Book Reviews

Jeffrey W. Rubin and Vivienne Bennett, eds., *Enduring Reform: Progressive Activism and Private Sector Responses in Latin American Democracies*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015. Photographs, tables, figures, index, 288 pp.; paperback $27.95.

In *Enduring Reform*, the authors seek to assess the responses of businesspeople to civil society–based reforms in Latin America. They argue that the acceptance by business of progressive reforms is key to whether these reforms endure. From a multiyear research initiative with scholars from across the hemisphere, the book provides several key background chapters and a number of case studies to evaluate the reaction of business to recent reforms. The findings contribute to our understanding of why businesses react either positively or negatively to civil society influence, while generating a number of questions for future study.

The authors begin with the premise that under past authoritarian regimes business rejected the influence of civil society, believing that the private sector benefited from alliances with undemocratic governments. Today, however, the authors argue, business largely accepts the influence of civil society on public policy. Rubin and Bennett suggest three motivations: the realization that inclusion may not be incompatible with economic performance, constraints in democratic regimes that limit the ability of business to react negatively, and moderation of the goals and strategies of social movements.

These three mechanisms are then explored in background chapters by Ann Helwege and Wendy Wolford. The chapter by Helwege regarding the relationship between economic policy and business and a chapter by Wolford on the path of social movement strategies in the region provide useful analysis and fresh insights into the study of Latin America. Helwege provides an overview of economic policies and the growth of inequality over the past half-century and suggests that business owners now understand that resolving distributional conflicts is key to economic prosperity (28). Wolford then details the evolution of movements in Latin America, from strategies aimed to restructure the state and economy to engagement with existing state institutions and markets.

The case studies in the book include the *fábricas recuperadas* (worker-run factories) in Buenos Aires, participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, the three-for-one remittance program in Zacatecas, the Afro Reggae Cultural Group in Rio de Janeiro, and the Mayan self-reliance networks in San Cristóbal de las Casas. Rubin and Bennett argue that these are all cases of progressive reforms, which they define as "projects that promote democratic deliberation and decisionmaking, increase citizen control over resources, and/or foster self-reliance and the expansion of cultural resources among previously marginalized groups" (4). Authors of the case study research used a common template to conduct interviews with 20 businesspeople in

DOI: 10.1111/j.1548-2456.2016.00302.x

each location. Through the interviews, the authors hoped to understand how businesspeople interact with the project, the extent to which attitudes about those involved in the project had changed, and any counterproposals to reforms made by business (13).

The findings from the cases are not all rosy, yet they do provide some optimism that businesspeople across the hemisphere are increasingly open to the influence of civil society in increasing the voices of previously marginalized residents in economic and political affairs. Counter to previous assumptions, the authors conclude that the responses of businesspeople to reforms led by civil society were not primarily motivated by economic interests, but instead were shaped by a mixture of cultural and interpretive factors.

This volume succeeds in filling a large gap in the literature on civil society in Latin America by relating civil society initiatives to the perspective of the business sector. Too often, scholars focus only on the two-way dynamics of civil society and the state without including the third dimension of the private sector. That focus has perpetuated a concern with clientelism rather than the broader impact of market forces in Latin America. The authors in this volume significantly advance the discussion on the impact of civil society to include all relevant actors.

The authors also come to surprising conclusions about how the interests of business are formed. For instance, the case study of San Cristóbal de las Casas by Jan Rus and Gaspar Morquecho Escamilla demonstrates the changing relationship between elites and the indigenous class in the city generated by the Zapatista uprising in 1994. They mark the uprising as a turning point in elites' willingness to afford indigenous people greater rights and respect. Instead of prioritizing their economic interests, businesspeople's attitudes changed as a result of this catalyzing event and slowly evolved over time to reflect cultural acceptance of Mayans in the city.

In Buenos Aires, Carlos A. Forment describes the interactions between members of recuperated factories and other businesspeople when workers' takeover of the factories generated temporary shocks in the business community. Over time, businesspeople tended to tolerate the existence of these recuperated factories as they witnessed the fight the workers endured and then their struggle to run the factories as profit-generating businesses, often with a social mission and democratic management. Again, a break in the norm led to evolving acceptance of a changed environment.

From these cases the authors conclude that business interests are shaped not only by political institutions and economic interests, "but also in the local histories of cultural perceptions and experiences with regard to those interests and institutions and how they play out in the course of reform initiatives" (232). The authors do not just assume that local context matters; they provide persuasive evidence how relationships change over time due to specific factors in the local context.

Furthermore, the authors provide a much-needed critique of civil society–based initiatives from the business perspective. In particular, the case study of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre demonstrates the need to assess reforms from the viewpoint of the private sector. In the chapter on Porto Alegre, Jeffrey Rubin and Sergio Gregorio Baierle find that businesspeople felt they had not been "invited" to the process and therefore found it exclusive. Though none of the businesspeople interviewed claimed to have been negatively affected by the budgeting process, cultural evaluations of the participants and ideas that it did not represent their interests led them to resent the process. In an effort to undermine the power of participatory budgeting, business leaders pushed for an alternative corporate social responsibility model in the city that was more to their liking. Participatory budgeting in the city endures, but it is more limited because of this reform initiated by business leaders. The case provides crucial evidence that without buy-in from the business sector, civil society–based reforms may have only limited impact.

The book also faces the challenge of most edited volumes, which is ensuring that the case studies closely hew to a central set of questions. While the case study chapters offer excellent histories of civil society initiatives in the hemisphere, a common structure for the chapters may have aided in generating conclusions in each chapter closer to the main questions of the book. For example, Rus and Escamilla offer an exceptional "oral history," as they describe it, of San Cristóbal, but their chapter does not provide any conclusions about how business reacted to specific reforms.

Likewise, the background chapters, while quite helpful to my own understanding of the region, could have more closely related the information to the central questions of the book. For instance, Wolford very perceptively details the changing interactions between social movements and the state, but for this book it would have been useful also to have a greater understanding of the changing relationships between civil society and business. Though their interests may mostly diverge, what are the moments in which they may also forge meaningful alliances? Knowing when and how business and social movement interests align would also provide evidence as to when reforms may endure.

The cases, too, might have been better selected on the basis of the nature of the threat they pose to business. Nonprofits, particularly those oriented around cultural activities, do not create an obvious threat to business interests. A case may possibly be made that any sort of empowerment of previously marginalized groups may be a threat to elite interests, but I do not believe that the authors make this case. A chapter by Rubin on the cultural group Afro Reggae in Rio de Janeiro provides an informative description of the changing relationships between the marginalized population in Rio's favelas and businesspeople in the city. Rubin explains that the business model used by Afro Reggae led to greater respect from the business community, though he finds that businesspeople still view it as the job of the state to address issues of inequality and violence. The question I am left with, though, is why we would expect business interests to be against the efforts of Afro Reggae in the first place. What would their interest be in preventing the existence of a cultural, educational group that seeks to provide alternatives for low-income youth?

By selecting a diverse group of civil society–based initiatives, the authors have documented the variation in the perceptions of businesspeople in different contexts, but I believe that the diversity may also limit the scope of their conclusions. Only two of the cases, participatory budgeting and the three-for-one remittance program in Zacatecas (by Heather Williams and Fernando Robledo Martínez), directly involve changing economic relationships through state institutions. These are also the two cases in which the authors saw the most pushback from business. The authors conclude from these cases that inclusion of business interests is critical to their acceptance, but their assessment leaves me wanting to know more about how institutional reforms differ from those that never directly involve the state. In short, further study, including a typology of reforms and expected outcomes, would serve to solidify the authors' conclusions.

Overall, this volume provides a valuable contribution to the literature on the influence of civil society in Latin America. Instead of assessing the narrow dynamics between the state and civil society, the authors seek to introduce the voices of businesspeople regarding progressive reforms. The authors significantly advance our understanding of the complex dynamics at work among diverse actors.

Maureen Donaghy
Rutgers University

Ryan Saylor, *State Building in Boom Times: Commodities and Coalitions in Latin America and Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Tables, bibliography, index, 244 pp.; hardcover $44.46.

The relationship between natural resources and state strength in developing countries continues to receive a great deal of scholarly attention. The horror story of the resource curse has been alternately challenged and reaffirmed, endlessly contextualized and modified through consideration of additional relevant factors. While the debate continues apace, Ryan Saylor offers us a fresh and important perspective by asking questions not normally associated with this literature. Saylor points out that "virtually no one expects natural resource booms will lead to institutional strengthening" (203), and yet they have sometimes done just that. Saylor is interested in the role natural resources play in state building, not state weakening. As such, he explains the conditions under which booms can lead to enhanced provision of public goods and institutional development. Saylor offers us a rich, multifaceted theoretical account of state strengthening in developing countries, mining the nineteenth- and twentieth-century histories of six emerging economies (three in Latin America) to offer a detailed account of resource-led successes and failures.

Saylor seeks to explain how exogenous resource shocks impact state strengthening. The key to Saylor's argument is the status of coalitional politics at the time the resource boom begins, and the links that ruling coalitions do or do not have with the booming sectors. When the boom begins, economic actors in the rising sectors (Saylor refers to them as exporters) look to the state to provide public goods, such as railroads. However, the exporters may be included in the ruling coalition, or they may not. In situations in which they are included, the state should provide public goods; but the provision of public goods is not sufficient for state strengthening. Those in power must also perceive a threat from a rising sector without links to the ruling coalition.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2456.2016.00302.x Published online by Cambridge University Press