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Reviews

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Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz (eds.), *Latin America in a Changing Global Environment* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), pp. viii + 243, £36.95, hb.

This informative and well-organised collection of essays examines some of the major changes that have taken place in Latin America's international relations and some of the major challenges facing the region. Michael Shifter's introduction gives a harsher picture of the region than that contained in several of the other chapters – stressing the worsening economic, social and political crisis in many parts of the region, and the absence of a sense of strategic concern with the region on the part of the United States. Carol Wise provides an illuminating analysis of the FTAA. Her account correctly sees the obstacles to the FTAA in terms of structural interaction and the character of two-level politics within a range of countries; rather than, as on so many US accounts, simply the result of Latin America's (and especially Brazil's) problematic policy choices. Margaret Daly Hayes covers the changing security agenda, examining the contrast between the still relatively positive inter-state security environment and both worsening transnational insecurities (crime, drugs, terrorism) and increasing social violence. In terms of the resources for security, she usefully stresses the limited resources devoted to the police and to the development of the quality of law enforcement. The chapter says less than one might have expected about the seriousness of insecurity in the Andean region and about the very deep divergences that have come to exist between the security agendas of Latin America on the one hand and the USA on the other.

Roberto Russell's analysis of US–Latin American relations contains a nice and illuminating sense of history, of the kind so often lacking in US accounts. He analyses the two sides of US policy. On the one hand, he argues that interests are shaped by three factors: size, proximity and level of threat, and he recognises the extent to which changing US interests post-September 11 have led to a marginalisation of the region. On the other, he seeks to show how, from the mid-1980s, democratisation, economic regionalism, economic liberalisation and cultural changes have all favoured the 'development of a policy agenda that demonstrates heretofore unseen levels of convergence' (p. 65). Although not unmindful of the many problems and challenges, the overall tone is cautiously positive and the glass remains half-full rather than half-empty. Charles Doran's account of Canada's 'new opening to Latin America' covers much of the ground but rather skirts around the regional problems that faced Canada before September 11 and which have become far more serious and intractable since. Nor is it wholly clear either that Canada 'is, at last, a fully committed member of the Western Hemisphere' (p. 112), not least given the unravelling of the liberal arguments for convergence that attracted Ottawa in the 1990s but which are now increasingly under challenge.

Rosa Alonso Terme analyses the role of international financial institutions. As with so much economic writing, the chapter is highly normative: it tells us rather

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little about the actual evolution of IFI policy towards the region. Instead it lays out a prescription of what ought to happen – the main goal of the IFIs 'should be to further the existing liberal international economy while correcting its less desirable features, thus making its functioning smoother and increasing its legitimacy' (p. 118). Alison Brysk's chapter deals with human rights, making the important argument that 'we must go beyond the twentieth-century assumption that states threaten citizens while international actors rescue them' (p. 143). She examines the impact of transnational actors and globalisation processes on human rights and the very significant broadening of the range of challenges that those concerned with human rights have both to conceptualise and to confront. Wolf Grabendorff considers the oft-repeated hopes for closer relations between Europe and Latin America, the actual steps towards deeper-region-region relations, and the continued gap between rhetoric and reality. He argues that one of the greatest difficulties 'in bi-regional relations lies in first reaching consensus within each region' (p. 157). He contrasts the successes of political dialogue with the continued asymmetry in economic relations. Any kind of more strategic relationship would require 'strong will from the Europeans' and a 'higher level of realism and efficiency in the management of bi-regional relations' on the part of Latin America.

The final part of the book examines two 'pivotal' states. Russsell Crandall analyses the transformations that have taken place in Mexico and in Mexico's relations with the United States. He argues that Mexico's future integration with the USA will 'depend on its ability to change the social, political and economic climate within its own borders' (p. 172) – rather neglecting the extent (as Wise had argued in her chapter) to which the obstacles to integration surely result just as much from US policies and policy preferences – on drugs, on security, on migration, on institutional change and so on. Finally, Riordan Roett provides a brisk and clear analysis of Brazil's role as an international actor. He argues that 'Brazil is still a big emerging market, and it probably remains a so-called pivotal state. But it is not a world player, nor will it have the capacity to be so without finally addressing the fiscal issue and the weighty concerns over social and economic inequality' (p. 194). The chapter goes on to argue that the country is already 'a formidable regional actor in the Americas' – in terms of Mercosur, the FTAA and regional diplomacy.

Nuffield College, Oxford ANDREW HURRELL

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Gary Prevost and Carlos Oliva Campos (eds.), *Neoliberalism and Neopanamericanism: The View from Latin America* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. xiii + 288, £40.00 hb.

There are several things that are immediately very appealing about this edited volume. The first is that, as the title declares, it seeks to assemble a group of scholars drawn primarily from Latin America to discuss the processes of regional restructuring currently underway in the Americas. This is indeed something to be welcomed, given that much of the valuable work done within Latin America is often published only in Spanish and not available to the mainstream of Anglo-American academia. The editors highlight in their preface that the volume consequently offers 'a perspective that is often lacking in books on a similar subject written almost exclusively by scholars from the United States'. One suspects that this might well

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be so. Nevertheless, it is never made entirely clear in this volume exactly how or why it is that the perspective offered here is different, and the reader remains in the dark about the nature of the contribution that the book seeks to make by assembling this particular group of authors rather than one dominated by US-based scholars. Still, the premise of the book is a refreshing one and is to be much welcomed.

The second appealing aspect of this book is that it seeks very consciously to consider contemporary processes within a historical context. The detailed and thoughtful opening chapter by Carlos Oliva Campos sets out in signally interesting fashion how the present processes of what the editors call 'neopanamericanism' form part of a historical process of US policy towards the region, premised on a complex logic of regional expansionism and linked with the projection of global hegemony.

The volume explicitly considers the links between neoliberalism, neopanamericanism and the evolution of US hegemony in the region of the Americas, which has received so little attention in the existing literature. In this, again, this volume is appealing. There are several points about the understanding of this hegemony advanced by Oliva Campos in his opening statement that could be debated and challenged in very fruitful ways. He defines hegemony in essentially relational terms – that is, as relating to the capacity of the USA for influencing the internal and foreign policies of countries in the rest of the region. One could draw attention to the other dimensions of hegemonic power – to the notion of 'structural power' introduced by Susan Strange – and the ways in which the articulation of structural power intersects with the more visible and tangible forms of relational power suggested in Oliva Campos's definition. The notion that hegemony is based on both expansionism and leadership is also an intriguing formulation; a persuasive converse argument could be made that at many points in the history of Latin American–US relations the dynamic has been one of hegemony *without* leadership, most recently in the form of the 'benign neglect' of the region by the Clinton administration. Can hegemony exist without the leadership that Oliva Campos argues is fundamental to it?

The concept of neopanamericanism is one of the genuinely suggestive contributions of the volume, but unfortunately is not one which is developed to any particular extent. In fact, the term does not seem to be mentioned after the opening chapter. This is disappointing, since, as it is introduced in the preface and the first chapter, it is a very interesting concept which promises to set the book conceptually apart, from much of the other literature on this subject. It is claimed in the preface that the Washington Consensus and neopanamericanism are essentially synonymous, the latter being the label adopted by the editors to denote the process by which the Washington Consensus has become entrenched in the Americas. What then is the difference between neoliberalism and neopanamericanism, given that a difference is in fact implied in the title of the book? If the neopanamerican project is essentially an economic one, how, at a conceptual level, do we insert the political, military and security elements into this formulation? Do these flow from the economic logic of the Washington Consensus/neopanamerican project, or could we claim that the economic strategies of the USA are a means of achieving its greater priorities in the security and political realms? My own feeling is that the notion of neopanamericanism should be broader than another label for neoliberalism, and that it is, as the editors imply, very useful in establishing historical linkages with

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previous manifestations of the expansionist logic of US policy towards Latin America.

University of Manchester NICOLA PHILLIPS

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Carol Wise and Riordan Roett (eds.), *Post-Stabilization Politics in Latin America: Competition, Transition and Collapse* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003), pp. xii + 306, $22.95; £16.95, pb.

It would be difficult to ignore a collection that contained work by academics such as Karen Remmer, Carol Graham and Kenneth Roberts, whose efforts, along with those of the editors, have made an important contribution to how we understand the processes and vicissitudes of democratisation in Latin America. This book deserves the attention it will receive. Its strength lies not so much in that it contains anything particularly novel in theoretical or empirical terms but in the fact that the chapters are rich and thoughtful, and generally reflect the complexities that attach to market reform and democratisation.

Comprising six country-based studies and a strong theoretical section, the book opens with an excellent-argued and stimulating chapter by Karen Remmer on elections and market reform. Her findings challenge both the literature which assumes that market reform is necessarily bad for democracy, as well as the line of analysis that emphasises the economic costs of democratic politics and the view that political compromise – inherent within democracy – tends to undermine the integrity of the reform process. Instead, she argues that market reform and political democracy can reinforce each other and have done so in Latin America. In the first place, she suggests that that market reforms have been upheld by an increasingly unforgiving international climate, meaning that democratic leaders have been unable to deviate from liberalisation, even when they are desperately searching for votes at election times. In other words, the view that democracy inherently undermines reform does not hold. Secondly, and perhaps more controversially, she argues that Latin American electorates are sensitive to sound economic performance – voters want stable economic management. Throughout the 1990s, she argues, 'electoral competition has buttressed rather than undermined the economic constraints upon policy choice in Latin America' (pp. 42–32). This may be so; but it is interesting to note that precisely where economic reform has been most successfully embedded in democratisation, in Chile, the result has been a generalised 'desencanto' and voter dissatisfaction with politics generally, as Boylen points out in her very good chapter on second stage reform and the 1999 presidential elections. In Chile, both democratisation and the reform process came perilously close to being undone by the near victory of conservative-populist, Joaquin Lavin. Sound management – that is, technocratic liberal economic governance – comes at a price for the quality of democracy, it seems.

Wise and Pettinato follow Remmer. Under the engaging title of 'Hardship and Happiness', they use public opinion data to establish why societies with high levels of inequality vote for governments that implement market liberalisation. Taking a rational actor approach to voter preferences, they argue that voter choice is partly determined by subjective assessments of social mobility and expectations of future progress. Using data drawn from Peru, they suggest that market reform may

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generate support because it provides, or is perceived to provide, new opportunities for social mobility. The difficulties of deriving interpretations of complex questions from public opinion data are well known. In particular, it is difficult to work out what the data mean; questions are inevitably 'leading'; and the methodology cannot allow for the multiple reasons that govern human behaviour. Moreover surveys of this type suppose that respondents are fully able, and willing, to understand and explain their own behaviour and that they do so irrespective of the expectations of the questioner. Nevertheless, Wise and Pettinato offer an important argument, written in an engaging and open way.

Consuelo Cruz's chapter on citizenship and political culture completes the theoretical section. Taking a different tack, she addresses the poor quality of democracy in Latin America. Latin American democracies may not be in danger of collapse, she argues, but their record in terms of the practice of citizenship is poor. In this, she echoes O'Donnell's concern about the persistence of what he terms 'brown areas' in the region.

The six case studies are paired by theme. Chile and Argentina illustrate the difficulties of sequencing reform and the democratic tensions inherent within the reform process. Mexico and Brazil are paired to show the extent to which the diversity of paths to market reform. In Mexico economic liberalisation preceded the transition from authoritarian rule by fifteen years, while in Brazil reform was only seriously accepted under Cardoso, almost fifteen years after democratisation began. Finally, Peru and Venezuela constitute examples of how unprepared electorates were forced to accept sudden and rapid liberalisation, with very different results. All these empirical chapters are well done and Roberts' is a particularly useful addition to the crisis in Venezuela. One small complaint: the absence of an overall conclusion makes for an abrupt finish to the book and the reader is left wishing for a way to think through the democracy/reform conundrum that pulls more together the empirical material with the theoretical section.

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Manuel Antonio Garretón, Marcelo Cavarozzi, Peter S. Cleaves, Gary Gereffi and Jonathan Hartlyn, *Latin America in the 21st Century: Toward a New Sociopolitical Matrix* (Miami, FL: North-South Center Press, 2003), pp. iv + 148, £14.95, pb.

Analysing, explaining and predicting change are the central aims of social science. The magnitude of this endeavour, the relevance of detail and the sophistication of the analyses, have driven social scientists to move from general 'grand paradigms' to specific approaches when trying to make sense of societal phenomena. Studies on Latin America are not an exception, particularly when studying development. As one would expect, the most general paradigms tend to produce broad generalisations, in many cases rather superficial for understanding the problems and changes at the country level. Likewise, the more specific approaches generally fail to take into account alternative areas of social change. For example, cultural and social changes have been either neglected or, more commonly, considered contingent upon other central processes of an economic or political nature.

The authors of *Latin America in the 21st Century: Toward a New Sociopolitical Matrix*, provide a fine example of the type of analysis which seems to be more appropriate

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for understanding – or in the authors' words 'rethinking' – regional development processes characterised by significant and mutually related changes at the political, economic, cultural, and social levels. Advocating the relevance of middle-range theories and the benefits of multi-disciplinary analyses, this book presents a sound discussion about central processes and challenges that Latin American countries are facing at the turn of the century: the construction of political democracies, social democratisation (including national integration), the reinsertion of their economies into the world system, and the building of a model of modernity that assumes both globalisation and cultural identities. Central to this exercise is the concept of the 'Sociopolitical Matrix' (SPM), defined as the relationships among the state, the political system of representation (the party system), and the socioeconomic base of social actors and cultural relations, all mediated institutionally by the political regime.

Without doubt, the main contribution of this book to the general debate on development in Latin America is to have provided a historically sensitive conceptual tool (the SPM) that allows for the construction of a comprehensive analytical framework where political, economic, social, and cultural changes are studied as closely related processes which, even if mutually influenced, are not contingent on each other. The study shows how globalisation and the neoliberal project – implemented to different extends in the region – have transformed all of these realms and have managed to put an end to the 'Statist-National-Popular Sociopolitical Matrix' (the model prevalent between the 1930s and the 1980s in Latin America). Describing the current situation as one lacking a particular matrix and marked by decomposition, drift, and near permanent crisis, the authors envisage – and almost hope for – the development of an 'ethically desirable' new SPM, which they define as 'Multicentered'. This new SPM will ideally, among other things, be state-guided and market-accepting; not only politically, but also economically, socially and culturally 'democratic'; and work within an ideological context characterised by acceptance of diversity and global awareness.

The analysis is complemented by a useful set of endnotes which provides the reader with further literature on several of the issues discussed. Nonetheless, this does not make up for the only partial development of some topics or the absence or superficial discussion of relevant cases. For example, the argument would have benefited from a more thorough development of the concept of 'social democratization' (pp. 56–60). The discussion on this subject seems rather unbalanced, as the concept is divided into three major issues (social cohesion in the face of exclusion and fragmentation, the expansion of citizenship, and participation), of which only the first is actually developed. Given the type of SPM that the authors would like to see emerging in the region, a more substantive development of the concept of social democratisation (characterised as 'the ethical principle behind political democratization') needed to be presented.

Moreover, not unlike most of the comparative literature on Latin America, the text concentrates on the major countries in the region (particularly Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Chile). The partial discussion of other cases is probably a result of the nature of the theoretical approach used, and the patterns of development observed elsewhere. However this hardly justifies the exclusion of cases, even if they deal with smaller countries, as some are nearly paradigmatic of issues tackled in the book. It was quite surprising that the cases of Costa Rica and El Salvador are not properly discussed when the relevance of party systems for democratic transition and consolidation were examined. The omission of the cases of former presidents Alemán in

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Nicaragua and Portillo in Guatemala, when political corruption is discussed, is another example.

Finally, the authors can easily be 'accused' of 'wishful thinking' when they anticipate the development of a Multicentred SPM in the region. They attempt to prevent this criticism by claiming to work with 'ideal models', and accepting that they foresee this new model as a 'possible and, above all, desirable' outcome. Nevertheless, it would have been advisable to include a more systematic discussion (a new chapter or a further developed Chapter 6) which tackles the tensions, or the 'vulnerabilities and risks', of the transition to the new SPM. For example, one would have expected to see a discussion in terms of the prospects and capabilities of Latin American countries to move forward towards a Multicentred SPM which has 'a lengthy maturation process,' in a context marked by unsolved social problems, an increased general access to information, and a growing impatience of citizens with their economic and political systems.

Overall, *Latin America in the 21st Century: Toward a New Sociopolitical Matrix*, is a significant contribution to the debate on development in the region. Not only does it provide a useful new conceptual tool for analysing social change, but it also accentuates the relevance of systemic approaches in this type of analysis, where social and cultural processes – not only political and economic ones – are given well deserved attention.

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Leonardo Avritzer, *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 2002, £37.95, £13.95 pb.

Many social scientists observe a political society limited to leaders, parties, journalists and pundits, and they take as important what these people or organisations say about the motives and limits of democracy. It is now a standard argument that a fear of anti-institutional mass mobilisation which had already spurred the separation of a bureaucratic state from public participation and raised concerns about the rationality of popular thought has obliged an emphasis on stability through restrictive democracy. But, even if such democratic elitism could explain the limits to democracy in Europe, it falls short of general theory by its inability to explain democratic populism and eventual breakdown in Latin America. Here it is harder to portray elites as politically rationalist and convinced of democracy's potential attributes, and it is often mass mobilisations that are in favour of democratic rule-making. While transition theories counter some of these problems, Leonardo Avritzer's almost surgical unpicking of democratic elitism shows that neither transition theories nor post-democracy consolidation arguments break with the elite-mass distinction, privileged notions of rationality or sophisticated understanding of culture.

Avritzer's proposition is that democracy needs to be approached as the cultivation of a democratic public sphere, that leaves aside the virtues and vices of elite or mass actors, but consider how actors present themselves in public and establish terrains of conflict with the state. This proposition owes homage, duly recorded, to the work of Habermas and Melucci. It argues that public debate in a sphere located between state and market exposes a form of reason that is neither elitist nor populist, brings to the fore new issues, languages and identities and ultimately opportunities

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for consensus. This public space relies upon face-to-face interaction, independence from the state but an ability to engage with it, and the chance that the public sphere can provide actors into formal politics to further democratic practices. However, Avritzer finds flaws with Habermas, notably in his notion that power holders will be influenced by good arguments because otherwise they face a legitimation crisis, and in his attempt to link public debate to deliberation through law-making. Yet, Avritzer is keen to retain a normative content to how we might imagine extending public space and seeks, in part, to build from an empirical analysis of urban social and human rights movements in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico that extended the public sphere in innovative ways, transforming the role of public expression of political ideas and the meanings of democratic identity. Ultimately, however, these movements were controlled by normalisation and clientelism. So, how can new practices and identities developed at the societal level make their way to the political when they do not overlap with what Avritzer terms the aggregative dimension of political society?

Through what he calls 'participatory publics' Avritzer argues that public processes of communication and deliberation can be given an institutional dimension to transform a theory of public sphere from a theory of possibility to a truly democratic and deliberative theory (p. 52). Participatory publics challenge the exclusivity of technical decision-making through, for example, requiring accountability of implementation and binding deliberations to attempts to find institutional formats that can address issues raised at the public level. Avritzer claims that participatory budgeting in Brazil and citizen control (*ciudadanización*) of electoral institutions in Mexico mark effective progress with this intent. But has participatory budgeting really transferred democratic values from the public culture to the deliberative level in such a way that a non-clientelistic and non-particularistic distribution of public goods has become institutionalised? Has citizen control in Mexico weakened the role of political mediators such that the hybridisation of political structures has been offset? Does describing the processes of participatory budgeting and citizen control, the number of members and meetings etc. demonstrate the impressive claims made by the author? This is one of my two criticisms of *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America.* In searching for a theory of non-elitist democratisation based upon the new languages, identities, and their drawing into the institutional frames why do we hear nothing from 'the public'? Can we understand the meaning and potential of participatory publics from an empirical case that is largely post – hoc, inferential and institution based?

My second criticism concerns why the author gives no attention to the concept of space – it is in the title, after all. If theories of democracy have given too little attention to citizens, how much attention are new theories giving to the geo-politics of democracy (and citizenship). Democracy operates in real spaces and political discourses reflect contested territorialities, from issues of national or ethnic identity to decentralisation. Conventional democracy and participatory publics are highly uneven; the processes described in this book did not all happen at once everywhere and nor did they mean the same thing everywhere. At numerous points of the book Avritzer points to the insufficiency of other writers' ideas of culture, and Canclini is roughed up for the subjective and empirically ambiguous idea of hybridisation, yet the author seems to regard culture in aspatial ways that diminish his argument.

Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America is a provocative book that presents theoretical dimensions as complex problems. We need to think about how to make

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the leap from public sphere to the institutions of deliberative decision-making, and Avritzer provides us with a good place to start.

London School of Economics GARETH A. JONES

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04268511

James Petras, *The New Development Politics: The Age of Empire Building and New Social Movements* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003), pp. v + 300, £55.00; £19.55 pb.

That there are new stirrings of revolt (or 'revolutionary reform') in many parts of Latin America is obvious to the most casual observers. Chávez in Venezuela, Kirchner in Argentina, changes of government in Ecuador and Bolivia and, above all, the much postponed and seemingly impossible accession to government by the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) in Brazil signal, at the very least, that an alternative to the hegemonic neo-liberal development model might be possible. But does this mean that we are back in the late 1960s–early 1970s as James Petras seems to believe? As always with Petras, there is much repetition/recycling of articles/ideas, much polemic and hot air but also a genuine engagement with the issues of revolutionary transformation in Latin America, albeit from the perspective of the privileged peripatetic professor from the North. Although there is little about 'development politics' in this book, there is interesting material for the student of the Latin American left.

After a brisk (and rather superficial, given the extensive international debate) critique of Hardt and Negri's *Empire* and a few other general political economy 'critiques', Petras settles into his latest interest, namely Brazil's landless workers' movement (MST) and the guerrilla movements of Colombia, with a return to the unemployed workers' movement in Argentina that he has written on in the past. According to Petras: 'the formidable strategic capacity' of FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) leader Manuel 'Tirofijo' Marulanda (p. 19), means that the USA will find in Colombia a problem in securing its imperial ambitions. On the other hand, in Brazil, 'Lula assumes more of the characteristics of an authoritarian caudillo, more interested in winning positions of power than in reforming or changing the socio-economic system', and so 'ensure Washington of their willingness to be obedient clients' (p. 29). Only the MST follows the Petras-approved revolutionary path in Brazil. Petras is also exercised by something he calls: 'the rock, sex and drugs left' that engages in no more than 'populist pandering to adolescent hormones and middle-aged retarded adolescents' (p. 155). Maybe a psychoanalyst would have the best perspective on this apparently new Petras preoccupation.

The rational kernel of Petras' discourse lies in a renewed engagement with the agrarian question that first brought him renown in the late 1960s. Chapter seven (with Henry Veltmeyer) deals with peasant-based socio-political movements in Latin America providing a broad analytical perspective and some useful case studies. They reject what they see as Cristóbal Kay's position of viewing the peasants as, today, a premodern social class that has been unable to adapt to change. They equally reject what they see as the postmodern or post-structuralist view of Gustavo Esteva and others that see the peasantry as a postmodern category concerned with cultural and identity issues. Based on substantive studies of the MST in Brazil and the FARC

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peasant base in Colombia, along with more cursory comment on the Zapatistas and others, the Petras (and Veltmeyer) position is that while peasant movements are based on traditional forms of social cohesion they articulate essentially modern political goals. While I doubt that all 'Latin American peasants tend to see themselves as combatants in a class war unleashed by the capitalist class' (p. 104), the issues raised by this chapter are central to an understanding of the complex intertwining of national, identity and social issues and revindications in the era of neoliberalism.

The issues raised in this book are undoubtedly important for the future of Latin America. It would be good if some could be taken up by a new generation of professionalised postgraduate researchers and taken beyond the personal preserve of Professor Petras.

University of Liverpool RONALDO MUNCK

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Kirk S. Bowman, *Militarization, Democracy, and Development: The Perils of Praetorianism in Latin America* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp. vii + 289, $55.00, hb.

In this interesting book Kirk Bowman sets out to analyse an old question – what impact does the existence of a strong military have on economic development and democracy? He gives it a new twist by arguing that previous studies have failed to acknowledge regional differences, so although large-n studies have noted that the military contributes positively to development, the literature on Latin America usually asserts the opposite. Latin America should thus be viewed separately from other regions because of its militaries' 'almost spiritual calling' to protect *la Patria* from internal threats, the strong influence of the United States, and the absence of credible threats from neighbouring countries, at least during the Cold War (pp. 32–4).

Bowman separates his dependent variable – development – into three parts: democracy, equity, and economic growth. His independent variable – militarisation – is itself separated into two indicators by measuring military budget as a percent of GDP and number of soldiers per thousand inhabitants. His quantitative analysis demonstrates that although there may be positive relationships in other parts of the world, in Latin America the clear verdict is that militarisation has a strong and negative impact on all measures of development. Qualitative comparative historical chapters buttress his statistics.

For the Costa Rican case, Bowman challenges the conventional wisdom that Costa Rican democracy was the result of an elite pact, a more peaceful political culture, or institutional reforms. Democracy did not suddenly appear in 1948 along with José Figueres, but rather was consolidated in 1958 only after a difficult struggle against the odds. He tells in detail the story of Figueres' struggle against recalcitrant elites and their attempts to unseat him (including strenuous efforts to convince the USA that he was a communist) and comes to the conclusion that 'Figueres was able to survive for one reason – without a military the opposition did not have the means to overthrow him' (p. 122). Figueres' successful abolition of the military, completed in 1949, allowed Costa Rica to focus on social spending, attraction of investment, and later tourism.

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Meanwhile, until 1954 Honduras also had a weak military institution and similar political conditions as Costa Rica. The decision to allow the US to use Honduras as a launching pad to overthrow Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz, combined with a military treaty with the USA, made the armed forces a newly potent political actor that would then be enshrined in the highly militaristic 1957 constitution. 'Democracy was now destined to fail' (p. 164). Military dominance over the government was cemented by 1963, and so security spending always trumped social needs, which made following the Costa Rican example of development utterly impossible.

Bowman has much to accomplish, such as thorough literature reviews on the qualitative and quantitative aspects of militarisation, democracy, economic development, and the Latin American military, in addition to presentation of statistical analyses and then case studies, but the book is strikingly readable. The presentation of Costa Rica and Honduras does, however, move along at a breakneck pace, a sometimes dizzying array of names and events. Although at times it requires stopping to think about how everything relates back to the hypotheses, it is also refreshing to read an author who so obviously has mastered the literature, dived headfirst into archives, and cares deeply about the argument itself.

Since he deems Latin American militaries to be exceptional, especially in terms of their belief in protecting *la Patria*, it is unfortunate that their own voices are not much heard in the book, especially at the critical period of the Cold War's onset. This does not necessarily detract from Bowman's thesis, but certainly for both countries a discussion of military journals and public military statements could provide a nice addition to the qualitative case studies. For example, after a failed Costa Rican military dictatorship in 1917–1919 'the military institution was completely discredited and lost influence in politics' (p. 108). But did the armed forces fight this decline or rationalise it? What were military leaders saying? In the Honduran case, there is a discussion of officers writing in newspapers during 1954 when rapid military build-up began (pp. 151–4) but what did military doctrine look like before that? A comparison of the attitudes of the militaries in both countries could also be illuminating.

In addition to enriching the literature on the military and development, Bowman makes a methodological contribution. Latin Americanists often view quantitative analysis with a strong dose of scepticism, arguing that the numbers belie an empirical complexity, a stew of political, economic, cultural, and historical factors that cannot be captured in cold, hard statistics. Bowman's fieldwork addresses those concerns directly, since the qualitative analysis is based on extensive archival work and personal interviews. Thus, he bridges the qualitative-quantitative gap, while also contributing to a policy debate.

The important policy question, which Bowman addresses in his conclusion, is whether the United States should fund and train Latin American militaries to perform internal missions. As he mentions briefly in the preface, this is an even more critical question after 11 September 2001, which has prompted armed forces in numerous countries to beef up their intelligence capabilities, and may presage increases in military spending and size to fight 'terrorism'. This book makes clear that not only does this pose serious risks of human rights abuses, it may also limit or even roll back social and economic development.

University of North Carolina at Charlotte GREGORY WEEKS

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J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04288514

Christopher Abel and Colin Lewis (eds.), *Exclusion and Engagement: Social Policy in Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2002), pp. xxvi + 503, £14.95 pb.

This is a thorough and excellent collection for anyone interested in social policy in Latin America. Yet it is also a case of the good being the enemy of the best; the length of this volume is daunting. So much good material is included in the volume that most readers are likely to select chapters by authors that they know and/or topics that they are interested in. As a result, they may miss the excellent sections that lay out the more general lessons from the collected essays and/or other chapters that are particular gems, such as the one on macroeconomics and poverty by Manuel Urrutia or that on the political economy of reform by Merilee Grindle, among others. For a volume of a more manageable length, the editors might have been more selective in their choice of essays and case studies, or else solicited jointly authored chapters which summarised the results from several studies. If the book has any flaws, it is its excessive length, not its quality.

The book is framed by three major and important arguments. The first argues that governments must integrate social policy into their economic strategy, rather than addressing social issues and questions as a separate (and usually second order) policy priority. This is critical. In most Latin American countries, the finance or economic ministries are those with the most decision-making power, in part because they control the purse strings but also because they tend to attract the most talented public service staff. Thus, social sector ministries are typically not afforded comparable power and social issues take a back seat. Elevating social policy decisions to the ranks of macroeconomic policy decisions – and indeed linking them together – would be an important first step towards resolving the region's formidable social policy challenges, however complicated that process may be.

Second, the book argues that social policy must be inclusive, based on a necessary consensus building exercise which involves a range of social actors and the organisations that represent them. Without the 'buy-in' of a large segment of society, no social policy will be sustainable and inclusive, regardless of the institutional arrangements (for example, decentralised or centralised administration, or private versus public sector provision). Again, the editors highlight an issue that must be resolved for social policy to be effective and sustainable. In the region's swing from incomplete attempts at universal service provision to an excessive focus on targeting the poorest, the debate on social policy has, for the most part, lacked a strategic discussion on how to achieve the 'support of the widest possible range of actors and beneficiaries'. In the end, sustainable social policy cannot be imposed from abroad and must be a product of a domestically crafted – and financed – social contract within societies, in which the choices that are made reflect a broad consensus, although likely an imperfect one.

The final argument is that in broader thinking about the role of the state, its role should evolve from direct supplier of social services towards regulator of their supply. For most countries, the resolution of this issue will be a long term one. Yet in most instances, the recognition that the state cannot go it alone in the provision of services reflects the editors' (and authors') realistic assessments of what is possible as well as desirable in the case of social policy in the region. The state's role will

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inevitably vary among countries, but in virtually every instance it does not have sufficient capacity to provide services for its large number of citizens, who in turn have a diversity of needs and income levels. Reaching out to the private and non-governmental sector providers will be inevitable.

A review of this length cannot do justice to the wide range of contributions in this book. The book covers the history of social policy, the relationship of diverse macroeconomic strategies to social policy outcomes, the political impediments to social sector reforms, and the issues of marginalisation and exclusion. It then has sections with case studies on health, social security, education, households, and communities. The contributions are of high quality and provide rich detail on virtually every aspect of social policy. Students in the area will find this an invaluable work of reference. However, more critical readers looking for a crisp contribution based on a clear hypothesis and its testing will find it hard to sift through the wide range of topics and questions to find backing for the main messages that are put forward at the outset.

Yet given that we still have few tried and true policy prescriptions in the social policy arena, and that there is still much to gain from experimentation, the editors' broader menu of options approach – as well as the umbrella themes of exclusion and engagement – is justified. The volume makes many important contributions to the important and unresolved question of how to achieve effective and inclusive social policy in a region where it is sorely lacking.

The Brookings Institution CAROL GRAHAM

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04298510

Matthew C. Gutmann, Félix V. Matos Rodríguez, Lynn Stephen and Patricia Zavella (eds.), *Perspectives on Las Américas: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), pp. xv+461, £65.00, £19.99 pb.

'Innovative, comprehensive, and designed for students' declares the flyer accompanying this reader. As a work designed for students *Perspectives on Las Américas* has proved itself a success with this reviewer; I have already added five of the twenty-five chapters to reading lists for my own courses. It is tempting to end my review here with the straightforward observation that you too are likely to find useful chapters to assign to your students. The book brings together some splendid (previously published) articles by historians, anthropologists, sociologists and other scholars which address topics ranging from the gendered nature of labour in the Latin American fruit-picking industry to Jennifer Lopez's bottom. Among my favourites were Rubén Rumbaut's examination of immigration to the USA from Latin America and the Caribbean, Claudia Fonseca's study of adoption practices in contemporary Brazil, Mark Roger's discussion of race and beauty pageants in Ecuador, Marc Edelman's study of Costa Rican historiography, rubber-tapping and the decimation of an indigenous Central American group, and Américo Paredes' comparative analysis of machismo in Mexico and the USA, but perhaps I was particularly impressed by these chapters because they were all new to me, whereas I had already read Jeffrey Gould's excellent analysis of *mestizaje* in Nicaragua, for example. *Perspectives on Las Américas* provides a wealth of fascinating readings on a very diverse range of topics.

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Despite my endorsement of the book's practical utility, I do harbour some doubts about its intellectual coherence. I am not entirely convinced that there is any underlying set of themes uniting these varied offerings. With readers and edited collections one usually seeks the work's overall meaning and purpose (as opposed to the meaning and purpose of the individual chapters) in the introduction and in the structure of the book itself. In the case of this volume neither provides a very clear sense of what it is that unites the individual chapters. To begin with, the organisational principles structuring the book seem idiosyncratic. Part 1, subtitled 'Colonialism and Resistance', for example, contains two fine chapters on ethnicity, group identity and immigrants in the USA the links of which to either colonialism or resistance remain (to me) opaque. Similarly, I am not certain that 'Global Political Economy' is really the best way to classify the topic of Marc Edelman's chapter. Moreover, the book's introduction, although containing a very interesting comparative survey of the different forces shaping the development of Latina/o Studies on the one hand, and Latin American Studies, on the other, similarly failed to provide me with a clear sense of the principles guiding the selection of the individual chapters, beyond the fact that they all dealt in one way or another with the Americas. The introduction asserts that the book's aim is to study the 'historical, cultural, economic and political integration of Latina/os across the Americas' (p. 1), but not all of the chapters do in fact focus on integration – Steve Stern's article on peasant rebellion and consciousness in the eighteenth century, for example, appears to me to have little to do with this topic. The intellectual rationale of the book is, then, somewhat mysterious. It is, nonetheless, of undoubted utility as a source of worthwhile articles to assign to students. It has been very nicely edited, contains an index, and most chapters offer individual bibliographies. I conclude with a quote from the chapter by Frances Negrón-Muntaner: 'The rear end is where our Puerto Ricanness is safely stored' (p. 296). Now there's a thought to conjure with.

University of Warwick REBECCA EARLE

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04308515

Vincent C. Peloso (ed.), *Work, Protest, and Identity in Twentieth-Century Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2003), pp. xx + 348, $65.00, $23.95 pb.

Historians of Latin America's working classes have in recent years made conscious efforts to broaden the scope of their inquiries beyond 'labour history's' traditional unions and strikes to look at 'work' more broadly conceived. In *Work, Protest, and Identity* Vincent Peloso brings together fifteen such pieces – 11 reprinted and four original – that examine the construction of working class culture and identity where those processes escape the field or the shop floor into the larger community. Questions addressed include who are 'workers', and what links are possible among those in the countryside and urban labour, and what promotes or undermines worker solidarity?

'Natural' markers commonly used to both organise and divide workers include race/ethnicity and gender. In late nineteenth-century Cuba, for example, Alejandro de la Fuente shows that workers and unions fought elite presumptions of the natural superiority of immigrant Europeans over locally-born Afro-Cubans. Miguel Tinker-Salas argues that in 1920s Venezuela foreign oil companies used race, and nationality,

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to fragment employee consciousness, in this case privileging black West Indians. Regarding gender, María del Carmen Baerga finds that in 1920s–30s Puerto Rico male-dominated urban unions attempted to use state 'protective' legislation to eliminate the home needle work upon which poor rural women depended but which unions saw as a threat to their power and livelihood. Looking at a strike by female textile workers in post-World War I Colombia, Ann Fransworth-Alverar shows that elites and press handled what they saw as a potential threat to the social order by effectively defining women out of the working class. And in early twentieth-century Ecuador, according to Marc Becker, indigenous and 'white' feminist activists worked together to expand the 'low intensity citizenship' (p. 128) the state provided them.

Class consciousness lacks the 'common sense' indicators of race and gender and as a result tends to be more difficult to construct and maintain. Catherine LeGrand shows that the arrival of the United Fruit Company in lowland Atlantic Colombia did not flatten the local population into a proletarianised mass but increased diversification within and among local peasant and wage earner populations, complicating organising efforts. David Parker argues for 1920s Peru that laws intended to recognise workers' rights produced the apparently unintended consequence of dividing these into relatively privileged 'empleados' and lower status 'obreros', prompting workers to focus not on collective action but on individual mobility. Chapters by Rachel May on Argentine militants from the 1970s and Anton Rosenthal on a street conductors' strike in early twentieth-century Montevideo both address the question of who may be the workers' allies. In a review essay Kenneth Roberts carries these questions forward to more recent times, examining labour's efforts to organise in the world of neoliberalism. Workers and activists, he finds, must address actual or potential conflicts of interests among themselves at the same time that they reach across traditional boundaries to find new partners in struggle.

More than half of the chapters in *Work, Protest, and Identity* deal to a greater or lesser extent with relations between workers and the state. Jeffrey Needell, for example, shows that the well-known 1904 vaccination riot in Rio de Janeiro was in fact two simultaneous events, an elite political struggle over the direction of the republic and an outburst of opposition by the city's poor to what they saw as abusive state intervention in their lives. Norman Caufield revisits the familiar story of the Mexican state's attack on independent unionism after World War II, focusing here on the uses of anti-communism and on the United States government's assistance to the PRI. For Brazil Antonio Pereira details how, unlike conditions in most of Latin America and despite lingering military dictatorship, a 'new unionism' prospered during the 1970s and 1980s, in part by reaching out to new groups and creating cross-class opposition alliances. Similarly, according to Thomas Klubock, Chile's once powerful copper miner's unions, achieved some successes in the 1980s by constructing opposition alliances that extended beyond labour. Among the most effective allies of Latin America's workers in the late twentieth century were radical Christian groups, but Michael Jimenez shows that whereas the institutional church supported such links in the 1960s and early 1970s it pulled back after 1979.

Work, Protest, and Identity is intended as readings for a course on modern Latin America or perhaps Latin American labour history, and even comes organised into fifteen chapters to fit the standard semester. Each piece begins with a short introduction and has notes appended, and the book ends with a list of additional readings

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and films. It should be a useful tool for introducing new approaches to Latin America's working class history into the classroom.

Georgia State University DAVID McCREERY

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David Carrasco (ed. in chief), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures: The Civilizations of Mexico and Central America, Vol. 1–3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 451, 458, 476, £250.00, hb.

Encyclopedia … a book or set of books giving information … in a particular field of knowledge …' 'Encyclopedic … comprehensive in scope …' *Webster's New World Dictionary, 1994 Edition; Third College Edition.* Prentice Hall. New York, London, et al.

Encyclopaedia are by their nature diverse, broad, sweeping and yet detailed in their particulars. On the other hand, reviews of such massive works cannot be of equal nature (or length) or the reviewers risk the academic equivalent of tar and feathers. Therefore, the approach taken here is selective, and it is to be hoped, representative and summary. It should be noted that the reviewer is an anthropologically-trained archaeologist who has done most of his field work in the Maya Lowlands. I have had valuable help from a graduate student in anthropology, Christopher Gieseke, and refer to him at appropriate points.

David Carrasco is the editor-in-chief of this intellectual enterprise and assembled an impressive roster of editors, and contributors (variously ranked as editors, assistant editor, senior consulting editors, and contributors) all of whom have signed articles. The 300 plus collaborating scholars have contributed 617 entries from the various fields of Mesoamerican studies although there are some gaps. Fields covered are anthropology, history, art history and linguistics. Unfortunately, less room is given to geography than is merited, although Nicholas Dunning does very well in the limited space accorded him for geography. Other fields are not dealt with at all; climatic history, for example, even though it is assuming an ever greater importance as a contextual factor in Mesoamerican prehistory and history. The subject of looting, the art market for stolen antiquities, and the consequent depredation of the cultural heritage of Mesoamerica is not mentioned at all. Thus comprehensiveness is somewhat limited.

Carrasco, in his introduction, says that the *Encyclopedia* under review builds on the monumental *Handbook of Middle American Indians* edited by Robert Wauchope, and which eventually reached 19 volumes (including supplements). However, because that writing was done in the 1960s and 70s (although published mainly in the 1970s) and so much investigation has been done in the various fields since, it is to fill several needs that this encyclopaedia was created. The three volume set is aimed at both lay and professional readers. One of its goals is to emphasise the very long history of Mesoamerica and the transformations that took place there. These transformations not only are those of the creation of a series of native civilisations, but also the native American-European melding of cultures, religions, and other cultural institutions. Therefore, documentary history is a logical continuation of the prehistoric sequences. Another objective is to provide an up-to-date synthesis which will give a balanced overview and detailed examination of the fields of Mesoamerican studies.

A synoptic outline was created by the editors (including the 'developmental editor', Scott Sessions, who is also listed as the Assistant Editor). The outline is

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published in volume three together with a list of the contributors and their various contributions with handy page references. A list of the major heading in the outline is as follows:

Synoptic Outline of the Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures.

Geography and History
Mesoamerican Studies
Written and Oral Sources
Economy and Subsistence
Social, Political, and Religious Organization
Cultural Interaction and Processes of Social Change
Cosmovision and Ritual Performance
Creative Expressions and Material Forms
Mesoamerican Sites, Cities, and Ceremonial Centers
Biographies

All except the last two categories have principal articles. The main categories are finely divided. For example, 'Written and Oral Sources', has 26 principal articles with subdivisions, and the rest of the material is divided into 'Pre-Hispanic Manuscripts' (consisting solely of articles about the codices), and 'Colonial Manuscripts and Sources', organised by document or author. As noted by the editors, this organisation allows for overlapping treatments and for different perspectives.

As can be seen, the synoptic outline has mainly standard anthropological and historical headings, but also one which indicates an occasionally anomalous view of scholarship: 'Cosmovision and Ritual Performance'. Given that the more understandable rubric of ideology is available, it is difficult to see what advantages this heading has, especially in view of the lay audience. Such a bias toward 'New Age Archaeology' comes through in several places. Fash's article on archaeology emphasises his view that epigraphic data trumps field archaeological data. While this may be so when dealing with the minuscule elites of archaic civilisations, it ignores the vast lack of information about much other than the succession of rulers, purported conquests, implied intrigues, elite marriages and other alliances, and so forth. The economic bases for civilisations is not available from textual material except in the case of a few zones (Central Mexico) and from the very last of the prehistoric periods. These basic data have to be reconstructed from field archaeological work as do population histories, commoner household organisation, trade routes, and many other matters of importance to the understanding of the past. Fortunately, other archaeologist-contributors take a broader view of the field.

The field of linguistics is nicely surveyed by Yolanda Lastra in terms of its history and the completeness of study on language groups. Her overview is supplemented by 38 articles on distinct languages and language groups. Essays on Writing and individual codices also deal with languages and linguistic problems.

Biographies of important scholars (up to about 1950) are included and these include the early Spanish chroniclers as well as the early American, Mexican and European explorers and scholars. A particularly noteworthy one is given to the initial decipherer of Maya historical texts, Tatiana Proskouriakoff by Clemency Coggins. A very interesting and very long treatment of the great 16th century Franciscan ethnographer, Sahagún, is provided by Henry B. Nicholson. Doris Heyden writes an engaging, short appraisal of Diego Durán, a Dominican, and an under-appreciated chronicler of ancient Mexican cultures. These and the treatments

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of Eduard Seler, Manuel Gamio, and other notable scholars are well done and pertinent. However, one more anomaly creeps into the entries in that several totally political biographies are included as well. Among the latter are treatments of Benito Juárez, Emiliano Zapata, Lázaro Cárdenas and Rigoberta Menchú. It is difficult to know why these are in the list when scholastically important people such as Zorita and A. V. Kidder, Sr., are omitted. Also, Menchú is given an easy pass in spite of the demonstrable falsifications in her account of her life. However, political bias is generally missing from most entries and the introduction, the authors avoiding ideological rhetoric and presenting straightforward scholarly presentations of the subject matter. Some things are not new although they are presented as such. For example, Carrasco points out that the 'vaquero' sub-culture of Mexico is the origin of US cowboy culture, an historical truth also made previously by several writers of 'western' fiction. The balance in many articles is easy to criticise, but is generally well achieved. Examples of omissions and some rather slim treatments follow.

The subject of acculturation is dealt with fairly well, although the conclusion is suspect; '… the inevitable results of socio-cultural change in the modern and contemporary context is the erosion of ethnocultural differences and the eventual disappearance of the multiethnic society as such (Nutini 1: p. 2).' This judgment goes against both anthropological and historical data on the matter. The subject of Art History is nearly devoid of information on how Spanish culture in particular (and European culture in general) had enormous influence on religious and secular, post-colonial era artwork. The subject of cuisine is very limited and concentrates on Mexican cooking and food preparation. There are certainly many more variants in the use of maize, for example, than those from Mexico. Further, not much is indicated on the linkages of nourishment to political feasting, the concept of hot and cold foods, or other religious beliefs on health and medicine in relation to foodstuffs (Gieseke).

Christianity is treated very thoroughly in terms of development of Mesoamerican religious practices although there is rather scant treatment of 'liberation theology', and the role of the Maryknolls in its spread. Moreover, there is no apparent treatment of cults, although these are wide-spread throughout Latin America (Gieseke).

Although a few articles were farmed out to graduate students and marginal scholars, there are excellent articles by recognised experts. Examples of the latter are the presentations on the extraordinary Codex Mendoza by Patricia Anawalt, on merchants and their multiple roles in the Aztec empire and the Maya states by Frances Berdan, on Stormy Sky, a great ruler of Tikal, by Clemency Coggins, and on the Mixteca Puebla ceramic style by Henry Nicholson. Ian Graham writes knowledgeably about nineteenth-century explorers Alfred Maudslay and Teobert Maler, Gordon R. Willey on Alfred Tozzer, and Edward Calnek about the native chronicler Ixtlilxochitl. R. S. MacNeish, in one of his last masterly articles, summarises the Early Development and Archaic periods.

Historical topics are exemplified by that on the Mixton War by Phil Weigand, and by Eric Van Young on Independence Wars. These and other historical articles are of considerable use and interest to archaeologists and anthropologists. The Mixton War was one which saw the Spanish nearly evicted from New Spain not many years after the initial conquest by Cortés. It required the presence of a considerable force in the field led by Viceroy Mendoza, to suppress this revolt.

The important topic of Missionisation as well as other related topics lay out some of the problems faced by the early missionaries and present day anthropologists

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alike. The various blends of religious traditions, the religious orders involved, the dynamics of religion in resistance and revitalisation movements are all available in interesting detail.

In the end the question which confronts scholar, librarian, and aficionado alike, is whether these three handsomely produced volumes are worth the rather heavy investment. From the point of view of a scholar practising in the same general field, my answer is a definite yes. The great amounts of authoritative information and opinions given by first-rate scholars far outweigh the somewhat minor defects pointed out above. The missing areas can always be filled in by an intrepid researcher, even one not very familiar with some of the fields. For an archaeologist, the sections on history and ethnology are particularly valuable, and I am assuming that the reverse is true. For the librarian and non-specialist scholar, the *Encyclopedia* needs to be supplemented by other sources; *The Handbook of Middle American Indians* comes to mind, that older work still being an indispensable resource. The work under review is a valuable asset for a library in combination with other sources. An alternative is to supplement the *Encyclopedia* with the collections of papers of critical review and synthesis which have become fairly common in anthropology. For the aficionado, the most avid (and well off) probably should obtain this set. For others of slender means and less passionate interests, access to the field would be better provided through selection from the varied collections of summary papers which have recently been published. Altogether, then, David Carrasco and his multitude of colleagues have produced an admirable, very useful and stimulating work.

The University of Texas at San Antonio RICHARD E.W. ADAMS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04328518

Lisa Sousa, Stafford Poole, C. M. Lockhart and James Lockhart (eds.), *The Story of Guadalupe: Luis Laso de la Vega's 'Huei tlamahuiçoltica' of 1649* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 151, $45.00, $16.95 pb; £30.00, £9.95 pb.

This book was published a few years ago, yet it deserves a place here because of its significant impact on the debate over the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, spiritual and cultural icon of Mexico in late colonial, independent and contemporary times.

The Story of Guadalupe is the first scholarly English edition, with transcription, translation, and critical apparatus, of the apparition story and of the whole *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* (By a Great Miracle) that Laso de la Vega, the vicar of Guadalupe, published in 1649 in Nahuatl, the indigenous language of central Mexico. The book is divided into three main sections: the *Nican mopohua* (Here is recounted), an account of the apparitions of the Virgin; the *Nican motecpana* (Here is an ordered account), an account of the miracles connected with the image; and the *Nican tlantica* (Here ends), an exhortation to devotion accompanied by some final comments on the presence of the Virgin in New Spain. In addition, there is a preface written by the same Laso de la Vega, and a prayer for the believer.

Only the reader who is well trained in the language would probably attempt a close analysis of the text and of the valuable translation; what is also very useful to a more general public is the editors' introduction, which is the most striking feature from a scholarly point of view. It is here that the book reveals itself not only as an academic edition of one of the most popular religious accounts in Mexico, but also as an original analysis that has generated discussion and controversy.

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The authors compare the structure, content and phrasing of the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* with the *Imagen de la Virgen María, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe*, an account written in 1648 by Miguel Sánchez, a diocesan priest of Mexico City (the analysis is facilitated by two appendixes with excerpts from Sánchez's account). The parallels between the two are striking; of the sections into which the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* is divided, the apparition story and a large part of the miracles closely correspond to the *Imagen de la Virgen*. Since in addition to these things Sánchez's work appeared one year earlier and Laso de la Vega openly acknowledged its importance, the editors have come to believe that the latter translated and expanded Sánchez's account. That Laso de la Vega was influenced by Sánchez has already been accepted by scholars, but not without some debate; what is significant here is that the editors maintain that the vicar based himself only on Sánchez, in effect denying the existence of a previous source in Nahuatl. It has long been accepted that Laso de la Vega copied the central part of the work, the *Nican mopohua*, from a native manuscript dating back to the sixteenth century. Through a careful analysis of the language, Sousa, Poole and Lockhart advocate the view that the author was a Spanish speaker, not a native, thus reversing the traditional interpretation. In their view the *Nican mopohua* was not an indigenous account of the sixteenth century but was written by a *criollo* priest, inspired by another one, and a century later.

A deep knowledge of Nahuatl and of its changes over time also leads the editors to maintain that the three parts of the book have a substantial unity, therefore showing that they were written at the same time by the same writer or group. It cannot be said with certainty whether Laso de la Vega had indigenous collaborators or not; however, some mistakes and usages from Spanish allow one to think that the priest undertook it on his own, or called upon an indigenous aide too late to correct some features of the text.

The editors present their argument in a sound and convincing way; nonetheless, they are not dogmatic about their hypothesis and are ready to consider new studies and discoveries.

Finally, for those interested in the language itself, the book proves to be a tool of great utility for advanced students to learn about formal and elevated Nahuatl.

The history of the cult of the Virgin continues to generate scholarly interest, as seen in David Brading's recent *Mexican Phoenix*,[1] where the importance of Sousa, Poole and Lockhart's analysis is acknowledged. Indeed, this is a cult capable of engendering passionate dispute, as the highly contested canonisation of Juan Diego proved as recently as 2002.

Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London CATERINA PIZZIGONI

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Jessica Joyce Christie (ed.), *Maya Palaces and Elite Residences: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. x + 340, $50.00, hb.

Arising from a 1998 Society for American Archaeology symposium by the same title, this edited volume by Jessica Joyce Christie brings together research reports and current debates on the topic of Maya royal and elite architecture and households,

[1] David A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix. Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition Across Five Centuries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

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conventionally referred to by scholars as Maya 'palaces'. The concept of a Maya 'palace' is by no means new – the editor and various authors show that it has been in the literature since the very beginning of Maya studies – yet the definitions and characteristics, both morphological and functional, are still matter of considerable disagreement, which have resulted in Maya palaces being used, in Ambrosino's words, as a 'catchall category for monumental architecture' other than the temple-pyramid (p. 254). Yet, even though the topic is not new, this volume is the first collection of works in which the editor attempts to define Maya palaces architecturally and functionally in contrast with other elite residences, drawing characterisations from the agreements and disagreements of researchers, data from a variety of Maya sites, and the interdisciplinary collaboration of specialists in archaeology, anthropology, art history, and epigraphy.

In Maya studies of the last decade the pendulum has swung back to the analysis of elites, which scholars agree are still largely unknown, but instead of the culture historical approaches of the first half of the twentieth century, the methods applied now result from the functional studies of the residences and daily activities of Maya commoners developed by household archaeology and processual theory. For those interested in Maya upper classes, royal palaces, elite architecture, and courtly life, Christie's volume joins three previous publications on the broader subject and demonstrates an increasing focus of investigation in what has now become the field of specialisation of Maya palace archaeology: *Mesoamerican Elites* (1992), *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture* and *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya*.[1] These and the current volume, soon to be followed by the publication of the 1998 Dumbarton Oaks symposium – 'Ancient Palaces of the New World: Form, Function, and Meaning', organised by Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury – will constitute fundamental sources on a growing subject.

In spite of the overall importance of this publication, and the careful editorial work, the various chapters demonstrate the enduring lack of uniformity in definitions, and the existence of a large corpus of data, which Harrison describes as a 'variety of still unsorted evidence' (p. 101). However, Christie's useful concluding chapter does identify broad patterns and suggests four categories of palaces.

Chapters four, by Harrison (on Tikal), and six, by Inomata and Triadan (on Aguateca), are the best structured and clear on the debates concerning the definitions, highlighting the problem of confusing 'palace' as a type of building with 'palace' as the dwelling of royals and elites, and calling for a distinction between morphology and function. Inomata and Triadan ascribe the problem to an uncritical use of the term 'elites' by Mayanists (p. 155), and effectively clarify that not all palace structures were residences and that elite residences were not necessarily 'palatial'.

Chapters one, by Guderjan, Lichtenstein, and Hanratty (on Blue Creek), eight, by Kowalski (on Northern Lowlands sites), nine, by Ambrosino (on Yaxuna), and ten, by Kurjack (also on Northern sites), represent examples of just such a high degree of variability in the dataset, from numerous but not elaborate elite dwellings to

[1] Diane Z. Chase and Arlen F. Chase (eds.), *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment* (Norman, OK and London, 1992). Stephen D. Houston (ed.), *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture* (Washington, DC, 1998). Takeshi Inomata and Stephen D. Houston (eds.), *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya* 2 Vols. (Boulder and Oxford, 2001).

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monumental architecture at different sites, as well as in different areas within the same sites.

Chapters two, by Traxler (on Early Classic Copán), and three, by Andrews et al. (on Late Classic Copán), show the similarities and differences between the first and last royal residences in the same area of Copán, with Traxler making an excellent case for an early palace group, in spite of dealing primarily with adobe architecture, which stands in contrast to the masonry buildings of the conventional morphological definitions.

A welcome presentation on a method seldom used in Maya studies, chapter seven, by Liendo Stuardo, suggests that the analysis of access patterns may be one way to investigate ground plans in a systematic and standardised approach to extract functional similarities in spite of morphological differences.

Finally, chapters five, by Demarest et al. (on Dos Pilas), and eleven, by Christie, remind Mayanists that cosmology and the ideological basis of Maya society are critical to the analysis of morphology and function, and that the separation between residential and ritual spaces may have been less marked for the Maya than scholars have assumed.

In sum, this volume presents the topic of Maya royal and elite architecture from still contradictory approaches, and so does not constitute the definitive book on Maya palaces, but it is a fundamental source of reports and theoretical debates on the subject, and represents the leading research in the field of Maya palace archaeology.

Boston University ASTRID RUNGGALDIER

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Suzanne B. Pasztor, *The Spirit of Hidalgo: The Mexican Revolution in Coahuila* (Calgary, Alberta, and East Lansing, MI: University of Calgary Press and Michigan State University, 2002), pp. xvi + 224, $49.95, hb.

The Spirit of Hidalgo begins and ends with the anecdote of Manuel Sarabia, a Coahuilan spiritualist, predicting the revolutionary overthrow of Porfirio Díaz in 1896. The undead were particularly sociable in an earlier Mexico: Madero, Morones, Calles, Rosalie Evans and the ranchers of Ixcateopan, Guerrero, all chatted regularly with (generally rather posh) spirits. It is perhaps contagious, for Suzanne Pasztor introduces her work with bewildering references to assorted historical processes that 'speak to the spirit of the Revolution'. This is misleading, as in place of the cultural or *longue durée* interpretation she seems to promise, Pasztor delivers a concise and traditional overview of Coahuila between 1910 and 1920. The state has been largely ignored in the recent expansion of Mexican regional histories; a puzzling oversight, for Coahuila is not just a hole in the uneven terrain of regional studies, but also a mine of local detail with which to reconsider Francisco Madero, Venustiano Carranza and their eponymous movements.

Not that Pasztor's aims are biographical. After competently dissecting Coahuila along Porfirian district boundaries, she sketches the swelling constituency of the Porfirian disenfranchised, beginning in the 1880s with the Madero family and the regional peasantry and culminating in 1910 with an alliterative cast of miners, middle classes and migrant workers. *Maderista* cadres and actions in the critical months of early 1911 are traced in a region-by-region catalogue; the distance between Madero and these grassroots, and the considerable tensions of his relationship with

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Carranza, are clearly set out; the ending of Madero's death is *anunciada* (by, among others, yet another spiritualist) and planned for by Carranza. The narrative of the war against Victoriano Huerta follows, spliced with an analysis of the social bases of *carrancismo* and complemented by a thoughtful examination of the border war economy that fed the revolutionary armies. A separate chapter traces the fortunes of the *villistas*, who briefly controlled the southern portion of the state and recruited rural Coahuilans such as Calixto Contreras with the (unfulfilled) prospect of significant agrarian reform. Decade and book close with the five year governorship of Gustavo Espinosa Mireles, a pragmatic juggler of limited tactical reform, emergency economic micro-management and populist authoritarianism; a microcosm of formal *carrancista* policies across Mexico.

Pasztor concentrates on the diverse origins and motives of the men who fought in Coahuila's 'unruly rebellion' and their uneasy articulation with assorted, sometimes nominal, national leaderships. Her sample of the Coahuilan irregulars in 1913 reveals a heterogeneous group which drew upon *maderistas*, *magonistas* and the career military and spanned miners, judges, teachers, cattlemen, merchants, farmers, tailors, peons, cowboys and railroad men. This was a convincing cross-class alliance; one which Madero failed to understand, conciliate or lead. Pasztor's depiction of this failure is an interesting contribution to our understanding of the wider failure of the man John Steinbeck called 'a mouse in a suit'. Prior critiques of Madero's presidency have cited Womack's study of Morelos, where the northerner's loss of the state was overdetermined by a lack of local networks or cognitive capacity and the powerful opposition of planters and military. This is an unfair test. In Coahuila, however, Madero had all the advantages of playing at home. Persistent favouring of *federales* over local militia, *hacendados* over local peasants, and his family and friends over more meritocratically-selected elements meant, however, that 'in his home state Madero succeeded in angering many and pleasing few'. The image of a single-issue campaigner who briefly represents disparate protest movements before underwhelming in office is well-drawn, and of unsettling contemporary relevance.

Carranza, in contrast, receives more sympathetic treatment. It is sometimes too sympathetic. Carranza, Pasztor states, 'immediately' denounced Huerta's coup; he also – and this she omits – subsequently negotiated recognition of the new regime only to be clumsily rebuffed. Yet her essential contention, echoing Arnaldo Córdova, is right: despite his dullness, Carranza had a surer grasp of the nature of revolutionary mobilisation and took surer measures to maintain the goodwill of the mobilised. At the centre of Carranza's ideas on government there was a substantial political realisation: in an overwhelmingly agricultural society undergoing modernisation, there can be low costs and high benefits to keeping the status quo in the countryside and covering it up with limited reform and sporadic talk of revolution. When such reform is focused on a small industrial proletariat, it is furthermore cheap. *Carrancismo* was effective when it combined tactical concessions to popular demands with a hawkish enthusiasm for election rigging and violent repression. While Carranza's able use of the sieve-like border is given its full significance, Pasztor attributes his lengthy domination of Coahuilan politics to this hegemonic balancing act.

The Spirit of Hidalgo is at its strongest when local knowledge counts, whether in the dirty complexity of border dealing or amidst the motley ranks of local volunteer troops. When regional analysis needs connection to events beyond state borders, Pasztor sometimes falters: whether factually, in presenting phenomena such as the

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PLM's pre-1910 risings as solely Coahuilan, or conceptually, in concluding that the Revolution in Coahuila was typically 'northern' without offering more than the most cursory definition of a 'northern experience'. It is regrettable that connections with prior, and excellent, studies of the revolutionary north should go unmade, but that does not detract from the bulk of Pasztor's work, which provides insight into the dynamics of an overlooked sector of the armed revolution, and should be widely consulted.

St Antony's College, Oxford PAUL GILLINGHAM

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Caroline C. Beer, *Electoral Competition and Institutional Change in Mexico* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press), pp. xiv + 194, $45.00, $20.00 pb.

This book contributes to the study of democratisation in Mexico by highlighting the impact that increasing electoral competition during the 1990s had on local (state-level) political institutions. Caroline C. Beer is particularly interested in determining the extent to which growing partisan competition strengthened the autonomy and policy-making roles of state legislatures and heightened state governments' authority vis-à-vis the federal government. She thus joins a new generation of scholars focusing attention upon local-level political change in Mexico.

Beer's study draws upon a carefully balanced array of empirical materials that includes case studies of the state legislatures in Guanajuato, Hidalgo and San Luis Potosí; the results of a survey applied to state legislators in 18 different Mexican states in 1998; and analysis of the career trajectories of all winning gubernatorial candidates between 1970 and 1998. The author provides only a cursory overview (pp. 15–16) of the main causes of political democratisation in Mexico, but she ably situates her study within the general literature on elections and democracy (indeed, approximately one-third of the text is devoted to Beer's review of the relevant literature and an exposition of her main hypotheses).

The author embraces 'rational choice institutionalism' as her preferred analytical framework, stressing

> … the role of electoral competition in generating institutional changes that alter the strategic calculus of actors, the balance of power between contending forces, and the arena in which political decisions are made … The central argument is that a shift from noncompetitive politics to competitive electoral politics creates new incentives and opportunities for political leaders that lead to long-term institutional changes. In particular, electoral competition redistributes power from executives to legislatures, from unaccountable bureaucracies to elected officials, and from party leaders to electorates, thereby creating institutionalized opportunities for the opposition to be represented and to monitor the government in order to check the power of the executive (p. 21).

Beer also considers the possible impact of structural socioeconomic factors, political culture, and social capital on the potential consequences of electoral competition and democratisation. For the most part, however, these different interpretations are not developed with sufficient nuance so as to constitute a systematic evaluation of alternative hypotheses.

Beer is most successful in demonstrating the differential effects that varying levels of electoral competitiveness have had on state legislatures. She shows, for example, that vigorous two-party rivalry in Guanajuato after 1991 led to reforms that

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significantly bolstered the legislature's organisational capacity and policy-making autonomy vis-à-vis the governor, expanded minority party rights and representation, and increased levels of legislative activity. In marked contrast, the state legislature in Hidalgo remains institutionally weak and fully under the sway of governors affiliated with the long-ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

The case studies would have been even stronger if the author had reconstructed how major legislative reforms were enacted in Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí. There is also much room for further analysis of such topics as how legislator-constituency relations, lobbying by interest groups, and policy interactions between the legislature and the governor have changed as a result of democratisation, as well as the actual impact of higher levels of legislative activity. Nevertheless, Beer has helped open a new area of research in Mexican politics.

Beer's examination of changes affecting state legislatures is more convincing than her survey analysis of state legislators' perceptions of their changing roles. In this latter analysis, the author's operationalisation of some variables (for example, official estimates of electoral turnout before the 1990s as a component measure of political contestation, or legislators' estimates of the proportion of laws that they themselves initiated) is problematic, her statistical models explain only a small proportion of the variance in changes affecting state legislatures, and she dismisses too quickly findings that do no fit her models.

Beer writes well, and the book is logically organised. It will be of interest to all researchers studying the political consequences of democratisation in Latin America.

Institute for the Study of the Americas,
University of London KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK

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June C. Nash, *Mayan Visions: The Quest for Autonomy in an Age of Globalization* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), pp. xxiv + 303, £15.99, pb.

Although much has been written about Chiapas by both Mexican and foreign anthropologists who have set high standards in combining scholarship with practical engagement, this volume from June Nash remains rather special. In a career that has produced groundbreaking works on both Latin America and the United States, Nash has moved on as the world has moved on, without abandoning her core interests in gender and the relationships between capitalism and the 'real people doing real things' that anthropologists study ethnographically. Nash has also continued to practice an anthropology that is about participation rather than simply observation, although her own appearances in her narrative modestly neglect to highlight the courage required to 'be there' at all in some of the situations that she recounts.

Arguing that the task of anthropology today is that of 'catching up with the frontiers in global integration now being forged by indigenous social movements', the book begins by locating those movements in a general account of the social impacts of capitalist globalisation that stresses their novelty and importance. In part, the survey of changing theoretical paradigms that accompanies this discussion (reprised in a conclusion that adopts the interesting device of reflecting on her material through a succession of distinct analytical frames) is a response to that challenge. But Nash's return to the region in which she began her ethnographic career in

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1957 also provides her with an opportunity, taken up in the second chapter, to revisit the achievements as well as deficiencies of the community studies carried out by her own teachers in addition to her own early work. Through a fascinating account of the historical transformations experienced by Amatenango, she reviews critiques premised on the need to consider external relations. The limited defence of functionalist community studies that emerges from this discussion reflects a constant concern with what is actually 'indigenous' about indigenous social movements and Nash's interest in the enduring qualities of a Bourdieusian habitus that generates 'culturally conditioned' responses to changing circumstances, the introduction of new ideas, experiences and relations with others. Some readers might not like Nash's critiques of 'postmodernist' anthropology (though she attempts to give its insights their due in her conclusions) or her tendency to ignore relevant debates in Cultural Studies, such as those around subalternism and hybridity. But the three following chapters, which trace the recent history of Chiapas from a perspective centred on the rebellion of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), make a powerful case for her vision.

Although much of the story that Nash tells may now be familiar, parts of it, such as the devastating social impact of low intensity war and the imaginative cultural politics of the EZLN, are told with rare passion and nuance, while her interweaving of the local and global, and the socio-economic, political and cultural, will provoke further constructive debate following the tenth anniversary of the rebellion. Her analysis takes up the problem of how to link the particular experience of the Zapatista core area in the Lacandón rainforest to the wider panorama of developments in the state and beyond. At times, she might be accused of ignoring regional differences that offer less scope for up-beat conclusions about the long-term achievement of the EZLN and cannot be so readily explained in terms of the machinations of '*PRIistas*'. Nevertheless, she succeeds brilliantly in capturing the broader trend towards indigenous assertiveness that predated the rebellion, manifest, for example, in the decline of mestizo residents in many indigenous towns.

The crux of her argument is that much of the novelty of the EZLN's way of doing politics – also the root of its international impact – reflects its embodiment of 'Mayan' ways of understanding the world, acting upon it, and organising. Here Nash follows Gary Gossen's contention that a resilient habitus has been orally transmitted across the generations, through women in particular. The strong points of this position are that it highlights important observable aspects of political life and challenges efforts to assess the successes, failures, and transformative potential of indigenous activism in terms framed solely by external agendas. Its weakness is a tendency to celebrate a millennial 'Maya' culture, despite Nash's wariness of translating indigenous strategic essentialisms into analytical certainties and keen awareness that 'Maya' identity is at most something still under construction. Yet while her approach to understanding indigenous 'counter-plots' to globalisation on the margins of the Mexican nation leaves important questions unanswered, the book also provides windows onto internal debates within indigenous communities, debates whose terms do quite frequently 'elude Western categories of thought' even if they also reflect competing grassroots ontologies, offering a wealth of challenging ideas about the EZLN's contribution to future efforts to rebuild shattered social worlds from the ground up.

The University of Manchester JOHN GLEDHILL

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Eugenia Rodríguez Sáenz (ed.), *Mujeres, género e historia en América Central durante los siglos XVIII, XIX y XX* (San José, Costa Rica: UNIFEM/Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies, 2002), pp. xi+221, pb.

Mujeres, género e historia is a welcome addition to the sparse literature on women in Central American history. The field has blossomed only in the past decade, when the return of peace to the region permitted its talented scholars to focus on studying the role of women as both subjects and agents of historical change. A sequel to the pioneering 1997 book, *Entre silencios y voces: género e historia en América Central (1750–1990)*, this volume brings together fifteen essays presented at the Fifth Congress of Central American History in 2000. The collection high-lights the fine research currently being conducted in the area while at the same time indicating how much work remains to be done. Indeed the goal of the publication is to stimulate further investigation. As editor Eugenia Rodríguez Sáenz states in the title of her prologue, women and gender in Central America are 'Una historia por hacer', that is, 'A History Waiting to Be Written'.

The fifteen essays cover many different periods, subjects, and countries. One essay examines the eighteenth century, three the nineteenth century, eight the twentieth century, and two essays span a hundred and fifty years to trace changes over long periods of time. In addition to nine historians, the authors include three sociologists, a literary critic, anthropologist, and psychologist. They analyse such diverse topics as women's experiences as traders, clandestine liquor producers, writers, artists, and midwives; female education, political participation, organisations, and legal status; conjugal relations and divorce; state policy and gender ideology. They study seven countries: Guatemala (4 essays), Honduras (3), Costa Rica (2), El Salvador (2), Nicaragua, Panama, and the Dominican Republic. A final bibliograph-ical essay by Rodríguez Sáenz analyses trends in scholarship on Central American women and suggests themes and approaches for future investigations.

As with most collections of conference papers, these essays are uneven. They range from preliminary presentations of research to mature analyses based on thorough documentation. Some of their weaknesses reflect the newness of the field, particularly the lack of secondary literature, as well as the difficulties of doing research in countries with limited library resources. Thus, while some authors are well versed in international women's history and gender theory, others are unfamiliar even with similar studies for other areas of Latin America. Some essays represent the necessary first step of collecting data to put women back into the historical record, thereby challenging the pervasive view of contemporary Central American women that they are the first generation to contribute to social and political change. (Because of their interest in ordinary people and social movements, however, the Central American scholars skipped the stage of emphasising rich and famous women that characterised early women's history elsewhere). Still other essays are theoretically sophisticated and compare favourably with the best work being done anywhere.

Although written mostly for other Central American scholars, this volume will be of interest to specialists on Latin American women. For example, literary scholars will want to read Hugo Cruz Rivas' essay on a late-nineteenth-century Guatemalan ladies' periodical that posits that women writers developed an 'alternate discourse' about politics. Historians of marriage and divorce will benefit from Eugenia

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Rodriguez Sáenz's fine analysis of ecclesiastical and civil divorce cases in Costa Rica from 1800–1950 that teases out gender differences in the use of these recourses and discovers intriguing changes over time in the grounds cited by couples wishing to separate. Students of democratisation will want to read Victoria González' path-breaking study of narratives of the Somoza dictatorship that shows how Nicaraguan women of different social classes, political affiliations, and age groups remember that time period – often with nostalgia that reflects their dissatisfactions with the present system. This study reflects the recent trend, in a field where scholarship has emphasised left-wing movements, of finally taking right-wing women seriously. It reveals the rich and largely untapped possibilities of oral history, as does Kelley Ready's provocative analysis of the gender ideology in a Salvadorean folk tale. Most of the essays also point to the need for compara-tive studies. In particular, Karla Josefa Milla's fascinating exploration of the impact of the Interameri-can Commission on Women in Honduras during the 1950s and 60s begs for a regional study of how the OAS commission fostered legal and institutional change in other countries.

Rodríguez Sáenz is to be congratulated for editing this valuable collection. *Mujer y género* succeeds not only in making Central American women's history visible but also in disseminating models and questions for future research.

Brandeis University SILVIA MARINA ARROM

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04388516

Steve Striffler and Mark Moberg (eds.), *Banana Wars: Power, Production and History in the Americas* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. viii + 364, £69.00, £17.50 pb.

This book is one of the most substantive academic pieces of work on the banana industry in Latin America and the Caribbean to appear in recent years. It is an edited collection with 12 chapters, and is cross-disciplinary in character, containing work by historians and ethnographers as well as other social scientists interested in banana trade and the power of the multinationals operating in tropical fruit markets. The book is divided into three major parts that loosely can be described as taking a global historical view of the banana trade (three chapters), focusing on particular topics in the history of export bananas in Central and South America (five chapters), and making contrasts and comparisons with smallholder banana production in the Windward Islands (two chapters). Completing the line-up are overview and summary chapters that begin and end the collection.

The editors are at pains in the first chapter to emphasise that 'what is most interesting in our examination of banana-producing regions is not their commonalities but their differences'. The book duly tends to focus on the particularities of company-government relations, labour relations and gender aspects unique to specific locations, although some chapters take a broader view. The degree to which this approach is regarded as effective for generating new insights will no doubt vary according to the tastes and interests of different readers. Those with a predilection for discourse analysis will find much of substance in individual chapters that examine topics such as ethnicity in the Honduran banana economy or discursive interpretations of the St Lucia experience in the banana export trade. Those more interested in 'commonalities' given the dominance of just two or three global corporations in driving the historical development of the banana sector will find less

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to satisfy them in this book although two or three of the chapters do take a more generalised and economic view of phases of global banana history.

There is a lot of emphasis in the book on the power of the banana corporations, especially that of the United Fruit Company, nowadays known as Chiquita, and their links into United States politics and policy. One of the chapters reinterprets the historical events in Guatemala leading up to the 1954 toppling of a democratically elected government that threatened United Fruit Company interests, and its replacement by US-supported dictatorship. Another chapter provides interesting insights into the role of Chiquita in the recent 'banana trade wars' between the USA and European Union over the EU's historical commitment to provide a protected market for ACP bananas.

For the potential reader less interested in the minutiae of various historical and ethnographic topics, but wanting to grasp the broad forces shaping the recent and future development of the banana trade, there is less in this book than would appear at first glance. The banana corporations have been moving away from engagement in direct production for a variety of reasons, some related to environmental trends (the United Fruit Company closed down its Golfito division in Costa Rica in the 1980s due to increasing water scarcity, and recently sold its Armuelles division in Panama to the labour union at that plantation for similar reasons), some to disease problems (the prevalence of *Black Sigatoka* throughout the industry), and stagnating and falling yields (output per hectare under plantation conditions peaked in the late 1970s after rising fivefold over the preceding two decades, and have been difficult to maintain at those historically high levels in subsequent years). By contracting out rather than producing, the companies place rising production risks on local producers. There is little in the book on evolving government-company relations in the main producing countries in recent years, a facet that generated its own 'banana war' in the 1970s and early 1980s over the imposition of new levels of banana taxation, and that involves considerations about the evolving impact of company operations not just in the industry itself but also in its effects on the national economies and government budgets of the producing countries. Finally, the banana trade has always been intensely competitive resulting in a tendency for retail prices to fall in real terms over time, and new trends (such as organic and fair trade bananas that are mentioned in the book) need to be interpreted within these considerations of how the main banana market works and the key trends that it exhibits. Thus, for this reader, the book satisfied curiosity about some particular branches of the banana picture, especially historical and locally specific, but failed to elucidate current and future trajectories with respect to production structure, contribution to social and economic change in exporting countries, and market trends. But then, that is all a matter of personal preference.

University of East Anglia FRANK ELLIS

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John Lindsay-Poland, *Emperors in the Jungle: The Hidden History of the US in Panama* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. x + 265, £14.95, pb.

John Lindsay-Poland undertakes to examine over 95 years of US presence in Panama, centring his examinations upon the US armed forces, identified in this

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book as the predominant US actor in Panama. This is a good starting point as US armed forces (especially the army), indeed played a key role in Panama not only during the period of construction which is well documented but also later in the running of the canal and canal zone. Key US personnel such as the canal administrator were drawn from the ranks of the armed forces and held power and influence in Panama far and above that of the civilian ambassadors.

Lindsay-Poland proposes to expose the 'hidden' history of US military presence in Panama by cataloguing the abuses committed by US forces with quasi imperial impunity. These abuses include the 1989 invasion but also range from a general disregard towards Panamanian lives and the environment during the period of the construction of the canal, to using Panama as a testing ground for chemical weapons under 'tropical warfare' conditions. The USA's scandalous unwillingness to clean up firing ranges, leaving large tracts of Panama littered with unexploded weapons which have maimed and killed Panamanian is well exposed here, underlying the US armed forces general lack of accountability.

Lindsay Poland argues that the US armed forces' cavalier attitude towards Panamanian lives and environment can be traced back to the elaboration of a colonial discourse that established the (racial) superiority of North Americans and legitimised their domination of the isthmus. Some of the best material in this book comes from examining how US personnel conceived of Panama and Panamanians. The stereotypes of Panamanians that were formed and conveyed back to the US by the media in the early part of the twentieth century was that of fickle, uncouth and uncivilised black natives. The sentiment of (US) racial superiority and difference that underlines these images was embodied in the segregation regime that characterised everyday lives in the canal zone, where US nationals and their Panamanian employees lead separate lives, not even allowed to share drinking fountains. The Panamanian environment on the other hand, was the archetypal tropical landscape, where bountiful forests combined with the deadly threat of disease and untamed wilderness. The construction of the canal entailed, literally, blowing apart the Panamanian landscape and refashioning it around the waterway. The building of the canal was portrayed as the titanic struggle of the white man successfully establishing his dominion over wild 'jungles'. For Lindsay-Poland, such a precedent led the US military to continue to misunderstand and disrespect the Panamanian ecology.

Lindsay-Poland's account of Panama's hidden history is a journalist and activist's account, not a scholarly endeavour. There is no discernible engagement with academic literature or debates, and readers should adjust their expectations accordingly. Considerable research has gone into the writing this book and some of the material provides the readers with fresh insights into the nature of US–Panamanian relations. The sections on the US conception of Panama, on the planning for digging a sea-level canal in the Darien by means of nuclear explosions, weapon testing and weapon dumping in Panama all contain original material.

However, there are several key weaknesses to this book. First, the overall structure of the text is unclear and in the absence of an overall framework, individual chapters of varying quality hang loosely together with no clear sense of purpose or coherence. Second, Lindsay-Poland's argument centres on the notion that the US armed forces' understanding and conception of Panama that developed in the early stages of the twentieth century had lasting implications for the remainder of US presence in Panama. Even if we accept this proposition, it is a significant fact that US armed forces' disdain for Panamanian lives and environment peaked early. The

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closest the US forces come to inflict significant damage to Panama and Panamanian lives is in 1964 and again in 1989 during the invasion but even these episodes do not come anywhere close to matching the canal-building period. By staking his claim so high, so early in the book, Lindsay-Poland weakens his own exposé by inviting the reader to draw the conclusion that the post canal-building 'abuses' were in comparison relatively minor. The notion that the catalogue of abuse is not as full as the reader was led to believe in the opening sections is reinforced by dedicating an entire chapter to the planning of the 'nuclear' canal in Darien. The latter is certainly worth mentioning to illustrate the complete disregard for the tropical environment but it remains that the project never came to fruition and to dedicate an entire chapter to a non-event is somewhat counterproductive.

The lack of acknowledgement of debates regarding key events in Panama's history will frustrate those who have a modicum of knowledge of Panamanian affairs and those who do not may still feel that such confidence in one's own reading of history give the book a somewhat sanctimonious tone. This general tendency becomes particularly infuriating when bold assertions are presented as a given but remain unsubstantiated (such as asserting that the thousand days war in Panama was a 'struggle of the masses', p. 23). Furthermore some suggestions and inferences are deeply misleading, such as exaggerating the degree of opposition to ongoing US military presence after 1999 (p. 127), when all the opinion polls consulted by this reviewer suggest otherwise.

Finally, Lindsay-Poland replaces US negative stereotypical representations of Panamanians with positive ones where the population as a whole bravely resisted, protested and eventually succeeded in rejecting US domination. This is an improvement of sorts but one which fails to provide any real insight in the diversity amongst Panamanian peoples, their many divisions, contradiction and their extraordinarily ambivalent and complex relations with north Americans. This book seems to address an audience largely unaware of Panama's history or of the nature of US–Panamanian relations and, when viewed in those terms, it represents a laudable effort.

Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford CORINNE CAUMARTIN

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Karen Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2002), pp. x + 194, $35.00, hb.

This clearly argued and provocative book raises two important questions: how does gender as a central category of analysis help to explain revolutionary movements? And, how and why were large numbers of women mobilised into Latin American guerrilla movements beginning in the late 1960s?

Based on interviews with 200 mid-level women ex-combatants, Kampwirth shifts the discussion of gender from a footnote to a more central location in the discussion of guerrilla movements given women's increasing participation between the 1960s and 1990. As far as we know, nearly one-third of all combatants in the FSLN in Nicaragua, the FMLN in El Salvador and the EZLN in Chiapas, Mexico, were women.

Kampwirth suggests a number of reasons for this increase: with the economic and social crises caused by the expansion of agro-exports, family structure of

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the rural poor was affected as a result of male migration and the abandonment of wives, which, in turn, increased the migration of female heads of households to cities; the influence of liberation theology in the late 1960s; changed revolutionary recruitment strategies towards women, and longstanding political authoritarianism.

But out of these structural and ideological factors, Kampwirth asks precisely which women joined guerrilla movements. Her answer lies in 'personal factors': 'Family traditions of resistance' as well as early networking in church and student youth groups all helped to plant seeds for these women's future activism, and often led to revolutionary networks within a matter of a few years. Age, too, is significant: younger women, without family responsibilities, felt pulled into the revolutionary movements, seeing it as 'an opportunity as much as obligation', escaping the tedium of home to join another sort of family, 'taking on new identities through pseudonyms'. Interestingly she shows that contrary to previous assumptions, thousands of women in the FSLN and FMLN were more likely to have been of urban origin and to have attended high school and college than their male counterparts.

In each chapter, Kampwirth maps out her theses about each revolutionary group as a basis for an overall comparison of female participation in these three guerrilla movements. As interesting as these discussions are, her structural and material explanations for the increase in women's participation in these movements tend to be repetitive, with little room given to who these women are, what they believed in, and why they joined (many speak of not initially realising that they were already in fact involved in 'the movement'). In brief, more room devoted to the 200 interviews would have given more voice to these interesting women – which, I assume, was the original intention of the book. One might also ask how useful it is to compare women's participation in the 'armed reformist' movement of the EZLN in Chiapas with these other revolutionary movements with different class and ethnic compositions, distinct ideological foundations and a different state and political party policy.

More significantly, to bring gender as a central category into our analysis of revolutionary movements is to be applauded. But to then attribute women's political participation to 'personal factors' while leaving the issue of ideological formation and practices of these women aside, suggests that ideology as a motivation for participation for women is at best secondary. While Kampwirth does refer in general to the 'ideological changes' in the broader mass mobilisation and political-military strategies of these revolutionary movements (in moving away from the Cuban *foco*, elite male-centred model), she admits that these shifts that bring women into the movement may have been opportunistic. Brief discussions of ideological differences within each movement are provided, but little evaluation of women's own deeper ideological commitments at the time and their inclusion or exclusion in political debates within each revolutionary group. (There is one reference to one woman's political party membership delegated to a footnote.) The critical effect of liberation theology's base-community organising on the initial mobilising of women is emphasised, but we are not told how this particular ideology played itself out within Marxist-Leninist movements, and what consequences this may have had on women's political formation and practice. This approach, unfortunately, seems to fall into the same paradigm trap that the book is purportedly critiquing: that of 'flatten[ing] the experience of revolutionaries', this time among women themselves.

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Despite these drawbacks, this book is well argued and easily readable, with a wealth of bibliographic resources, and could serve as a very useful text in gender studies, in Latin American courses, and in social science courses on revolutionary movements in general.

University of Oslo JENNIFER SCHIRMER

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Sherry Johnson, *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. x + 267, $55.00, hb.

If asked to explain why Cuba might be regarded as exceptional in modern Latin America, most people would point to its recent experience as a revolutionary socialist state and present position as the only Latin America regime unequivocally committed to opposing US dominance. What is less commonly appreciated, however, is that Cuba's exceptionality has a long history. During the period between 1760 and 1830, when a Spanish revival under the Bourbon monarchy was succeeded by a catastrophic collapse of its imperial power, Cuba was already developing in ways very different to most Spanish colonies: in the late eighteenth century, its landowners and merchants turned increasingly toward sugar and slavery; in 1810–25, while the continental colonies gradually broke away from Spanish rule, Cuba was loyal to Spain; then, throughout the nineteenth century, it persisted with slavery and remained a Spanish colony longer than any other in America.

The conventional explanation of Cuban variance stresses its transformation into a plantation economy and slave society during the later eighteenth century. This, it is said, created planter and mercantile elites who depended on slaves and overseas markets, a combination which made them reluctant to disturb their compact with the metropolitan power, particularly when neighbouring Haiti had shown the possible consequences of such political deviance. Cuba behaved differently, then, because it had become more like the neighbouring British and French Caribbean islands and less like its Spanish continental counterparts. The book under review, however, offers a different explanation of Cuba's history during this crucial period. Sherry Johnson accepts one historiographical axiom – that Cuba was unique among Spain's colonies – but offers a distinctive reading of its history in the late eighteenth century and, by extension, a different explanation of its continuation as a colony in the early nineteenth century.

Her case rests primarily upon a reassessment of the island's social and economic history in the second half of the eighteenth century. While sharing the orthodox view that Cuba underwent rapid change, she argues that this was the result of military reorganisation and the associated upsurge of peninsular immigration, rather than the growth of sugar and slavery. This is not an entirely novel view: Allan Kuethe's work on eighteenth-century Cuba showed the important part which the military reforms which followed the fall of Havana in 1762 played in Cuban development. But this book takes the argument much further. Here, the military reforms introduced by Alejandro O'Reilly become *the* explanatory key. The influx of Spanish soldiers; their settlement on the island and their interpenetration with creole society; the creation of militias among whites and free coloureds, and the extension of the *fuero militar* to militiamen and their families: these become the drivers of a

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transformation which, as it altered Cuban society, was also to identify it more closely with Spain, and thus to bind the colony to the empire even as it collapsed.

To support this hypothesis, Johnson provides a portrait of Cuban society which starts with an account of Havana in 1764 – employing the effective device of an imaginary carriage ride from the port through town- and then, using census data, shows how the city and island changed with the onset of huge military expenditures and the immigration and permanent settlement of large numbers of Spanish soldiers. One emphasis here is on the 'militarisation' of Cuban society and its effects. Using Jorge Domínguez's 'military participation ratio', Johnson shows that the involvement in the regular military and militias was very high in Cuba, among both whites and free coloureds, and that, far from alienating the population, the growth of military service formed social and political bonds between among whites of different classes, between whites and free coloureds, and between Cubans and Spaniards. She also shows, in an interesting and novel fashion, the ways in which the emergence of a new elite of high-ranking army officers created ties with peninsular court politics that were to exercise a powerful influence over politics in the island.

This political analysis provides a context for explaining Cuban loyalty in the imperial crisis of 1808–14. Johnson shows that at first this new military elite identified with O'Reilly, whose success in Cuba brought him prominence in Spain; then, after O'Reilly's fall from grace after defeat in Algeria in the mid-1770s, it was displaced when a new faction came to power, led by José de Gálvez and his clan, who created their own adherents among Cubans. When the followers of Gálvez were in turn displaced by the Aragonese party at court, led by the Conde de Aranda, those identified with O'Reilly attempted to recover their influence, only to generate deep tensions by their attempts to exert closer control over the population, almost provoking violent rebellion in 1795. In the event, loyalty was preserved when the crown backed away from confrontation and removed the offending Governor-General. The factional animosities did not disappear, however, and when Spain entered its crisis in 1808, they resurfaced in a confrontation over who was to govern the island. Again, loyalty was preserved, largely because the holders of military power opposed all political change and maintained a fierce loyalty to Spain which also underpinned their own authority on the island. Thus, the strong military tradition which had been inculcated during the later eighteenth century proved a bulwark of Spanish rule, sufficient to overcome the discontents against it.

This book offers an interesting and important revision of our views of Cuba at a critical moment in its history. Against the picture of Cuba as a slave society, it counterposes a society with a predominantly European population; against the image of a dominant plantation monoculture, it posits an economy of free smallholders engaged in various kinds of agriculture; against a society riven by social and racial divisions, it suggests strong vertical loyalties; against the idea of a frustrated independence in 1808–1810, it shows a society which remained strongly identified with, and committed to Spanish rule. Here, in short, is a book which challenges several key received ideas and it does so with clarity and energy. It will be essential reading for anybody interested in this vital conjuncture in Cuban history, while also offering rich comparisons for those interested in late colonial Spanish America and the history of its transition to independence.

University of Warwick ANTHONY McFARLANE

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Muriel McAvoy, *Sugar Baron: Manuel Rionda and the Fortunes of Pre-Castro Cuba* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 337, $27.95, hb.

For too many years Cuban historiography had been characterised by a lop-sided focus on the background and origins of the Cuban revolution of 1959. Over the past twenty years, however, new scholarship on the early colonial period and on the nineteenth century has helped correct the historiographical balance. Increasingly, historians are interested in examining historical events for their own significance and not for how they influenced later revolutionary events. Muriel McAvoy's *Sugar Baron: Manuel Rionda and the Fortunes of Pre-Castro Cuba* is a significant addition to this new scholarship.

Sugar Baron is a difficult book to categorise. Its cataloguing subject data accurately describes the book as dealing with the 'sugar trade', 'Cuba', 'History', '20th century', 'Manuel Rionda y Polledo', and 'biography'. *Sugar Baron* follows the life and business activity of Manuel Rionda y Polledo (1854–1943), who was one of greatest sugar entrepreneurs of the twentieth century. At one point the Rionda's business controlled up to one quarter of Cuban sugar production and the brokerage house of Czarnikow-Rionda sold 40 per cent of Cuba's sugar.

Spanish-born Manuel Rionda went to Cuba at the age of sixteen. By the early twentieth century he emerged as one of Cuba's most influential sugar merchants and plantation owners. In 1915 Rionda, along with his close-knit family, formed the Cuba Cane Sugar Company. The early years of the century were difficult ones for sugar capitalists: labour and capital were in short supply, Cuba's political independence was ambiguous at best, and the island and its people were still emerging from a devastating war. Rionda played an important role as a merchant intermediary between the struggling Hispano-Cuban and Cuban sugar growers and international finance capitalists. He had the international contacts to obtain much needed credit for sugar producers and he had the contacts to help pave the way for early American investment in post-1898 Cuba. Rionda could play this role because he was simultaneously part of the Manhattan elite, a Spanish merchant and a Cuban businessman. Manuel Rionda was a merchant who mediated between bankers and sugar planters. One of the many strengths of McAvoy's book is that she deftly shows how Rionda's old-world patriarchal business methods were transformed into a modern, vertically integrated, and 'scientifically managed' corporation. This transformation was by no means smooth or without conflict, and *Sugar Baron* should be read by anyone interested in twentieth-century business history.

Sugar Baron provides much insight into the dilemmas of economic development and political dependence. McAvoy examines these issues from the perspective of one man and 'his' company. Rionda always believed that Cuba was made to grow sugar and that geographical determinism and comparative advantage were laws of nature. The book highlights how Rionda and other members of the Cuban elite required no prompting from the United States to encourage Cuba's dependence on sugar. McAvoy provides remarkable detail on the shifting alliances among Cuban, American, and Spanish capitalists, investors, and politicians and she convincingly shows that it was not always clear which businesses were American and which were Cuban. We have always known that Cuba's fortunes have risen and fallen with the price of sugar, but this book shows how, why and who was behind these fluctuations.

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By the 1930s Rionda had lost control over the day-to-day operations of the corporation. American sugar refiners controlled nearly seventy-percent of Cuban sugar production. A combination of US tariffs on sugar, and lobbyists from the refiners, sugar wholesalers, and beet sugar producers meant that Cuban sugar growers had little say about how, or even if, their sugar reached the market. Cuban sugar producers had to compete in world-wide and highly competitive market and corporate structures needed to change with the times. At the same time, Cuban nationalism was on the rise and a new generation of capitalists, both sugar growers and struggling industrialists, were demanding more control over national wealth. Labour militancy was widespread. The patriarchal and deferential world that shaped the younger Rionda's business practices was disappearing rapidly. By the 1930s Rionda was isolated from those he sought to represent. His tendency to side with the US sugar refiners, along with his paternalistic attitude toward Cuban planters and *colonos*, earned him the enmity of nationalists. For many American business men and politicians, Rionda's old world hispanic haughtiness rubbed them the wrong way and they increasingly viewed him as a vestige of a by-gone era.

Muriel McAvoy's *Sugar Baron* is a wonderfully detailed study written with care and judiciousness. Her impressive use of the Braga Brothers Collection at the University of Florida at Gainesville, along with other archival sources, makes *Sugar Baron* an essential book for anyone working on modern Cuban history and modern business history.

University of New Brunswick ROBERT WHITNEY

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Nancy P. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846–1948* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. xvii + 297, £16.95, pb.

This innovative study focuses on the region of Riosucio, which historically was under the territorial jurisdiction of the Cauca, but, after *antioqueño* colonisation in the nineteenth century, became part of the Department of Caldas. The book dwells on several themes, among them regional identities, particularly in their racial aspects, and historical memory in local communities. For this reader, however, the most interesting and instructive aspect of the book lies in its comparative study of the political action of diverse indigenous communities in the region.

Following the perceptive suggestion of Fabio Zambrano, the author declares that regional identities in Colombia took shape in the post-independence period. This assertion may well be true, but more investigation in colonial records is needed to confirm the point. In any event, clearly in the case of Caldas, regional identity was not merely established, but transformed, by nineteenth-century *antioqueño* colonisation. Appelbaum emphasises that *paisa* colonisation of the region led to the imposition of the *antioqueños*' stereotypical self-image as 'whites'. The notion that Antioquia is a land made prosperous by an industrious 'white' population became deeply rooted in its regional ideology, as *paisas* selectively blocked the memory of the province's long history of gold-mining by African slaves as well as free blacks. Antioquia's self-image of 'whiteness' has been touched upon variously by Peter Wade and Mary Roldán. Appelbaum here limns its historical manifestations in a colonisation zone. Her generalisation that nineteenth-century Colombians

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'developed a racialized discourse of regional differentiation' seems to apply well to her particular case, the interaction of the 'white' and 'industrious' *antioqueños* and the 'black' and 'disorderly' *caucanos*. Similar racialised stereotypes might be found in some other regions (e.g. Santander). But one may question whether racialised identities are characteristic of every region of the country.

Appelbaum provides a close reading and interesting analysis of the ambiguous political behaviour of the various indigenous communities in the Riofrio region. Taking a cue from Steve J. Stern's sophisticated analysis of indigenous 'resistant adaptation' in colonial Peru, she brings out (in chapter three) ways in which indigenous leaders, in asymmetric power relations with dominant 'whites,' made concessions on some questions in order to gain elite support on others. And in chapter five she contrasts the relatively effective resistance to elite exploitation in a cohesive indigenous community with the negligible resistance of more variegated ones. Also of interest is her revelation that, despite similarities of some indigenous action in Riofrio to that of Quintín Lame, the most renowned indigenous leader in early twentieth century Colombia, the Riofrio communities did not know of his existence.

Though the book's title announces that its discussion covers the period 1848–1948, it focuses on the last four decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, and, in discussions of historical memory, on the mid- to late-twentieth century. The treatment of Colombian history before 1860 is a bit sketchy. The Congress of 1850 did not 'instruct' the provinces to divide indigenous community land (p. 44); it *authorised* them to divide the land (and to permit the indigenes to alienate their parcels as well). Appelbaum correctly links fear of Caucano blacks in western Colombia to the use of black troops in the civil war of 1859–63 (p. 47). However, this fear had deeper roots in the civil war of 1840–42 and in the agitation in el Valle in the early 1850s. These events, while referred to in passing, are not sufficiently emphasised. The book seems much more solidly grounded and authoritative in its treatment of periods after 1860. Again, I particularly recommend the analysis of the varying behaviour of the indigenous communities in Riofrio in chapters three and five.

Northwestern University FRANK SAFFORD

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James Lang, *Notes of a Potato Watcher* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), pp. xiv + 365, $49.95 $24.95 pb.

The potato is a crop laden with contradictions. Potatoes are native to the Andes, but they are farmed throughout the world. China is the world's leading producer, followed by Russia and India. Notwithstanding its global distribution, only 3 per cent of the total world potato harvest is traded internationally, mostly within the European Union. Potato farmers range from huge agribusiness firms in North America to peasants in India's Ganges River Valley. Unfairly implicated in the massive nineteenth-century Irish famine and diaspora, potatoes feed China's growing population and improve the livelihoods of millions of peasants throughout Asia and Africa. Sweet potatoes are a prominent ingredient in Indonesian ketchup and the necessary starch for Sichuan's noodles. Halfway around the world, potatoes are a popular salt-and-fat delivery mechanism to hungry, yet overfed, fast-food consumers in North America.

James Lang's *Notes of a Potato Watcher* draws out these and other aspects as it recounts not only the Andean origin and global spread of potatoes, but also the

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current challenges facing crop scientists and agricultural development specialists. Lang, a sociologist at Vanderbilt University, pursues this ambitious task by writing three distinct stories. One focuses on the social history of the potato; a second follows the latest potato and sweet potato research sponsored by the Lima-based International Potato Centre (the CIP, as it is known by its Spanish acronym). The third recounts Lang's travels, meals, and tea-breaks in Andean, African and Asian countries as he visits the CIP's projects. Latin Americanist readers will find the first story most interesting. The detailed account of crop science research – a useful (but mainly uncritical) portrait of the CIP's global activities – is somewhat less engaging.

The social history of the potato is covered in some of the book's more entertaining chapters. Lang recounts phenomena such as the first shipments of potatoes from the northern Andes to Europe and how potatoes became a staple crop of Irish peasants by the mid-1600s, spreading to central and eastern Europe where they were usually rotated with rye. Lang also surveys the ascendancy of the Russet-Burbank potato in the USA during the mid-twentieth century. The fast-food industry overwhelmingly favours the Russet-Burbank because of its shape and content. Overall, processed potatoes make up two-thirds of total US potato consumption.

As Lang begins a discussion of native Andean crops, a similarly useful synthesis emerges. Lang summarises the key aspects of Andean tubers, roots and rhizomes besides the potato and sweet potato. According to Lang, approximately 30 million Andeans eat ulluco, but less than one million eat maca, which is grown in the Altiplano. Fewer than one million Andeans eat achira, a rhizome grown in the Yungas, but in Vietnam the starch from achira provides cheap raw material for transparent noodles. Lang's standard description of Andean farming environments includes the familiar warning that 'what ancient farmers achieved in the unique environment of the Andes could be lost forever' (p. 60). In fact, this 'lost crop' narrative drives much CIP research (and donor funding) in the Andes, which recently has included studies of consumer demand in urban areas for these crops. The CIP sponsored a television series entitled 'Cook with Class' that promoted crops such as oca and ulluco to middle- and upper-class Ecuadorians. The assumption is that crops will not become 'lost' as long as urban consumers eat them.

Most of Lang's book is devoted not to the social history of potatoes, but rather to a sympathetic evaluation of the various projects sponsored by the CIP. Founded in 1971, the CIP receives funding from numerous national development agencies (especially Switzerland's). Following the global spread of both crops, the CIP has established offices throughout the world to assist researchers in numerous areas. Lang describes projects such as potato storage improvements in the highland Andes and the promotion of 'True Potato Seed' technologies in India. Overall, Lang promotes the CIP as an 'ally of science in the service of the world's small farmers' (p. 275).

If Latin Americanist specialists are not inspired to understand fully the technical details of CIP-sponsored research, they may still capture Lang's broader message that points to a poorly known connection between the Andes and billions of people throughout the world. The successful farming of potatoes and sweet potatoes in China, India, Uganda and Indonesia depends in large measure on the CIP's efforts not only in research but also in collecting and holding native Andean plants, which may help resolve future agricultural or food dilemmas.

Texas A&M University CHRISTIAN BRANNSTROM

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Ben Orlove, *Lines in the Water: Nature and Culture at Lake Titicaca* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. xxvii + 287, $50.00, $19.95 pb; £35.00, £13.95 pb.

Ben Orlove has been visiting Lake Titicaca for over thirty years and his scholarly articles on the cultural ecology of the Lake have been published in journals ranging from *American Ethnologist* to *Nature*. This book is a synthesis of this research but published in a very different genre: neither academic article nor scholarly monograph, *Lines in the Water* is a mixture of musings, wanderings, reflections and ponderings on the people, reeds, fish and fowl of one of the largest inland lakes in the world.

The book begins, rather quixotically, with musings on lakes as they appear in novels such as Anita Brookner's *Hotel du Lac* and Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing*. These novels and those lakes, which appear to be principally about vacations and violence, are nothing like Lake Titicaca which, we are told, 'is a place of sustenance and of memory' (p. xix). This phrase encapsulates the book's central themes, for Orlove wants to tell the story of the complex relationship between people and the Lake over time. Many of the fishing and harvesting activities on the Lake are indeed ancient; but Orlove avoids tracing simple lines into the past. He carefully explains how the nets and boats continue to be used, not because these people are 'lost in time', but because these tools and techniques work: they have been adapted or adopted in changing historical circumstances. This is not a story of cultural survivals; it is a story about a contemporary people with an impressive set of skills and tools to survive in a difficult environment. The environment is as much political as natural; and the battles people have with government agencies are more threatening than those with the elements.

The book is clearly aimed at a non-academic audience and it sometimes reads as travel writing, sometimes as autobiography, sometimes as natural history and sometimes as an entertaining essay; often, but not always, to great effect. He uses the example of the Quechua-speaking Greedo in *Star Wars* to say something about the structure of Quechua as well as, in passing, about the globalisation of culture; his discussion of Doña Dora's question as to whether one could speak Aymara on the telephone was particularly insightful about people's understandings of technology and how they relate to subaltern peoples.

These asides and anecdotes do not, however, always work. On one occasion Orlove tries to explain the cultural ecology of the lake by imagining a well-funded museum and leading us from room to room but it is never clear why the lake has to be a set of exhibits; he can, after all, take us via his pages to any place on the lake. At a different point (p. 96) he treats us to an apostrophe on the acronym and ponders whether JFK and FDR would retain their 'presence and stature' in twentieth century cultural iconography were it not for the pithiness of their acronyms. Orlove is at his best when he is discussing work practices and the use of technology and of changes over time through quantitative and historical data. The reader gets a very clear sense of a people who are the products of history; people who are quite comfortable with change when it suits them and quite capable of resisting the state and even the army when it does not. Herein lies the strength of the book: a picture of a people with a strong historical memory but who very much live and work in the present for a better future.

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One of the most engaging aspects of the book is the way it deals with such issues as the nature of work for the people of the lake. The discussion of what is and what is not considered work is insightful and interesting. Part of Orlove's arguments is that work is measured by notions of time and space not easily translatable into Western categories: work is only work if it is directly productive; fixing nets, for example, is not therefore 'work'. Also whether one is working with someone or merely 'helping' is dependent on a set of social categories, personal relationships and expected benefits. In a similar vein his discussion on measurements such as a boat's dimensions or the way the body is used to measure reeds or water depth is stripped of any of its potential quaintness and discussed as efficient ways of measuring and acting upon the world.

The final chapter on paths, progress and notions of development was subtle and nuanced and I would have liked to have read more of this kind of writing; but it is worth remembering that this book is principally aimed at broad, non-specialist, audience. Orlove casts his net widely: to the travel writing aficionado as well the anthropologist. Only time will tell how big his catch is.

University of Essex ANDREW CANESSA

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Ana Mariella Bacigalupo, *La voz del Kultrun en la modernidad: tradición y cambio en la terapéutica de siete machi mapuche* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad de Chile, 2001), pp. 271, pb.

In the last 25 years indigenous revitalisation movements throughout Latin America have sparked renewed academic and intellectual interest in indigenous politics and cultures. As part of this new literature, Ana Mariella Bacigalupo examines shamanic and healing traditions among the Mapuche people of Chile. Through in-depth interviews and participant observation with seven *Machi*, or Mapuche healer-shamans, Bacigalupo explores how the distinct ways in which Mapuche people have confronted modernity have generated both changes and continuities in indigenous therapeutic practices, not only revitalising demand for holistic approaches to healing, but also generating more hybrid and specialised practices among many *Machi*.

The book is divided into two parts. The first presents an overview of the various ways in which a *Machi* may be called to become a healer; the symbols and practices of the profession; the various healing rituals and forms of illness recognised and treated by *Machis*; the forms of training and the development of networks around *Machis* who serve as mentors and educators for their younger colleagues; and, finally, the central and conflictual relationship between *Machis* who heal through the intercession of benevolent spirits, and those who are considered *kalku*, or willing to invoke malevolent and vengeful spirits in order to do ill. The second half of the book presents detailed life histories of seven *Machis* that run the gamut of possibilities in term of kinds of specialties, rituals, and illnesses treated. Ultimately, what is most impressive in these stories is the human variation and individuality of each case, and Bacigalupo effectively uses these distinct trajectories to help us understand the complex interplay between the specificities of each life and the reproduction of the broader culture of which they form a part.

The focus on the interaction between individual human agency and the restraints of cultural context is, in my opinion, the most important original contribution of the

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book. Other renditions of *Machi* healing traditions have tended to see them as much more culturally unified, part of a 'traditional' worldview. This has been true whether we consider the perspective of anthropologists, who often study culture as a combination of traits and practices that are difficult to change, or whether we focus on the views of indigenous leaders and cultural revivalists, who are interested in revindicating traditional practices as part of a new social and political agenda. Bacigalupo, by contrast, is able to provide us with a much more open, dynamic, and flexible lens through which to view an indigenous culture that is simultaneously in a process of revitalisation and dramatic reconstruction.

Another important strength of this book is Bacigalupo's respectful and horizontal relationship with her *Machi* teachers. One often gets the sense that Bacigalupo sees herself as the scribe rather than the analyst, that the experts providing interpretations and knowledge are the healers. The choices that Bacigalupo makes in this context – of style, narrative voice, and argument – bring us closer to the world of the *Machis* themselves, and give the reader the impression that she is standing next to the healer-shamans as they negotiate the challenges of a world and a culture in transition.

There are some drawbacks to this perspective, however, especially on points of political or intellectual controversy. At one point, for example, Bacigalupo mentions that *Machi* Sergio supported the Pinochet dictatorship. Yet she does not place this in the context of Mapuche political history more generally, including the fact that other *Machis* worked with the opposition, and that some even participated in the land invasions carried out by the radical Mapuche organisation the *Consejo de Todas las Tierras* (All Lands Council) after the democratic transition. We are also left with a lack of broader context in the case of the transgendered *Machi* Marta, who is rejected by her husband and his community after a court case is brought against her for the supposed poisoning of a patient. Even though she is proved innocent, the publicity given the case – as well as the confirmation of her biological maleness – proves too much and the community burns her house and her possessions. Bacigalupo emphasises that transgender practices were acceptable for *Machis* in Mapuche culture, and suggests that it is the homophobia of Chilean Catholicism that changed this; yet given the rapidity of the change from accepting Marta to burning her possessions, one suspects that there may be more to the story.

In all, however, this wonderfully rich, detailed, and complex book has a great deal to contribute to broader discussions of culture, identity, and indigenous revitalisation. One only hopes that an English translation will soon make it accessible to a broader international public, at a time when questions of localised and globalised identities are very much on the agenda across the world.

University of Wisconsin-Madison FLORENCIA E. MALLON

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Luciana de Lima Martins, *O Rio de Janeiro dos viajantes: o olhar britânico, 1800–1850* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 2001), pp. 208, pb.

That Britain's representations of the rest of the world were shaped by its imperial expansion comes as no surprise. Yet, as Luciana Martins points out, there was no monolithic 'British gaze' on Rio de Janeiro, but many. They differed according to

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the interests and formation of the artist and the institutions that commissioned their work. Luciana Martins choose, to disregard almost completely the representation of Rio's inhabitants and concentrates instead on the ways British visitors contemplated the city's exuberant nature. She concentrates on the representations of the coast made by members of the British Navy and the landscapes drawn by naturalists. Her book is particularly interesting when dealing with the intellectual and institutional background of the artists. Emphasising the 'intimate relation' between exploration, science and art at the beginning of the nineteenth century, she introduces the reader to the main theories that guided British artists in Brazil. 'Associationism', for example, a Scottish aesthetic doctrine developed by Archibald Alison (1790), stipulates that beauty is not part of objects, but emerges when the observer can let his emotions flow freely. Since Rio's tropical landscapes usually fostered particularly strong emotions among Europeans, 'associationism' offered the British visitors (including Charles Darwin) a means to reflect upon the impressions the city generated among them.

Topography developed significantly when the Board of Ordinance undertook the systematic mapping of the British territory during the first decades of the nineteenth century. British imperial expansion made the mapping of the whole world, in particular of its coastlines, a strategic imperative. To improve the quality of maps several institutions – the Royal School of Mathematics, the Board of Ordnance Drawing Room and the Royal Military College in Manchester – provided training of skilled painters and surveyors. Navigators followed the guidelines for cartographic representations established by the British Royal Navy. Martins identifies three types of drawings they made: views of the coast and maps directly related with the hydrographical exploration; illustrations of official reports from maritime expeditions; and drawings to remember the moments lived in foreign waters. Thus the 'British characteristic' of maps made abroad consisted in a mosaic of insertions of views of the cost and plans into one single map.

Rio de Janeiro played an important role in this context. In 1808, the port became the general headquarter of the British Royal Navy in South America. Many British ships used its harbour facilities and it was thus important that crews could easily recognise its coastline. The most frequent association identified the Cariocan coast with a laying man: the Pedra da Gávea represented the head and the Pão de Açucar the feet. The familiarity of crew-members with other tropical landscapes and iconographic traditions resulted in some exotic representations of Rio. Hence the painting of the Corcovado by the sailor Charles Brown shows a strong Chinese influence because it was in China that he learned his favourite pastime.

The second part of the book deals with the naturalists and artists which remained in Rio for longer periods, and who explored landscapes and nature beyond the coastline. In 1814, for instance, two assistants of Kew Gardens, Allan Cunningham and James Bowie, went to Rio. They were instructed not to lead a gentleman's life but rather to live 'like serfs'. During mornings and evenings they had to collect every single plant that did not exist in Kew. The hottest hours of the day were to be used to organise their collections. Another important figure discussed in the book is Augustus Earle, who lived in Rio during 1820–24 and became a friend of the travel writer Mary Graham (she used his drawings in her well known book on Brazil). Later Charles Darwin hired Earle to accompany him on board the *Eagle*, and that is how the painter returned to Rio. Earle had a reputation as an itinerant artist and ended up living and working in Australia. In contrast with other artists he included himself

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in the drawings of Cariocan landscapes and left a number of works which portray its society, so notably absent from the works of many other artists discussed in the book. Martins briefly compares his painting of a slave market in Rio with a posterior engraving based on his work, and concludes that subtleties of the original were erased, and facial expressions of whites tuned down. It may be true that Earle, influenced by Darwin, seemed to question slavery, but overall her argument on this point would have benefited from further refinement.

Landscape, for Darwin and other contemporaries, was supposed to reproduce the harmony between man and nature, as it supposedly existed in England. Although Martins acknowledges the major influence of Humboldt on Darwin, and emphasises the interactive character of art, she seems completely to ignore any interaction between British and other European artists living in the city. Yet she remarks the intense 'intertropical maritime circulation' of the British artists, which resulted in many establishing themselves in some part of the Empire. That is why a considerable number of paintings of Rio are now part of collections in Australia or South Africa. Yet their importance for the representation of Brazil by Brazilians cannot be ignored. They, together with their French and German counterparts, provided the Brazilian elite with an iconographic vocabulary of how to represent the new nation.

University of Essex MATTHIAS RÖHRIG ASSUNÇAO

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Brian Vale, '*A War Betwixt Englishmen*': *Brazil Against Argentina on the River Plate 1825–1830* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), pp. xxx + 224, £41.00, £16.50 pb.

At the naval battle of Lara-Quilmes on 30 July 1826, the Irish Admiral William Brown commanded the forces of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. In the midst of battle against the Brazilian squadron blockading Buenos Aires, he was hailed by one of his adversaries, Captain John Pascoe Grenfell (a Londoner), who sardonically invited Brown across to 'take tea' on board the Brazilian brig the *Caboclo* (p. 80). Brown 'called back that his colours were nailed to the mast', then unleashed a broadside that wounded several men, including Grenfell himself who lost an arm.

The presence of tea-drinking Britons in the naval skirmishes and battles of the Cisplatine war of 1825–28, is the peg upon which Brian Vale hangs *A War Betwixt Englishmen*, a largely conventional military narrative of naval operations, and of the commercial, political and diplomatic manoeuvring that surrounded and nourished the conflict. As such it can be read as a sequel to and expansion upon his *Independence or Death: British Sailors and Brazilian Independence 1822–1825* (London, 1996). Despite his new book's terrible title, Vale edges away from the genre associated with Alfred Hasbrouck and Eric Lambert, which focused on rescuing the achievements of foreign soldiers in early nineteenth century Latin America from historical oblivion. He successfully links the naval and military operations to larger social and political issues in Brazil and the River Plate, and as such makes an important contribution to understandings of the first decades of Independence in both Brazil and Argentina.

A War Betwixt Englishmen is divided into six parts. The first sets the scene with a brief introduction to political independence from Spain and Portugal. The second, 'Cat and Mouse in the River Plate', describes the initial skirmishes between the

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stronger Brazilian Navy and its smaller (and consequently more mobile) adversary. The third section 'The War on Trade' highlights the fundamental economic background to the conflict by providing a narrative of the Brazilian blockade of Buenos Aires and the improvised resistance of privateers and corsairs. The fourth part examines the second phase of the war, including the Brazilian defeat at Juncal. The last two sections trace the final naval operations, the British mediation that led to peace, and the extensive diplomatic lobbying for reparations in the post-war years.

Throughout the book, Vale demonstrates impeccable revisionist credentials with regard to the existing naval historiography. He is at pains to bring down Admiral William Brown from the pedestal on which many historians have placed him. On several occasions he laments the influence of John Armitage's 1836 history of the conflict (p. 75, p. 147) and provides new interpretations based on wide reading of documentary sources. He is especially perceptive on the way that Brown ('the master of naval tactics') learnt to become 'the master of propaganda' (p. 74). The residents of Buenos Aires either saw or heard many of the engagements with the Brazilian blockading squadron: on one occasion Brown quickly manoeuvred his small ships so that it looked to observers as though the Brazilian fleet (which was retreating to deeper waters) was being chased away by the vastly inferior forces.

With regard to social and political context, *A War Betwixt Englishmen* is more conventional. However, there are still excellent appraisals of the manner in which the owners of some Buenos Aires privateering vessels made great fortunes out of the war, so laying the basis for political influence in subsequent years, and useful explanations of the way that the conflict launched the careers of young Brazilian officers such as Jesuino Lamego Costa.

A War Betwixt Englishmen is extremely successful in achieving its stated aim – to 'illuminate a hitherto hidden corner of naval history for British and American readers' (p. ix). The principal problem with the book, of course, is its title (taken from the correspondence of the British Ambassador Robert Gordon) and the resultant emphasis on British heroism overseas. It places a distracting Union Jack over the light that Vale shines into this hidden corner of history, occasionally painting corners of the conflict with red, white and blue and often obscuring internal complexities. Whilst commensurate with much of the Foreign Office correspondence relied upon by the author, such a focus distorts the nature of a conflict in which, as Vale documents himself, 'foreign' nationals were never in the majority of the armed forces on either side.

Indeed, the book's outstanding contribution to the historiography of early nineteenth-century Latin America is to demonstrate the problematic nature of the continued involvement of foreigners in the Latin American armed forces in the years following Independence, a period in which armed conflict was often a means of delineating the 'foreign' or 'other'. Whether or not other sailors or officers shared the Brazilian Admiral Pinto Guedes' discontent at British 'meddling' in the River Plate (p. 199), this was a period in which national heroes and myths were being created. The presence of British and Irish sailors in the armed forces, and their roles in the defeats and victories that were so important to nascent national identities, arguably merits just as much attention as the foreign merchants resident in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and Montevideo, or the educated travellers who visited the region in the same period.

University College London MATTHEW BROWN

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Mauro F. Guillén, *The Limits of Convergence: Globalization and Organizational Change in Argentina, South Korea, and Spain* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. xiii + 282, £36.95, £12.95 pb.

According to conventional wisdom, globalisation promotes convergence in economic governance across countries. Given the increased mobility of capital, according to this view, countries that do not adopt a homogeneous set of 'global standard' policies, institutional norms, and organisational forms that together offer a business-friendly environment will be shunned by international investors, with negative results. Therefore, so the story goes, countries will be forced to adopt such set because otherwise they will fall behind their competitor nations.

Guillén challenges this view through a detailed and careful comparative analysis of the development experiences of South Korea (henceforth Korea), Spain, and Argentina in the last half a century. He shows how the three countries, all starting with what he calls a 'nationalist-populist' developmental strategy under authoritarian political regimes in the 1950s diverged in their strategies for national development and international integration, producing quite different results, all with different strengths and weaknesses.

Spain pursued what Guillén calls a 'pragmatic-modernizing' strategy, welcoming foreign multinational enterprises (MNEs), which helped a vibrant small-and-medium-sized-enterprise (SME) sector to develop as their partner. Korea pursued a 'nationalist-modernizing' strategy, which protected large business groups against MNEs, although at the cost of a weak SME sector. Argentina pursued a 'pragmatic-populist' strategy, which enabled the local business groups to co-habit with MNEs within the framework of an import-substitution-industrialisation (ISI) policy.

Unfortunately, his choice of terminologies in this context obscures more than it enlightens. Why is the opposite of 'nationalist' not 'internationalist' but 'pragmatic'? Can a 'nationalist' government not be 'pragmatic' as well? For example, the Korean government had a 'nationalist' attitude towards MNEs and heavily regulated them in the 1970s, but was 'pragmatic' enough to allow 100 per cent foreign ownership in the free trade zones (FTZs). In the same way, why is the opposite of a 'modernizing' regime a 'populist' one, rather than a 'conservative' one? Was Peron's 'populist' regime not trying to mobilise the workers and the small farmers against the conservative forces of the land-owning oligarchy in order to industrialise and thus 'modernise' the Argentine economy?

Whatever my problems are with the terminologies, Guillén's scheme brings out interesting differences between the national strategies well. According to Guillén, none of the three strategies pursued has been an unqualified success or an unmitigated disaster. Different strategies have resulted in different areas of weaknesses and strengths among the three countries. So, for example, while being very strong in the assembly of cars, Korea cannot match Spain in terms of the quality of the SMEs producing auto parts and components, but then Spain is looking decidedly weaker than Korea when it comes to the ability to generate new technologies.

What is notable in Guillén's book is that all these are done on the basis of detailed and careful comparative studies of a wide range of different industries across three countries; automobile, banking, railway rolling stock, wines and liquors, and publishing. Such approach makes the author's case much more persuasive than it would

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have been if it had been done only through general theoretical arguments used elsewhere in the book.

The only thing I find questionable in Guillén's comparative study is its emphasis on patrimonialism as 'the single most important factor' (p. 162) in explaining the prevalence of business groups in Korea. In Guillén's view, patrimonialism emphasises a hierarchical social order, which encourages the formation of business groups. However, to begin with, how do we 'measure' whether Korea is a more hierarchical society than Spain or Argentina (or for that matter any other society)? Is it not just a cultural stereotype to say that an Asian society is more hierarchical than a society of European extraction? Moreover, even if Korea is more hierarchical than other countries, it is not clear whether that necessarily makes business groups more likely in Korea. As the Victorian terms like the 'captains of industry' (the owner-managers) and the 'corporals of industry' (the foremen) indicate, all capitalist firms, and not just business groups, are inherently hierarchical. Why is it, then that Korean patrimonialism chose business groups over other equally hieararchical forms of capitalist firms?

Despite a couple of problems I have raised, Guillén's book on the whole persuasively shows how there is 'no objective best way' (p. 216) for economic and social development, especially when considering that what counts as a good performance depends on one's political and ideological preferences. The book also shows how the allegedly homogenising forces of globalisation actually produce a diversity of responses in terms of policies, institutions, and organisational forms based on different local economic conditions, political preferences and cultural traditions. This book is a valuable contribution to the on-going debate on globalisation.

University of Cambridge HA-JOON CHANG

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Edmund Amann and Ha-Joon Chang (eds.), *Brazil and South Korea: Economic Crisis and Restructuring* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2004), pp. xi + 242, £14.95, pb.

The current literature offers many examples of studies comparing and contrasting late industrialisation in Brazil and South Korea, usually focusing on the period of rapid growth through import-substituting industrialisation in the former, and export-oriented industrialisation in the latter. This book is different because it focuses on a later period – the rocky transition to neoliberalism in the eighties and nineties, the balance of payments and currency crises in the late nineties, and the subsequent economic recovery. The contributions included in this collection were originally presented at a conference at what was then the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, in December 2000. The book is organised neatly, with chapter one (the introduction) providing a cogent overview of the material, the next four chapters discussing the Brazilian case, and the last four focusing on South Korea. The chapters are written by some of the best-known specialists in their respective fields. They are also generally critical of mainstream (neoclassical) interpretations of the previous growth models, the causes of the crisis, and the recovery process in Brazil and South Korea.

In chapter two André Averbug and Fabio Giambiagi provide a comprehensive review of the macroeconomic stabilisation programme in Brazil (the *real* plan), its

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fragilities, and the disequilibria leading to the currency crisis in January 1999. The chapter claims that this crisis was due to a speculative attack triggered by perceptions of the incompatibility between the value of the *real*, the fiscal deficit, and the interest costs of defending the parity. The chapter also assesses the damage caused by the crisis, and reviews the Brazilian emergence from it. In chapter three, Andrea Goldstein and Ben Ross Schneider assess the process of corporate reorganisation in Brazil during the nineties. This is a rich and informative chapter that will surely become an important reference in its field. The authors examine a number of cases in different sectors, as well as a broader sample of firms, and conclude that there has been a significant shift away from traditional family ownership and towards mergers and acquisitions led by transnational companies, and purchases by semi-public pension funds. These processes were fuelled by the vast privatisation programme undertaken during the nineties. In chapter four, Edmund Amann examines elegantly and in detail the history and impact of the trade and market reforms on Brazilian manufacturing productivity. The chapter shows that there have been significant gains across the board as a result of the reforms and claims that, in contrast with Korean firms, Brazilian ones have remained financially solid in spite of the 1999 crisis because of their extensive reliance on own funds rather than bank finance. Finally, in chapter five, José Ricardo Ramalho offers an excellent analysis of the evolution of the Brazilian labour markets, showing in remarkable detail the destructive impact of the neoliberal reforms upon the working population.

Chapter six is the first of four dealing with South Korea. In this chapter, Ha-Joon Chang reviews the conventional interpretations of the Korean crisis, and demolishes them with sharp and informed criticisms. He subsequently offers an alternative interpretation of the crisis as being due to the removal of traditional industrial policy instruments through deregulation, and misguided financial and capital account liberalisation. Finally, the chapter explains the fragilities of the Korean recovery, following the imposition of the adjustment programme agreed with the IMF. In chapter seven, Jang-Sup Shin reviews the impact of the corporate and financial reforms in Korea, and reviews in detail the changes after the crisis. This chapter also outlines an alternative mode of articulation between industry, finance and the state, which contrasts sharply with the mainstream (Anglo-Saxon) model, and with the traditional Korean model. For Shin, this alternative offers the possibility of 'second-stage' catching-up through the revitalisation of the co-ordinating role of the state within a new, 'globalised' economy. In chapter eight, Louise Haagh offers an outstanding examination of the Korean employment system, in contrast with the Danish and Chilean cases. In particular, Haagh usefully problematises the concept of liberalisation of the labour markets, showing that this concept hides more than it reveals, because it can be understood in many different and potentially contradictory ways, which are reviewed and explained in detail in this chapter. Finally, in chapter nine Tat Yan Kong examines clearly, concisely and comprehensively the relationship between government and the business sector in Korea, both before and after the 1997 crisis.

The editors are to be congratulated for their production of a fine volume that should be read by all those working on industrial policy and performance in middle-income countries. I have identified only two minor shortcomings in this book. First, several figures were misplaced or printed incorrectly or include avoidable typos. Second, and more substantively, it would be useful to have chapters reviewing

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specific issues *both* in Brazil and South Korea, rather than focusing overwhelmingly on one country only. Hopefully both of these minor drawbacks will be addressed in a sequel to this highly useful volume.

School of Oriental and African Studies University of London ALFREDO SAAD-FILHO

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Jeffrey Lesser (ed.), *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. xii+219, £65.00, £16.95 pb.

This is a very interesting, informative, analytical, provocative and readable book. Jeffrey Lesser reunites eight authors from different disciplines to trace a vivid portrait of the history, socioeconomic determinants, social identities, and everyday life of Japanese-Brazilians in their return migration to Japan. The personal dilemmas of the grassroots as well as the cultural, social and economic implications of the presence of an ethnic community of 200,000 Brazilians, who were treated as Japanese at home, but in its search for the ancestral home discover themselves full-fledged Brazilians; the social decay of middle-class professionals turned into factory workers; the first experience of factory labour for almost 80,000 Brazilian women of Japanese ancestry, those are the challenge the authors face and present in masterly style to us in ten chapters.

Lesser introduces the volume with a rapid but precise overview of the immigration policies of Brazil in the early twentieth century and the framework of Brazilian nation-building to which Japanese settlers had to adapt themselves. Known as a country prizing miscegenation (the race mixing of European, African and Amerindian is its national myth of origin) Brazil surprises the readers when they learn that immigrants from Japan, Korean and China never were amalgamated, always being identified as 'Japanese' in spite of their desire to belong, and the early efforts from Brazilians immigrant-politicians to classify them as white.

The efforts to become true Brazilians is better explored in Hosokawa's analysis of the 'fantastic linguistics' of a first generation Japanese immigrant, Koyama, who tried insistently to demonstrate the common Polynesian ancestry of the Japanese language and the Tupi (one of the main languages spoken by Brazilian Natives). This was his pseudoscientific way of integrating Japanese in the three races national fable, both as physiognomic and linguistic parented to the indigenous people.

Koichi Mori unravels the tread of immigrant identity a little more by examining how the apparently 'white' Japanese became stereotyped as barbaric, backward and unhygienic workers by their Brazilians and Europeans fellows and bosses. His story takes us back to the discrimination of Okinawans both in Japan and in Brazil, their acceptance of inferior regional status within the 'colonia-jin', as the Japanese immigrants and their descendants tried to identify themselves, and to their final recent positive reconstruction of identity as *Uchinanchu* in the age of Brazilian multiculturalism.

As an 'Interlude', Yamishita presents a series of etiquette and condominium rules revealing the stereotypes of Brazilian-Japanese, and Americans in modern Japan. Although many implications of the rules remain unexplained, this is a good way of introducing the reader to the five following chapters dealing with the difficult return immigration of Nikkei to Japan from the 1980s onwards.

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Angelo Ishi traces a vivid portrait of *dekassegui* strategies for surmounting the relative social decay brought by their immigration. If in Brazil the 'Japanese' community had already obtained a middle-class status, its insertion in Japan as Brazilian blue-collar workers or ethnic store-owners requires a compensatory week-end search for status in ethnic parties and middle-class ostentatious consumption (of middle-class Brazilian status symbols). We learn also that this strategy is balanced by another, an officially entertained one that wants to depict *dekassegui* as a sort of student of Japanese everyday life whose goal (hard work and savings) would be to discoverer the secret of Japanese economic success.

Joshua Hotaka Roth uses registration to vote as oversee absentees at the Japanese elections to go to interview elderly Japanese migrants at the consulate in São Paulo. Is this a definitive proof of their resistance to integration in Brazilian society? On the contrary, Roth discovers, those elderly have towards Japan the same feeling of estrangement of their childhood hero Urishima Taro, who returned home, so says the tale, to discover that time passed by and there is no link left to their past. Is it this melancholic disappointment that makes them Japanese-Brazilians?

Takeyuki Tsuda analyses with disciplinary zeal the hypothesis that 'one of the most difficult experiences for the Brazilian Nikkeijin as transnational migrants is the social alienation they experience in Japanese society as an ethnically segregated, immigrant minority.'

Keiko Yamanaka puts the use of Nikkeijin immigrant female factory-work in the broader picture of immigrant female worker in Asia to stress Japan racial politics of maintaining 'purity while responding to the domestic labour shortage'. She concludes for the failure of this policy since 'it has also spawned a populous minority community with a distinct and alien culture and identity'.

The volume ends with the provocative question: 'Do Japanese Brazilians Exist?' Based upon his interviews with two individuals in a group of 200,000 Daniel Linger has good reasons for doubts: if they do not think of themselves as part of a diaspora, neither as Japanese Brazilians, how could social scientists bind them together in 'theoretical' social groups?

Universitária de São Paulo ANTONIO SÉRGIO ALFREDO GUIMARÃES

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04528511

Sue Branford and Bernardo Kucinski with Hilary Wainwright, *Politics Transformed: Lula and the Workers' Party in Brazil* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2003), pp. viii + 136, £6.99, pb.

Gianpaolo Baiocchi (ed.), *Radicals in Power: The Workers' Party (PT) and Experiments in Urban Democracy in Brazil* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2003), pp. viii + 254, £49.95, £14.95 pb; $65.00, $22.50 pb.

Both of these books provide valuable insights into the Brazilian Workers' Party (PT), which has gained fame as one of the most innovative political parties in Latin America and now holds national office for the first time. The Latin America Bureau's short, topical book by Branford and Kucinski is intended for a broad audience and provides a good introduction to some of the reasons that progressives around the world had very high expectations for the Lula administration. The Baiocchi volume includes more academic analysis of past PT administrations at the municipal and state levels. Along with Branford's chapter on the legacies of the

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previous administration in the other book, they offer an excellent roadmap for understanding the challenges of the national administration over its first 18 months.

Politics Transformed includes four quite different chapters. Branford's chapter on how Lula emerged as a labour and then political leader and Wainwright's chapter on the PT's signature participatory budgeting process are journalistic accounts of some of the most visible aspects of the PT. They draw on interviews and direct observation to paint pictures of the people who lead the party and to follow Wainwright as a 'participatory tourist' through Porto Alegre. Branford's chapter is especially helpful for its introduction to the 'Lula phenomenon', as she calls it (p. 70), since his personal charisma has been central to his campaign and now his presidency. Wainwright's chapter on participatory budgeting is an overview of the process that usefully presents it stage by stage, but the more extended studies of the Baiocchi book are better for understanding how participatory budgeting fits into the PT's governing project in theory and in practice.

Kucinski's chapter on the history of the PT and Branford's chapter on the economic legacy of the preceding Cardoso administration are denser pieces that present extensive political and economic data. Kucinski's chapter reflects the hybrid nature of the PT well. On the one hand, chapter sections like 'Ethics and Radicalism' and 'The PT and the Mass Movements' highlight its continuous efforts to be more than just an electoral vehicle. On the other hand, the PT is a political party, and another part of its story is steady electoral growth over 25 years. These electoral successes have pushed it continually to reconsider how its ideals might be turned into good governance, how to relate to other actors in the political system including its movement base and how to handle its own multiple tendencies and visions. The chapter includes reliable and often illuminating summaries of the most important political aspects of the PT. Nonetheless, its many short sections are not well-integrated with each other and readers unfamiliar with the party may have a hard time putting together a chronological story.

Branford's chapter is the only one in the two books to focus on the national and international economic constraints that have been defining features of the new national administration. The chapter is highly critical of Cardoso's adoption of the Washington consensus and offers extensive data to support that critique. Branford uses the arguments of Bresser Pereira, once part of the Cardoso administration, to trace a relationship between capital inflows, stagnant investment, a growing trade deficit, and 'a startling increase in the country's foreign vulnerability' (p. 84). She concludes that Brazil should impose capital controls to break out of this cycle, but the new PT government has made few moves in this direction. Given the actual policies, some of the critiques of Cardoso's legacy continue to be quite valid for the new administration as well.

Economic dynamics are largely absent from the Baiocchi book, except as a backdrop of fiscal crisis for the administrations discussed in it. Its chapters provide a thorough assessment of the political dynamics of the PT in office and, through that, Brazilian politics more generally. The chapters are carefully researched, and provide an engaging combination of substantial empirical detail with insightful larger arguments. The book should be read by anyone interested in contemporary Brazilian politics or in the challenges of progressive political change worldwide. While the authors are generally sympathetic to the PT's experiments with implementing its '"formula" of combining redistribution with broad based participation' (p. 24), they probe with equal interest into the causes of its successes and of its failures.

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The chapters do not always agree with each other's conclusions, but in this way they faithfully trace the quite varied outcomes of the same formula.

Chapters two to six examine local PT administrations in Porto Alegre (Benjamin Goldfrank), Belém (John Guidry and Pere Petit), São Paulo (Cláudio Gonçalves Couto), and pairs of smaller towns in Minas Gerais (William Nylen) and Rio Grande do Sul (Marcelo Kunrath Silva) states. Two more chapters look at a trio of state-level administrations, in Espíritu Santo, the Federal District (both by Fiona Macaulay and Guy Burton) and Rio Grande do Sul (Benjamin Goldfrank and Aaron Schneider). The chapters share a strong sense of the importance of historical trajectories and dynamics, looking at local associative traditions or comparing earlier PT administrations with later ones or with successive ones in other parties.

The PT that emerges in these chapters is one that tries to correct past mistakes in its future administrations and that has consciously worked to duplicate successful innovations in other places – with mixed results. Thus the showcase participatory budget programme takes a central role in all of these chapters except the one on São Paulo (where PT administrations did institute it, but it is not covered in the chapter). The Porto Alegre chapter shows that it took several years of the PT working with local organisations before the programme really worked, even in Porto Alegre; the smaller towns that Nylen and Silva discuss never quite institute it successfully; and the latest PT administration in Belém is looking to use its practices in a city congress that addresses concerns beyond the budget. Participatory programs like the budgeting process are complicated to scale up to the size of a state, and Espíritu Santo gives its up altogether. The focus on geographically based administrations helps to show how modular programs like participatory budgeting fit into a fuller set of local policies and politics and change shape through them.

An alternative organisation based on issue areas rather than geography is represented by Fiona Macaulay's chapter on gender politics in the PT. Macaulay looks at the history of the PT's origins to explain the party's comparative sensitivity to gender issues, but finds them unevenly addressed in the local administrations she reviews. Multiple discourses on gender co-exist in the party and the outcomes of gender politics depend on how women's organisations or key political figures translate them into policy proposals. Nonetheless, there are core gender policies that most PT local administrations adopt, with programs on violence against women as the most common. The comparative insights of her study suggest a useful companion volume that could take up a range of substantive issues across administrations. Some obvious candidates would be the relationship between the PT and labour, especially public sector unions, or security and crime.

In this volume the burden of comparison is borne primarily by Baiocchi's opening and closing chapters, as well as a short commentary by Rachel Meneguello. Collectively, these chapters also help place the PT's experiences in the larger context of Brazilian politics. Baiocchi's main concern is whether the 'radicals in power' of the title can exist in practice. Diverse theorists have suggested that holding power makes radical parties abandon their priorities. Baiocchi identifies two specific dilemmas PT local administrations must resolve: first, between meeting the demands of its organised social constituency versus the needs of the city as a whole and second, between the socialist principles of the PT and the exigencies of managing a capitalist city (pp. 15–16). The different sides of each dilemma have had strong supporters among the different tendencies of the PT itself, so they have been a part of the internal politics of the party as well as of its governing experiences. Along

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with the PT itself, Baiocchi proposes political rather than *a priori* resolutions to both dilemmas through negotiations among diverse groups, with participatory mechanisms playing a key role in bringing those groups to negotiations. This kind of resolution helps to explain the diversity of actual political choices in PT cities and states.

The concluding chapter also confirms this diversity, while noting that after 1992, the party had begun to work out some solutions to perennial problems like internal party divisions. Programmes like participatory budgeting were regularly part of governing plans worked out in advance, but these still needed to be applied flexibly. Baiocchi begins several discussions here that deserve additional research, including the role of internal factions and their impact on bureaucratisation of the party as well as possible degeneration of the participatory opportunities it has created. Nonetheless, he is right to conclude that the PT has contributed to democracy in Brazil with its innovations. It has been especially important in helping to project an inclusive and participatory vision of the city, however incompletely executed in practice.

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Maria D'Alva Kinzo and James Dunkerley (eds.), *Brazil Since 1985: Economy, Polity and Society* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2003), pp. xii + 346, £14.95; $19.95, pb.

This collection of thirteen chapters provides a welcome overview of Brazil since transition from military rule just as the PT coalition government took office in 2003. After brief introduction to events since 1985, Part I reviews general questions about Brazilian political institutions. Leslie Bethell sets current trends in broader perspective of both history and democratic theory, cogently portraying the legacies of persistent exceptionalism in this country: as lone Luso-Empire amidst Hispanic republics during the nineteenth century; as a regime built on the early extension of suffrage and organisation of patronage parties; as the most protracted transition from authoritarian rule; and as a late liberaliser of economic policies during the 1990s. The contradictory legacies of this exceptionalism introduces well the papers focusing on more specific dimensions.

Kinzo's review of parties and elections since transition to civilian rule in 1985, election by election, also demonstrates both the different character of Brazilian politics and the unfinished tasks of social inclusion. Her balanced view of party mobilisation, party system fragmentation, the complexity of party politics, and the volatility of electoral trends avoids easy calls for political reform and illusions about consolidation that pervade studies of Brazilian party and electoral politics. Instead, Kinzo offers an informed account of party politics and the unique combination of two-round, direct elections for executive offices and open-list, proportional representation ballots for legislative offices in a federal system.

Figueiredo and Limongi also emphasise this combination of a centralised federal government and complex multi-party system. Their analysis of executive-legislative relations as a 'conditional delegation of institutional power to the president by Congress' avoids both the liberal-reformism and euro-centrism described so eloquently by O'Donnell as illusions about the consolidation of democracy. But

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Figeuiredo and Limongi are unconvincing when presenting master codes for laws (according to which branch officially submits bills for consideration) as evidence of executive centrism. Surely the history of laws is more complex and involves other branches of government and forces in society? Their work also fails sufficiently to consider changes since 2001; for example, the inversion of terms for provisional decrees toward congress and away from executive predominance. Indeed, trends since the 1988 constitution suggest an increasing separation of power across branches of government, a tendency brought to the forefront by Macaulay's analysis of what has been described as the 'judicialisation' of Brazilian politics and society since transition from authoritarian rule.

Taken individually, the chapters from Part I on politics provide an excellent survey of new empirical and conceptual work on federal government in Brazil. As a whole, they avert the euro-centrism and liberal-reformism that often pervade studies of this country. Instead, authors provide informed, critical, and up-to-date empirical and conceptual reviews that reflect the advancement of social sciences in Brazil.

Part II focuses on the Brazilian economy in a democratic setting. Amann's essay on economic policy and performance since 1985 reveals the strong impact of neo-liberalism, the internationalisation of the Brazilian economy, and the exceptional experience of Brazil. Brazil remains the only country in Latin America to have successfully implemented heterodox policies to reduce inflation, improve (albeit temporarily) income distribution, and provide the framework for price stability since 1994. Discussion of inertial inflation and the heterodox character of economic policies culminating in the Real Plan is sorely missed. Martone blames fiscal excesses and the incomplete character of reforms for the external vulnerability of the Brazilian economy. However, the most important developments since the adoption of a flexible foreign exchange rate and inflation targeting during 1999 have been the dramatic adjustment of foreign accounts and the implementation of the Fiscal Responsibility Law in 2000. Both cut to the centre of Martone's argument and suggest that the consensus about vulnerability in the late 1990s should be updated. Coutinho's chapter on internal constraints argues for a gradualist approach and the need to build on existing institutions. We agree. But Coutinho seems to underestimate the case for gradualism. For example, taxes increased from approximately the mid-20 per cent of GDP in 1994 to almost 40 per cent of GDP by 2002. Coutinho is right: the gradual modernisation of tax authorities (through computerisation) suggests that observers may overestimate the apparently overwhelming constraints that appear in macroeconomic data.

Part III reviews a variety of themes about democracy and Brazilian society. Sallum provides an informative overview of state-society relations in the best tradition of *paulista* sociology. In comparison, the formal categories and review of patterns in aggregate data presented by Ribeiro and Scalon simply fail to reveal much about class mobility in Brazil. Carneiro focuses on the severe problems with civil rights by placing levels of state violence in Brazil in comparative perspective, data that will temper views about Brazilian democracy.

Guimarães' analysis of the race question in Brazil rejects past ideologies of racial democracy and carefully reconsiders recent theories about racial and social exclusion, favouring throughout recent empirical and conceptual work among Brazilian sociologist instead of applying models from abroad. Hall provides an early overview of recent reforms that decentralised basic education, while Porto's review of mass media and politics completes the perspectives on policy and culture.

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This collection provides the best overview of Brazilian politics, society and economics available in English from leading scholars in a variety of disciplines. Their work surpasses the illusions of liberal-reformism and euro-centrism that often pervade work on Brazil and, instead, provides a variety of new, empirically grounded, conceptually innovative analyses that maintain both objectivity and critical distance. The contributors remind us that Brazil is a persistent exception to regional and global trends. Their chapters collected in this volume provide informed overviews of advances since transition from military rule that do not conceal the sheer size of remaining challenges.

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