Peru, and so forth. One will not find in the book any convincing discussion that accounts for the real cultural processes in Latin America.

Universidad Alberto Hurtado JORGE LARRAIN

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Doris Sommer (ed.), *Bilingual Games: Some Literary Investigations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. viii + 308, £18.99, pb.

As is well known, the rise of nationalism, and of modern nation states, was usually accompanied by the attempt to construct, define, and then impose a single national language. In Europe, for instance, the medieval and early modern coexistence of various languages employed for diverse social functions was replaced by an eighteenth and nineteenth-century emphasis on standardisation of a common language for almost all purposes, and the ostracism or even repression of other tongues (Welsh, Breton, Basque or whatever). As Ernest Gellner has argued, the education system then became the central pillar of a secular state religion that instilled linguistic uniformity and stigmatised the deviations of non-standard dialect and accent. The foremost instantiations of national languages were to be found in canonised national literatures, whose virtues were celebrated and whose boundaries were policed by the literary critical establishments who took these monolingual literary traditions to be their justification.

The past fifty years or so have seen a partial reversal of this national monolingualism. Minority languages have gained some official recognition in many countries, and a few have enjoyed quite significant revivals. Though the study of literature and culture remains organised quite stubbornly according to national languages, within that outdated disciplinary arrangement postcolonial studies, first and foremost Latin American, have undermined the assumption that any one nation or any one language has possession of a single, hierarchical cultural tradition, while subnational or transnational languages such as Catalan or Quiché enjoy more academic legitimacy than ever. Meanwhile, bilingual education projects have been initiated in contexts as diverse as rural Ayacucho and urban Los Angeles, reflecting and catering to the reality that, whether for reasons of historical colonialism or more recent mass migration (or more usually, the combined effects of both), the myth of national monolingualism is increasingly unsustainable.

Yet monolingualism's reversal is only partial in that precisely such developments as postcolonialism and bilingual education policies have faced fierce resistance. The current British Home Secretary's desire is to impose English on immigrants as part of a broader nationality 'test' before citizenship is granted. And as Latinos have become the most numerous minority group in the United States, a conservative backlash has led to new modes of linguistic regulation and the rise of an 'English Only' movement that belatedly asserts English to be the sole official language of 23 US states. It is in the shadow of such a backlash that *Bilingual Games* sets out, as Doris Sommer puts it in her introduction to the collection, to upset 'the desired coherence of romantic nationalism and ethnic essentialism' and to 'interrupt the dangerous dreams of single-minded loyalty' (p. 11). The book's various contributors examine a range of national, regional, or local contexts and case studies – from Peru to the Maghreb, New York to Montreal, La Malinche to Kafka, Anglo-Cubans to Chinese-Americans – and in each instance uncover bilingualism where it is denied and encourage multilingualisms to proliferate. Sherry Simon, for instance, celebrates 'the Babelian confusion of post-war Montreal' for the way in which the language consciousness it promotes can be 'a source of linguistic energy and experimentation – a kind of mental vigilance kept sharp through the continual shock of hybridity' (pp. 84–5).

The connection that Simon makes between bilingualism and consciousness is not casual: as Michael Holquist argues in his more theoretical piece, and Sylvia Molloy in her more autobiographical one, bilingualism produces effects at the level of subjectivity, and thus decentres not only the nation state's claim to unity and homogeneity, but also the dream that any individual or group might attain authority and mastery. It is worth quoting Molloy at some length:

> To be bilingual is to speak knowing fully that what is being said is always being said in another place, in many other places. This awareness of the inherent strangeness of all communication, this knowing that what is being said is always alien, that speaking always implies insufficiency and, above all, doubleness (there is always an *other* way of saying it) is applicable to any language, but in our need for transparency and contact, we forget it. (p. 293; emphasis in original)

We might underline how often the need for transparency can make us forget that the doubleness of language is also its insufficiency. For if the ethnocentric backlash against multilingualism is one danger, another equally (and perhaps more) worrying development is the way in which contemporary globalisation in fact prizes multilingualism, encouraging the teaching of language for the sake of global competitiveness and efficiency. This other danger is only ever glimpsed in what is otherwise a generally excellent set of essays. The point of the (literary, punning, self-reflexive) games that Sommer encourages us to play with and in many languages is that such an emphasis on the ludic may derail the way in which, as the case of Cortés shows, multilingual translation can also be caught up in gamesmanship and be put to use in imperial and neo-imperial projects alike.

Moreover, too many of the essays here focus on the achievements of individual bilingual authors (Rosario Ferré, Calvert Casey, Igor Gruberman). If bilingualism decentres the individual, then we are all, increasingly, bilingual now. But does our dexterity in managing the various dialects and languages that we encounter in popular as well as high culture, from the proliferation of national cuisines on our high streets to the global beat infecting the music that saturates our lives, lead simply to more 'consumer ethnicities' (in Juan Flores's words, p. 75) or to what Réda Bensmaïa discerns as 'a new 'collective subject' [...] a certain *identity* in the diversity of languages and local cultures, a certain *unity* in the multiplicity of ethnicities and mores, and last but not least, an active *solidarity*' (pp. 88–9, emphasis in original). Against both the petty nationalism of state monolingualists, and the dreams of transparency and smooth continuity promoted by neoliberal multilingualists, perhaps such a collective subject will only be constituted at the point at which languages in contact break down to reveal an immanent organisation of affect that subtends all language.

University of British Columbia JON BEASLEY-MURRAY

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Andrew Sluyter, *Colonialism and Landscape: Postcolonial Theory and Applications* (Lanham, MD, and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), pp. xi + 267, $80.00, $29.95 pb; £61.00, £22.95 pb.

Andrew Sluyter has three objectives in *Colonialism and Landscape*. First, he intends to construct a theoretical framework, which he elaborates from Peter Hulme's 'colonial triangle' idea. In Sluyter's version, natives, non-natives and landscape are

linked in 'potentially equal, reciprocal' interactions that encompass material and conceptual processes (p. 19). The purpose of Sluyter's colonial triangle is no less than to establish a 'comprehensive geographic theory' of colonialism (p. 21).

Sluyter then uses his detailed study of population dynamics, land grants and livestock density during the early colonial period in Mexico's Veracruz lowlands to illustrate and test his colonial triangle theory. Here, the book relies on work published in scholarly journals since 1992, recounting how the Veracruz lowlands developed into a major livestock producer by the late 1500s. Finally, Sluyter argues that geography as a discipline should refocus on colonialism, presumably using his colonial triangle theory to revive the field from its alleged condition as a 'dead science' (p. 215).

How successful is *Colonialism and Landscape* in accomplishing these ambitious goals? The most compelling material in the book is Sluyter's detailed archival research. His discussion of methodological problems arising from analysing land-grant (*mercedes*) records should guide future studies in other colonial contexts. Especially important are cartographic techniques that locate land grants on modern base maps; indeed, the numerous maps are graceful and effective. This methodological innovation, when combined with Sluyter's characterisation of sixteenth-century ranching, supports a major criticism of Elinor Melville's work in Mexico's Mezquital Valley. In Sluyter's view, Melville over-estimated sixteenth-century livestock density and environmental degradation. However, Sluyter's analysis does not extend past the 1620s, missing the *Recomposición* process and the human population increases of the eighteenth century.

Sluyter's estimation of demographic collapse and livestock expansion in similarly restricted to the sixteenth century. His method and argument for estimating livestock density furthers his criticism of Melville and should inform scholars interested in related topics elsewhere in Latin America. Although his regional focus is admirable at drawing out more precise temporal and spatial patterns, Sluyter neglects to analyse the resettlement (*congregación*) process. Nor does Sluyter search for legal disputes between 'native' and non-native' that the colonial triangle would predict.

Unfortunately, the discussion of the 'post-colonial landscape' of lowland Veracruz falls short of the quality of analysis devoted to the early colonial period. The sole criterion for determining the 'post-colonial' period is the creation of an independent Mexican state in the early 1800s. Sluyter jumps from the 1620s to land briefly in the mid 1850s, then speeds forward to criticise state-led irrigation schemes of the mid 1900s as 'westernization' of the landscape (p. 195) and Mexico's Green Revolution as illustrating 'the most egregious failures of orthodox development' (p. 202), while celebrating poorly defined 'native ecologies' as an alternative to 'agroindustrialization'. This unfocused and ahistorical critique skips important nineteenth- and twentieth-century events that could have elucidated the colonial triangle model (pp. 191–2, 194–5, 196–8).

The 'comprehensive geographic theory' of colonialism is less successful than Sluyter's empirical analysis. Sluyter seeks to apply the colonial triangle to pressing issues in Latin American colonial historiography: the introduction of disease and livestock by European settlers; the dramatic decline of native populations; the abandonment of agricultural fields and resettlement in designated territories; and the environmental transformations resulting from livestock increases and human depopulation.

But the colonial triangle as a theory is oddly situated. Sluyter develops it against a criticism of literatures that have minimal relevance to colonial Latin America. Strangely, he separated his theory from the voluminous Latin American colonial historiography, whilst ignoring the growing literatures on African and Asian colonial environmental history. It is also unclear why Sluyter insists that relations among native, non-native and landscape should be 'potentially equal and reciprocal'. The inequality of such relations, and their constantly shifting dynamics, are at least as important in studying colonialism. These faults undermine Sluyter's aim to make the colonial triangle comprehensive.

While Sluyter's empirical analysis is more successful than the theoretical framework he hopes to establish, both are vastly more effective than his argument that geography is a 'dead science' that his colonial triangle could revive. This argument is incongruous with the rest of the book, and indeed need not obstruct the important claims relating to land grants and livestock density that will interest scholars of colonial Latin America. While *Colonialism and Landscape* does not provide a 'comprehensive geographic theory', it accomplishes a more modest scholarly objective: improving the rigour in estimating the environmental impact of livestock during the early colonial period.

Texas A & M University CHRISTIAN BRANNSTROM

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Esther Roquas, *Stacked Law: Land, Property and Conflict in Honduras* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, Thela Latin America Series, 2002), p. ii + 262, €22.50, pb.

Roquas' book offers further insights into what has been one of the principal agrarian questions in Latin America for decades – the pronounced inequality in land distribution. She specifically focuses her research on property rights insecurity in a remote mountainous village in Santa Bárbara (Honduras), a place where small producers predominate and serious problems surrounding land rights occur on a daily basis. While acknowledging the excellent overviews and critical essays available on the agrarian debate and land question in Honduras, she nevertheless contends that such analyses have both (mistakenly) construed historic property relations as 'customary' or 'informal' and (largely) discussed property 'without actually actually looking at it' (p. 11). This contention allows her to develop the notion of 'stacked laws and norms' [SLN] – the interconnectedness of state law, practices of land rights transfer from the state to landholders, and inheritance patterns – vis-à-vis property rights arrangements, a notion which proves instrumental in helping her to unravel competing claims to land in the village of El Zapote.

The book is divided into seven sections (plus an introduction). Roquas starts by setting out the raison d'être for her study: What is it about laws and norms that enables them to generate violence and conflicts about property rights among landholders? (p. 22). She also sets out the research methodologies employed (household surveys, interviews and revision of *actas municipales* dating back to 1917). She then proceeds to examine the myriad ways in which land conflicts have originated in the village – whether it be due to confusion about the applicability of agrarian laws (p. 42ff) or the advent of official land titling programmes (p. 59ff), for example – using the SLN concept to understand how different perspectives – often the

precursor to conflict – on property rights in land have emerged. Chapter three is somewhat confusing. It professes 'to look at farm households as arenas of struggle about property, income and labour' (p. 71), but instead focuses rather too explicitly on female natural fibre (*tule*) weaving, without showing how significant this activity is in relation to aggregate household activity – particularly in income-generating terms (a crucial factor in determining intra-household resource allocation). The complexity of local inheritance mechanisms, and the tendency for such mechanisms to spawn violence, is traced out in the following chapter using a number of detailed case studies. Although these studies are rich in personal detail, the assertion that they do indeed support the author's framework of SLN needs rather more elaboration. Chapter five addresses gender differences in Honduran land access mechanisms – whether they be occasioned by inheritance or/and agrarian law biases which discriminate against women – and the remedial strategies that have consequently been deployed by women to obtain access. Somewhat surprisingly, despite the fact that the 1992 Agrarian Modernisation Law introduced significant changes in the rights of women to land,[1] these changes go unmentioned and the chapter is bereft of any reference to SLN. The judicial system – and how different actors perceive the judicial system – is examined in Chapter Six through consideration of three land dispute cases drawn from district court files. Legal insecurity in property relations is linked to judicial failings (excessive formalism, the poor quality of evidence, bribery etc.), with recommendations for judicial improvements aired. Rather belatedly, the concluding chapter returns to the notion of SLN to explain 'the differential perceptions and definitions of property rights to land' (p. 233), and calls for 'a thorough revision of land titling policies' (p. 242).

The fundamental strength of Roquas' text lies in her desire to map out the complexity of land disputes in El Zapote, few local level analyses being able to offer such a cogent and meticulously detailed exposé of how village strife can be rooted in underlying property relations. The text has two principal weaknesses, however. First, the concept of stacked law – while having descriptive and analytic merit – needs both further elaboration and application, notably in chapters 4–6. Second, while conflict is a central theme, the author has failed to avail herself of a fairly extensive literature on the theme by the likes of Galtung and Berringer which could have offered useful analytic insights into the causes of conflict.

University of Portsmouth ANDY THORPE

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Paul B. Trawick, *The Struggle for Water in Peru: Comedy and Tragedy in the Andean Commons* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. xiv + 351, £58.50, £20.50 pb.

This book is based on field and archival work in the Cotahuasi Valley of Peru from 1986 to 1988. Several arguments are put forward. There is an indigenous system for managing irrigation that is egalitarian, pre-Hispanic, and probably pan-Andean. Irrigation management is the most important feature of social life in the Cotahuasi

[1] C. D. Deere and M. León, 'Neo-liberal agrarian legislation, gender equality, and indigenous rights: the impact of new social movements,' in A. Zoomers and G. van der Haar (eds.), *Current Land Policy in Latin America: Regulating Land Tenure under Neo-Liberalism* (Amsterdam, 2000).

Valley, and by extension in the Peruvian Andes. Life in the valley was transformed first by an alien elite (Spanish) and then by the Peruvian State (in the mid-20th century), which have captured water management, imported corruption, and generated poverty. Finally, the solution to poverty is to be found in changing water management systems.

This reviewer has worked in Mexico and conducted comparative research covering most of the world on systems of irrigation management, but is not an Andeanist.

Trawick presents us with a sense of deep history of the valley. He takes us through the Conquest and the population crash that followed. Spaniards entered the valley and captured a good deal of land and water, while labour became very scarce. The indigenous population produced mainly food, while Spaniards produced food and products for export. The valley was isolated, and dependent upon animals as beasts of burden to export and import goods. In the mid-twentieth century population climbed back to something approaching the level it had been at during Inka times. A road was built into the valley in 1960, which meant that exports of goods and labour were much easier, and imports were increased. Wool was a key export, followed later by cattle, and the water-hungry crop alfalfa became central to animal husbandry. Alfalfa responds well to frequent waterings, so the increased population along with increased animal exports resulted in increasing pressure on the supply of irrigation water. The growing population, along with water scarcity, brought poverty to the area. The solution to this, according to Trawick, is a reform of the water management system.

Trawick presents an analysis of irrigation management in three communities in the valley: a high altitude indigenous community which had never contained any resident Spaniards; a community lower down which had had minimal Spanish influence; and the capital of the valley, Cotahuasi, which had been the centre of Spanish activity. As the armed conflict with Sendero Luminoso was escalating during the time of field work, Trawick lived and did most of his work in Cotahuasi, making only few and very short visits to the villages and relying principally on interviews. On the basis of the data collected, he concludes that indigenous irrigation management is egalitarian, proportional, equitable, transparent, and fair. Irrigation dominated by the non-indigenous elite is hierarchical, lacks proportionality, equity, transparency and fairness.

The book makes several contributions. First, it signals how the fall and then rise of population in the valley is crucial for understanding social and economic changes therein. Second, Trawick's description of the basic principles of water management in the indigenous community is very clear, although not original in termos of the global literature. Third, he emphasises that demand for water is not fixed by nature, but is rather a function of the social construction of the crop mix.

There are also several problems with the arguments presented in this book. Trawick claims that the valley is isolated. Yet it contained the headquarters of one of the four sections of the Inka empire, and one of the Inka roads ran through it. It was isolated only from the point of view of wheeled vehicles, a new and alien technology to the area. Second, irrigated agriculture is only part of the economy of any place, and certainly of the Cotahuasi Valley. The region also has dry cropping, and the high-altitude puna animal husbandry zones. These do not feature in Trawick's analysis, although they were clearly very important since pre-Hispanic times.

His account of how irrigation is organised in the cabecera of Cotahuasi is opaque. This reader could extract little sense of what the irrigation system is, nor of how it is

operated. By 1995 there were many publications on irrigation management from around the world (ethnographic and comparative), and that literature is absent from this account. Trawick fails to address the central concerns of how irrigation is organised in his account of the capital of the valley, Cotahuasi. Membership, maintenance, water rights, rules and obligations are all vague or absent.

Finally, the subtitle of the book is 'comedy and tragedy in the Andean commons'. The tragedy of the commons is a reference to Hardin's 1968 paper. This reader is baffled by what a comedy of the commons would be. Tragedy of the commons is much misunderstood. It has been clear since at least 1972 that Hardin was referring to open access property systems, not to systems of common property. The word 'common' is thus ambiguous, referring both to open access, and common property. Irrigation systems are almost never open access systems, and therefore not a commons in Hardin's sense, and therefore not eligible for a 'tragedy of the commons'. Trawick has found several tragedies in the Andes, but not in irrigation.

Brandeis University ROBERT C. HUNT