

could have been different. Certainly, this is a questionable “if.”

In sum, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea* is an accessible, authoritative, and affordable text. The author successfully tackles his ambitious project and presents a readable and manageable book for an undergraduate or graduate audience. It provides educators with one concise source for examining democratization, civil society, and the state in Korea. It is a valuable contribution to any comparative course on civil society, social movements, society-state relations, and democratization in Korea and/or the Third World.

Legislative Institutions and Ideology in Chile. By John B. Londregan. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 280p. \$59.95.

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When the socialist Ricardo Lagos assumed the presidency of Chile in March 2000, it appeared that politics there had come full circle. Despite substantial ideological differences between the Socialist Party of Salvador Allende and that of Lagos, few analysts failed to remark on the irony of a socialist presidency only eleven years after the departure of a military government bent on the brutal eradication of the Left. Despite this apparent sea change, however, the legacy of Chile's military government is alive and well. Postauthoritarian presidents had relative success in the areas of economic management, civil-military relations, and social reform, but they failed to alter substantially the primary political legacy of Chile's rightist government: the 1980 constitution.

That is the point of departure for John Londregan's persuasive and expertly executed analysis of legislative institutions in Chile. Londregan seeks to answer two central questions; one is of concern to institutional analysts more generally, and the other to Chileanist scholars. First, Londregan analyzes a paradox of constitutional design in authoritarian contexts: How can an outgoing authoritarian government guarantee its preferences but at the same time provide subsequent governments the necessary flexibility to govern effectively in the face of change? This fundamental tension dictates that constitution makers strike a balance between delegation and constraint.

The second question emerges from the first. The 1980 constitution has been described variously as authoritarian, as a straight-jacket, and as institutionalizing Pinochetismo without Pinochet. It provides strong checks on civilian authorities, is quite difficult to amend, and in many ways is a recipe for gridlock. It also provides for nine “institutional” senators (the first of whom were appointed by Pinochet and his supporters). They deprived President Patricio Aylwin (1990–94) of a majority in the Senate and can act as veto players in defense of the Pinochet constitution.

Londregan asks whether democratic leaders can effect change in a political system designed so explicitly to defend the status quo. In the process, he teaches us something about constitutional design in authoritarian contexts and about policymaking in situations of divided government more generally. Londregan employs an innovative spatial model that explores the interplay between policy preferences and valence to show how democratically elected presidents can overcome the objections of veto players (in this case the Senate), even in a system in which reform seems unlikely. Drawing on Donald Stokes (“Spatial Models of Party Competition,” *American Political Science Review* 57 [1963]: 368–77), Londregan argues that all policy proposals combine

some element of positional content (a policy preference, often based on ideology) and valence content (widely agreed upon values, such as honesty, “good” education, and safety). He contends that Chile's strong presidential system and the executive's advantages in terms of access to information and control of the bureaucracy transform the president into the most important agenda setter. Legislators are forced to opt between presidential policies or the status quo. Presidents can use their advantage to propose legislation with very high valence content, raising the stakes for legislative noncooperation and swaying veto players' positional preferences closer to those of the executive.

Because data are lacking for floor votes in both legislative houses, and given the difficulty of determining policy differences between parties, Londregan relies on roll-call votes from three of Chile's most important Senate committees (Labor, Education, and Constitution). These three deal with conflicts central to the democratic transition. Senate committees require recorded votes on all amendments offered at second readings of bills, which provides a high number of concrete indicators of policy preferences. Londregan uses these data to estimate the preferred policy outcomes of the president and the most important committee members. He then analyzes to what extent members vote with one another and with their party on a series of issues central to the concerns of each committee.

The results are interesting in a number of ways. Londregan uncovers multidimensionality in political divisions based on particular issue areas, which challenges the notion that the center-leftist governing Concertación coalition and the opposition simply divide along party lines on every issue. The analysis of the Constitution Committee shows that human rights legislation is highly polarizing, and members of the governing coalition divide along the expected lines. Given the depth of division on policy and ideology, the president is unable to make proposals with high enough valence to sway opposition legislators to agree to alter the status quo. In contrast, the opposition is divided on labor issues, and Concertación senators have an ally in an Institutional Party senator, William Thayer. Thayer's position to the Left of most of the opposition gives the president an advantage in labor policy, because high valence policies can attract support from at least some of the opposition. In terms of education policy, the outcome is more complex. Londregan finds a level of division similar to that in the human rights arena, but the high valence of improving education provides the president's proposals an advantage. On social issues, such as divorce, abortion, and drug abuse, Concertación is deeply divided, and Christian Democratic senators often side with the Right.

This work has some real strengths. Londregan successfully introduces methods from the U.S. literature in a way not often seen in non-U.S. institutional work. His analyses of veto players and the interplay of policy position and valence enhance our understanding of executive-legislative relations in Latin America's presidential systems. He also provides a more widely applicable model for statistical analysis of roll-call voting in small legislatures. Sophisticated methods are combined with a very textured analysis, replete with examples and interview data to support the conclusions advanced by his models. Londregan provides a valuable window on the policymaking process in Chile, and he demonstrates the potential for constitutional change, albeit by way of a slow, messy, and piecemeal process.

Londregan could have better connected his argument to some of the literature on Chilean politics, especially that related to continuity and change in the party system. Reference to this work would have strengthened his conclusions by

providing additional supporting evidence regarding significant continuity in cleavage structures. In methodological terms, his choice of Senate committee votes makes sense, but it does not tell us enough about floor behavior in the legislative chambers as a whole, where the balance between policy and valence may be different, or at the very least much more complex. A different balance on the floor would create much tougher terrain for the executive to navigate (and with different results in terms of success).

Despite these considerations, Londregan makes a very useful contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of constitution making, the interplay of valence and policy position, and the potential for presidents to overcome the opposition of veto players in divided government. For analysts of Chilean politics, Londregan provides valuable insights about the country's legislative institutions and convincingly demonstrates the potential for reform of Chile's seemingly inflexible constitutional structure.

Oman: Political Development in a Changing World. By Carol J. Riphenburg. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998, 248p. \$67.00.

Mary-Jane Deeb, *The Library of Congress*

This is an excellent general study of Oman in the late twentieth century. It gives a broad overview of the political and social structures and institutions of that small country, as well as a fair and balanced assessment of its progress in the last thirty years and of the problems that lie ahead. As Carol Riphenburg describes it, Oman in 1970 "had only the most rudimentary social and economic infrastructure but has since been transformed under Sultan Qaboos into a modern oil-producing state. More recently rich than other states in the area, it serves as sort of a bellwether for the region . . . as it faces the prospect of diminishing oil revenues along with the challenges of an area shaken by the turbulence of the Iran-Iraq War and the invasion of Kuwait" (p. xi).

The first chapter, "Terra Firma and People," is a very informative description of a number of elements that have made Oman the country it is today. Riphenburg argues that geography has kept it historically isolated from the rest of the Arabian peninsula, although its long coastline on the Arabian Sea made it a sea-faring nation. An important section discusses the ethnic groups that comprise this immensely diverse nation of about two million people, one-quarter of whom are expatriates. Although the majority are Muslims, the diverse sects include Sunnis, Ibadhis, Isma'is, and Shi'is. Ethnically, Arabs are in the minority. Other groups are the Baluchis, Zanzibaris, Liwatyah Indians, Hindu Banians, Iranians, and smaller communities of unknown origin, such as the Zatusis and the Shihuh.

The chapter on history provides the framework within which to understand current political and social developments. The survey starts in the eighth century, with the establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad, and Riphenburg notes that in the middle of that century an Omani, Abu 'Ubaydah, made the first recorded trip from the Gulf to Canton in China. She describes Oman's medieval and early modern history as marked by numerous foreign invasions by the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British, among others. There were also domestic rivalries and wars, and a number of local dynasties ruled the country. The present dynasty of Al Bu Sa'id dates to 1749 and has had its share of problems. The current sultan took power in 1970 after overthrowing his father, a conservative and isolationist ruler, with the tacit endorsement of the British.

The rest of the book focuses on the achievements of Sultan

Qaboos ibn Sa'id (1940–), who attended public school in England and studied at Sandhurst. Upon taking power Qaboos was faced with an uprising (against his father) in the Dhofar region, his birthplace. He dealt with the crisis by issuing a general amnesty to all the enemies of his father in the region and then starting a major program of socioeconomic development and modernization of the country. He built roads, schools, and wells and spent one-quarter of the government's development funds on Dhofar alone to quell the rebellion.

The sultan spent the next few years creating a modern state within the geographical and political framework of the Arabian peninsula and the Arab world. A "benevolent autocrat," in early 1975 he introduced two major laws: the Law for the Organization of State Administration, which for the first time defined the structures and responsibilities of the government of Oman, and the Development Law, which set up mechanisms for an annual budget. In 1981 he created the State Consultative Council, an advisory body whose members he appoints but who represent the seven geographic regions of the country. A new council was created in 1991, named Majlis al-Shura, which is more representative and more powerful. It is the equivalent of a miniparliament, and representatives are now chosen by the people, through a system of election by "nominating colleges" and approval by the sultan. Women can vote and can be elected to some council seats.

Because of its religious and ethnic diversity, Oman is one of the most tolerant states in the Arabian peninsula. There are Christian churches, and Hindus (who, unlike Christians and Jews, are not considered People of the Book in Islam) have been granted religious freedom and have several temples and other religious institutions in Oman. Although respectful of Muslim tradition, the sultan has spoken against extremism and fanaticism. "The sultan's aim is to demonstrate that Islam is consistent with a modern state, interacting independently with the modern world. It represents a willingness to make adjustments to changing conditions in a pragmatic manner" (p. 92).

As for social and economic development since 1970, the author maintains that "the sultanate has moved from a poor, underdeveloped country toward a modern nation state" (p. 147). She refers to a World Bank report that considers Oman no longer among the ranks of underdeveloped nations that need its assistance. Although the commercial production of oil, starting in 1967, facilitated growth and development, the real story is the management of those resources to ensure the education of the population, the distribution of benefits to all segments, including women, and the long-term investment in such nonoil sectors as agriculture and light industry.

Riphenburg is fully cognizant of the problems that lie ahead for Oman. Diversification is limited, as is private investment in economic activities other than trade. Social services are costly and may need to be pared down when oil revenues decline. There are shortages of water, essential for agriculture and the development of a modern infrastructure, and foreign investments other than in the oil sector are also sparse. "Economic development has resulted in social transformations, engendering a sense of entitlement among the public. To fulfill its expectations, the government must ensure sustainable growth" (p. 147). Although significant steps have been made in the emancipation of women (who can vote, work, own property, and so on), many obstacles, mostly traditional, still stand in their way to equality with men.

The author concludes with a look at Oman's foreign policy. She argues that "the unchangeable effects of geography and demography—small populations, vulnerable borders in some