

## Reviews

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Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (eds.), *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. x + 240, \$40.00, \$19.95 pb.

Honour plays constitute an abundant set of texts within the repertory of Spanish literature. Most of our received ideas on the question of honour owe their form to its representation in the Spanish theatre. Literary critics and cultural historians have studied the strictures of the honour code, a code of behaviour often seen, from our modern perspective, as irrationally inflexible, cruel and especially oppressive of women. The tragic and theatrical plots constructed around the impossibility of guarding securely the virginity of either aristocratic or peasant girls give way in *The Faces of Honor* to the multiple play of the concept and practices of honour in colonial Brazil and Spanish America. The collection poses a formidable challenge to the uncritical transfer of metropolitan culture into colonial spaces.

The essays present fresh cases found in civic and ecclesiastical trial archives, which open new vistas on the play of honour, for they underscore the transformative power of colonial social and discursive formations. The subjects range across classes, *castas* and gender. Their situation and story occurs in widely different contexts, locales and institutions. Defending one's honour, one's public status and reputation for an unmarried upper class woman in Brazil is quite a different affair than for a married slave woman who claims that it is precisely her husband who robs her honour. Men, tightly bound in the rules of highly prescriptive institutions such as the Church, especially if educated and influential, fare much better in defending and keeping their honour than men without money or connections. This is so even if transgression is of the highest order, as in the case of the openly homosexual priest in Charcas. Nomadic labourers, men without family ties, feel their 'honour' to be perennially vulnerable to the language and gesture of friend and foe. Eighteenth century Argentine plebes cannot even count on the law to see that their honour is upheld. Johnson points out that while honour was not a 'term commonly used by the artisans and laborers of the colony's plebeian class when they attempted to explain their conflicts to the authorities ... the men of this class [nevertheless] acted in ways that demonstrated a fundamental concern with the values of the culture of honor' (p. 48).

These essays show that honour, like most other cultural constructs brought to the colonies, did not remain a carbon copy of the mores and ideologies originally transported by official Spanish culture once they crossed the Atlantic. In this sense *The Faces of Honor* serves to caution specialists in Spanish Siglo de Oro Studies who would like to assume a seamless web between Latin America and Spain in order to conflate expertise and move back and forth across the Atlantic with unwarranted scholarly ease. Ann Twinam makes a key point in this regard,

warning that honour historiography must be approached with reserve. Observations made about a given period have too easily been borrowed to explain another. 'For example analyses of Spanish Medieval law and literature have prompted influential stereotypes of how honor shaped the lives of Hispanic women' (p. 71).

In the same vein, Sonia Lipsett-Rivera holds that 'the explicit desire to maintain personal and family honor permeated colonial Mexican society. This discourse was neither limited to the upper classes nor solely to men' (p. 196). Beyond the maintenance of personal sexual honour, women often engaged in direct and violent acts in the protection of both their own or other women's chastity and thus the family's reputation. The protection of family honour had been an act traditionally thought to be the exclusive preserve of men in a *machista* society. The aggressive role played by the women studied by the historians writing here demands an acknowledgement of a different picture of the story of honour and power negotiations of gender in colonial Latin America.

Honour, in the colonies, became a good, a possession that no man or woman who had a public self (be they priest, street sweet vendor, slave or artisan) could do without. For those whose ethnic classification was a dis-honour, honour, like other favours 'al sacar', could indeed be restored or granted by the king.

*The Faces of Honor* makes an important and much-needed contribution to the field of cultural history. It provides the reader with well-documented case studies upon which strong historiographical arguments advance the idea that 'honour' was, and perhaps remains, a protean and productive cultural good which does its work at the centre of the most important colonial institutions. The authors combine historical methodology with an anthropological perspective that enables them to bring into view the play of 'honour' among the subaltern. The book is uniformly well written and it should be assigned across the board in courses dealing with Latin American Culture and History.

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Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. xiii + 248, £30.00, £10.95 pb; \$54.95, \$15.95 pb.

The debate on the causes of the decline of the Amerindian populations following European contact involves three levels of controversy. The first concerns the size of the indigenous population in 1492; the second the speed, duration and the geographical pattern of the decline; the third the factors responsible for it. The three levels are interdependent and no one can be discussed in isolation from the other two. Although Cook's stated aim is 'to bring together in a succinct volume what is currently known about epidemic disease, especially as it relates to the Conquest of Spanish America' (p. 12), he is conscious that his analysis may have a profound impact at all levels of the debate. Broad agreement exists on two issues: contact has generally been followed by a long and pronounced demographic recession and high mortality – determined by exposure to new diseases – has been a prominent cause of the recession. But agreement ends here: the debate is still unresolved on the level of pre-contact population, the speed of

the decline, and the weight of factors other than epidemic mortality which led to demographic collapse.

The most appalling episode of the European intrusion in the New World is the extinction of the Tainos of Hispaniola, Cuba and Puerto Rico. It is unlikely that Hispaniola's initial population size would have exceeded a few hundred thousand individuals, but in 1514 the Repartimiento of Albuquerque numbered only 26,000 surviving indios, and these were further decimated by the smallpox epidemic of 1518–19. By the mid-sixteenth century the indigenous communities had been wiped out and a very reduced number of Tainos survived incorporated into Spanish households. Is it possible to single out the individual diseases responsible for the decline and extinction of the Tainos? Cook's careful analysis of the surviving documentation and the hypotheses set forward by contemporary writers is inconclusive. Efforts deduce the nature, extent and lethality of disease from the description of the symptoms sit ill with the the vagueness of those descriptions. In many instances accounts refer more to the European than to the Indian population. That Indians died in great numbers – as repeatedly stated by contemporary testimonies – does not help very much in understanding causes. Famine, probably due to dislocation, appears to have been a powerful cause of mortality – particularly in 1494 – but one does not need to postulate the intervention of an imported disease as the dominant cause of mortality. Endogenous diseases could have done the job. Cook is right when he observes that the intense transatlantic traffic provided plenty of opportunities for Taino's contagion with European diseases, but are these the only ones to blame for their disappearance? The destruction of the original communities with the Encomienda system, forced migration, the subtraction of women from the indigenous reproductive pool and the confiscation of manpower for mining gold, feeding and serving the conquerors, must have been powerful causes of high mortality, low fertility and fast decline. A multi-causal approach to the problem of extinction seems more convincing than the monocausal explanation based on the introduction of a foreign disease in a 'virgin soil' population.

An interesting part of the book deals with the first pandemic of smallpox and its spread over the continent through the conquerors' trials. After exploding in Hispaniola at the end of 1518, smallpox hit Cuba and Puerto Rico and the coast of Mexico in 1519 with Narvaez's expedition, entered the Mexico valley and caused havoc among the Indians there, facilitating the capitulation of the capital and the defeat of the Aztecs. There is some controversial evidence concerning smallpox in Yucatán, Guatemala and Nicaragua. From the isthmus smallpox 'leaped ahead of the Spanish, being spread by face to face contact between one ethnic entity and another from the north coast of South America upriver' (p. 83). According to Juan de Betanzos and Cieza de León, smallpox beset the Inca empire, killing Huayna Capac – Atahualpa's father – and paved the way for Spanish conquest. Here the reader may be dubious, in part because Betanzos and Cieza de León, who came to Peru several years after these events, relied on accounts of informants and traditional diseases – rather than new ones – that could well have caused pre-conquest disasters.

New diseases in some cases follow and in others precede the intrusion of Europeans into the immense territories from Canada to Tierra del Fuego. The task of imposing a chronological, geographic and taxonomic order on the progress of new diseases becomes more difficult as the continent is visited and

gradually settled by Europeans. Cook's contribution in this respect is thus quite remarkable. But many questions remain unanswered – first and foremost regarding the demographic toll of disease. Cook, in his conclusions, affirms that 'more than 90 per cent of the Amerindians were killed by foreign infection' (p. 206). However, it is impossible to distinguish the impact of the 'new diseases' on the catastrophe from that of the 'old', endogenous ones. Second, many of the new diseases created immunity in the survivors, and even if it is supposed that the first smallpox epidemic would kill 50 per cent of the people, the impact of a second or third would be much reduced, since the survivors would carry immunity. Third, many of the conquerors' actions would have led to increased mortality, even without the concurring action of new diseases. These include not only killings through warfare and repression (perhaps the least important factor), but also the weakening of the social fabric, the confiscation of labour, heavy new taxation, forced migration and the 'reduction' of the Indians into new villages more exposed to the diffusion of contagion.

Cook's book is a very valuable guide to the complexities of epidemic mortality in the New World until the demographic nadir at mid-seventeenth century. The documentary and literary evidence is examined in a systematic way and with great care, with particular attention to the interpretation of texts that are almost always vague, confusing or even contradictory and to the description of symptoms. At all stages Cook tries to reconstruct the broad picture, tracing the tortuous trial of the epidemic, its chronology and, when possible, assessing its gravity. The impact of disease on the balance of power between the conquering Europeans and Indian societies is also discussed at length. The book provides the reader with a compelling history and a renewed awareness of the complex consequences of contact.

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Fernando López-Alves, *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America, 1810–1900* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2000), pp. xiv + 295, £34.00, £11.95 pb.

The best research on state formation, democracy or the evolution of party systems and constitutional structures traditionally took Europe or the United States as the main area of historical reference. Latin American countries were either absent from such analysis or used as negative cases that deviated from some standard model of development. Building on the tradition of Hintze, Huntington, Moore, Tilly and Skocpol, this new book by López-Alves offers one of the first serious attempts to fill this gap.

This book intends to unravel the following puzzle: why did some Latin American countries in the nineteenth century develop a strong party system and civilian governments with control over the military while others did not? Parties and armies, it is argued, had a determinant impact on the process of democratisation: while countries with strong parties and weak armies were able to develop stable democratic regimes at the beginning of the twentieth century, those with weak parties and strong armies either failed to democratise or had a brief experience with democracy followed by an authoritarian (often military)

regime. López-Alves proposes the study of three cases to examine this variation: Uruguay, Argentina and Colombia.

The central thesis of the book is that two variables explain party development and democracy: the type of war and the type and scope of mobilisation of the rural poor that occurred during the process of state formation in the nineteenth century (p. 46). According to López-Alves, while most conflicts in the region were domestic in nature and involved the participation of the rural population, they differed according to whether political parties or a central army mobilised the rural poor. The first pattern fits the cases of Uruguay and Colombia, countries where armies formed in a decentralised way through parties with rural-based armed wings. The second pattern applies to Argentina, a country where a powerful city centralised the recruitment of militias and the creation of a military force (p. 37). In both Uruguay and Colombia civil wars evolved as party wars. As a consequence parties became the main actors in state-making and the army developed under the control of the political elite. In Argentina, by contrast, central conflicts did not coincide with party alignments. Thanks to the financial resources of the city of Buenos Aires, the urban military gradually defeated rural militias, becoming an actor with a more active role than parties in the process of state formation.

López-Alves's argument provides important insights into the relationship between party development and democratisation in Latin America. The hypothesis that civil war could create incentives for the formation of organised parties persuasively challenges the conventional view that modern parties only emerge in the presence of competitive elections. His focus on the impact of war on the relative weight of parties or armies in state-making also illuminates factors other than economic development, culture or institutional structures which affected democratisation. In particular, the comparison between Uruguay, Argentina and Colombia reveals that it was precisely Argentina, the country most influenced by western cultural values and with relatively high levels of economic and social modernisation, that experienced the most clear democratic failure in the first decades of the twentieth century.

However, one can detect some flaws in the explanation. First, the mechanisms linking each of the variables need to be made explicit. For instance, the correlation of the pattern of conflict with the type of mobilisation of the rural poor is not clear. The fact that in some cases the military and in others the parties mobilised the rural poor appears to be more a descriptive statement than a causal explanation. There is also a deterministic and functionalist overtone in the argument. According to López-Alves the abolition of party competition and the building of a central army under Rosas in the 1840s determined the weakness of parties and the strength of the military in Argentina (p. 173). However, Mexico experienced early civil wars that took the form of party wars, yet it had failed to develop a strong party system by the late nineteenth century. A similar problem affects the argument in relation to democratic outcomes. It is true that Argentina experienced a military coup in 1930. But nothing indicated that this would be the case in 1912, when a negotiated electoral reform made possible a peaceful transition to democracy. Uruguay, on the other hand, inaugurated a democratic regime that proved to be stable for several decades at about the same time. By the early 1970s, however, a military intervention brought democracy to an end, just as it had decades before in Argentina.

In spite of these shortcomings López-Alves's work is a welcome contribution to the underdeveloped field of comparative historical sociology in Latin American studies. It will undoubtedly become a standard reference for anyone interested in political development and democracy in Latin America.

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Greg Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2000), pp. xviii + 343, £37.00, £12.95 pb.

Spanning the two hundred years between the Bourbon reforms of the mid-eighteenth century and the 1954 overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, Greg Grandin's *The Blood of Guatemala* traces transformations in the economic, cultural and political roles played by Maya-K'iche' elites in the city of Quetzaltenango in the western highlands of Guatemala. A multi-ethnic commercial and political centre, since the colonial period, Quetzaltenango has been home to a thriving urban, indigenous middle class comprised of merchants, builders, farmers, artisans and political elites. The main focus of the work is the part played by these groups – especially the political elites or *principales* – in struggles over the creation and consolidation of a national state in Guatemala. Throughout this rich and beautifully-written book Grandin explores what the 'actions and ideologies of patriarchs and political leaders' (p. 5) within the K'iche' community of Quetzaltenango have to tell us about the contested relationships between class, gender, ethnicity, nation and the state.

Through his wide-ranging discussion of monuments, riots, petitions, epidemics, portraiture and beauty pageants Grandin makes two related but distinct arguments. The first concerns 'how K'iche' elites brokered the regional formation of imperial and republican governments' (p. 5), acting as political intermediaries between the Indian population of Quetzaltenango and Spanish, Creole and Ladino elites, in order to maintain and bolster their own privileged economic and political positions. The second examines 'how K'iche' elites subjectively experienced, and tried to control, larger processes of state formation and capital accumulation' (p. 6). Here Grandin argues that 'the cultural anxiety brought about by Guatemala's nineteenth-century transition to coffee capitalism forced Mayan patriarchs to develop an alternative understanding of ethnicity and nationalism' (p. 6) that, in contrast to Ladino nationalism, afforded a place for Indians in the nation.

Grandin's argument with respect to the political and economic power of K'iche' elites is particularly compelling. Too often, he notes, the cultural authority of indigenous leaders is divorced from questions of state power, much as indigenous culture more generally is seen as something existing apart from, or simply in opposition to, broader processes of state formation and economic transformation. In contrast, Grandin persuasively demonstrates that the power of K'iche' elites in Quetzaltenango had a dual basis. On the one hand, it was derived from their alliances with non-Indian elites and depended upon the coercive

powers of the state. On the other, it rested on their ability to meet the cultural expectations of non-elite Indians with respect to subsistence, the defence of communal interests and the just exercise of power. As Grandin writes with reference to the colonial period, '[p]rincipales, particularly municipal officers, had to walk a fine line between the Spanish world, which granted them political power, and the K'iche' world, which allowed them to exercise it' (p. 51). Throughout the nineteenth century, political liberalism and coffee capitalism steadily eroded the cultural bases of the K'iche' elites' power. With the elimination of legal caste distinctions, and the commodification of land and labour, it became increasingly difficult for K'iche' elites to fulfil traditional cultural expectations, and thus they came to rely more and more on the coercive powers of the state to maintain their privileged economic and political positions.

The book's second argument with respect to the development of an alternative and more inclusive form of K'iche' nationalism is innovative and thought-provoking, but not quite as compelling as the first. Here, Grandin argues that as liberalism eliminated legal caste distinctions, and coffee capitalism transformed economic relations within the K'iche' community, K'iche' elites experienced a 'cultural anxiety' that led them to reformulate their ethnic identity and to link it to a national one. Ladino nationalism, Grandin argues, had no place for Indians. Through the processes of assimilation and acculturation, Guatemala's indigenous peoples would be transformed into citizens, leaving all vestiges of indigenous culture behind them. K'iche' elites, in contrast, articulated an alternative conception of the nation in which national identity and national progress were inextricably linked to the 'regeneration of the race'. Indians, once great peoples, had been debased and degraded by colonialism; regenerated, they would take their place as full and contributing members of the Guatemalan nation. Throughout this discussion, two issues arise. First, Grandin asserts, but doesn't really try to demonstrate, the existence of cultural anxiety on the part of K'iche' elites. However difficult it is to get at the subjective experiences of historical actors – and the problems are indeed manifold – some attempt to do so is necessary in an argument that stresses the causal primacy of psychological motivations. Second, it is not entirely clear how the regeneration called for by K'iche' elites differed all that much from the assimilation called for by liberal Ladinos. Both entailed the usual mix of education, vaccination, sobriety, hygiene, work discipline and so on. Rather than articulating an alternative and more inclusive nationalism K'iche' elites seemed to have been making instrumental use of a slightly-modified liberal nationalism, in an effort to relegitimate and retain their power in and over a community transformed by liberalism and coffee capitalism, claiming the right to represent the Indian masses until, regenerated, the masses were capable of representing themselves. Grandin does, in fact, clearly recognise and articulate the instrumental uses of nationalism, paying much more attention to the political calculations of K'iche' elites in their wielding of nationalist discourse than he does to their subjective experiences of modernity.

These issues aside, this is a very complex and elegant book that combines a compelling narrative with meticulous scholarship. It will be of interest to all scholars concerned with the relationships between class, ethnicity, gender, nation and state formation.

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Guy P. C. Thomson with David G. LaFrance, *Patriotism, Politics, and Popular Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Juan Francisco Lucas and the Puebla Sierra* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1999), pp. xviii + 420, \$65.00 hb.

This volume is an impressively well researched regional history which examines the popular ‘take-up’ of liberal ideas in Puebla from the nineteenth-century civil wars to the Revolution. The authors’ aim is to explore the roots of Mexican liberalism through key historical actors (p. xiii), hence the book is structured around the life of the politico-military chieftain Juan Francisco Lucas, ‘patriarch’ of the sierra. The influence of this entrepreneurial, anticlerical Nahua pervades the narrative. Almost as ubiquitous are Lucas’ comrades Juan C. Bonilla and Juan N. Méndez, fellow chieftains who occupied the state governorship and even the presidential chair for one gloriously improbable moment in 1876 (pp. 216–17). The careers of this troika are richly detailed, but the book is more than a work of political biography. Indeed, it is as intermediaries between the worlds of the *serranos* and national state-builders that these middling figures attain full significance. As brokers between distinct political and cultural universes, Thomson and LaFrance argue, the caciques’ military leadership and political and cultural nous were crucial to the negotiation of republican rule (pp. 3, 25). More than a conventional story of ‘great men’, then, this is primarily an account – and a complex and nuanced one at that – of state formation in nineteenth-century Mexico.

This said, the authors reject the old view that liberalism was elitist and incapable of attracting popular support, and convincingly show how peasants were drawn to the liberal cause as a means of defending their interests. Villagers who fought in the National Guard, for instance, often preserved significant autonomy and landholdings compared to those who did not. Popular engagement with liberalism thus brought concrete, if ephemeral, benefits. Over time, however, the martial character of popular liberalism proved its undoing, because it tied the enjoyment of constitutional rights on terms favourable to the peasantry to the use of force. When, in the 1880s and beyond, the state was able to do without its erstwhile allies, National Guardsmen were demobilised and old racial and economic hierarchies reasserted themselves (pp. 241–53, 259–60). Thus a militarised liberalism flourished in the absence of effective high politics, only to fail when it was unable to reproduce itself in a civilian context. As a consequence, and as the authors demonstrate, the erosion of *serrano* autonomy after 1885 (as evidenced by the imposition of corrupt *jefes políticos* and governors) cancelled out many early peasant gains. In the end, even Lucas was irrelevant to the centre; the annual telegrams from president Díaz stopped coming, and his loyal veterans had to send begging letters in order to receive their pensions (pp. 263–5).

It is in this context of defeat that the authors ponder the significance of popular liberalism and the *caciquismo* which was its principal conduit; in so doing, they revise not only established interpretations but also the radical thesis advanced in Florencia Mallon’s *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, 1995). To the extent that popular liberal creeds were at odds with elite liberal ideology, Thomson and LaFrance’s ‘popular liberalism’ resembles Mallon’s counter-hegemonic ‘peasant nationalism’, yet the two ideas are not the same, and readers may usefully contrast the works in question (the authors, too, might have made the differences of interpretation, as opposed to focus and



methodology, more explicit). Thomson and LaFrance, far from perceiving any incipient *serrano* nationalism, depict a popular liberal constituency ultimately crippled by its lack of real vision. In particular, the authors argue that popular responses to liberalism were often dictated by geographical and historical accident, above all the ease with which liberal solutions could be ‘fitted on’ to existing agrarian and political problems at village level, as they were in Tetela (pp. 70, 175–82). The contingent character of this politicking is confirmed by the fact that many villages, such as Tlatlauqui, embraced rustic conservatism which offered much the same as liberalism in practical terms, and which threw in proscribed religious practices to boot (p. 81).

If liberal footsoldiers did not ‘think’ the nation in any meaningful sense, the authors further argue that even literate, ‘middling sort’ liberals such as Lucas were often more patriotic than nationalistic in outlook (pp. 221–3). This became abundantly clear in 1876 when the Puebla caciques were gifted control of Mexico City during Porfirio Díaz’s Tuxtepec revolt. Rehearsing the roles later reprised by the revolutionaries of 1914, Méndez and Bonilla played Villa and Zapata to Díaz’s Carranza, enacting municipal-style decrees before retreating, uncertain outside their bailiwick, to the sierra. Such parochialism later undermined their state governorships. All told, then, caciques such as Lucas were vital to the consolidation of the state in terms of bringing the peasantry ‘on side’ at difficult political junctures, but their liberalism remained defensive, small town patriotism at heart, and for this reason they soon lost political ground to those whose vision was truly national in scope. Popular liberalism did not seek to colonise the nation, but to keep it at arms length, so as to ensure self-advancement for the locally ambitious and, to a lesser extent, self-preservation for the disenfranchised (pp. 22–3, 37, 126, 270–1). This conclusion is supported with a weight of rich archival evidence which will convince most readers. In sum, the book significantly advances our understanding of both the limitations and possibilities inherent in Mexican liberalism, and is recommended to all those interested in Latin American popular politics and nineteenth-century history.

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Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. xiv + 288, £37.00, £12.95 pb.

*Inka Bodies* is a detailed study of a series of paintings of the Corpus Christi procession in colonial Cuzco. In 1551 the Council of Trent designated the festival a triumph over heresy. It had special meaning in Cuzco, which formed what Dean calls ‘a cultural node of profound significance’ (p. 22). The festival celebrated the transubstantiated body of Christ in the wafer of the Eucharistic host, but Dean points out that Andean people newly converted to Christianity had restricted access to partake of that host. Despite the relaxation of these restrictions, they received the Eucharist less regularly than people of Spanish descent. Accordingly, Dean terms the festival as *semiophagous*: ‘a feast that dined on signs of difference, gaining sustenance for its triumph from the Andean subaltern’ (p. 2).

Chapter one characterises Corpus Christi as a celebration both of the victory of Christ and of the Spanish conquest of the Andes. It discusses what Dean calls

the 'visual vocabulary of triumph' as observed in the triumphal arches and the places commanded by civic dignitaries in the procession that denoted their position in the hierarchy. Andean people had to perform as defeated natives, thereby affirming the Spanish triumph over the Andes. Dean argues that a meaningful opposition (whether Muslims in Spain or Andean peoples in the Andes) was a necessary part of the ceremonies.

In chapter two Dean presents the Spanish participants' understanding of the procession as 'the triumph of Christianity over the imperial Inkaic patron, the Sun' (p. 23). It became associated with Inti Raymi, the Inka festival that coincided with the June solstice. Dean argues that the reworking of native masonry on which Spanish buildings were superimposed in Cuzco provided a 'doubly meaningful' setting for the enactment of triumph (p. 31). By performing the Inka Raymi festivities at Corpus Christi, Andean peoples provided the necessary symbolic opponent. However the Andean ritual calendar was more complex than a simple mapping of Corpus Christi onto Inti Raymi implies. Dean argues that Corpus Christi exposed differences and rifts that persisted in colonial society. It 'was unsettled by its own semiophagous urge: Andean culture may have been ingested, but it was not necessarily digested' (p. 45).

Chapter three considers the doubts arising in the minds of Spanish participants when native peoples in ethnic costume provided their contribution to the traditional format. Dean comments: 'Hispanics necessarily experienced the colonizer's quandary: the paradoxical need to enculturate the colonized and encourage mimesis while, at the same time, upholding and maintaining the difference that legitimizes colonization' (p. 47). She argues that their observation of native religious practices in the Andean contribution to the Corpus Christi celebrations and the evangelical strategies that the early missionaries adopted led to the campaigns for the extirpation of idolatry in the first half of the seventeenth century. During the latter half of the century, the campaigns lessened and the tensions evident in the procession were ascribed to too much alcohol, which caused drunkenness among Andean people. She regards the Spanish labelling of 'discontent' among Andean peoples as the irrationality of drunken Indians as a means of minimising the perceived threat. The militaristic character of the dances staged for the processions tended to prompt violence when accompanied by alcohol because, as Dean argues, 'the displays were often vehicles for negotiating the colonial social order within the subjugated indigenous populations' (p. 60). These performances, staged by Andean groups at the behest of the Spanish authorities, reminded the performers of the historic events including Inka dominance, but they also provided scope for individual and corporate agendas to emerge. Therefore Corpus Christi came to assert multiple triumphs.

Chapter four deals with a series of late seventeenth-century canvases painted by at least two anonymous artists. Sixteen have survived from a presumed total of eighteen paintings originally in the Cuzco parish of Santa Ana; twelve are in the Museo Arzobispal del Arte Religioso, Cuzco, and four are in private collections in Santiago de Chile. Dean suggests that individual patrons or groups of individuals commissioned different paintings in the series. Santa Ana parish on the hill of Carmenqa served as the point of entry into Cuzco from Lima, the viceregal capital. It was an 'Indian' parish and Dean argues that was an appropriate location for such a visual expression of Christian triumph over heresy.

In chapters five and six, Dean explores the Christological solar imagery of the monstrance and the sun disc as a reference to Inti, the solar patron of the Inka empire, which recalled the Inka ancestors when the caciques performed in the Corpus Christi procession. She discusses the resignification of the *maskaypacha*, the defining symbol of the Inka emperor. It changed from designating absolute political supremacy to become a marker of royal lineage. She explores this and other symbols worn by the caciques in the paintings to argue that they bring together powerful but opposing themes that are rooted in an Andean sense of structural complementarity that was expressed in various ways: 'Their costume, like their heraldry, was designed for a cultural context in which many elements are Europeanized in appearance but organized in a way that makes Andean sense' (p. 159). She argues that the Inka caciques considered their festive vestments to express the role of cultural and political mediation to which they aspired.

In chapter eight she inquires into the deep-rooted antagonisms that surfaced in spite of the Inka success in presenting Peruvian past as that of the Inkas, a process that had been abetted by Spanish desires to present the past as homogenised. Her analysis of the last painting of the series, *Processional finale*, depicts the caciques of Inka descent wearing European style clothing, while the Cañari members of the magistrate's guard display their ethnic identity in their garments. Cañaris and Chachapoyas counted among the inhabitants of Santa Ana parish; Dean argues that by giving themselves particular prominence in the *Processional finale*, they expressed in visual terms their aspiration for relative status in colonial society and rejected the blurring of distinctions that were made by the Spanish when they grouped all Andean peoples under the term of '*indios*'.

This is a coherently argued book that is based on perceptive visual analyses supported by a good knowledge of historical archives. Inspired by the work of Michael Taussig and Vicente L. Rafael in taking as her theme subaltern activities, Dean stresses the importance of examining the particular historical situations in which such activities took place. She also acknowledges Gayatri Spivak's caution that it is not always possible to recover subaltern voices; in the context of her own research she admits that it is easier to inquire into the activities of the male elites among the Inkas and other ethnic peoples rather than those of commoners and all kinds of women (p. 5). I found her discussion of tropical birds, the symbols of royal Inka women and a late seventeenth-century portrait of Anne Bracegirdle as an Indian Queen to constitute an intriguing, but ultimately a less satisfactory, part of her book. However, elsewhere Dean uses with sensitivity evidence culled from wills and inventories to cast light on the use of material culture by noble Andean women. Overall, this is a convincingly argued and thought-provoking book.

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Paula Alonso, *Between Revolution and the Ballot Box: The Origins of the Argentine Radical Party* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. xiii + 242, £32.50 hb; \$52.95 hb.

The Unión Cívica Radical is the older of the two political parties that have been at the centre of Argentine politics during the last century. In spite of the important role that the *radicales* have played in the country's history, there are few

scholarly works that delve into the origins of the party. Mythical narratives on the formative years and the founding figures have circulated widely among the Argentine public, but there has been little systematic research on those topics. Paula Alonso's book is, therefore, a most timely contribution that comes to fill that void. Twenty-five years after the publication, also by CUP, of David Rock's path-breaking volume on 'the rise and fall of Radicalism', Alonso's work advances a new interpretation of the origins of the Radical Party and, more generally, of the politics of that highly conflictive decade of Argentine history, the 1890s.

Based on an Oxford doctoral dissertation, this carefully researched book offers at the same time a detailed study of the political events that led to the creation, initial expansion and later demise of the Unión Cívica Radical, and some overarching interpretations of key aspects of that history. The volume is organised in six chapters, plus an introduction and a conclusion, which follow a roughly chronological sequence and include some analytical *ex cursus*. The latter allow the author to discuss the more traditional accounts on the subjects under scrutiny, and to display her own original views, later summed up in the conclusion.

The book starts with the description of the transformations experienced by the Argentine in the 1880s. Drawing on the existing literature on the history of that decade, Alonso succeeds in portraying a dynamic picture of the party in power during the whole decade, the Partido Autonomista Nacional (PAN), its initial strength but also its mounting weakness as a result of increasing internal rivalries and competition among the leaders. By 1889, the country entered into a severe economic and political crisis, which paved the way for the emergence of an active opposition to the government of President Juárez Celman and the PAN. The book recounts the successive steps that led to the formation of the Unión Cívica and the revolution of 1890. While some historians have understood the union to be a party or coalition of parties that represented the emerging social forces resulting from the process of modernisation, Alonso joins in with the scholars who dispute that claim. In their view, the union was a loosely held conglomerate of political leaders and groups who had been in the foreground of *porteño* political life in the 1860s and 1870s but became 'outsiders of the political system consolidated by the PAN during the 1880s' (p. 56). There was a strictly political move that did not respond to any social pressure, Alonso persuasively argues. She is less convincing, however, when she characterises the UC as just 'a smokescreen for the July revolt of 1890' (p. 56).

The revolution, albeit defeated by government forces, inaugurated 'a period of uncertainty in Argentine politics' (p. 69). Against a widely held view that the PAN's monopoly of power was resumed after the defeat of the revolutionaries, Alonso produces a forceful picture of a fragmented and competitive political arena. From then on and until 1898, three main parties shared the foreground: the official PAN, headed by Julio Roca, and two parties that emerged from the split of the Unión Cívica, the Unión Cívica Nacional (UCN), led by Bartolomé Mitre, and Unión Cívica Radical (UCR), under the leadership of Leandro N. Alem.

It is in the analysis of the performance of the UCR in the 1890s that Paula Alonso deploys her more original research and displays the more challenging arguments. She articulates her study of the political strategies followed by the

radicals around the two motives announced in the book's title: the revolution and the ballot box. The motive of the revolution was a key aspect in the ideological discourse of the UCR and particularly of its leading figure, Leandro N. Alem. It was also the guiding principle in the organisation of the party's life until 1893. The ballot box, in turn, was a permanent concern of the party's strategy, and the radicals competed with some success in most of the elections held at the national and provincial levels, particularly in the province of Buenos Aires. In spite of this success, the party experienced a sharp decline that led to its dissolution around 1898. Internal rivalries and successive splits, the difficulties to expand beyond Buenos Aires, and the fact that the PAN found renewed strength in the late 1890s, all contributed to that temporary eclipse.

In contrast to most prevailing views on the ideology of the UCR, Paula Alonso perceptively depicts in its political language a set of discursive motives familiar to civic humanism and classical republicanism. The radicals preached the use of violence, deemed legitimate to combat corruption and despotism, and understood revolution as a means to restore the constitution and the institutional order that had been violated by tyrants. Their notions of political participation and civic virtue differed profoundly from those of the PAN, and therein lay one of the sources of conflict between the two forces. These motives present in the ideology of the newborn radicals had permeated the political world of the 1860s and 1870s, a connection that Alonso somehow overlooks. When Alem and Bartolomé Mitre came together in 1889 to form the Unión Cívica, they shared the same political language and rejected the PAN's pragmatic ideology. The motives deployed on occasion of the revolution of 1890 closely resembled those put forward by the *mitrista* revolutionaries in 1874. It is true, however, that after 1890 only Alem was ready to go further along the revolutionary road, and the book convincingly argues in that direction. His intransigence was the key to the strategy that culminated in the revolutions of 1893. The latter mobilised military men and civilians in several provinces, and although they ended in defeat, they produced an important disturbance in the political life of the country.

That defeat and its consequences brought about a significant shift in the party's strategies, away from the intransigent language and attitudes that had been typical of the previous years. At that point, the radicals enjoyed increasing favour at the polls. In order to better portray the UCR performance in the elections of the period, Alonso analyses the electoral life of the decade, particularly in the city of Buenos Aires. In tune with recent trends in the history of suffrage in Latin America, she produces new evidence to challenge some of the more traditional interpretations of elections in the 1890s. Party competition ran high in Buenos Aires, and the UCR performed quite well in several elections during the decade. The turnouts were highly variable and ranged between 9.2 per cent and 43.3 per cent of the electorate, and voters came from all social classes, roughly in proportion to their numbers in the total population. Contrary to long held prejudices on the subject, Alonso shows that the UCR did well among the middle and the upper ranks of *porteño* society, while the lower ranks seemed to favour the PAN. She does not, however, pursue this issue further to inquire into the reasons for these preferences. That interrogation would probably have led her to explore a different terrain from the one she has chosen to tread.

The issue of voters' recruitment and electoral networks and clienteles finds no place in her analysis. This is not an omission but the result of a historiographical

option. In the political drama narrated in this book, the main actors are the parties *qua* institutions and their leaders. The PAN, UCN and UCR interact, negotiate and compete; they speak through their newspapers and through their main figures. The personalities, ambitions, actions and ideas of the latter, in turn, contribute to shape the profiles of the parties and decisively affect their performance. This is the arena of 'high politics', where electoral machines, ward bosses, party militants, revolutionary commanders and militiamen remain, if they appear at all, on the margins. This analytical perspective is in line with an old and prestigious tradition in the study of politics. Paula Alonso's compelling narrative already belongs to that tradition: she has produced an original and persuasive book on one of the key periods in Argentine political history.

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Joseph S. Tulchin and Allison M. Garland (eds.), *Social Development in Latin America: The Politics of Reform* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), pp. vi + 272, £16.50 pb.

This book is an important contribution to the emerging literature on social policy reform in Latin America. It starts from the premise that, while there a substantial body of work exists on the mechanics of state reform and the new economic model, there is a research deficit in the study of policy outcomes on poverty, inequality and unemployment. The volume consists of two parts. The first contains a set of general essays: on the social agenda and politics of reform by Merilee S. Grindle; on social sector governance by Joan M. Nelson; on safety nets and social sector reform by Carol Graham; and on social funds by Judith Tendler. The second set of chapters appraises particular initiatives in various countries: Dagmar Raczynski examines Chilean poverty reduction programmes; María Elena Ducci, housing policy in Chile; Susan Eckstein provides a *barrio*-level take on the impact of post-1982 neo-liberal policies in Mexico; Juan Carlos Navarro examines political and administrative decentralisation and social policy delivery in Venezuela; Laura Golbert focuses on retirement and employment policies in the Argentine. There is an introduction by Allison M. Garland.

From the optic of social policy, social programmes and social realities, the principal focus is on social sector processes and implications for the relationship between state and citizen. This is an ambitious agenda, not least because of the on-going debate about the role and position of the state and, in many societies, ill-defined concepts and practices of citizenship. Garland acknowledges (pp. 7–8) that the inability of the state to address problems of poverty and inequality erodes faith in the democratic process, and that opportunities for the formation of citizenship and connexions between vulnerable social groups and the state remain tenuous. Social reform is all too easily muted by partisan politics and clientelism. It may be the case that change depends upon the creation of stakeholders and the mobilisation of constituencies in favour of reform. But, in the 1990s, is civil society sufficiently robust to meet this challenge? For Grindle, in a cogently argued chapter, the answer is definitely 'Yes'. There is a consensus – of citizens, politicians, bureaucrats, development professionals and academics – in favour of change in areas such as housing, health and education. The key dangers to



continuing reform are a failure to recognise what has been achieved and the enduring timidity of policy-makers, possibly deriving from dissensus within the reform community. These factors, more than opposition from weakened traditional interest groups, constrain the practicalities of shifting from reform intentions to reform realities. Navarro corroborates this analysis, demonstrating how, in several municipalities in Venezuela, 'reform coalitions' drove initiatives in education and health provision. Nelson and Graham stress both the increased prioritisation of social sector reform and the importance for Latin American countries of lessons from the experience of other countries. Inevitably, there is much discussion of targeting and vaunting of de-centralised, competitive systems of delivery, though Tandler is sceptical. Along with others, she pleads for greater attention to be given to the institutional setting and indeed for further study of it. Efficiency depends on co-ordination, which in turn requires fundamental reform of the state. De-centralised arrangements can hardly be expected to deliver in managerial cultures where clientelism, discretion and opaque rules prevail. Raczynski is anxious to present a balanced, long-run assessment of poverty programmes in Chile, pointing to the downside of strategy. Improvements in poverty indicators owe more to growth and changes in the labour market than to social policy per se – and problems of (in)equity and social integration remain. A refreshing aspect of the volume is the renewed attention given to housing and systems of social protection, the latter in a decidedly pessimistic appraisal by Golbert. Ducci demonstrates how access to low-cost housing (along with ancillary services) was largely responsible for the dramatic improvement in human development indicators in Chile, while poor quality housing perpetuates – or generates new – inequalities. The significance of housing as an area of social policy is confirmed by the attention it receives elsewhere in the book, for example in the contributions by Grindle and Eckstein.

Occasionally, the tone is of hope over experience. But there are informed accounts of institutional change – as well as of the challenges confronting it, appraisals of policy delivery in crucial areas, and provocative assessments of welfare outcomes. Above all, the volume demonstrates how social policy has moved up the political agenda and emphasises the need for analyses that do not treat it merely as an adjunct to economic strategy. Arguably, together with similar studies, this collection marks shifts in the academic and policy literature, characterised by two elements. First, a move from a debate about stabilisation and structural change to a consideration of issues of poverty, equity and welfare. Second, an assessment of social programmes from the perspective of outcomes rather than, largely, project enumeration and expenditure inputs.

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Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira and Peter Spink (eds.), *Reforming the State: Managerial Public Administration in Latin America* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), pp. xv + 213, £46.50 hb.

Few would question the importance of reforming the state in Latin America. The list of problems that beset governments throughout the region is extensive: recurrent fiscal crises, inefficient and ineffective public services, corruption, rent



seeking, poorly developed regulatory regimes and a legacy of extensive state intervention in the economy. Indeed, much has been written about these problems and how they impede the consolidation of market economies, democratic systems, and integration into the global economy. Much less has been written about how to respond to them.

In *Reforming the State: Managerial Public Administration in Latin America*, editors Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira and Peter Spink and their contributors seek to analyse such problems and also to recommend solutions. Arguing that Latin American bureaucracies are mired in rule- and procedure-oriented models of public administration, editors and authors agree that new approaches are needed to make the state more efficient, more effective and more responsive. They uniformly reject the anti-statism of many of the economic reforms of the 1980s, which pursued a radical agenda of state minimalism, privatisation and downsizing. They insist that markets and democracies only function well when states are capable of enforcing 'rules of the game', providing effective public services, responding to citizen demand, and devising and implementing policies that encourage economic and social development. The solution to the problems created by the legacy of intervention and ponderous bureaucracies is to be found in the new public management. Managerialism, the authors argue, means a state oriented toward the public interest, its activities monitored for results, its agents accountable to citizens and elected officials and responsive to an appropriate set of incentives for honesty, fairness and productivity.

Bresser Pereira, in an initial chapter, indicates that the hold of late-nineteenth-century models of state reform, essentially the replacement of patrimonialism with hierarchical and rule-based Weberian bureaucracies, is no longer an appropriate way to conceptualise the task of government. Over time, these bureaucracies grew in size and power, became heavy handed and heavy footed in carrying out the public's business, and frequently lost their souls to rent-seeking elites. He argues that a paradigm shift is necessary: managerial public administration introduces incentives for performance, organises activities around expectations for results and deals effectively with principal-agent asymmetries.

Adam Przeworski is equally concerned about norms for effective public management, focusing on the variety of principal-agent relationships that must be well-structured if the business of government is to be carried out effectively. His chapter provides a useful orientation about how such goals can be achieved through the structuring of institutions and incentives. Institutional design matters, Przeworski argues, but so too does sorting out what governments should be responsible for and what should be left to the private sector or civil society.

The dilemma created by the search for fast results – downsizing, budget cutting – and the longer term goal of putting effective public sector organisations in place is explored in a chapter by Donald Kettl. He sounds a cautionary note for reformers: it is a long and difficult undertaking to implement the central ideas of the new public management. He recommends that reformers assess the costs and benefits of performance management, the many dimensions of 'customer orientation', and the difficult process of devolving or decentralising government.

Four chapters focus more specifically on the Latin American experience. Collectively they raise questions about the extent to which the new paradigm of public administration, impressively presented in the first three chapters, can be

successful, given historical experiences and the complexity of the changes required. William Glade argues that the new public administration will not be effective unless it goes hand-in-hand with structural adjustments that redefine the role of the state in the economy. Spink questions complex reform models, particularly those carried out without sufficient attention to historical antecedents and the lessons they provide. This warning is heeded by Bresser Pereira in a case study on reform in Brazil's public administration. He assesses why successive efforts to reform the state failed and how the new managerialism fared better when it was introduced under Fernando Henrique Cardoso. A final chapter by Joan Prats i Català emphasises the importance of states that are able to make and implement effective public policies – policies that respond to the challenges of globalisation – in the context of democratic institutions.

This volume brings together thoughtful essays on the new public management with a series of essays grounded in the historical experience of Latin America. Together, the essays lay out the nature of what needs to be done to turn inefficient, ineffective and unresponsive states into ones capable of providing for the public interest. The optimism of the general chapters is tempered by those focused on Latin America, for they remind us that new paradigms must confront the legacies of history, that change is a slow and complex process, and that reforms often have unintended consequences.

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Kees Biekart, *The Politics of Civil Society Building: European Private Aid Agencies and Democratic Transitions in Central America* (Utrecht and Amsterdam: International Books and the Transnational Institute 1999), pp. 416, £19.95 pb.

In Latin America, as in most other parts of the developing world, western public and private aid organisations have embraced the cause of strengthening civil society in recent years. Hundreds, or more probably thousands, of Latin American non-governmental organisations have benefited from this wave of assistance. Though the individual recipient organisations are often distinctly modest institutions, donors have nonetheless invested this work with soaring ambitions. A vibrant civil society, they contend, will spur the passage from formal to substantive democracy, forge social justice for historically disadvantaged or marginalised groups, and cushion the harsh effects of economic reform. And while donors fly the civil society banner with apparent confidence, the actual body of empirical research underlying the cause is surprisingly thin. Reading the monotonous intonements of donor reports on the virtues of a civil society focus, it is quickly apparent that such work is rooted more in hope and faith than knowledge and proof.

*The Politics of Civil Society Building* goes a substantial way to filling this gap. Kees Biekart, a fellow at the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam, provides a deep-reaching analysis of the role of western aid for civil society building in Central America. He concentrates on the undertakings of European private aid agencies, but the account he presents is highly relevant to the broader picture of western aid for civil society development, both public as well as private,

European and North American, in South America and the Caribbean as well as Central America.

Biekart begins with an extensive analysis of the ever-elusive concept of civil society, usefully avoiding the habitual equation of NGOs with civil society that so typically prevails in donor circles. He bases this analysis in a broader examination of the concepts of democratic transition and consolidation. Biekart then adds an interesting portrait of the world of European private aid agencies, tracing their emergence in the 1970s and 1980s as major actors in Latin America and elsewhere. Building the base of his analysis still wider, he devotes a sizeable chapter to the history of Central America's democratic transitions, starting well back in the nineteenth century.

Though extensive, and at times a bit dense, Biekart's groundwork pays off when he turns to civil society aid itself. Rather than rewarmed the same ahistorical fallacies of donors discovering the nongovernmental sector as something brand new, Biekart's treatment of the roles of civil society and of the effects of civil society aid is nuanced and penetrating. He draws a sharp contrast between official aid on the one hand and private aid on the other. The former, he asserts, perhaps a bit too broadly, considers civil society building to be part of the neoliberal approach of strengthening the private sector; while the latter, he says, is more about promoting progressive social change. In charting the evolution of private aid he highlights a dilemma. In the 1980s European private aid providers clearly believed themselves to have a vital, unique role, serving as a counterbalance to US counterinsurgency efforts. With the end of the Cold War and of the civil wars in Central America, that role faded. In shifting from the empowerment of popular movements to the self-proclaimed task of building civil society, European private aid agencies now face an awkward situation. Official aid often reaches the very organisations that private funders previously believed to be their own territory. Those funders are left with the choice either of merely complementing the work of the official aid donors or carving out some new role. In neither case is their place on the socio-political stage likely to be as prominent or compelling as before.

In a set of detailed case studies Biekart puts to use his sophisticated analytic framework of the various ways external aid can foster civil society. He looks at four examples of European private aid to major civil society actors: aid to the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Honduras, the Permanent Committee for the National Peace Debate in El Salvador, the Foundation of the Educational, Social and Economic Association in Guatemala, and the Central American Association of Small and Medium Agricultural Producers. In-depth field research on these cases leads him to instructive lessons about the ways aid should and should not be employed. He cites for example the difficulty aid providers have in adapting aid to reflect new political circumstances, the tension between donors' preferences for longer-term partnerships versus the ad hoc nature of many civil society coalitions, and the persistent tendency of donors to focus on increasing the density of civil society rather than on more crafted goals such as augmenting alliance-building, autonomy, accountability and sustainability within civil society.

The picture that emerges of European private aid for civil society building in Central America is positive but scarcely glowing. The study makes clear that external aid providers can play a useful supporting role in the development of civil society as long as they do not mistake their part for a guiding role or

overestimate the influence of fledgling civil society sectors on deeply-entrenched structures of political and economic power.

In short, this book is a well-conceived, well-executed study of a topic that too often invites gaseous generalities. The author walks a careful but engaging line between his obvious sympathy for the overall enterprise of such aid and his commendable willingness to identify the frequent shortcomings of such efforts. The reader must be willing to get through rather long sections of analytic frameworks and historical analysis to get at the empirical core of the book. And the author nowhere synthesises the lessons learned in any systematic, brief fashion. Nevertheless the insights are rich and they merit the effort. This perceptive book should find a lasting place on the desks of policy makers and aid practitioners as well as on the reading lists at universities.

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Carrie A. Meyer, *The Economics and Politics of NGOs in Latin America* (Westport, CT, and London: Praeger Publishers, 1999), pp. xix + 196, £47.95 hb.

Carrie Meyer's book first looks at the growth of NGOs in the international community and usefully reviews their history in Latin America. She then analyses specific aspects of NGOs, most notably the ways in which NGOs produce international as well as national 'public goods'; the NGO role in relation to the public sector; NGO entrepreneurship and accountability; how information technology is enhancing NGO impact and efficiency; and how the interaction of Southern NGOs and Northern donors contributes to the construction of a global community.

Meyer's analysis rings truest for the US-funded environmental sector, from which she draws most of her illustrations. Indeed, the book could be sub-titled as a study on environmental NGOs, though many of her observations are of broader relevance. Meyer approvingly charts the trend to channel more official development assistance through NGOs, whose virtues include flexibility, commitment and proximity to the grassroots, as well as the capacity to combine service provision with community development and advocacy. While overstating the effectiveness of NGOs on the world stage, she is realistic about NGO limitations, such as their difficulty in scaling-up, lack of responsibility to the local public and, in some cases, even opportunism.

Donning her economist's spectacles, Meyer describes the activities of Latin American NGOs as the production of 'public goods' which, in many cases, such as the preservation of rainforest bio-diversity, bring international benefits. External donors, who provide most NGO income, are, in effect, purchasing these benefits. Meyer considers this a positive arrangement because, although the donors set the priorities, everybody gains. She argues that channelling aid through NGOs distorts public sector priorities less than external funding of government programmes, and properly adds the caution that co-ordination is necessary if donors are to complement government provision of public goods without undermining the proper functions of the state. Unfortunately, she does not address the issue of whether increased official aid to NGOs and grassroots groups distort their priorities, diverting them away from their advocacy/representational roles, and into the more comfortable corners of development.

More importantly, the discussion of the political economy of Latin American NGOs overlooks a crucial question: how can NGOs and other civil society organisations develop stronger domestic constituencies which will support them financially and politically, and what implications will this change have for their role? Latin American NGOs seeking to influence government policies need credibility and political weight. The credibility comes from the quality of their ideas but the weight comes from having a social base capable of being mobilised around proposals. Fundraising taps supporters' financial resources but also broadens the constituency, brings attention to the cause and stimulates political action.

Building strong NGO constituencies in the poorer Latin American countries, and for the less popular causes, will be an enormous challenge, but there is considerable potential in the more developed economies, such as Brazil and Chile. Environmental NGOs are already making progress in developing campaigning memberships, in local fund-raising and in reducing dependence on foreign grants. International donors, especially those reducing their spending in Latin America, have a responsibility to provide capital and know-how to help all NGOs along this path.

Meyer's coverage of the politics of Latin American NGOs makes little reference to the complex NGO relationship to social movements such as peasant federations, indigenous organisations and urban community groups, or to the relationship between NGOs and political parties. She also understates the anger that many NGOs have felt towards the US government for its support of repressive regimes. This may be because in her account, the 'Carter years' seem to stretch from the 1960s to the 1990s, and US backing for coups and counter-insurgency is almost forgotten.

Many NGOs would also question Meyer's confidence that the 'raging fires' of democracy have taken irreversible hold in the region and that many new governments are committed to full civic participation. The military may stay in the barracks, but the region's authoritarian, elitist political culture is not so easily displaced, and there are signs of a growing lack of public confidence in political institutions. Meyer's complementary faith in the Bretton Woods egg-breaking formula for poverty reduction may also be hard to sustain in the absence of omelettes. Social inequality, economic instability and political tensions remain the backdrop for Latin American NGOs, few of whom are ready to declare the end of ideology.

While not the comprehensive look at Latin American NGOs that the title promises, this informative contribution covers important aspects of NGOs' role and characteristics, and presents the NGO/donor relationship in novel and provocative terms. Even if the reader does not share the underlying US liberal establishment standpoint, there is much food for thought.

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Wim Peluassy and Ruerd Ruben (eds.), *Agrarian Policies in Central America* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. xi + 209, £45.00 hb.

Most Central American countries underwent a shift in agrarian policy towards market liberalisation and privatisation during the 1980s. This change in government policy generally resulted from the adoption of structural adjustment

programmes to deal with the debt crisis. The main aim of this book is to analyse the impact of these neoliberal policies on rural development. In addition to the editors' introductory chapter there are chapters on Nicaragua, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras. While environmental issues are discussed in three of the book's eight chapters, there is no chapter on the impact of neoliberal agrarian policies on gender.

The book only partially succeeds in achieving its aim as the impact of neoliberal policies on rural development is not discussed systematically throughout. While of interest, most chapters lack coherence, revealing insufficient editorial guidance. The book's consistency might have been enhanced if the editors had provided an analytical framework for evaluating agrarian policy. Instead, the editors' introductory chapter is largely a summary of the main findings of the various contributions. There is a section on policy analysis but this is too brief, unclear and difficult to follow. While I can accept the editors' view that 'the diversity of analytical procedures of the essays, which run from historical comparative analysis to farm household modeling, is one of the assets of this book' (p. xi), the danger of such a view is that readers might easily get lost in the variety of analytical methods, countries and issues discussed unless there is a chapter which analyses this diversity. Unfortunately, the editors do not provide a concluding chapter in which they try to draw together the main theoretical, methodological and empirical findings of the various chapters within a comparative framework. What largely binds the book together is a common critical perspective on neoliberal policies using mainly an institutional economics theoretical approach. The general conclusion to emerge is that owing to market failures and segmentation, insufficient institutional development, asymmetric information and high transaction costs, an agrarian policy of economic liberalisation is unlikely to improve the region's rural development and might even have negative consequences for poor peasants and the environment.

Some chapters are more revealing, some more technical than others, and some are more directly linked to the theme of the book. For example, the chapter by Roebeling, Saenz, Castro and Barrantes applies a 'recursive linear programming and farm household modeling approach' to analyse the responsiveness of small farmers to agrarian policy in Costa Rica. Non-specialists might have some difficulty in following the rather technical nature of this chapter. This problem could have been eased if the authors had used less jargon and explained the terms they use in greater detail as well as the relevance of their findings. Eberlin applies a method known as policy analysis matrix (PAM) to discuss the comparative advantage of food crops under structural adjustment in Nicaragua. While the technical analysis is complex, the author manages to convey his conclusions with a certain clarity. The chapter by de Groot on sustainable land use at the agrarian frontier in Nicaragua and by Ruben and Vaessen on soil conservation practices and farmers' adoption strategies in Costa Rica deal with important ecological issues. However, it is not clear why they have been included in the book as they do not analyse explicitly any possible linkages between neoliberal policies and environmental sustainability. Similarly, while I greatly enjoyed reading Pelupessy's insightful comparative analysis of the institutional constraints and internal dynamics of land reform in El Salvador and Taiwan, I was puzzled as to why it was included, as it is not directly linked to the main theme of the book. For example, the impact of neoliberal policies on El Salvador's agrarian reform is insufficiently explored, if at all.



The most revealing chapter is by Ruben and Clemens in which they make a comprehensive and sophisticated analysis of poor rural households in Honduras, focusing on the importance of rural off-farm employment and food security policies since the government's land titling and structural adjustment programmes. Despite land tilling, almost 40 per cent of rural households were landless, revealing a surprisingly high degree of proletarianisation in the countryside, and 37 per cent had less than 3.5 hectares of land in 1993. Almost a third of total income of farm households with less than 3.5 hectares of land was generated by on-farm activities while the remaining income came from off-farm activities, mainly through seasonal wage labour employment on capitalist farms. Thus for most rural households, who could be categorised as proletarians or semi-proletarians (terms which are not used by the authors), food security depends more on rural off-farm employment opportunities and wage levels and less on the household's on-farm production.

Given this socio-economic differentiation in the countryside, Ruben and Clemens advocate differentiated agrarian policies. For those small farmers who have a potential for becoming viable production units they propose policies which overcome market imperfections and constraints so as to facilitate their conversion to more profitable farm activities as well as to further their intensification. For those rural households which have insufficient farm resources to become viable farm units they propose policies which promote rural off-farm employment by, for example, the provision of credit for non-agricultural rural activities (such as rural industry or tourism). For the poorest rural households they recommend policies to improve their access to basic social services such as primary education and health care through specially targeted social investment funds. Those readers who have followed the debate on the viable and non-viable peasant farmers in Latin America (a terminology introduced by neoliberal agricultural economists) and on *reconversión* (reconversion), or productive transformation, will be aware that this issue is problematic and has created much debate, particularly in Chile during the democratic transition. Unfortunately the authors do not refer to this wider debate which would have made them aware of the problematic nature of their categorisation of rural households and especially of the difficulties in designing and implementing differentiated policies of the kind they suggest.

Despite this being an uneven and poorly structured collection of essays, those readers interested in Central American agrarian policy issues will still find much that is useful in this book.

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Carol Wise and Riordan Roett (eds.), *Exchange Rate Politics in Latin America* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), pp. vii + 178, \$16.95 pb; £12.50 pb.

Volatile capital flows have exposed emerging markets to a newfound vulnerability. The viability of the international financial architecture under conditions of high capital mobility represents a major concern for policymakers. In the aftermath of the financial crises in Mexico (1994–95), Asia (1997–98), Russia (1998) and Brazil (1999), how should emerging markets structure their



exchange rate systems to prevent new crises from occurring? This question has become of particular salience in Latin America with the planned dollarisation of the Salvadorean and Bolivian economies and the exchange rate dilemma in Argentina, constrained by the straight-jacket of its currency board in the midst a prolonged recession since 1998. The return of Domingo Cavallo, the architect of the Convertibility Law in 1991, to Argentina's Ministry of Economy in 2001 is symptomatic of the elusive search for financial stability and smooth economic growth in Latin American emerging markets.

In this timely and elegantly written volume edited by Carol Wise and Riordan Roett, seven renowned scholars investigate the often-overlooked political economy of exchange rate management in Latin America. They critically scrutinise the experiences of Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela in the neoliberal context of the 1990s. The contributors to the volume underline 'the role of special interests, domestic institutions and old-fashioned statecraft in shaping the diverse responses to similar external contingencies' (Wise, p. 13). The four cases confirm that, 'while there may be no single blueprint for the choice of an exchange rate regime, what appears to count most is how governments actually manage their currency policy' (p. 20) and their ability at crafting pro-reform coalitions.

During the initial phase of market reform in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the new converts to macroeconomic orthodoxy, monetary discipline and fiscal restraint launched daring stabilisation programmes using the exchange rate as a nominal anchor to end hyperinflation. However, the consequent overvaluation tends to generate unsustainable current account deficits that only continued inflows of capital can finance. Furthermore, as the intended objectives were gradually achieved, a switch to more flexible systems – either a managed float or a crawling peg – was advocated. Although Mexico and Brazil eventually opted for greater flexibility, it took 'a massive financial crisis to wrest an anchored regime from the hands of policymakers in both countries' (p. 13).

By the end of the 1990s Mexico, Brazil and Chile were forced to let their currency float. The political costs of changing exchange rate regime in Argentina have dramatically risen as the economy entered into a prolonged recession in 1998.

A distinctive feature of exchange rate management in Latin America resides in what Max Corden termed the 'syndrome of reluctant exchange rate adjustment' and what Eliana Cardoso describes as 'the missing exit strategy'. The source of this reluctance to change and policy inertia is to be found in the incentives of the political system. In recent years developing and transition countries have tended to move away from adjustable-peg regimes toward more radical 'corner solutions', either hard pegs or free floats. The literature has identified this phenomenon as a 'hollowing of the middle' in the spectrum of exchange rate regimes. However, the inability or unwillingness of governments to gradually adjust increasingly out of tune exchange rates, and thus avoid sudden crises, has its roots in the intricate vicissitudes of politics. The problem then is finding an appropriate 'exit strategy', meaning a graceful, noncrisis way of exiting from a fixed but adjustable regime to a flexible rate of floating regime' (p. 39). One is immediately tempted to whisper Carlos Gardel's tune, '*No llores por mí, Argentina*'.

As Tim Kessler demonstrates in the case of Mexico, while the causes of the financial collapse in 1994–95 are to be found in 'the rapid and unregulated

opening of capital markets and the banking sector, combined with an unsustainable exchange rate policy' (p. 61), 'the impact of international capital is fundamentally conditioned by domestic politics and policies' (p. 44). The Mexican crisis also underscored the dangers of 'currency mismatch', that is the dangerous combination of heavy borrowing in foreign-denominated currency (US dollars) and the lending in pesos. Electoral cycles played a crucial role: both in Mexico in 1994 and Brazil in 1998, while it was clearly time to adjust the exchange rate, it was not until after the elections that serious attempts were made to alter the existing regime. This was too late and the currencies collapsed in December 1994 for the peso and January 1999 for the real. Similarly, Brazil has landed on a path of exchange rate flexibility through no choice of its own. According to Cardoso, Brazil's currency policy illustrates 'the temptation to use monetary policy as a substitute for fiscal reform' (p. 77). Unlike Mexico, however, where the financial crisis had its origins in reckless private sector spending and borrowing, Brazil has been unable to rein in chronically high fiscal deficits. In the absence of rigorous fiscal tightening, the burden of adjustment fell disproportionately on monetary policy. High interest rates helped to attract heavy capital inflows, but they also exacerbated the mass of bad debt that had accumulated within state banks, which have been central to the politics of patronage and clientelism for decades.

To circumvent the lack of confidence in its policy credibility Argentina adopted a fixed exchange rate under a currency board in 1991 to put an end to the chronic hyperinflation of 1989–91, caused by the monetisation of fiscal deficits. However successful this strategy may have been, Wise underlines the limits of the currency board as a substitute for a coherent development strategy. Radical fiscal reform is a precondition for the establishment and survival of the system and this remains elusive in Argentina. Furthermore, the trade-offs needed to secure the coalition formed by President Menem to support first-generation market reforms created 'reform gaps', in particular in the labour market and the federal system. The newfound economic consensus formed around the currency board was not fundamentally questioned by the October 1999 presidential elections. However, the crisis of winter 2000–01 underscored the need for change. More than a decade of fiscal restraint and market reforms has generated a 'reform fatigue' in the context of an economy in distress since 1998 and high levels of unemployment. The question now for Argentina is how to exit the currency board gracefully without jeopardising its hard-won policy credibility.

In sharp contrast to the experiences in Mexico and Brazil, Venezuela responded to the exogenous shocks of 1997–98 by refusing to devalue and tightening further its already restrictive monetary policy. According to Javier Corrales, political factors account for Venezuela's 'stop-and-go' approach to market reform since the mid-1980s, characterised by recurrent 'axe-relax-collapse' patterns of reform. Venezuela's muddling-through approach to macroeconomic policy has not, however, been disastrous. As Corrales underlines, Venezuela's ability to avoid a financial collapse is mainly due to innovations in economic governance and the emergence of a relatively insulated and independent Central Bank, one of the few modernised state institutions. However, 'The continuing attempt to maintain a restrictive monetary policy and tight exchange rate regime in conjunction with fiscal profligacy and macroeconomic uncertainty is a time bomb' (p. 154) that only relatively generous oil prices prevent from ticking. Nevertheless, the

‘Bolivarian revolution’ promised by Hugo Chávez, elected president in the 1998 elections, has not significantly affected the overall macroeconomic policy stance to date.

It has increasingly become apparent that there are simply no substitutes for a sound fiscal policy. In his concluding chapter, Roett underscores the critical role of fiscal policy to sustain strategies using the exchange rate as a nominal anchor. In turn, fiscal policy is at the core of politics: in Brazil the nature of the Brazilian presidential system, the highly fragmented party system, the influence exerted by regional governors and the numerous constitutional loopholes inhibited any coherent attempt at reforming the fiscal system. The inability or unwillingness of government to rein in fiscal deficits has often triggered currency crisis and economic meltdowns. Combined with high capital mobility, the instability of private capital markets puts an onus on the credibility and capacity of governments to manage their exchange rate regimes, in other words in the political economic context.

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Hernando de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (London: Bantam Press, 2000), pp. iii + 243, £15.00 hb.

As an author Hernando de Soto has ‘one idea per book’. In the 1980s he had a best seller in *The Other Path*, a book that claimed that the reason the informal sector existed was that the high level of bureaucracy in developing countries forced small enterprises to become illegal; informal was illegal and formal was legal. Subsequent research demonstrated that this dichotomy was something of an oversimplification.<sup>1</sup>

This new book also concentrates on one idea, which is that in developed countries legal systems developed that recognised claims to property ownership for both formal and informal dwellings and that by extension the documentation of these claims allowed property to be used to generate capital and economic growth. In contrast, the legal systems that exist in Latin America and the former Soviet states only recognise formal property and, as a result, informal property in those countries is ‘dead capital’ that cannot be activated to generate economic growth.

The ‘mystery of capital’ for de Soto is how the provision of titles to the ownership of land in the west occurred and allowed these titles to generate capital. ‘This is the mystery of capital. Solving it requires an understanding of why Westerners, by representing assets with titles, are able to see and draw out capital from them’ (p. 6).

To dramatise the scale of the problem, Hernando de Soto states that his researchers ‘assisted by knowledgeable local professionals’ (p. 24) carried out surveys in five Third World cities – Cairo, Lima, Manila, Mexico City and Port-au-Prince. Nothing much is written about the methodology, except that the value

<sup>1</sup> [see V. Tokman (ed.), *Beyond Regulation: The Informal Economy in Latin America*, (Boulder, 1992)]

of the buildings may be ascertained 'simply by surveying the cost of the building materials and observing the selling prices of comparable buildings' (p. 24). However, the cost of the building materials may be a very poor guide to the value of the property, unless location is taken into account; a shack made out of orange crates and sacking in a *favela* close to a business area that provides steady employment may be worth much more than a better built house that is a four-hour bus ride from the area.

It is not clear whether other surveys were carried out and, if not, how the results for the five cities were allotted, but data are presented for some individual countries and for major geographical regions. Table 2.1 (p. 29) presents an estimate of the value of dead capital represented by unregistered urban dwellings and rural land in the developing world as US \$9.34 trillion (i.e. thousand billion), of which US \$6.74 trillion is the value of informal urban dwellings. This corresponds to 329 million informal dwellings, giving the average value of an informal dwelling as US \$20,486, which seems very high. Another surprising feature of the data is the lack of variation in the average value of an informal dwelling across the world. Thus, Asia US \$20,588; Africa US \$20,714; Middle East and North Africa US \$20,556; South America US \$20,227; Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean US \$20,000; China, NIS and Eastern Europe US \$20,571 and Other Developing Countries US \$20,000. In addition, for Peru, 1.7 million informal dwellings are valued at US \$36.5 billion, giving an average value of US \$21,706 per dwelling. Anyone who has driven by Lima's shantytowns may be surprised by such a high figure. In the absence of any serious discussion of the accuracy of these numbers, this reviewer is inclined to take them with a considerable pinch of salt.

Chapter five provides an historical example by considering how informal property claims were formalised in the United States as the pioneers moved west and settled the land. While this is interesting, it is not obvious that it has much to do with the current situation facing occupants of informal dwellings or the authorities in developing countries. The land being squatted on or subdividing is not freely available on a moving frontier, but is relatively scarce land in and around existing cities. However, the earlier US experience might have some relevance for the potential relationship between the Brazilian state and informal settlers in Amazonia.

The implicit assumption in the book as to how all the US \$9.34 trillion of 'dead capital' can be turned into 'live capital' seems to be that, once the titles to the informal dwellings have been obtained by their owners, these titles could be used as collateral to generate loans and that this would generate economic growth. However, this requires the development of a market for these titles and it is not obvious that such a market would develop for any but the titles of largest value. Market transactions involve costs and the face value of the title would need to be sufficiently higher than the transaction costs to make the transaction profitable in the event of default on a loan. This would rule out some of the property in shanty towns, but without having more information on the distribution of the values of informal dwellings, it is not possible to say how important this effect would be.

The end of the book is disappointing, as de Soto does not provide any specific proposals for how to register the claims to informal land and dwellings. This is surprising as in 1990 it was reported that President Fujimori had appointed de Soto to register the informal land claims of Peruvians with an aim to making

them available to generate collateral for gaining credit. Nothing much was heard of the outcome of this exercise and it would have been interesting to know how many informal land claims were registered and why this programme failed to generate credit for those who were registered.<sup>2</sup>

The last paragraph in the book begins with a statement by de Soto that 'I love being from the Third World because it represents such a marvellous challenge – that of making a transition to a market-based capitalist system that respects people's desires and beliefs' (p. 209). OK for the rich, but one suspects that many of those living in informal dwellings in Peru that are worth much less than \$21,706 might not agree with him.

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Kevin J. Middlebrook (ed.), *Conservative Parties, the Right, and Democracy in Latin America*. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. xv + 391, £46.50, £16.50 pb.

What if the Conservatives were reduced to ten per cent of the vote and Labour got permanent majorities? Stop dreaming, it is a nightmare: several Latin American countries have gone through that scenario and are none the better for it. There is a growing realisation in the region that an electorally strong right is not only a presentable alternative, but an ever more fashionable one, and indeed a bulwark of stability and democracy. This runs counter to some common sense, as rightist circles are still full of authoritarian tendencies and, if in power, they may block necessary reforms, thus eroding the ground for institutional consensus. However, democracy does not depend on the prevalence of democratic convictions, but on the equilibrium of forces between contenders who have been unable to liquidate each other. And so a new common sense is being created.

The collection of essays edited by Kevin Middlebrook is a very valuable revision, with chapters dedicated to various countries, the main absence being Mexico, which is a pity, because there also the right has recently raised its head, producing a veritable earthquake. Predictably, Chile gets a *cum laude*, and Argentina stands out as an odd anomaly, given the similarity of its social structure to its neighbour's, which could have led one to expect a better performance. Unless, of course, one considers Peronism under Carlos Menem or Radicalism under Fernando de la Rúa as cases of strong conservative forces, judging by the policies they apply. Yet this would be a wrong conclusion, given the social bases of their support and the attitudes current among their militants. Or is it that 'we are all conservatives nowadays'? We are not, despite the convergence of economic programmes we are forced to adopt when in office.

The comparative approach, which is not much present in the individual pieces, is provided by the editor's introductory and final chapters. Much is made there of the role of Church-State conflicts in spawning a conservative party capable of securing followers across social classes, as in Chile and Colombia (and less clearly in Venezuela). This is valid enough, but somewhat overstated. In some cases an oligarchic variety of liberalism takes the role of defender of the established order,

<sup>2</sup> For some case studies of the formalisation of informal housing, the reader might consult Edésio Fernandes and Ann Varley (eds.), *Illegal Cities: Law and Urban Change in Developing Countries*, (London, 1998).

as in Giovanni Giolitti's Italy at the end of the nineteenth century, in Argentina under President Julio A. Roca's Partido Autonomista Nacional, or in Brazil with the regionally-based Republican parties of the Old Republic.

The point is that a modern right can no longer depend on the deferential rural vote but must switch to the urban middle classes, plus the usual working-class Tories. In this the Brazilians are quite successful, and have been so since the times of the União Democrática Nacional, and so have the Chileans and the Colombians. But in Venezuela the right, based on the Social Christian COPEI and with good connections in Acción Democrática, has collapsed before a populist wave that recalls early Peronism. However, Hugo Chávez does not get much more than half the electorate (with many abstentions), so there is wide scope for realignment on the other side. And in Peru a very modernised right was practically destroyed by Alberto Fujimori, who also concocted a type of populism. This, however, was more on the Mexican PRI's multiclass integrative pattern, thus performing substitute conservative functions, not (yet) to be found in *chavismo*. Fujimori's experiment has in turn proved short-lived, so the prospects for a new right should not be dismissed, especially as an alternative to a resurgent *aprismo*.

The editor and some of the authors argue that perhaps democracy does not really need conservative parties, but rather a good financially-oiled connection between elites and office holders, or bourgeois hegemony in civil society, or alternatively, that the left or populism moderate their demands. This may be so, but comparative evidence shows that a strong right is the rule in really-existing democracies, even in Spain and Italy, which seemed until rather recently to be important exceptions. Of course Latin America is different, but there are signs that the trend is also taking hold in the region. The clarification of this process should be the research agenda, as hinted in the concluding chapter, but leaving aside as sufficiently analysed the question as to whether conservative parties are good or bad, necessary or not, for the consolidation of democracy. The more interesting issue now is how and why these parties (or coalitions) develop, and what aspects of the social structure, or of the succession of events and circumstances, favour or hinder their growth. For that task, this volume provides food for thought combining theoretical analysis with a wealth of updated information viewed in historical perspective.

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Ted G. Goertzel, *Fernando Henrique Cardoso: Reinventing Democracy in Brazil* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), pp. xii + 219, £39.95, £15.95 pb.

Eminent sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso may have quipped to journalists prior to his election as president of Brazil in 1993 'Forget everything I have written' but this timely book ensures that academics at least will not. Many analyses will doubtless be written of Cardoso's eight years of administration, but the strength of this volume lies in its exploration of those years before presidential office which its subject apparently wishes to rest in obscurity. Goertzel's painstaking archival work serves to place the president in his intellectual context and does a great favour, particularly to students and younger scholars, coming to



Cardoso's writings for the first time. Goertzel gives a very readable account of Cardoso's major intellectual influences and summarises the president's early and often seminal academic contributions. Equally valuable is the book's exposition of Cardoso's tightly-knit intellectual peer group, such as the Marx seminar started in 1958, which, Goertzel notes, 'has achieved almost mythological importance in Brazilian intellectual history because of the tremendous productivity and influence of its alumni.' It is from this group, the University of São Paulo and CEBRAP that many have gone on to both academic and political careers, some now members of Cardoso's inner circle in government, others firmly in opposition and often bitterly disappointed by Cardoso.

It is undoubtedly the novelty of having such a highly educated, apparently principled and mentally rigorous individual as president that makes observers search his considerable oeuvre for clues to his style of government. Cardoso himself feels that his writings of the 1960s and '70s on race relations, industrial elites and dependency theory have little bearing on his current task of steering the behemoth of the Brazilian state into the twenty-first century. While it may be unfair to hold a politician rigidly to theoretical or academic positions he may have held well over four decades previously, for those inclined to pick through Cardoso's past for betrayals of former positions, there are plenty of ironies. For example, his father Leónidas retired from the military to support progressive causes such as 'The Petroleum is Ours' campaign. This slogan was taken up by the unions and the left 40 years later when his son privatised Petrobrás.

Cardoso, once the Marxist dependency theorist, has pipped New Labour to the post in elevating pragmatism to the status of an intellectual position. He did, in fact, reject dismissively Blair's overtures to join him and Clinton in a 'Third Way' club.

The weakest part of the book lies in the chapters dealing with Cardoso's first term in office. Goertzel gives a dutiful account of the main markers of the 1994–98 period, but inevitably space does not allow much by way of detailed analysis of any single policy area or of confrontations with Congress or organised lobbies and movements. It is here especially that the book takes on a tinge of hagiography, and the author puts up a doughty defence of the alleged shortcomings of the government. The book is so centred on the discussion of Cardoso the intellectual and individual, that we lose sight of some of the more structural variables in Brazilian politics which both shape and delimit the scope of presidential action, and which frame Cardoso's reform agenda. Without a discussion – or at least a nod in the direction of the current literature – of the impact of the 1988 Constitution, of the current form of federalism, of the legacy of the corporatist state, of the characteristics of the party system, of patterns of executive-legislative interaction and Brazil's form of minority presidentialism, it is impossible to evaluate Cardoso's relative success or failure as president. Such a voluntaristic view inevitably makes discussion of key policy battlegrounds, such as social security reforms which is allocated two paragraphs, descriptive, superficial and unsatisfactory.

Finally, the central question is posed explicitly: does Cardoso's background as an eminent social scientist have any bearing on his administration? Goertzel concludes that it is less the substance of Cardoso's writings that matters than the social science methodology he brings to bear on issues. One wonders, however, about the true relative weight of this academic training when compared to the



powerful and countervailing forces of the Brazilian political arena when Cardoso the rational intellectual is inevitably forced to play presidential pork barrel politics with governors and congress.

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Fernando Campero Prudencio (ed.), *Bolivia en el siglo XX: la formación de la Bolivia contemporánea* (La Paz: Harvard Club de Bolivia, 1999), pp. xxiv + 634, pb, \$20.00, Bs85.

This is the volume to read if one is interested in Bolivia today. I can think of no other single work which provides such a wealth of detail and variety of viewpoints as this multi-authored work. The Harvard Club of La Paz is to be congratulated for putting together a wide range of authors from many disciplines to analyse Bolivia's social, economic and political changes during this crucial century. The result is an valuable compendium of information. In this period Bolivia has grown from 1.8 to 6.4 million persons (as of 1992), from a primarily rural society to one that is predominantly urban; from a predominantly mining export economy to a more mixed mining and agricultural export sector with a large internal market. Even the orientation of its population has shifted from a north-southeast (La Paz-Oruro-Potosí) corridor to an east-west orientation defined by the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. From having a largely illiterate and non-Spanish speaking population in 1900, Bolivia is now home to an overwhelmingly literate and multi-lingual society where Spanish finally predominates. But that domination is based on bilingualism's triumph, not the liquidation of the traditional languages, and in the latest census (1992), some four million Bolivians still claim Quechua and Aymara as their mother tongue.

The volume begins with a controversial essay from the Harvard economist Jeffery Sachs, which argues for geography determining economic development. While some readers will be surprised by this return to geographic causality as the single most important factor affecting development, this reflects current thinking among some North American economists and economic historians. Such uni-dimensional causality would seem to condemn some countries to permanent underdevelopment and one can think of many examples, even in the European record, which contradicts these rigid claims. There follows a basic periodisation provided by two eminent historians, Eric Langer and René Arce Aguirre, which later in the volume is balanced by a whimsical but nevertheless interesting essay on 'daily life' by the younger historians Medinacelli, Lazo de la Vega and Capra. The complementary essay on Bolivia's relations with the world does not seriously analyse the complex relations with the United States, which for better or worse, has had a major impact on the nation for three quarters of the past century. The complexities of the transition from the nineteenth and early twentieth century liberal economy to state capitalism in the 1950s and back to neoliberalism in the past twenty years is well analysed by Juan Antonio Morales and Napoleón Pacheco. Among the best chapters in this section are those dealing with mining as it has evolved from silver, through tin, into its current mix of zinc, silver, gold and moderate tin exports today; and from private ownership to the rise and decline of the state mine company COMIBOL and the recent emergence of modern median sized private mining. There is also a fine historical study by Carlos Miranda Pacheco on petroleum and natural gas – the latter becoming one

of Bolivia's principal exports – which gives a balanced analysis of both the private foreign multinationals and the state-owned YPFB. Unfortunately the same detail and sophistication is not given to the study of industry. Even less helpful is the chapter on agriculture, which remains one of the most fundamental problems facing Bolivia as it attempts to modernise its economy and retain its traditional landholding arrangements. Despite significant exports of soybeans from Santa Cruz, Bolivia's dominant highland agriculture remains backward and unproductive.

Given the high quality of Bolivian demographic work since the 1950s, the essay presented here on population and its geographic distribution, while interesting, is less than adequate and leaves out the causes and consequences of the complex demographic transition in the last half century, which saw death rates decline faster than birth rates, leading to still impressively high natural growth rates.

The political evolution of Bolivia is analysed in a very suggestive essay by René Antonio Mayorga. He studies the development of party structure, and the growth of political consensus, and points to the time since the end of the military interregnum of 1964–1982 as a unique period of multi-party pacts, the decline of extremist politics, and the emergence of a real national political consensus. He also shows the relative decline of a centralist and presidential system in the past twenty years. Gerardo Berthin Siles gives us a tantalising introduction to the evolution of state institutions and bureaucracy – which well deserve a book unto themselves. The law and justice chapter, a very fundamental theme in Bolivia, is unfortunately disorganised and not very detailed, the same weaknesses affect the chapters on social actors and mentalities. This cannot be said for Xavier Albó's masterly presentation of Indian politics and political organisation, a theme he has dealt with many times before, but which improves with each iteration. I can think of no better source on this fundamental aspect of Bolivian political and social evolution than his comprehensive history which goes from the Aymara leader Zárate Willka in the Liberal revolution of 1899 to the rise of Guaraní and other western lowland native groups in the past decade. Manuel Contreras gives us a detailed discussion of how education has evolved at the primary through the university level – the great expansion of which accounts for the tremendous drop in illiteracy and rise of Spanish.

But he stresses that volume and quality have not kept pace – a problem common to Brazil and other Latin American nations which democratised education. He also talks of the important educational reforms and decentralisation of the state apparatus in the past decade and its failures and successes. The volume ends with a hurried but useful survey of all the arts by Pedro Querejazu, and finally there are some excellent photos covering the twentieth century throughout the book.

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Mark Ensalaco, *Chile Under Pinochet: Recovering the Truth* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. xv + 280, £33.50 hb, \$45.00 hb.

It is funny the difference a year or two can make. When Mark Ensalaco's new book on Chile ends, in 1995, the human rights situation in the country looks rather bleak. True, electoral democracy has been restored, a Truth and

Reconciliation Commission has produced a mammoth report on the most serious human rights violations of the military, and some reparations have been paid. Nonetheless, as the last chapter of the book points out, discussion of the TRC's report was truncated, the disappeared were still unaccounted for, and the issue was fading despite the best efforts of family members. To Ensalaco, it looks, quite reasonably, as if 'their efforts to remind the rest of Chilean society that a terrible injustice had gone unpunished would be increasingly futile.'

Three years later, General Augusto Pinochet, the man responsible for the crimes of the military, sat under house arrest in London while courts considered his extradition to Spain on charges of genocide and terrorism. Complaints in the Chilean courts accusing Pinochet of murder, torture and disappearance had been filed and would, in the next two years, number several hundred. Eventually, Pinochet would be indicted in Chile for ordering (and covering up) the 'Caravan of Death' which murdered and disappeared some 73 Chileans in the weeks after the 1973 coup.

While the final outcome of the Pinochet prosecution is now in doubt due to his deteriorating mental condition, the evaluation of Chile's 'transition to democracy' is probably different if one looks at the ten years from 1990–2000 rather than just the first five. Moreover, a lot more information has now come out on some of the most well-known cases of human rights violations, due to the efforts of investigating judges who have, finally, begun to take their work seriously. Nonetheless, it remains true that, as Mark Ensalaco says, there is little in the way of detailed, organised accounts – in English – of the nature and progression of the violations during the 17 years of military rule. There is the English version of the TRC's report, but that is not meant to be a chronicle, nor an analysis. Ensalaco's book sets out to fill the gap in English-language accounts of the Pinochet era, focusing on the human rights violations of the regime.

The book chronicles the military's hatred of civilians affiliated with the Allende government, and quotes some of the interchanges between Pinochet and other senior military commanders on the day of the coup. It recounts the early killings and the later systematising of secret detention, torture and summary execution through the creation of the DINA secret police. It tells of the systematic dismantling of the leftist parties, first the MIR, then the Socialists (those who remained within Chile) and then the leadership of the Communist Party. The accounts of military operations against these organisations are sometimes heartbreaking in their detail: mistakes, overconfidence and sheer bad luck seem to have led to many in the top leadership being killed. It also devotes some attention to differences and tensions among the military services, especially between the army and air force. Despite the military's claim to the contrary, Ensalaco makes clear that a state of war never existed in Chile; armed resistance to the coup was quickly put down, and the leftist organisations could carry out no more than isolated attacks on individuals.

Another chapter discusses the influence of international organisations and the role played by international pressure in limiting the regime's human rights violations. Ensalaco notes that visiting delegations consistently underestimated the repression, and that, although conditions for prisoners improved somewhat, the regime continued carrying out its repressive campaigns even during delegation visits and international conferences. This chapter, as well as later ones, makes a particular point of tracing the shameful behaviour of the Chilean

judiciary and bar association, which refused to see what was happening in front of their noses. He also recounts the heroic work of some of the human rights lawyers of the period.

The most interesting part of the book is the last two chapters, which contain the author's views on the transition from military rule to the elected *Concertación* government of Patricio Aylwin. Ensalaco is quite critical of the Aylwin government's decision to seek 'the truth, and justice to the extent possible'. He describes the composition and mandate of the TRC, and especially explores its limits: the lack of subpoena power, the inability to name names, the arbitrary 90-day registration period, which left many cases out of the Commission's report. This part of the book has many more interviews, probably because the author spent a good part of the early 1990s as a visiting professor at the University of Concepción and was able to meet many of the principal figures in the government, TRC and human rights organisations. He touches on the reactions to the report, especially the unwillingness of the military (with the partial exception of the air force) and the Supreme Court to accept any responsibility for their role in the crimes committed, or in the Court's case, omitted. He ends by describing the lack of progress in finding the disappeared and the effect on the families. He points to the conviction of ex-DINA head Manuel Contreras and his deputy for the killing of Orlando Letelier as one of the few instances in which the courts have prosecuted crimes committed by the military. He asks, 'should the transitional government have risked more?' and in the context, his implied answer seems to be 'yes'.

Time seems to have borne out this assessment: General Pinochet's arrest and indictment did not lead to military revolt, merely grumbling. Nor have other investigations of military-era crimes made the sky fall. Clearly, the detention of Pinochet outside the country for over 18 months, and the international opprobrium his detention revealed, played a role in changing the internal political climate. But so did the work of the TRC, making the existence of widespread violations a widely-accepted fact, and leaving open the possibility of further investigations into the fate of the disappeared.

In short, this is a useful overview of the period of human rights violations for those who cannot access the Spanish-language materials. It suffers in places from the difficulty of identifying a complex cast of characters to an unfamiliar audience while avoiding repetition, but otherwise is highly readable and well put together. And it shows us once again the pitfalls involved in attempting evaluations of recent history while that history is still being made.

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John A. Booth, *Costa Rica: Quest for Democracy* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1999), pp. xxii + 230, £21.99 pb.

Most accounts of Costa Rican democracy are celebratory. Many fondly describe the country as peaceful, egalitarian and intrinsically democratic. A history of colonial poverty, low population density, a large sector of small and medium-sized property-holders purportedly explain why 'Costa Rica is different'.

John A. Booth's survey of Costa Rican politics resonates uncomfortably with the received wisdom. On the one hand, he argues that democratisation does stem

from ‘non-elites’ forcing ‘elites’ to share political power. He gives little credence to arguments about the impact of presidentialism and other institutional arrangements on the choices parties made to respect or to disregard election outcomes. On the other hand, Booth acknowledges that political instability (until the mid-twentieth century) and social inequalities convert stereotypes and make myths of prevailing images. Booth’s book, therefore, is one of a handful of overviews that begin to diverge from the conventional wisdom about Costa Rican politics.

The strongest part of Booth’s tome is the discussion of public opinion. Booth is a careful survey researcher; he relies upon 1973 and 1995 surveys to buttress his views that Costa Ricans are hardcore democrats. He is a proponent of culturalist view of democracy – arguments that assume that the psychological orientations of citizens toward their governments powerfully shapes the health and survival of democracy. From his book, we learn that the vast majority of Costa Ricans espouse views consistent with democracy even if, in the 1990s, they were no more democratic in orientation than their Central American counterparts.

Booth’s book does not explore contemporary *tico* debates about the limits of their democracy. Having consolidated democracy, parties, politicians and citizens are now proposing a host of reforms to strengthen their democracy. In 1989 they established a Constitutional Court to adjudicate conflicts about individual rights and constitutional interpretation. Since the 1990s citizens and some politicians have clamoured to dismantle the closed-list system of electoral representation. Though party members select presidential candidates in primaries, presidential nominees and party leaders continue to choose legislative candidates behind closed doors. Many want parties to relax all of their gate-keeping functions in efforts to democratise a party system they claim is unresponsive to citizen demands. I missed Booth’s efforts to bring his public opinion expertise to bear on these developments.

It would also have been rewarding to read Booth’s impressions of public views of the burgeoning public debt. Though Costa Rica is no longer indebted to foreign lenders (a topic he ably covers in chapter eight), it runs a rather high internal debt. Paying interest on this debt consumes a significant share of public expenditures and constrains the continued investment in social expenditures that makes Costa Rica the envy of the developing world.

Booth’s book should help spur the analysis of Costa Rican democracy. If the homogeneity of *tico* society is more apparent than real, then we must discard largely sociological images about the democratisation of Costa Rican politics. If public opinion exists, then future analysts must explain how institutional arrangements curtail or amplify citizen views.

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Susanne Jonas, *Of Centaurs and Doves: Guatemala’s Peace Process* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 2000), pp. xix + 299, £39.50, £15.50 pb.

This study of the Guatemalan peace negotiations and the immediate period of implementing the accords is the first major scholarly overview of the political changes (and continuities) of the 1990s. Based on hundreds of interviews with the

central actors – from guerrillas to military officials, from indigenous leaders to UN bureaucrats – it will undoubtedly become a standard reference work, much like *The Battle for Guatemala* (1991), Susanne Jonas's analysis of the origins and contours of the armed conflict. Given that Jonas has been one of the most prominent and incisive foreign analysts of Guatemalan politics for the past three decades I need not persuade people to read this book – anyone interested in Guatemalan society and the problems of peace-building must do so. Rather, her work invites reflection on how Guatemala's history is being written.

*The Battle for Guatemala* generally uses the word 'massacres' when referring to the military's counterinsurgent violence against indigenous villagers in the early 1980s. Jonas now describes this as a 'holocaust' (p. 31) and dedicates *Of Centaurs and Doves* 'to my parents, Gerald and Hilda Jonas, and to my late grandmother, Anne Klestadt – all of them refugees of a different holocaust, in Europe sixty years ago'. She notes that the 1999 Truth Commission Report classifies the scorched-earth campaign as 'genocide' under international law (p. 33). The change in terminology and emergence of a new historical reference point shifts the interpretation of the violence from unplanned aggressive frenzy to a systematic racial policy. This subtle redefinition of the brutal 'facts' partly reflects greater knowledge of the army's strategy but may also be understood in a wider historiographical context of the 1990s: the media prominence of the Rwandan 'genocide', the growing international attention given to indigenous rights, and debates on the 'uniqueness' of the Jewish experience in the 1930s and 1940s.

Jonas's analysis of US influence in Guatemala has also evolved. *Guatemala* (1974), a book she co-edited with David Tobias, was written at the height of dependency theory and consequently focuses on US imperial ambitions. The subtitle of the 1991 book – *Rebels, Death Squads, and US Power* – suggests a similar emphasis. In contrast, *Of Centaurs and Doves*, while containing a chapter on the US role in the war and peace process, highlights the 'mixed messages' (p. 122) of the Washington agenda. On the one hand, the US maintained close ties with the Guatemalan military throughout the 1990s. On the other, some policies encouraged peace and development: the UN's central role in the peace talks reflected US consent to enter its traditional 'backyard', the state department and CIA responded to pressures to declassify documents about US involvement in the war, and agencies such as USAID have supported implementation of the peace accords. I have the impression that Jonas is surprised not only about changes in US foreign policy, but that she is writing about the old enemy with a little more sympathy and complexity than in the past.

*Of Centaurs and Doves* is a story of hope. Jonas reflects on the 'remarkable achievements' of the peace process (p. 15), on the high expectations amongst those who celebrated the signing of the final peace accord in December 1996, on the hope that the accords may become a basis for participatory democracy or social justice for people subject to ethnic, economic and gender discrimination. Change, rather than continuity, initially structures the narrative – the process of terminating the war, the struggles to negotiate the accords, the broad vision for change contained in the final documents. But Jonas has always understood the difference between pieces of paper and political realities. The latter chapters concern obstacles to implementation – the failure to secure tax reforms and the public rejection in a referendum of constitutional reforms derived from the peace accords – in addition to the persistent problem of poverty. By the end, uncertain



of the outcome of the implementation process, she reflects that ‘all those who have contributed to this epic effort are heroes, because it is better to have tried and failed than not to have tried’ (p. 245). A familiar despair comes to overshadow the hopes.

*Of Centaurs and Doves* suffers from a certain generality in its analysis. For example, the interviews are anonymous and almost never quoted, and much other material comes from newspaper reports. While anonymity is important in delicate political contexts, it may have at least been possible to provide more detailed quotations and appropriate ‘thick’ analysis. Jonas’s attempt to cover a decade of politics and a multitude of actors relegates important issues to the footnotes (such as the internal conflicts within the military or the guerrillas) or results in their near omission (for example, the tensions between the army and the business sector). This broad overview contrasts with more detailed anthropological research on Guatemala’s indigenous communities, women and refugees. Jonas’s work needs supplementing with ethnographic studies of the elite actors in her story. Jennifer Schirmer has done so for the military in *The Guatemalan Military Project* (1998), but there remains an acute absence of similar analyses of the business sector, politicians and international actors.

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ROMAN KRZYNARIC

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Virginia Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998), pp. xviii + 248, \$30.00, \$14.95 pb.

*Protestantism in Guatemala* is a major contribution to the burgeoning field of Latin American religious studies. In the vanguard of a new generation of Latin Americanist social scientists who study the recent proliferation of non-Catholic religions, Virginia Garrard-Burnett has filled what had been one of the field’s most obvious lacunae, a historical study of Protestantism in its most fertile Ibero-American soil – Guatemala. Guatemala, claiming the region’s largest relative Protestant population at approximately one-third of the total citizenry, demands scholarly attention for its leading role in the historical transition from religious monopoly to pluralism, which has been taking place at an accelerated rate over the past four decades. Garrard-Burnett’s study of Protestantism in Guatemala provides the historical perspective that is largely absent from anthropological and sociological readings of the Pentecostal boom.

In the rush to explain why millions of Latin Americans, particularly those from the popular classes, have converted from their native Catholicism to Pentecostalism, many scholars have ignored the historical context of the meteoric rise of charismatic Protestantism. *Protestantism in Guatemala* skilfully sets the historical stage upon which the drama of mass conversions to Pentecostal churches has been played out since the 1970s. Conducting her fieldwork in the early 1980s, prior to the boom in Latin American Pentecostal studies, Garrard-Burnett is more interested in explaining the failure of historic Protestantism to become a

mass movement in Guatemala than in analysing the success of Pentecostalism. Given that after seven decades of evangelising Guatemala's historic churches, such as the Presbyterian, could claim no more than one per cent of the population as Protestant, at the middle of the twentieth century, one can only wonder, in the face of surging Pentecostalism, what the Protestant pioneers did wrong.

In a history that goes to great lengths to relate the story of Protestantism in Guatemala to the larger social and political context, Garrard-Burnett demonstrates how Protestantism as an ideology of progress, inextricably tied to North American culture, appealed to late nineteenth-century liberals, such as President Justo Rufino Barrios, who tended to view the Catholic Church as an obstacle to modernisation. Thus Barrios in 1883 actually invited the US Presbyterian church to send missionaries to his country, and granted them a building next to the central plaza of the national capital in order to conduct their religious and educational activities. But while liberal elites embraced Protestantism, especially Presbyterianism, for its associations with positivist notions of national progress, neither they nor the disenfranchised masses, indigenous or ladinos, converted to the imported faith in significant numbers. Among the tiny minority who did abandon their native faith for the Protestantism of the US missionaries, Garrard-Burnett finds that the first Guatemalan converts were among the poorest of the poor, those whom Presbyterian missionary pioneer Edward Haymaker referred to as 'publicans and harlots' in his mission reports. At first glance, the extremely low social status of early converts is surprising considering Presbyterianism's association with the middle classes in both the US and much of Latin America. Garrard-Burnett's finding, however, is in accord with sociological theories of religious conversion, which posit that those believers with the smallest amount of religious capital in any given church or denomination are the most likely to reinvest what little they have in a spiritual firm that offers them greater returns on their investment. Given Latin American Catholicism's four-century preferential option for the privileged, it follows that those who had been ignored by the ecclesiastical institution would be the first to exit.

Beyond their small congregations of socially marginalised believers, the Presbyterians, Quakers, and Central American Mission were unable to attract large numbers of converts, according to Garrard-Burnett, because their faith was inextricably intertwined with North American cultural values. Conversion to Protestantism not only meant embracing a new faith but also accepting a foreign value system. Since Catholicism was still an integral part of Guatemalan (and Latin American) national identity, conversion to Protestantism implied more cultural rupture than most Guatemalans were willing to accept. It was not until Pentecostalism arrived on the missionary scene in the 1930s that Protestantism began to check its North American cultural baggage and to assume Guatemalan forms of religious expression. Garrard-Burnett demonstrates how Pentecostal denominations, in contrast to their Protestant predecessors, rapidly trained an indigenous pastorate who spoke the same language as their brethren. Most importantly, Garrard-Burnett finds that in the context of the physical and cultural dislocation resulting from extreme levels of state perpetrated violence, Pentecostal churches offered new communities and even a new 'way of being' for people whose social and cultural roots had been torn asunder. While the author tends to give short shrift to the religious reasons, such as faith healing, for Pentecostalism's success among the Guatemalan popular classes, this is but a foible in an

outstanding book, which will be of great interest to both students of Central American history and Latin American religion.

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R. ANDREW CHESNUT

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Amy L. Sherman, *The Soul of Development: Biblical Christianity and Economic Transformation in Guatemala* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. xviii + 214, £37.99 hb; \$55 hb.

Amy Sherman sets out to confirm both Weber's Protestant ethic thesis and studies by Lawrence Harrison (especially *Who Prospers?* of 1992) by focusing on Guatemala. There is much to like about this book. It comes highly recommended by David Martin and Peter Berger. The writing is crisp and polemical. It combines qualitative and quantitative research methods in original ways to explore the socio-economic consequences of conversion to evangelical Protestantism and orthodox (i.e. Charismatic or Catholic Action type) Catholicism. It has a wealth of data from five locations in the Guatemalan Highlands. The conclusions are clear and straightforward: 'joining an Evangelical church leads first to behavior modifications, and then, for true converts who adopt a biblical worldview, to attitudinal transformation as well. The adoption of a morally rigorous Protestant ethic (by both Evangelicals *and* some orthodox Catholics) frees believers from alcohol addiction and encourages careful, disciplined investments in family well-being, [...] The reformed lifestyle common among Evangelicals usually brings modest, not dramatic, socio-economic improvement' (p. 163).

Although religious affiliation is not a significant variable in economic development, religious worldview certainly is. Sherman also notes that there are more inactive Protestants where the Protestant proportion of the population is high and that the future success of Protestantism in Guatemala depends on the creation of 'institutions that can sustain and nurture converts over time' (p. 169). No other study of Protestantism in Latin America has managed to yield so much data on this subject and present it in such a readable way.

Unfortunately, the book also provokes serious criticisms. The fact that Sherman is an evangelical herself, who does not speak Spanish and always relied on interpreters does not strengthen her argument. Moreover, Sherman is biased in her approach, which seeks to confirm that 'religious worldviews matter' in achieving development (p. 17). I would agree, but not if the study focuses exclusively on 'moral-cultural matters' (p. 16), without paying any serious attention to socio-economic or international factors. She writes that her research is 'valuable for reinforcing the emerging shift towards neoliberalism in development thinking'. This is also the theme of her last book: a plea for the benefits of neoliberalism for Latin America's poor. However, she is uncritical of this neoliberal approach. Her presentation of liberation theology (p. 132), on the other hand, is pure caricature. It has an 'authoritarian' attitude and 'tends to give the government [...] absolute power to usher in – with coercion if necessary – the Kingdom of God on earth.'

A second criticism centres on her methodology. Sherman's fieldwork in Guatemala lasted only six months (p. 12), during which time she visited fifteen villages. A local opinion research agency conducted a Worldview and Development Survey based on 1,000 poor Guatemalans, 70 per cent of whom were Indians, in five villages. The results clearly indicate a connection between 'religious worldview and various development-related variables' (p. 74), but by themselves constitute no proof of a causal relationship – although that is how she chooses to write about it. The survey questions are detailed and complicated and the interviews were conducted by local people, which raises doubts about the reliability of the answers. How representative is the sample, if, for instance, 70 per cent was literate, whereas the national figure is a little over 50 per cent? The fact that 30 per cent inconsistent answers are reported on religious worldview type (p. 84), a crucial concept in the book, does not alleviate these doubts. To be fair, however, the data were supplemented by observations in fifteen villages and by interviewing over 100 believers, church leaders, and people in NGOs and local government.

Third, Sherman's bias towards religious variables makes her ignore alternative explanations for poverty, underdevelopment and wealth. It is a fact that the market village of Almolonga is very rich, relatively speaking, and over 50 per cent Protestant. However, these facts by themselves are not sufficient proof of a causal relationship – nor of its possible direction. Perhaps people converted to Protestantism after they became rich to avoid the burdens of the Catholic fiesta system. Since we do not learn anything about Almolonga's history or socio-economic profile, we cannot judge Sherman's assertions on the influence of biblical Protestantism.

Fourth, hammering away at cultural relativity by quoting from Edgerton's *Sick Societies* (1992) on p. 21 and beyond does nothing to develop her own concept of culture. This clearly shows in her conclusions on p. 126: converts to orthodox Protestantism and Catholicism are more open to change and less fatalistic than the (Maya animalist) 'Cristo-pagans'. 'They may be better positioned for social mobility, and they are equipping themselves with the skills, and the openmindedness, for integration into the Ladino culture. They legitimate wealth differences and encourage, rather than hinder, personal initiative.' In other words: Indians who want economic betterment have to reject their own culture and become Ladinos. Sherman's concept of culture is strictly utilitarian: if it does not help you to move upward, you should change it. There is no appreciation at all of the value of culture as such; it is merely a variable that hinders or stimulates economic development. In this perspective, becoming a Protestant similarly becomes a highly instrumental decision, Sherman writes: 'Conversion to Protestantism can relieve both sorts of discomforts' (p. 153), i.e. psychological and economic ones. Most scholars would agree, but they would be quick to add that there is so much more to it.

In spite of these criticisms, I think that *The Soul of Development* is a very interesting and thought-provoking contribution to the discussion on religion and economic development. I would also recommend it to readers interested in cultural change and especially in the religious changes that are currently happening in Latin America, including the growth of evangelical Protestantism.

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HENRI GOOREN

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John Burdick, *Blessed Anastácia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), pp. x + 246, £11.99 pb.

Daisy Rubiera Castillo, *Reyita: The Life of a Black Cuban Woman in the Twentieth Century* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2000), pp. 184, £8.99 pb.

Since the 1950s many studies have shown that institutionalised racism is widespread in Brazil. Nevertheless, support for the anti-racist black movement has remained limited. Analysts have tried to explain this paradox by showing that the ideal of racial democracy has been used to interpret inequality in terms of class rather than colour, thereby weakening the racial consciousness of the masses. In *Blessed Anastácia* John Burdick provides a refreshing approach to this issue. Rather than assuming a lack of racial consciousness among dark-skinned people, he suggests that many of them are very clear about their racial identity, but do not find in the black movement an appropriate expression of it. His informants are women who identify themselves as black or partly black and have experienced the 'everyday wounds of colour' throughout their lives, but who nevertheless steer clear of the *movimento negro*. Why, Burdick asks, is the black movement alienating this potential constituency?

To answer this question he looks at an aspect of these women's lives which, by contrast, does provide them with support and gives them confidence in their blackness: popular Christianity. His informants are devotees of either the Catholic inculturated Mass, Pentecostalism, or the cult of Anastácia – a slavewoman saint who died from being muzzled with a face mask. Leaders of the *movimento negro* claim that the beliefs of the last two, in particular, go against their efforts to increase black pride, but Burdick shows that they can in fact strengthen the racial identity of dark-skinned women in a number of ways. Pentecostalism, for example, is viewed as antithetical to ethnic identity because of its fervent belief in universalism and individualism. However, the Church's emphasis on believing in oneself has enabled many women to come to terms with their black identity: 'Before becoming a *crente*,' Adriana explains, 'I was divided within myself. A part of me wanted to be white, another wanted to be *negra* ... But Hallelujah, Jesus! Accepting Jesus ended this, it brought the two parts together. Now I know I'm *negra*' (p. 131).

*Blessed Anastácia* is successful in showing the variety of black consciousness that can exist in a place like Brazil. Although the political activism of the *movimento negro* fails to resonate with some dark-skinned women, the drums and dancing of the inculturated Mass, or Anastácia's eloquent eyes and painfully muzzled mouth, give many pride in their African ancestry and strength to combat the everyday experiences of colour prejudice. But at the same time these religious practices and beliefs do not speak equally to all non-white women. In the case of Anastácia, the numerous different versions of her origin, her life as a slave, even the colour of her skin, illustrate the various ways in which religious devotion can express a woman's black identity.

Burdick continually confronts the tensions and contradictions in his informants' experiences of racial identification and this makes the book an important contribution to race studies in Latin America. One significant example he uses is the fact that some mixed-race women accept and are proud of their *negro* ancestry and yet self-identify as *morena* rather than *negra* – a stance not tolerated by black activists. The women say that they resent adhering to a totalising racial

category as this would imply disowning the whiter side of their family. The issue of whether or not to treat kinky hair is another ambiguous area in terms of racial identity: some of Burdick's informants believe that it represents a denial of blackness while others see it as an assertion of a black woman's right to do as she pleases.

*Blessed Anastacia* explores the interrelated themes of race, religion and gender in depth but it is also, ultimately, a book about social movements. In the last two chapters Burdick reflects at length on how the different agendas of anthropologists and activists can be brought together. It is not clear, however, whether his ethnographic findings had any significant impact on the leaders of the *movimento negro*. He records his conversations with some individuals and groups, but in only one does he show that his suggestions were treated with scorn. Did everyone else really receive his ideas with openness or only mild scepticism?

The book is also rather limited in its contextualisation of the women and churches with which it is dealing. How far are the practices and attitudes documented here specific to Rio, for example? Is the need of these women to have such faith in a popular religion part of a wider national phenomenon? To answer such questions fully would, of course, require a much longer book, but a little more context and ethnographic description would have enhanced Burdick's argument. In particular, a more rounded view of his informants' lives would have shown to what extent their religious beliefs relate to other aspects of their day-to-day existence.

By contrast, *Reyita* presents a very full picture of the life of one black Cuban woman, María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno. Reyita (as she is known) was born on the *Día de los Reyes* in 1902 and ninety-four years later she recounted her life history to her daughter, Daisy Rubiera Castillo. Her narrative is fascinating not because she led a particularly unusual or dramatic life, but rather because her story is clearly typical of numerous poor black women whose voices have never been heard. Spanning nearly a century, her memories cover many important events, from the massacre of black political leaders in 1912 to the 1959 revolution. Her grassroots, female view of these events provides a perspective that has rarely been documented.

Her struggle against poverty and racial prejudice is the central theme of the book. From an early age Reyita's mother treated her differently from her lighter-skinned siblings in ways that echo Burdick's descriptions of the 'everyday wounds of colour' suffered by black women in Brazil. Although later she became proud of her blackness, Reyita's early experiences convinced her of the need for a white husband: 'I didn't want a black husband,' she explains, 'because black men had almost no possibilities of getting ahead and the certainty of facing a lot of discrimination' (p. 167). As a result, her children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren (one hundred and eighteen in all) eventually formed a 'beautiful rainbow': 'whites, blacks, *mulaticos*, *jabaítos*. Long hair, short hair, curly and straight' (p. 158) – a typical Cuban family.

In relating her own on-going economic struggles Reyita stresses that extreme poverty was widespread in pre-revolutionary Cuba. This generated a solidarity among neighbours that was essential at times – a solidarity that later became key to the survival of the communist regime, though she talks less about this period. Her recollections also illustrate the relationship that existed between poverty and religious faith. She believes that many crises in her life were resolved because of her faith in the *Virgencita del Cobre*, and she recognises that her own faith healing,



using herbal remedies, has been vital to people who could not afford doctors' bills.

Elizabeth Dore's introduction to the English translation places Reyita's narrative in its historical context and offers some useful reflections on the meaning of race in Cuba, the relationship between race, class and gender, and the testimonial genre. There are also extensive endnotes explaining certain words and references that Reyita uses. The text is divided into four chapters that follow more or less chronologically, and within these are subheadings indicating different themes. Apart from these divisions the narrative flows uninterrupted. This is slightly disconcerting given that the book is apparently 'based on extensive interviews and thorough archival research' and is the work of several women. Reyita's words must, therefore, have been edited but it is unclear how this was done and by whom. Did her daughter prompt her to talk about certain issues? Were there subjects she refused to talk about? Would she have spoken differently to someone outside her family? Whose idea was it that she tell her life story, and why at that particular time? The text feels unfinished in the absence of answers to questions such as these. Reyita's story is undoubtedly important and very engaging but it needs some explanation of the context in which it was related to make it as valuable a testimony as it deserves to be.

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EMILY WALMSLEY

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02446342

Iain S. Maclean, *Opting for Democracy? Liberation Theology and the Struggle for Democracy in Brazil* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), pp. xv + 264, £35.00 hb.

Author Iain S. Maclean has set himself the task in this book of tracing the evolution of liberationist Catholicism's conception of democracy from the 1960s to the 1990s. His argument is that liberation theology, in part because it adopted a dependency-theory view of society and partly because of the failure of pre-1964 elections to bring about genuine social change, encouraged a low opinion of 'procedural' democracy in the 1960s and 1970s. The main objection was that this form of democracy placed the individual voter, rather than the mobilised poor as a class, at the centre of the polity. Thus José Bonino in 1975 referred to the 'hoax of democracy' (p. 134), and Clodovis Boff wrote in 1978 of the bankruptcy of 'democratic-bourgeois discourse' (p. 140). The alternative was believed to be 'participatory democracy', born in the crucible of the Christian base communities (CEBs), where the poor were building an alternative society from the bottom up.

However, involvement in electoral politics was not altogether dismissed. At the end of the 1970s Brazil's military regime had begun to allow the formation of oppositional parties, of which the most promising, from the point of view of the left, was the Workers' Party (PT). Within this context many liberation theologians hoped that the CEBs would bring the PT to power through the ballot box. They were especially optimistic because in the period between 1978 and 1982, the CEBs appeared very much to be the conscious, mobilised masses poised to revolutionise Brazil.

This dream fell on hard times in the 1980s. The 1982 election revealed that the CEBs were ready to vote in a wide variety of ways, not just for the socialist alternative. By the mid-1980s it became clear that the social base of the CEBs was quite narrow and was not expanding. The 1980s brought a vigorous reaction against the liberationist Church, as John Paul II succeeded in reducing

liberationist influence in seminaries and in the National Bishops' Conference. A few liberation theologians, most notably Clodovis Boff, saw the need for allies beyond the Church and their own ideological position. By the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall they were singing the praises of procedural democracy, not just as a means of bringing the PT to power, but also of building a coalition of people and groups that could benefit from each other. Most strikingly, Boff argued that the doctrine of the Trinity taught 'the affirmation of social pluralism, in the right to personal differences, as well as the rejection of all social uniformity' (p. 213). Gone was the strident critique; Boff now argued that 'political democracy, as a regime of formal liberties, is able to be the path or fundamental strategy for the solution of antagonistic contradictions' (p. 214).

Yet even at this late date, according to Maclean, Boff was in limited company. It would, he claims, require the crisis of existing socialisms to push his colleagues to accept his position. By 1992, when Maclean ends his most liberation theologians had come to terms with supporting not just participatory, but procedural democracy as well. He sees this support as fragile, however, in need of a concerted effort to build broader popular coalitions in the 1990s – including with the middle-class and ecological politics.

Maclean has written a persuasive narrative that has the virtue of placing the widely-acknowledged fragilities of the CEBs into a longer-term historical perspective. It is helpful, for example, to realise that CEB utopianism reached a kind of frenzy between the Third Interecclesial meeting of 1978 (when for the first time grassroots delegations attended the national conference) and 1982, when the CEBs showed their unwillingness to vote en masse for the PT. This period of utopianism helps explain some of the resistance to critical self-analysis in the decade that ensued. Maclean also does an excellent job of tracing the changing stance of the CNBB and the Vatican toward liberation theology, and in explaining how this tougher environment led many liberation theologians to hunker down in the trench of self-righteousness.

At the same time, Maclean's account is a bit too neat. His narrative depends on an image of liberation theologians as speaking essentially with one voice in critique of liberal democracy and in favour of participatory democracy. This leads to a fairly problematic image of liberation theologians as naively dogmatic and intellectually isolated from broader currents of the left in the 1980s. Maclean's own evidence suggest that liberation theologians in the 1980s were far from unanimous in their views about class, democracy and the transition to socialism. (He cites, for example, several divergences between Frei Betto and Clodovis Boff). Such differences suggest that rather than portray Boff as the maverick able to move toward a more pluriform version of electoral democracy, it may have been useful to explore in more depth the different ideological tendencies among liberation theologians, including, for example, the long-standing pro-pluralism views of José Comblin. Thus, while Maclean ends his book by suggesting that the Boffs' interest in green politics 'could be a path to overcoming the dichotomy posited between procedural and participatory forms of democracy' (p. 223), it is less than certain, for this reader anyway, that liberation theologians ever drew this distinction so dichotomously to begin with. And if they did not, then, as far as liberationist views of democracy in the future go, there may be less cause for worry and more cause for optimism than Maclean admits.

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JOHN BURDICK

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Michel S. Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press and New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), pp. viii + 222, £45.00 hb.

Having published eleven previous books, Michel Laguerre is the most prolific scholar on Haitians. This book specifically focuses on recent theoretical trends concerning international migration of diasporas and transnationalism. Laguerre argues both that these ideas apply to Haitian migrants and that they are not new phenomena for Haitians who have been migrating to the US for two centuries.

Theoretically, the book tends toward the political science literature on transnationalism, emphasising citizenship as originally defined by Aristotle. While Laguerre does incorporate some theorists from his own discipline of anthropology, such as Appadurai, he curiously neglects the most influential transnational writings produced by Nina Glick Schiller and colleagues. Substantively, Laguerre describes transnational ties of Haitians in seven areas: historically, in the debate over political categories that distinguishes refugees and immigrants, among households, diasporic businesses, mass media, schools and politics. His most important and distinctive contribution is in providing new details on the history of Haitian immigration to the USA. He points out, for example, that the most important case establishing the legality of separate but equal segregated facilities in the USA (*Plessy v. Ferguson*) was brought by a group of mostly Haitian immigrants in Louisiana. He also provides detailed information on Haitian communities in the early nineteenth century along the east coast of the USA.

His other chapters are much briefer and provide short substantive snapshots, frequently based upon the research of young Haitian American scholars. He neglects the literature on Haitian immigrants in Florida, but does provide good detail on those in the northeastern USA. Each chapter, with one exception, provides some information on transnational Haitian ties. It is not clear, however, why there is a chapter on schooling in this book. Haitian youth are deeply torn by their Haitian and US identity. Although this conflict is nominally transnational, the chapter does not develop any ideas or provide any specifics developing the links between youth identity and transnational ties.

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ALEX STEPICK

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Henry J. Frundt, *Trade Conditions and Labor Rights: US Initiatives, Dominican and Central American Responses* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. xxii + 385, \$55.00 hb.

In 1984 the United States extended the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) for an additional eight and a half years, a programme established a decade earlier to help developing countries enhance their economic development by increasing their exports. Specifically, the GSP programme authorised the president of the United States to grant duty-free treatment to a wide range of eligible imports from beneficiary developing countries. The range of eligible imports and the set of beneficiary countries has changed significantly over the years. Currently, more than 4,650 products from approximately 140 designated beneficiary countries and

territories receive duty-free tariff treatment under GSP. US duty-free imports pursuant to the GSP amounted to about \$16.4 billion in 2000.

The 1974 US legislation that established the GSP programme set out several criteria that countries had to meet in order to be designated as beneficiary developing countries, among them: not being a party to commodity cartels, collaborating with the United States in preventing narcotics trafficking, and recognising and enforcing arbitral awards in favour of US citizens or entities. The renewal legislation of 1984 set out additional requirements: that the beneficiary country provide protection for intellectual property rights, allow reasonable access to their markets, and take steps to afford internationally recognised worker rights to workers in the country (including any designated zone in the country). The legislation further defined internationally recognised worker rights as including: (1) the right of association; (2) the right to organise and bargain collectively; (3) a prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labour; (4) a minimum age for the employment of children; and (5) acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work and occupational safety and health. These country eligibility criteria – often referred to as country practice requirements – must be continuously met in order for a beneficiary country to continue to receive benefits. They are administered through annual reviews conducted by the Office of the United States Trade Representative on the basis of petitions filed by interested parties, representing labour and business organisations or NGOs.

Henry Frundt's *Trade Conditions and Labor Rights: U.S. Initiatives, Dominican and Central American Responses* is a very useful and comprehensive examination of the application of the worker rights provisions of the USA. GSP programme with regard to the Dominican Republic and the Central American nations (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama). Frundt painstakingly reviews each of the petitions filed by interested parties (generally the AFL-CIO, but in some instances also Americas Watch, the International Labor Rights Fund, and individual US unions) with the USTR over the period 1986–97 seeking to remove GSP eligibility for the Central American nations and the Dominican Republic. Frundt examines the allegations of each of the over-two-dozen petitions, chronicling how the United States Government responded and documenting the actions taken – by the US Government and by the foreign Government that was the target of the petition – as a result.

Based on the case studies, Frundt concludes that the labour rights provisions of the GSP programme have 'positively influenced national labor-rights legislation and enforcement' (p. 274) in Central America and the Dominican Republic. Among the specific positive influences in the region he attributes to the application of the GSP worker rights clause are the strengthening of worker rights provisions in labour codes, commitments to dramatically improve application of existing labour laws, reduction of violence against workers and efforts to reduce the incidence of exploitative child labour. Frundt also concludes that the approach to conditioning trade benefits on labour rights embodied in the GSP programme is a model for incorporating labour standards into trade agreements.

Frundt's book, to my knowledge the only serious book-length effort to analyse the effects of the labour rights conditionality of the GSP programme, is important reading for policy makers and researchers interested in the promotion of labour

rights and in particular in the link between trade and labour standards. Unfortunately, the book is so long – over 380 pages, with small print and very narrow margins – and detailed that it is likely to attract only a very limited hard core of readers. Frundt would have better served the readers by concentrating on the case studies in order to make the volume more manageable. Firmer editing would also have improved the book: chapters two and three, which deal with the trade and labour standards linkage in general, do not cover new ground; chapter four appears to have missed proof reading and is riddled with typographical errors. Having said this, those sufficiently interested in the subject matter to plough through this long volume, will be rewarded with much information and analysis on labour in Central America and the Dominican Republic and how the GSP programme has made a positive contribution to labour standards in this region.

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John C. Cross, *Informal Politics: Street Vendors and the State in Mexico City* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. x + 272, £35.00, £11.95 pb; \$49.50, \$18.95 pb.

*Informal Politics* confronts a critical theme at an important scale for Latin Americanist scholars: urban politics, with attention to alternative political organisation among less advantaged populations. In Latin American academic circles there has been a tendency to overvalue political studies at the national level, and undervalue those at the regional and urban level. This imbalance now appears to be self-correcting, as more researchers and scholars realise that the future of Latin American politics lies in its heavily populated cities, where social movements form, strategies of decentralisation crystallise, and global investments and new power structures locate.

While this book appears at first to be merely another addition to the growing field of urban social movements in Latin America, the author's focus on Mexico City's street vendors offers something quite original. A critical trend in Latin America urbanisation is the increasing privatisation of space. From São Paulo and Buenos Aires to Lima, Bogotá or Mexico City, we are seeing the gradual eclipse of public plazas and streets by the ever-present shopping mall, the gated community, or the privatised high-rise luxury condominium. Gentrification of historic centres has led residents, merchant groups and local governments to increasingly find ways to jettison unwanted public space users (the poor) from the city centre. Global investment plans for inner cities further encourage governments to 'museumsize' urban space, another strategy for clearing out the masses. Meanwhile, the ranks of underemployed city dwellers continue to grow and seek alternative income sources through street vending. They need public spaces in heavily traveled pedestrian zones to capture potential informal consumers. A head-on collision between two disparate sets of urban interests appears unavoidable.

*Informal Politics* is thus an exceedingly timely book. Author John C. Cross, a sociologist, makes it clear that the book's main objective is to examine the informal economy as a political process in Mexico City by studying the socio-

political organisation of the street vendors and their relationship with various levels of government. The book is organised into seven main chapters and a conclusion. These begin with a set of background discussions: theories of political organisation of the poor (chapter one); social movements and integration with the state (chapter two); and the Mexican political system (chapter three). They are then followed by the four main narratives based on the author's research: a description of the street vendor economy in Mexico City (chapter four), four case studies of vendors' involvement in the political process (chapter five), an historical description of street vendor politics during the Uruchurtu mayoral administration in Mexico City, from 1952–1966; and an analysis of the politics of street vending in the Historic Centre of Mexico City during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Chapter one, 'Organizing the Poor' raises the question: why were street vendors able to reappear in Mexico City in the 1980s and 1990s after being severely repressed by the Uruchurtu regime? The answer, the author surmises, lies in the essential organisational and collective nature of street vending, even in the face of being an informal and often unrecognised part of the urban political process. This transcends existing political science theory about disadvantaged groups. Chapter two examines 'State Integration and "Informal" Social Movements', arguing that the literature has rarely looked at street vendors as serious political actors, which the author believes them to be. Chapter three, 'The Mexican State', offers the non-Mexicanist a useful review of the organisation and nature of the Mexican political system, with its traditional emphasis on one political party (the PRI), and on the patron-client, *camarilla* form of power-building. This intense culture of loyalty toward the *camarilla*, Cross argues, ends up giving the street vendors a crucial entrée into the political power structure.

Chapter four, 'The Commercial Role of Street Vending', is one of the most informative chapters in the book. It offers a breakdown and description of the categories of 'tolerated' and 'non tolerated' street vendors. Further, it attempts to estimate how many street vendors there are city wide (approximately 200,000), and in various sub-groupings. Chapter five, 'Street Vendors and the State', looks at four cases of political organisation among street vendors, and how they forged relationships with the government, particularly in the form of client-patron linkages with powerful leaders who began to view them as an asset. Chapter six summarises the historic period of Uruchurtu's market construction from 1953–1966, in which 174 public markets were built, while intense repression of vendors on public streets unfolded. Because street vendors were required to form associations, the author argues that this established a historic base for political organising. That base comes to life in chapter seven, 'The Historic Center', when the street vendors use their organising techniques to fight back against the Salinas administration's attempt to move them off the streets into sterile and badly located 'commercial plazas'.

Cross concludes the book by arguing that street vendors have grown as a political force in Mexico City, despite various attempts by the state to reduce their numbers or eliminate them. He believes they have taken advantage of structural weaknesses in the Mexican political system by using the *camarilla* culture to their advantage. He suggests that the lessons of this case must be examined by social movement theoreticians, as an example of the state being forced to negotiate with informal actors, and as a kind of participatory democracy work-in-progress.



I have only a few concerns about the book. First, while the author makes every attempt to tie it to the theoretical literature, I am reminded of the saying ‘*vence pero no me convence*’. A few social movement works are mentioned, but they are not extensively reviewed, and far too many are left out, including the work of Mexican writers like Ramírez Saiz, Pradilla Cobos and Sergio Tamayo. Further, little attention is given to the copious body of excellent case studies of urban social movements in Mexico, from Puebla, Monterrey, and Juchitán, to Mexico City itself. The author might have used these and other materials to answer a question that was not addressed: how does the street vendor case study compare with the findings about other social movements in Mexico and Latin America?

Second, the historic material in the book covers the periods 1952–66 and 1988–94. Little is written about the period 1966–88, and nothing is said about the late 1990s and the future. The latter seems particularly critical, since the political changes in Mexico today will significantly shake up the old system. I am sure the author knew this when he wrote the book; he might have added a short section speculating on future scenarios.

Finally, this book is about access to public space in Mexico City. I believe the discussion would have been greatly aided by a set of maps showing the key public spaces used in the historic centre, the geography of public markets from the 1950s and 1960s, and the location of the failed commercial plazas of the Salinas period.

Notwithstanding these points, this book is well organised, and will be a good read for scholars. Its ample, original field research and vital subject matter make it worth having on one’s bookshelf.

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LAWRENCE A. HERZOG

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John F. Scott, *Latin American Art: Ancient to Modern* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1999), pp. xxiv + 240, \$49.95.

Malcolm Quantrill (ed.), *Latin American Architecture: Six Voices* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 2000), pp. xiii + 219, \$60.00 hb.

Lawrence A. Herzog, *From Aztec to High Tech: Architecture and Landscape across the Mexico–United States Border* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. xiv + 241, £31.00 hb.

These three books demonstrate a renewal of interest in the art and architecture of Latin America last seen on this scale perhaps thirty years ago. Until now Leopoldo Castedo’s brief, accessible *A History of Latin American Art and Architecture*, first published in 1969, was almost the only general survey of the field. It is of course far more difficult to write a short, accurate survey than a close-focus specialist study, but had the demand been there it would surely have been replaced before now. Castedo’s book is still a valuable basic reference work and an authorial tour de force, but has long been out of print, and John F. Scott’s *Latin American Art: Ancient to Modern* helps to fill the gap. In some ways it complements rather than supersedes Castedo. Scott covers the art and architecture of the whole region from earliest times to the present day but the balance is very different. Whereas Castedo divides the material into three roughly equal

sections – pre-columbian, colonial and modern – four out of Scott's six chapters are devoted to the art and architecture produced during the 20 millennia or so before the arrival of the Europeans, during which the region was anything but Latin. This makes the book's title – Latin American Art – even more problematic than it is with Castedo, and given that the subtitle 'Ancient to Modern' does not appear on the book's spine, it will be all too easy for someone in search of a useful introduction to pre-columbian material to look elsewhere. This is a pity, because this is the book's real strength.

Scott's approach is essentially chronological and the geographical range is very wide. This makes for a much more stimulating book than would be the case if it were a merely a summary of the achievements of the high cultures of Mesoamerica and the Andes. It is useful to be reminded, for example, that the earliest known pottery comes not from these later centres of high culture but from the Caribbean coast of Colombia and dates from over 3000 BC. The second chapter, 'First High Cultures', includes Olmec and Chavín as would be expected, but also acknowledges the Olmec-related developments in Guatemala and Costa Rica. Scott's introduction makes it clear that he does not want to suggest that all these cultures were interrelated (although his method encourages a more open-minded attitude towards long-distance trade than many specialists care to foster) but, rather than in indicating parallels between the various cultures, he wants to suggest that in similar circumstances humans tend to arrive independently at similar solutions. This is admirably demonstrated in this compressed, well-illustrated format, where, turning the pages, it is hard not to be struck by the general parallels between, say, the staff god of the Raimondi Stela from Chavín, Peru, and the Alligator God of Panama: each represents an anthropomorphic being in full-frontal pose with a staff in each hand, clawed feet, reptilian belt and exaggerated teeth. The latter is another example of Scott's efforts to include material beyond the more obvious and canonical. In the colonial and post-Independence chapters he extends this to encompass examples often excluded from the general category 'Latin America', such as the magnificent eighteenth-century façade of the church of San José and San Miguel de Aguayo in San Antonio, Texas, for example, and the murals in Port-au-Prince of the 1940s by the Haitian artist Wilson Bigaud. Many of the illustrations are Scott's own photographs, giving the book a particular freshness and authenticity.

Of course it is limited. The last chapter, 'Art after Independence' feels particularly skimpy given the enormous production (what about the extraordinarily innovative Kineticism of Venezuela or Neo-Concretism of Brazil?), but this is a worthy successor to Castedo and for those who get beyond the limitations of the title it will be at least as useful as an introduction and for general reference. It is clearly written, tightly structured, generously illustrated and has a good bibliography which, like the text, includes some out-of-the-way items as well as standard studies.

*Latin American Architecture: Six Voices* edited by Malcolm Quantrill is a different approach to the problem of how to tell a big story in a single volume. In this case the big story is that of the architecture of Latin America from – roughly – the collapse in confidence in high modernism (in other words from about 1960 or post-Brasília) to the present. It uses the case-study format: six architects from six different countries are chosen to represent, or 'speak for' the architecture of the region. For each example we have a selection of projects,

illustrated and briefly described, and an interpretative essay by a critic of the architect's own country. A lively, polemical introduction by the late Marina Waisman (to whom the book is dedicated) addresses some of the key issues. She identifies elements of shared history and culture, especially language, which from the time of the conquest have shaped Latin America and given it continues to face. She succinctly outlines the way in which, from Independence in the early nineteenth century until perhaps the 1960s, architectural taste in Latin America has alternated between European and nationally-inspired models, and identifies some of the most successful projects as those that manage to reconcile the two. She has refreshingly little time for the self-satisfied negativity of post-modern theory: while acknowledging the limitations of the universalism of modernity Waisman argues that at least the model served to inspire practice. She warns against the post-modern tendency to criticise without offering solutions, especially in Latin America where new housing and other basic facilities are still so urgently needed. Her conclusions are generally positive and encouraging. She sees an interesting diversity of approach, and an increase in confidence among a number of architects in Latin America, in contrast to what she calls the 'desolate picture of international architecture' (p. 19).

The six architects have presumably been chosen to illustrate this. One could of course quibble about the selection. Clorindo Testa (Argentina), Christian de Groot (Chile), Rogelio Salmona (Colombia), Ricardo Legorreta (Mexico) and Eladio Deste (Uruguay) are certainly eminent representatives of their respective countries. To my mind there are perhaps more interesting Venezuelan architects that Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz but at least he has the advantage of not being based in Caracas and so we are given a rare glimpse of what is going on outside the capital. The most glaring omission is that of Brazil, something acknowledged by Frampton in his curiously ambivalent preface. Brazil was at the forefront of modern architecture in Latin America from the 1930s to the 1960s and although Brasília has repeatedly been identified (in my view unfairly) as epitomising its failures, this was not the end of the story. And if Brazilian architectural confidence wavered during the sixties and seventies it is now very much restored and it seems perverse to leave it out of a book that aims to introduce the region's overlooked achievements to the rest of the world. What about, as Frampton suggests, Mendes da Rocha, or Severiano Porto as mentioned by Waisman? Or Lina Bo Bardi? After all, there are so few successful women architects in this very male profession.

In the preface Frampton identifies two lines of interrelated development among those chosen – the 'sensuous minimalist aesthetic' of Barragán on the one hand (Legorreta and De Groot) and the 'tectonic wing of the modern tradition' on the other (Testa, Deste, Salmona and Tenreiro-Degwitz). The common ground between them, however, is considerable. All avoid the variations on the glass tower typical of international high- and post-modernity. One of the continuing strengths of Latin American architecture is, ironically, the relative economic dependency of the region: labour is cheap, high-tech materials are expensive. Shuttered concrete rather than Miesian steel and glass has been the building material of choice, and since the 1930s has been used for its aesthetic as well as practical qualities: the impress of the wooden planking points up the irony of modern buildings constructed using traditional techniques that involve considerable manual skill, and, of course, the rough texture looks good in strong

sunlight. Testa used it to good effect for many of the internal surfaces of his wonderful Bank of London and South America building in Buenos Aires of 1959–1966; De Groot has used it in elite private houses. In both cases one could say that it makes a nice contrast with the suave appearance of the inhabitants. Another anti-modern tendency is the use of brick. Modernist architectural theory (Le Corbusier, the Bauhaus) favoured modern industrially-produced materials over traditional but in Latin America many architects (all six represented in this volume but especially Dieste and Salmons) have made imaginative use of brick and tile, often for very large-scale projects. Other features commonly associated with Latin American design – sun-screens, tropical gardens, water, intermediate spaces between interior and exterior, references to colonial or pre-Columbian architecture, the use of colour – are all represented by one or other of these six architects.

But if this book were a building, I am afraid one would have to say that it has been very badly constructed. It has evidently been assembled over a period of at least fifteen years, and has involved almost as many editors and authors, but no single guiding architect. The essays are uneven in approach and in the case of Mariano Arana's essay on Dieste the translation is awkward to the point of unintelligibility. Inevitably, perhaps, given that these are all pretty much grand old men of twentieth-century Latin American architecture, the essays do not sustain the critical distance of Waisman's introduction, nor, on the whole, do they succeed in placing their subjects within her broader framework. In some cases there are a few footnotes but no general suggestions for further reading, even though there is good literature available on most of these architects, including some important and easily accessible studies in English (John Mutlow on Legorreta, for example). Unfortunately, the poor quality black and white photographs make the buildings look dreary; in fact the images are not so much black and white as grey, and in some cases even out of focus. Many of these projects, even, in some cases I think, these same photographs, have been much better reproduced elsewhere. So, regretfully, I think that this book will not persuade those who know nothing of modern architecture in Latin America to look further.

If the term 'Latin American' is problematic as a descriptor for the content of Scott's book, and the problem of 'Latin American' architectural identity is the focus of Quantrill's collection, behind both lies the notion of some sort of unity of culture within a defined geographical area. Laurence A. Herzog's *From Aztec to High Tech: Architecture and Landscape across the Mexico-United States Border* illustrates the challenge globalisation offers to our academic attempts to generalise and categorise something like culture. Herzog's focus is, in effect, the cultural borderland of the geographical borderland between Latin America and the USA, a region where Hispanics, Chicanos, Latinos, Californios and Anglos, as well as Mexicans, Americans and Mexican Americans live in sometimes uneasy juxtaposition. (It would be interesting to know something about the history and local perception of these terms, and the power relations they reflect. I doubt if the many US residents of Mexico refer to themselves as American Mexicans, for example.) In many ways the states in this region (California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas to the north, Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León and Tamaulipas to the south) have more in common with each other than they do with the rest or their respective countries, and indeed the *Economist*

recently suggested it now makes some sense to think of it as a separate country. Economically they are deeply interdependent, particularly through the *maquiladoras*, the twin-plant system of manufacture, whereby parts for an industrial commodity are made in the USA, transported to Mexico to be assembled using cheap Mexican labour, and then back into the USA for distribution. The region as a whole is experiencing enormous growth in population and GDP, and so in urban expansion. Herzog, a professor of city planning, is interested in the developing border culture, the ways in which the different urban traditions of Latin and Anglo America are evolving and interacting.

The issues of national identity and regional modernism addressed in Quantrill's *Latin American Architecture* are here reviewed in the Mexican context, but Herzog's focus is on the broader urban sphere rather than on individual buildings. He observed that whereas north of the border the eclecticism of post-modernism has been embraced as a design philosophy, in Mexico 'memory is taken seriously' and that far from discarding history and meaning, recent Mexican architecture has been 'a kind of thoughtful search for a way to resolve the age-old dialectic of past and future (p. 39). Herzog's study is in some ways a dialogue between the authenticity (real or apparent) of the Mexican urban landscape and the inauthenticity of developments north of the border.

Conquering peoples have traditionally tried to impose their mark on the landscape by rejecting local architectural styles in favour of their own. The conquering Spaniards did it in the Americas in the sixteenth century. After Mexico lost its northern territories to the USA in the 1840s the conquering Anglos did the same in what became known as the American Southwest. Herzog traces how the incomers rejected the Mexican house type – solid, enclosed adobe structures – in favour of the East Coast pattern of wooden houses, outward-looking and with big windows. He notes how inappropriate this was for the climate, and how the wealthy inhabitants of cities like Phoenix had to move their beds out into the backyard during the summer heat. In their heated search for an identity more appropriate to their new home, the immigrants to California then began to create a mythical version of the Spanish past. This began in the 1890s as the California Mission Revival – whitewashed 'adobe look' walls and lots of arcades – which was replaced, after 1915, with the Spanish Colonial Revival, a more baroque version in many ways more Andalusian than colonial, with ornate portals and Moorish details. Neither had anything to do with real history. On the other hand, while the US borders indulged in the luxury of creating identities for themselves based on a version of what they perceived as the region's hispanic heritage, their much poorer Mexican neighbours recognised the benefits of marketing a fake version of Mexico for the wealthy visitors from across the border.

Interwoven with ideas of authenticity along the border is that of the different approaches to public space. Herzog is surely right in arguing that US culture has more or less abandoned the public spaces – the streets and squares – of their cities: only in the enclosed security of the shopping mall or Disneyland's Main Street USA are people happy to stroll and mingle. In Latin America the street and the square have retained their importance as places where people meet, where events are celebrated or protests mounted. Herzog surveys the history of the architectural relations between north and south and finds evidence of the decline in importance of public space in the south and a tendency to reclaim it in the

north, at least in districts with hispanic populations. One particular project that Herzog refers to on several occasions typifies the complexities of the field. In San Diego local Chicano residents reclaimed an area beneath the freeway to create a public space and named it Chicano Park. They commissioned Mexican-born, San Diego-resident architect Alfredo Larín to design a kiosk and the result is a brightly-painted neo-Aztec structure that seems to proclaim its authentic inauthenticity. In Tijuana across the border the neo-Aztec style is chosen to attract the tourists, to designate its Mexicanness in a deliberately inauthentic way; in San Diego in Chicano Park, the intended audience and the cultural implications are almost inverted.

There is perhaps a slightly rosy tint to the Latin part of the equation. As well as the sociability implied in the use of public space Herzog evidently enjoys the inventiveness of the hispanic migrants on both sides of the border in creating homes, *barrios*, *colonias*, out of nothing; he enjoys the street vendors, the tendency to domesticate and personalise the urban environment with exuberant signs, murals and graffiti. One photo caption (fig 6.5) states simply that ‘One of the striking qualities of Mexican border townscapes is the people’. I lost count of the number of times places south of the border were referred to as ‘dusty’, a usefully flexible word suggesting both the climate and the relative poverty, but also, more attractively, a sense of history: things get dusty when they have been forgotten, unused or unexplored for long periods of time. The book ends with a series of statements by architects living and working on both sides of the border. It is noteworthy that those living in the Land of the Free envy Mexico’s lack of urban planning regulations. As Rob Quigley, a San Diego architect put it, ‘We just seem to thrive on restrictions. In Tijuana, with a lot less rules, there is a more coherent result. You get a vibrancy, a spontaneity.’ But Herzog demonstrates that the Mexican contribution to the urban landscapes on both sides of the border is very significant. As with Quantrill’s *Latin American Architecture*, better-quality photographs would have strengthened the argument as well as making for a much more attractive book, but *From Aztec to High Tech* is full of interest and ideas.

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VALERIE FRASER

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The Journal would like to apologise for having omitted the following acknowledgements that should have accompanied Jeffrey D. Needell’s article in *JLAS*, vol. 33, part 4, November 2001, p.681:

This is a revised version of a paper presented to the Center for Latin American Studies and the Department of History of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, October 1999. I am much obliged to Marshall Eakin for the opportunity to make that presentation and to the collegial reception and response of colleagues there, especially Professors Eakin, Simon Collier and Jane Landers. I benefited from the initial guidance and reflections of Professors Roderick J. Barman, David P. Geggus and Mary C. Karasch, none of whom is responsible for either my



conclusions or any remaining errors. The analysis derives from research made possible by awards and fellowships from the Division of Sponsored Research, University of Florida (1988, 1996–97), the American Philosophical Society (1988, 1996), the National Endowment for the Humanities (1990–91), and the Social Science Research Council and National Endowment for the Humanities (1996–97), as well as by a 1997 position as a Fulbright lecturer/researcher at the Programa de Pós-Graduação em antropologia e Ciência Política of the Universidade Federal Fluminense (Brazil). The author expresses his sincere gratitude for the generous support of all these institutions. He also notes his debt to the acquisitions and services made possible by Richard Phillips and Peter Stern of the Latin American Collection of the University of Florida.