

## Reviews

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Patricia Seed, *American Pentimento: The Invention of Indians and the Pursuit of Riches* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), pp. xii + 299, £24.50 hb.

In *American Pentimento* Patricia Seed adopts a similar comparative perspective to that deployed in her previous book, *Ceremonies of Possession*.<sup>1</sup> In this new volume she aims to show how differences in the objectives of European colonialists, specifically the Spanish, Portuguese and English, are reflected in the way that native rights are viewed in their former colonies today. She likens modern attitudes towards native rights to a ‘pentimento’ – a painting that contains traces of an older composition that becomes visible over time.

The book begins with a comparison of the goals of the three colonial powers. Seed shows how the English focused on the acquisition of land, while the Spanish and Portuguese colonies downgraded native societies subjecting them to tribute and forced labour and suppressing their religious beliefs. Hence, she argues that in former English colonies today the emphasis on native rights is on access to land, while in former Iberian colonies indigenous movements revolve around the fight for human dignity. The distinction between the English desire for land and the Spanish interest in labour and souls has long been recognised, and some of the material, especially concerning the *encomienda*, tribute and forced labour, is fairly familiar. However, apart from the novelty of linking these objectives to human rights today, the particular strength of this study lies in the in-depth discussions of land ownership, mineral rights and tribute obligations in which, as in *Ceremonies of Possession*, she examines their legal foundations in Europe, and in particular reveals how much Christian Spain owed to Muslim law and practice. There is an interesting section in which she shows that the English did not separate land-ownership from mineral rights, whereas the Spanish and Portuguese, drawing on Islamic tradition, believed that the ownership of mineral deposits belonged to religious bodies and, by extension, to the state. Such differences, as she shows in the final chapter, have significant implications for the way in which native demands for access to land and mineral resources are handled by national governments today.

Seed not only examines differences in the legal grounds on which native societies were denied access to resources, but also shows how the representations of native peoples that depicted them as uncivilised were used to justify their subjugation. Hence, in the early colonial period cannibalism was invoked to justify the enslavement of native peoples in Iberian colonies, while in North America the absence of farming and the existence of ‘wasteland’ was deemed sufficient to warrant their dispossession of land. In the last three chapters of the book Seed traces the continuities in attitudes towards native peoples, especially their ownership of land and mineral resources, from

<sup>1</sup> Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge, 1995).

colonial times through the nineteenth century to the present day, with a particular emphasis on the way that representations of native peoples are used to deny them their rights. Here the general argument, that in the Americas national traditions follow colonial ones, could have been more convincing, since much more is said about the former English colonies than the Iberian ones, while the comparisons made with the experience of native peoples in Australia and Africa tend to detract from main focus of the study.

This book covers a vast field and it is unreasonable to expect all aspects to be discussed in equal depth. However, differences in the goals of the state, groups and individuals, which did not always coincide, as well as their relative importance in the colonies studied, might have been considered more fully. Also, while acknowledging the power of Edward Said's argument in *Orientalism* that colonial representations persisted unchanged by contact because they facilitated colonial hegemony, which Seed uses, in many cases local conditions, such as the presence or absence of mineral resources or abundant sources of labour, could profoundly influence colonial goals and the native colonial experience. Finally, I fully applaud attempts at comparative analysis, but there is always a danger in adopting such a perspective to overstress differences and minimise similarities. For the most part this study is sensitive to this issue, and the arguments are more sophisticated than this brief review might suggest. However, at times the general argument appears to be being pushed too far. The study tends to suggest that for Native Americans in former Spanish colonies land ownership is not a contemporary issue since historically their rights were protected in law. However, theory and practice did not always coincide and the fight for human dignity in many parts of Latin America cannot be separated from access to resources.

It should be clear from the above comments that this is a thought-provoking, wide-ranging book that provides an original perspective on some well-known, but other less well-known features of the native colonial experience. It deserves to be read by all colonial historians, while those interested in human rights will learn much about the historical basis of contemporary issues.

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Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. x + 237, £30.00, £10.95 pb; \$49.95, \$15.95 pb.

Susan Migden Socolow's *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, published as part of the 'New Approaches to the Americas' series, provides a welcome synthetic, thematically organised history of women in colonial Latin America. She writes that 'the goal of this book is to examine these [gender] roles and rules and thus understand the variety and limitations of the female experience' (p. 1), and she carries this argument clearly through the work. Socolow argues that patriarchy, particularly European patriarchy, which encompassed 'church, law, and tradition' (p. 5), structured women's lives, and worked to construct prescriptive female behaviour through the ideas and practices of honour and purity, inheritance, the use of dowries, marriage and sexuality. Within colonial patriarchy Latin American women's experiences differed by race and class, and Socolow explores this by drawing primarily on comparisons between central Mexico, the Andes, Argentina and Brazil. Her emphasis is on how race and class separated women's experiences, affecting which women had to work, access to formal

religious roles, the prosecution of female deviance, and the types of roles women played in riots and rebellions.

Chapters one and two examine the role of women in Iberia, Indigenous America and Africa before Spanish colonisation. Socolow argues that in all three cultures gender ordered men's and women's social, material and ritual lives. The integration of Africa into the discussion of gender ideologies before conquest, though general, reflects current efforts in the field to integrate more concretely the histories of people of African descent into colonial Latin American history. Chapter three addresses conquest and colonisation, and especially its effects on indigenous women through violence, voluntary and involuntary sexual unions, religious conversion and work, emphasising the differences in indigenous women's experiences based on status, especially in the early years of Spanish colonial rule. Chapter four highlights the cultural role of Iberian women in the process of colonisation and socialising colonised women to European behaviour, language, religion and labour practices.

In chapters five, six and seven Socolow emphasises how race and class continued to shape women's experiences as colonial society matured by examining the institution of marriage in general, and then elite women's choices in particular, 'to take a state', to enter a formal Christian marriage or become a nun. Whether or not a woman married was closely tied to her race and economic status, and white elite women and rural Indian women had the highest incidences of marriage. Even though the church and the patriarchal family placed a high value on Christian marriage, other women could not or did not live up to this ideal and formed informal relationships with men, became pregnant out of wedlock, or were responsible for raising and providing for their families.

The other option for primarily elite women was to enter a convent and become a nun. Catholicism pervaded many aspects of colonial life, especially in cities. Pursuing a religious calling and entering a nunnery provided another acceptable option for women besides marriage. Convent life gave women access to formal religious devotion, education, music and economic activities, but at the same time was structured by a life of enclosure managed by male religious orders. Socolow emphasises how race and class again shaped the opportunities of women to join convent life, especially elite European women and, in some places, elite Indian women as well. Other women participated in convent or *beaterio* life as orphans, widows, pupils, servants and slaves.

Chapters eight and nine outline the prominent role women played in the colonial economy, both as workers and slaves. Socolow describes how which women worked, and the kind of labour they performed, was closely tied to race, class, free/slave status and marriage status, arguing that 'women's economic activities were more publicly visible as one went down the social scale' (p. 115). Chapter ten on social deviance examines women's roles in crime (more often as victims, less often as perpetrators), witchcraft, riots and rebellions. For her discussion on witchcraft, Socolow primarily focuses on love magic from the broad range of women's sorcery activities in colonial Latin America and its goals of controlling male behaviour. Chapter eleven on the Enlightenment discusses new concerns of gender in general, and women in particular, that began to emerge at the end of the colonial period, including new ideas regarding women's economic potential, education, female reproductive health and the professionalisation of midwives.

While Socolow's thesis that women's experiences were structured by patriarchy gives a focused, overarching framework to the book, at times she seems to overstate patriarchy as a universal ideology that crossed historical and cultural boundaries, as in

the following example: 'Thus, cultures as distinct as those of pre-Columbian America, Africa, and the Iberian peninsula had certain universal ideas about women' (p. 31). It might have been helpful to integrate a more explicit analysis of the changing goals of the colonial state in constructing and maintaining patriarchy, and how this varied regionally, in the process of conquest and colonisation. Nevertheless, Socolow's book is a well-written and accessible introduction to the history of women in colonial Latin America, and will be sure to attract readers interested in the colonial period, gender, race, class, and material life Latin America. The text is followed by an appendix of short, focused primary sources that illustrate Socolow's major points, along with a selected bibliography of further readings divided by chapter topics.

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Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, new paperback edition, 2000), pp. xvi + 327, \$16.95 pb.

Released originally in 1985, Rebecca Scott's *Slave Emancipation in Cuba* has endured the most difficult test of all: the passage of time. Nearly twenty years after its publication, the book continues to be used in graduate seminars and undergraduate courses in American universities and abroad. It is not an exaggeration to say that this book has become a classic in the vast historiographies of slavery and abolition. The University of Pittsburgh Press is to be congratulated for reissuing this volume.

The continuing relevance of *Slave Emancipation* is linked to at least three factors. First, Scott managed to get access to sources in Cuban archives that previous scholars of slavery in Cuba (such as Herbert Klein and Franklin Knight) had not been able to use. In a new afterword specially written for this paperback edition, Scott recounts some of the difficulties involved in doing research in Cuba in the late 1970s. Second, *Slave Emancipation* combines rigorous social science methodologies with a vivid narrative in which historical actors – slaves, *libertos*, planters, rebels and politicians – retain their own voices and humanity. Third, and more to the point, the book made a significant contribution to the vibrant debate about the causes of emancipation. Some of the best historical writing of the last few decades has been devoted to this topic.

Largely inspired by Eric Williams's seminal *Capitalism and Slavery*, the debate concerning the causal mechanisms which led to the end of chattel slavery in the Americas was echoed within Cuba by Manuel Moreno Fraginals, with whom Scott collaborated during her research trips to the island. In Moreno's view slavery in Cuba 'disintegrated' due to its own internal contradictions. Particularly important, argued Moreno, was the contradiction between technological innovations and slavery. In a period of declining profits, planters could not modernise because they had a substantial proportion of their capital tied to slaves. Slaves were the foundation of the planters' fortunes, but they were also the cause of their decline and ultimate ruin as a class. By the time Rebecca Scott went to Cuba the second and expanded edition of Moreno Fraginals's most important work, *El Ingenio* (The Sugarmill), was about to be issued and his explanation concerning the end of slavery in Cuba was uncontested. Although Williams's arguments were being carefully scrutinised and criticised by several scholars in the United States and Great Britain at the time, their work was still little known in Cuba.

It was in this intellectual context that Rebecca Scott began to do her field research on slavery and emancipation in Cuba. In contrast to the economic-driven explanations then en vogue, *Slave Emancipation* offered a fairly complex picture of the process of abolition in which various economic, social and political factors interacted in unpredictable ways. Notably, in Scott's reconstruction of the events slaves themselves played a key role in destroying slavery. Pushing the metropolitan grudging legal reforms to the limit, slaves' initiatives sped up a process that authorities had hoped to control from above. Whereas in previous studies about slavery in Cuba slaves rarely appeared as individuals with their own goals, dreams, and initiatives, in *Slave Emancipation* they took centre stage as historical actors.

Scott points out in the new afterword that her book, while engaging the debate concerning the causes of abolition, did not attempt to solve it. Although I agree, I should point out that this engagement broadened the debate considerably, in fact to such a degree as to reframe the whole debate altogether. Herein lies another reason for the centrality of Scott's book. Despite some important contributions by scholars such as Laird Bergad and David Murray, significant additional research is still required to fully understand the multiple causes that led to the end of the flourishing slave-based plantation economy in the island. Some of Moreno's central hypotheses remain viable, but need to be tested empirically. For instance, although Scott and other scholars have shown that the most technologically-advanced *ingenios* continued to acquire and employ slaves until the very end of the system, Moreno's argument that slaves were being used almost exclusively in rural activities has not been disproved. The kind of research needed to answer this and other questions will benefit from Scott's scholarship in various ways. It is likely that these studies will be more fruitful at the local level, using the techniques and methods of microhistory that Scott has applied to her studies of slaves and former slaves in Cuba, Louisiana and Brazil. Finally, I suspect that this research will also entail the same sort of collaboration that made *Slave Emancipation* possible and that Rebecca Scott has continued to practice in her relentless drive to understand the meanings of freedom to 'ordinary' human beings in Cuba and elsewhere.

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Verónica Zárata Toscano, *Los nobles ante la muerte en México: actitudes, ceremonias y memoria (1750–1850)* (México: El Colegio de México; Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora), pp. 484, pb.

In this book Verónica Zárata Toscano takes the history of mentalities in Mexico into uncharted territory; that of ideas and traditions concerning death among the Mexican nobility. According to the author the inspiration for her work is the 'New History' propagated by the *Annales* school, and more concretely, the groundbreaking work in the 1970s of Michel Vovelle and Pierre Chaunu concerning attitudes towards death in France from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

Taking up their mantle, Toscano has compiled a database of 330 testaments issued by members of 62 of Mexico's 72 titled families. The resulting statistics comprise the basis of her work, which then is broadened with references to various sources such as genealogical and parochial information, sermons, textbooks concerning the proper traditions and behaviour regarding death, as well as family histories and biographies.

Toscano departs from the assumption that ideas and attitudes concerning death are key to understanding the world view of the epoch. Her choice of the rather narrow group of Mexican nobles is based on their distinctiveness in terms of judicial status and the possession of a title. The timeframe selected for the study was to test the endurance of the culture surrounding death among this elite group in the face of the instability of the Independence Wars and ensuing conflicts in the early nineteenth century. Toscano's thesis is that while her study does not show the definite trend towards the de-christianisation noted by Vovelle in eighteenth century France, it does demonstrate a certain 'interiorisation' of religion, and, as a consequence, the increasing transferral of the ceremonies surrounding death to the familial sphere. Thus, while the baroque nobles of the early eighteenth century left detailed stipulations as to their preferences regarding the ceremonies following their death, their Bourbon successors left such arrangements to their families. Finally, by the beginning of the nineteenth century Toscano shows a definite trend towards more humble and simple burials. None of this comes as a surprise; the enlightened disdain of the Bourbon monarchs for the material extravagance with which baroque Catholicism manifested itself in their colonies is well known. As direct beneficiaries of their king's policies, Mexico's nobles doggedly followed in his footsteps. The value of Toscano's study, however, lies in the vivid manner with which she describes the rituals surrounding death.

Toscano devotes the first half of her book to a general description and analysis of the noble families that form the basis of the study, their economic activities and familial relations. The first chapter deals with the nature of the sources, that is the testaments, their usage in 'New History', as well as her own methods. Dissecting the documents she shows their structural components, draws out general trends concerning the age and origins of the testators, and discusses their legal context. Chapter two and three deal with patterns of title giving, in New Spain, qualifications for elite membership, elite participation in professional and cultural activities, as well as relations between the families, including marital strategies. This part of the book is meticulously researched and detailed, but it does not really bring new revelations to light as to the behaviour of the Mexican elite.

Parting from chapter four, however, Toscano began to attract serious interest in this reader. The chapter is devoted to a discussion of the methods used by nobles to secure good fortune in the afterlife through the invocation of saints and guardian angels, by contributing to the building of churches and convents, as well as through pious donations to the propagation of the Catholic cult. Her analysis of the popularity of particular saints as it emerges in invocations in the testaments, as well as in the selection of names for newborns, is original and interesting.

Chapter five deals with the agony preceding death and the rituals surrounding it such as the sacraments, the death itself, its announcement as well as the preparation of the body. Finally, in chapter six Toscano focuses on where and how nobles were buried, and how they were commemorated after the burials. Together, these two chapters provide the book's most original contribution to cultural history in Mexico. Toscano succeeds in vividly reconstructing the rites surrounding burials, the processions and the preferred places of rest for the nobles as well as in analysing how their memory was kept alive.

Toscano's work is impressive in its thorough research, fluid narrative and perceptive insights into the attitudes of an era long past. While her statistical analysis does not demonstrate the clear trends that the author might have hoped for, in many

instances it provides a fresh view into the behaviour of Mexican nobles. And by delving into the complexity of Catholic religious culture in late colonial Mexico, Toscano has produced an invaluable work for the history of mentality in The New World.

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Richard A. Warren, *Vagrants and Citizens: Politics and the Masses in Mexico City from Colony to Republic* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2001), pp. 202, \$60.00, hb.

Richard Warren's crisply, even elegantly, written and well-documented book aims at injecting urban artisans, working people and even the famous Mexico City *léperos* as historical actors into the chaotic politics of the first two decades or so after Mexican independence, *à la* George Rudé and other social historians of Europe. Certainly he goes far toward this goal, especially in tracing with care and insight popular participation in the numerous elections in the capital during the period. Warren comes closer than many recent historians to connecting incipient party formation (e.g., the famous Masonic rites of *yorkinos* and *escoceses* and their associated political tendencies) and the macro-political narrative to popular preoccupation with bread-and-butter issues (taxes and the state of the economy), virulent anti-Spanish sentiment, and the relationship between the newly federalised (1824) Mexico City municipal government and the national government. Analysis of election results apart, however, one often gets the impression that the author is really addressing more the issue of *representations* of the masses of his title, in the sense of ideas and prejudices about them among elite political actors, than the beliefs of common people themselves. That Warren does not entirely succeed in reaching his goal is due less to his efforts, or to a lack of awareness of the interpretive or theoretical issues involved, than to the absence of documentation, a problem most historians of popular politics face in realising such projects. In any case, what he has given us will interest not only historians of Mexico, but those of the early 'liberal moment' more generally, and his study can be located as a significant point on a comparative compass for early national Latin American urban political culture, along with those of such scholars as Sarah Chambers (Peru) and Hilda Sabato (Argentina).

In a series of chapters embracing the period 1808–1837, and individually defined by shorter political chronologies (e.g., 1808–1820, 1820–1824, 1824–1830, and so forth), Warren provides both a very competent political narrative of the era and a real feeling for the atmosphere of Mexico City, whose political and economic structures he sketches in the first chapter. He stresses the role of the masses in shaping political life (even if the definitional boundaries of the terms 'poor', 'masses', 'popular groups' and '*léperos*' are left rather vague), rather than the personalist striving of the major elite political actors of the period such as Agustín de Iturbide, although the latter's links to popular groups through anti-Spanish sentiment, and his centrality to early post-Independence political life in general, are thrown into high relief. As other historians have done recently, Warren points to the importance of the Cadiz Constitution of 1812 in raising popular political expectations, opening a breach in the creaky colonial system, and setting an agenda for the following decades. His detailed and perceptive discussion of mobilisation for elections, and of voting outcomes themselves, begins with an analysis of the 1812 elections for the Spanish Cortes based substantially on

little-used primary sources. Warren goes on to describe an ‘explosion’ of political organising from about 1825 on, characterised initially by very high voter turnouts, but culminating a decade or so later in the onset of political disillusionment and a fall in popular electoral participation. Along the way, Warren has interesting and original things to say about themes such as ideological alignments, frictions between central and municipal governments, the mechanics of electoral disputes, and the episodes of political violence that punctuated the period (e.g., the famous Parián riot of 1828, the overthrow and murder of President Vicente Guerrero [1829–30]), among others. Dwelling at length and in interesting detail on the fears of elite political actors (the so-called ‘hombres de bien’) of the popular anarchy they saw in street politics and elections – ideas traceable to the excesses of the French Revolution – Warren frequently evokes the increasingly conservative statesman Lucas Alaman as a sort of poster-child for these anti-Jacobin and anti-*sans-culottes* sentiments. As for the radical liberals of the period, Warren points out that elite politics on this end of the spectrum sometimes outran popular tolerance, especially with regard to attacking the Church.

Throughout most of the book, however, we see the shadow of the masses rather than the masses themselves, as occurs with Warren’s otherwise excellent treatment of the elections of 1833 offered in chapter five, for example. Where popular groups are invoked in the flesh, the idioms deployed to explain their behaviour – they are, for example, ‘whipped into a frenzy’ by radical federalists (p. 52), ‘incited’ to action (p. 85), or simply already ‘notoriously volatile’ (p. 89) – suggest political cannon fodder rather than political actors. Most of this foreshortening of popular groups as agents of their own and the nation’s political fate, as I suggested at the outset, must be due to the absence of state-generated documentation (which exists in abundance for the Independence period) because of the substantial decriminalisation of political expression of all kinds that came with the republican constitutions and new conceptions of citizenship. Even if he cannot in the end completely answer all the questions he has asked, however, Richard Warren has done an excellent job with what he has and has written a book of compelling interest.

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Andrew Grant Wood, *Revolution in the Street: Women, Workers, and Urban Protest in Veracruz, 1870–1927* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2001), pp. xxiii + 239, \$60.00 hb.

The historiography of the working class has moved away from studies of labour unions in prominent industries to examine how working people lived. This perspective has proven particularly fruitful for discussions of urban revolutionary Mexico, an area only recently receiving scholarly attention. While the actions of rural Mexicans on the battlefield and in pressing for reforms have been integral to studies of the period, urban workers have largely been ignored or dismissed as lucky beneficiaries of rural activism. Andrew Grant Wood’s *Revolution in the Street* fits into the new historiography of the working class and challenges assumptions about the secondary role of urban popular protest in the revolution and subsequent state formation. Wood uses the 1922 renters’ strike in Veracruz to discuss the history of working people in the port city; the formation, actions and results of an urban social protest movement and the negotiations between civil society and the state. Furthermore,



*Revolution in the Street* contextualises the strike by examining the rental housing market and the reasons for resident discontent, as well as the communities of renters whose social networks – formed by their living situation – became political networks.

Modernisation of Veracruz in the late nineteenth century, including a railroad link to the capital and urban electrification, could not keep pace with urban growth: this growth exacerbated pre-existing infrastructure and hygiene inadequacies, at the same time as increasing demand for housing. Workers crowded into tenements constructed around central patios; these patios served as kitchen, bathing area and dining room for large numbers of residents. Communal spaces created social networks that would become the basis for collective action in the post-revolutionary period. Yet the high rents and poor living conditions of *porteños* were not unique in Mexico at the time, and alone were not enough to prompt a lengthy housing strike. So why Veracruz and why then? Wood's well-researched narrative weaves together local, regional and national factors that radicalised Veracruz's renters and sustained their strike for several years. External threats strengthened community ties: *porteños* defended themselves not only against invading US marines in 1914 but also against sanitation inspectors whose zeal to stop the spread of bubonic plague led to the destruction of entire tenements and markets. On the political front, President Alvaro Obregón's tenuous hold on power created an opportunity for local voices to be heard, radical Governor Adalberto Tejeda courted tenant organisations and labour organiser Rafael García became the city's mayor. Wood easily manages these three levels, providing a detailed picture of the complex political history around the strike, without losing his focus on the Veracruz tenants whose refusal to pay rent continued even as regional and national politics changed. Not everyone in the city supported the strikers, particularly when their direct action tactics, including 'fierce "recruitment"' to unionise the city's maids (p. 164) and public humiliation of opponents (pp. 80, 87), intimidated the city's residents and bordered on vigilante justice. The author also presents the landlords' point of view, showing the deadlock reached between anarchist strikers and 'bourgeois' landlords because of fundamental disagreements about the nature of the economic system. Although the strikers were ultimately repressed and co-opted, direct action tactics had resulted in new worker *colonias*, later legalised by the government, and pressure on regional government resulted in state legislation limiting rents and offering more protection to renters.

*Revolution in the Street's* most important contribution to the literature on this period is its examination of how workers in Veracruz used the political openings provided first by the revolution and then by the weak national government to participate in state formation through negotiations with politicians and landlords, campaigning and direct action. Detailed descriptions of this direct action vividly show how the revolution did turn the world upside down: prostitutes stoned rent collectors (p. 76) while a prison warden loaned his phonograph to jailed strike leaders for their 'Red Dance' celebrating Mexican independence (p. 134). Wood places working women at the centre of his narrative as leaders and activists in the rent strike, detailing what women did, including protesting in the streets, clashing with police and petitioning the government for concessions. Still, questions of why women were prominent among strikers and why gendered discourses were used in the strike remain. The lively quotations the author selects indicate the importance of gender in framing the arguments of both strikers and landlords (pp. 148, 156), yet this point is not taken up. Questions of gender analysis notwithstanding, *Revolution in the Street* offers valuable insight into the history of social protest in Mexico by placing the 1922 renters' strike in

a larger context, addressing questions of urban revolutionary Mexico and depicting the street-level fashioning of revolutionary Veracruz.

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Lance E. Davis and Robert E. Gallman, *Evolving Financial Markets and International Capital Flows: Britain, the Americas, and Australia, 1865–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. viii + 986, £70.00, hb; \$100, hb.

During the five decades before World War One the United States, Australia, Canada and Argentina grew at a breakneck pace. By 1914, they were all among the wealthiest economies in the world. A good deal of their economic success had to do with the development of financial systems that mobilised capital for productive investment. The history of how those financial systems developed, their role in the growth of the real (non-financial) economy, and the degree to which they were supplemented (or replaced) by the existence of the British financial system is the subject of this immensely ambitious and important book.

Lance Davis and the late Robert Gallman have provided us with theoretically informed and empirically rich economic histories of the four frontier economies (Argentina, Australia, Canada and the United States), as well as Great Britain. The focus of these chapters is the development of each country's financial system, but their reach extends well beyond the confines of financial history. Indeed, each chapter embeds the history of financial markets into a discussion of the growth of the larger economy, the role played by British capital markets in the development of that larger economy, and the factors that either abetted or limited domestic financial market development. By necessity, each of these five country chapters tends to be quite long (they average 140 pages each!). Indeed, some of these chapters could easily stand as books in and of themselves.

Davis and Gallman do more, however, than simply provide individual country histories. An additional chapter provides readers with a series of explicit comparisons across countries. This chapter provides a series of lessons from economic history for the construction of efficient financial markets. It also provides readers with an understanding of why particular countries followed the path that they did, rather than some alternative path of financial market evolution. This chapter is followed by an overview of post-1914 financial market growth. A final chapter, on lessons from the past, explores the importance of economic history for understanding contemporary economic crises around the world, particularly the Japanese meltdown in the 1990s and the Latin American crises of the 1980s and 1990s. The result is a book that adds up to far more than the sum of its parts.

A short review obviously cannot do justice to this impressive volume. This is a book that will be read with profit by development economists, financial economists, economic historians, and historians of the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Canada and Latin America broadly defined. Permit me, then, to focus on the importance of this book for readers of this journal.

One of the big bothersome questions of Latin American political economy is the Argentine climacteric. Circa 1914 Argentina was a high per capita income country, discussed in the same breath as other rapidly growing frontier economies such as the United States, Canada and Australia. Today, Argentina is a middle income developing

country, discussed alongside Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela. What, exactly, happened to push Argentina off its path of high growth? The most common answer is Peronism: the populist policies of Perón created institutions that misallocated resources and discouraged investment. Until the presidency of Carlos Menem, Argentina's governments, regardless of their stated ideology, found it impossible to tinker with these institutions because they were supported by politically powerful unions and industrialists.

Davis and Gallman suggest that the onset of the Argentine climacteric actually began much earlier than Perón – circa 1914. Building upon an argument first made by Alan Taylor, they demonstrate that Argentina's economic growth prior to 1914 was not financed by domestic savings or domestic financial intermediaries. The estimates of capital flows made by Davis and Gallman indicate, in fact, that between one-half and two-thirds of Argentine gross investment was accounted for by foreigners. Even most of the debt issued by the Argentine government was held by foreigners. Unlike the other frontier economies studied by Davis and Gallman, which became increasingly less reliant on foreign capital inflows over time, Argentina did not develop a robust banking system or securities market. The result was that when capital inflows from Great Britain dried up in 1914, Argentine growth slowed dramatically. The implication is that even had there been no Perón, Argentina could not have maintained its pre-1914 rate of growth.

In addition to this important substantive argument, Davis and Gallman also make an equally important methodological argument. Their arguments are sustained on the basis of detailed analyses of quantitative data sets that span all four frontier economies under study. Particularly impressive is the fact that they provide detailed appendices in which they explain the sources and methods employed in producing these data sets. The result is a convincing demonstration of the power of harnessing quantitative tools to carefully retrieved evidence in order to test hypotheses about the sources of economic growth (and stagnation). *Evolving Financial Markets* is, in sum, a model of how to do comparative history.

In conclusion, this is a work of immense importance. Latin Americanists from a broad number of disciplines will read it with profit.

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Nicola Miller, *In the Shadow of the State: Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in Twentieth-Century Spanish America* (London: Verso, 1999), pp. ix + 342, £40.00, £15.00 pb.

Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (eds.), *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. xi + 372, £38.00, £9.95 pb; \$59.50, \$15.95 pb.

Two interesting books, one a study of intellectuals and national identity in Latin America, the other a reader on the complex relationships between Grand Theory and Latin America. The former focuses more narrowly but in greater depth on Latin American twentieth-century culture, the latter tackles economic, political and cultural aspects of Latin America by focusing on the heuristic capabilities of some Western social theories. For instance, contributors explore in the economic field the theories of Gerschenkron and Polanyi; in the political area the theories of Tilly, Huntington and

Barrington Moore; in the cultural field the theories of Michel de Certeau and Benedict Anderson. The results are mixed: while for instance Gerschenkron and Huntington are found to be useful to understand important aspects of Latin America, Moore and Anderson are more radically refuted as not appropriate in the Latin American context. At any rate the Reader promotes an interesting dialogue between theory and Latin America, but surprisingly, leaves out Marxism – on purpose – which given its past impact on the region, could have been usefully assessed.

Miller's book is a fine piece of research which shows an impressive and commanding scholarship on Latin American intellectuals. It seeks to explore their role in the construction of national identities during the twentieth century, especially in Chile, Cuba, Argentina, Mexico and Peru. Miller takes an intermediate position between the two traditions that seek to explain Latin American identity: on the one hand what she calls the 'perennialist' position which emphasises the historical embeddedness of nations in ethnic communities and on the other, the 'modernist' position which underlines the role of the state as the agent that deliberately creates or invents a national identity.

Despite the fact that most authors side with the modernist position, Miller maintains that national identity in Latin America is founded both on a state political project and on a shared culture. She gives particular importance to Benedict Anderson's contribution, in spite of some problems, for the 'imagined' qualities of the nation seem to her important to correct the unilateralism of the modernist position. This is especially true in the Latin American case where nations were not always based on distinctive ethnicity and where the processes of modernisation were rather incomplete.

Interestingly, Claudio Lomnitz, in the last chapter of *The Other Mirror*, takes a less favourable view of Anderson, and argues that the idea of an imagined community based on horizontal fraternity and comradeship, able to generate personal sacrifice of its members, does not fit at all with the Latin American case. First, because Anderson's idea of nation does not coincide with the Spanish usage of the term 'nación', which was distinguished from 'patria' (fatherland) in such a way that there may be more than one nation in a single fatherland. Second, because deep horizontal comradeship is not necessarily implied in the Latin American case where many people – women, Indians and children – are integrated into the nation through bonds of dependence from full citizens. Third, because in Latin America the capacity to generate personal sacrifice does not depend on a communitarian and fraternal feeling, but rather on the coercive, moral or economic force of other relationships.

Whereas Miller believes the cultural emphasis of Anderson's theory is useful to counter the modernists, Lomnitz sees Anderson's emphasis on the centrality of language over race (in the sense of a bloodline) as basically flawed, which makes him closer to the perennialists. In a curious way both seem to agree in partially distancing themselves from modernists, only that Lomnitz does it in opposition to Anderson while Miller derives it from Anderson.

Be that as it may, Miller's main point is that the power of intellectuals to shape national identity in Latin America has been limited by the state while, at the same time, the state has been their main source of status. The somehow unflattering picture of Latin American intellectuals is described by four general points: (1) intellectuals were systematically excluded from high-level policy-making but co-opted into the lower levels of state bureaucracy; (2) this situation was masked by granting diplomatic appointments to the better known amongst them; (3) in the event that co-option

failed, rapid action was taken to eliminate their political challenge; (4) state leaders appropriated cultural symbols for themselves, thus further undermining intellectuals. In the construction of national identities the blueprints of the politicians mattered much more than the visions of the intellectuals. In short, intellectuals in Latin America have been both marginalised and co-opted by politicians and as a result have enjoyed little autonomy to establish themselves as an independent critical community.

Miller is quite perceptive in detecting the Latin American intellectual's ambivalence towards rationality. Enlightened reason has been suspected by them as an imposition from the developed world and this is why many intellectuals have put forward the idea that Latin America must be understood in terms of an alternative rationality. Miller's analysis reaches only the 1970s, but what she says can easily be extended to the 1980s when, in the middle of a deep crisis, religious and neo-'indigenista' versions of identity came forward once more to propose that modern reason was not Latin America's own and that the elite's continuous insistence on rational modernising projects had only led to failure.

Miller seems to believe that the rejection of Cartesian Reason was a kind of strategy adopted by intellectuals to defend their own position as modernisation gathered pace. I think this is a mistake. While the suspicions about reason have been quite clearly widespread amongst Latin American intellectuals, it is a bit far-fetched to believe that they have developed them as a kind of strategy for self-enhancement. The truth is that their doubts are more genuine than Miller would allow and mirror that vision and construction of the 'other' which came from Europe itself. From the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, the European image of Latin America in many important intellectual quarters has been one of a less than rational place, where the desire to accumulate does not exist (Malthus, Stuart Mill), where the Spirit is absent (Hegel), conforming 'peoples without history' (Marx), racially inferior (Voltaire, Kant, Montesquieu) and surrounded by a dangerous nature (Buffon, De Pauw).

Miller maintains that intellectuals in Latin America have developed an ideology of bi-culturalism which has understood national identity in terms of a hybrid cultural formation (a dualism of indigenous/European) and has led them to gloss over other sources of division such as class, region or history. But it was not their views that were decisive for the actual shaping of identity: the ideas of politicians from the state always prevailed. Which means that in spite of Miller's opposition to the modernists' hegemony, in the end she comes quite close to upholding it and her avowed recognition of the importance of a shared culture created by intellectuals is not substantiated by her own analysis. Not for nothing the title and the last words of the book insist that Latin American intellectuals have lived 'in the shadow of the state'.

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JORGE LARRAIN

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Rachel Sieder (ed.), *Multiculturalism in Latin America: Indigenous Rights, Diversity and Democracy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, with Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2002), pp. xxiv + 280, £52.50, £16.99 pb; \$69.95, \$21.95 pb.

Over the past decades indigenous peoples' movements have become prominently present in Latin America. This poses new challenges, both for the movements and for

the societies and polities with which they interact. The vigour of the movements in combination with the constitutional reforms that recognised the multicultural make-up of the population calls for a resetting of the research agenda. The study of how the formal recognition of indigenous peoples' rights works out in practice has only begun and this volume is an important contribution to that debate.

In her introduction Rachel Sieder identifies three broad sets of issues around which the volume is organised: representation and autonomy; legal pluralism and human rights; and poverty and social justice. The question of indigenous-state relations is discussed in the first four chapters of the book. Rodolfo Stavenhagen provides a historical overview and discusses the constitutional changes, concluding that after this first breakthrough the going will be rough. This is born out in the following chapters. Donna Lee Van Cott seeks to assess how these changes work out in terms of 'autonomy regimes' in the Andes region. Xavier Albó explores the fate of indigenous-peasant councillors and mayors elected in the 1997 Bolivian municipal elections and Demetrio Cojtí provides a detailed insider's view of the sluggish negotiations over educational reform in Guatemala.

A particularly interesting feature of this section in Albó's discussion of the 'search for better laws' by way of the 'popular mobilization road' and the 'parliamentary road'. As to the latter he has few illusions (p. 96). Thus he addresses a concern also expressed in other chapters; while there is a strong need for stronger involvement of the indigenous population in national affairs, established party systems often block access to that arena. Interestingly, a few months after this very up-to-date volume rolled from the press, parties with strong links to the indigenous movements in Bolivia achieved remarkable electoral success. In other countries too, such parties have made inroads unthinkable not long ago. This is bound to set new parameters for the debate over autonomy and representation. Moreover, while one certainly can view this as a sign of successful democratisation and the 'inclusion' of sectors hitherto unrepresented as such, such turmoil in the party system will also raise concerns among 'consolidationists'. This issue will undoubtedly be high on the research agenda for some time to come.

The next three chapters address issues of legal pluralism and human rights. Guillermo de la Peña dissects the conflict between the traditional authorities of a Huichol community and a group of evangelical 'dissidents'. He not only addresses the question of individual and collective rights but also frames the issue in terms of social and ethnic citizenship and shows how the thinness of social citizenship for the indigenous peoples of Mexico reinforces their search for ethnic citizenship. Raquel Yrigoyen discusses the recognition of legal pluralism in Peru's 1993 Constitution and the failure of a conservative judiciary to comply with this change. Rachel Sieder contributes a historical study of state building in Guatemala and the Mexican state of Chiapas. She demonstrates how in both countries a new constellation emerged in the 1990s and argues that in these contexts formal recognition of legal pluralism may be an advance, but that it also may be a governmentality strategy on the part of the ruling elites.

That analysis is certainly born out if one takes a look at the local legislation adopted in Chiapas under the administration of Roberto Albores (such as the Penal Code of 1998 and state Constitution of 2000). Paradoxes indeed abound in the recognition of 'customary law': we only have to think of how Mexican congressmen suddenly became concerned over 'the rights of indigenous women', when it came to derailing the constitutional reform proposal in 2001. Indigenous women's

movements have rejected such human rights paternalism and seek to go their own way, defending their identity and at the same time questioning the *usos y costumbres* that oppress them.

The last chapters address the poverty and social justice theme. Roger plant discusses agrarian and development issues and stresses that indigenous communities are not isolated but embedded in the wider economy and also points to the growing numbers of indigenous people living in urban areas. A national level approach rather than local projects is therefore needed. Shelton Davis discusses the World Bank experience with participatory projects that seek to tap indigenous peoples' social capital and argues that promoting indigenous development often runs into political obstacles. Finally, Nina Laurie, Robert Andolina and Sarah Radcliffe seek to assess the implications of multi-ethnic policies for land and water reform in Bolivia. They argue that the separation of land and water policies may collide with the cultural logic of the Andes population and furthermore show how the politics of recognition can be strategically employed in framing demands, but that this also may result in new forms of exclusion.

While very insightful, one cannot expect Davis's self-evaluation to be overly critical of World Bank practice itself. Indigenous organisations often are highly critical about the Bank's policies and also accuse it of maintaining a double agenda in which the 'do good' projects at best mitigate the effects of the macro-economic policies it promotes. While employing self-assured World Bank idiom about promoting participation in 'the development process' throughout the paper, Davis ends with an interesting note on diversity being threatened by models of economic development; a shadow of doubt, perhaps? Plant remarks that the multilateral agencies mostly see lack of market integration rather than market forces as the problem and the chapter by Laurie, Andolina and Radcliffe also suggests that there might be something amiss with the dominant development paradigm.

Such contrasts make the volume excellent teaching material and it will also be obligatory reading for scholars. It contributes to the innovation of the research agenda and to reframe the debate regarding the ways to confront the challenge of diversity in Latin America.

*El Colegio de Michoacán*

WILLEM ASSIES

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Mark Ungar, *Elusive Reform: Democracy and the Rule of Law in Latin America*. (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), pp. x + 271, £41.50, hb.

With this book Mark Ungar establishes himself as a significant contributor to judicial reform debates. Ungar proposes to address the issues differently, interpreting them within a state-building context (thus the term rule of law rather than judicial reform), focusing on why programmes have not succeeded, and emphasising the inherent contradictions in asking the state and the judiciary to remedy their own weaknesses. Even in this still sparsely studied area it is hard to be novel, and much of Ungar's approach is not unique. However, he adds information not found elsewhere, highlights institutions (e.g. prisons, police, the Public Ministry, human rights ombudsmen, decentralisation) often given short shrift in conventional treatments, and offers his own take on the fundamental challenges and obstacles to their resolution.

Ungar summarises the two basic rule-of-law goals as strengthening ‘administration’ and accountability, dividing them into actions affecting the state, judiciary and civil society. He sees excessive executive power and judicial ‘disarray’ as both motivating reform and impeding its realisation. His arguments rely heavily on two case studies, Argentina and Venezuela, supplemented by additional fieldwork in Bolivia, and an impressive review of the literature on other countries. He provides lengthy historical discussions on prisons (depicted as the acid test of administrative strengthening), police (‘the nerve center of the state’), judicial independence, judicial councils, access and community justice. The treatments benefit from his extensive readings on legal and political theory, use of Latin American sources, and interviews with government authorities. Those familiar with the cases will disagree with some of his interpretations (such as his positive views on judicial councils or his endorsement of budgetary earmarks), but will find the rich detail, unconventional juxtapositions and political insights useful. His principal message, linking judicial reform to broader conflicts over the reorganisation of the state and its relationship to civil society, is extremely important and long overdue. Ungar unquestionably sets his sights too high, both as to what can be covered in a single volume and the themes one author can hope to master successfully. He invites and will receive criticism from all sides. Historians and political theorists will not be happy with his summary discussion of the evolution of the Latin American state or his two case studies. Ungar has read broadly, but eclectically, and often fails to capture the nuances and alternative interpretations expected by the brother and sisterhood of the discipline. His reliance on Latin American theorists, while commendable, does not mix well with mainstream political science. Ungar’s equation of the state with executive agencies and his focus on its conflicts with the judiciary is unfortunate. It oversimplifies the issues, ignores the competing interests within each branch, and neglects many important players – most notably congress and political parties. His treatment of decentralisation overlooks the complications of a federal organisation (Argentina), tends to confuse horizontal and vertical dimensions and mixes political and administrative considerations indiscriminately.

Judicial reformers will find his selection of key elements overly narrow. Legal experts are likely to dispute his descriptions of Latin American institutions. His understanding of the public ministry, police organisation and practices, and even ‘judicial disarray’, is shaped by his two case studies. This is extremely dangerous in a region showing so much more variation. Anyone writing on the topic makes mistakes, but Ungar needs to update and check his sources. Mexico and Colombia’s administrative courts are not in the ordinary judiciary, most appellate courts are not ‘*federales*’ even in Argentina, Rosenn’s 1987 data on judicial tenure and appointment systems are no longer accurate, Peru’s *juces de paz* are not recent innovations, and judicial councils and most public ministries are not executive agencies.

Ungar identifies many problems meriting further attention, but characterises them oddly. Despite his logical inference, Argentine debates over ‘police powers’ are not about policing as conventionally understood; they reflect ideological differences over the state’s use of misdemeanour laws, enforced and sometimes written by the police, to control social deviance. His discussions of overlapping judicial functions conflate usurped powers with legitimate auxiliary activities, a consequence, I suspect, of mixing juridical and political science analysis. The conflicts of interest inherent in the public ministry are not related to its representation of the state (rarely its official mandate). They involve its simultaneous protection of societal interests and due



process rights. His suggestion that *Defensorias* (Human Rights Ombudsmen) take up some of the slack is constitutionally and practically dubious.

Ungar should be applauded for breaking new ground, but hardly taken as the final word on any of his topics. He manages to pack enormous detail and novel insights into a short volume. However, his underdeveloped theoretical framework impedes a coherent presentation. It will take a patient reader to follow the story line and a cautious one to separate fact from anecdote, opinion, or simple misstatements. He has not produced a new theory of judicial reform; he has made a provocative addition to the efforts to do so.

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Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach (eds.), *Combating Corruption in Latin America* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, and Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. x + 230, \$45.00, \$16.95 pb; £35.00, £13.00 pb.

The past decade has seen a remarkable upsurge of interest in, as well as academic comment upon, the phenomenon of political corruption. This outpouring would seem to be in no small measure a consequence of the failure of market capitalism to live up to the lofty expectations that followed the collapse of the Soviet Bloc. Global capitalism may be firmly in the ascendant but it has failed to extend its benefits to a sizeable proportion of the world's population, at least three billion of whom are constrained to survive on less than \$2 per day. In Latin America more than 45 per cent of the population is believed to be living below the poverty line. Whilst democracy in the formal sense has made significant progress in Latin America, it is far from certain that the ensuing structures of accountability have been able to curb the continuing depredations of the powerful. More seriously the chilling growth of narco-economies seems to gnaw at the very vitals of a number of Latin American states.

In the light of such developments a plethora of institutions both national and international have trumpeted the paramountcy of the fight against corruption. In 1996 one of them, the Organisation of Latin American States, unfurled its Inter-American Convention Against Corruption in Caracas. Six months later a roundtable of government officials, business people, representatives of international institutions and academics was convened at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The stated aim of this distinguished assembly was to provide 'a multi-disciplinary approach' to the problem of corruption in Latin America with a view to forming 'a judgement as to the efficacy and longterm viability of various anti-corruption measures'. Most of the papers contained in this volume were presented at the roundtable.

Following an introduction by the editors the collection is divided into three parts: part one comprises 'Theoretical Approaches to Corruption and Anticorruption polices' followed by 'Theory Meets Reality: Reducing Corruption In Latin America, while part three presents views from three major organisations: the World Bank, the US Agency for International Development and the Inter-American Development Bank.

In part one Alberto Aides and Rafael Di Tella present a survey of the 'new economies' of corruption in which they attempt to quantify the factors that are held to

underpin the decision to engage in corrupt activities; Luis Moreno Ocampo reflects upon the clash of normative systems inherent in international efforts to contain the phenomenon; Luca Meldalosi, claiming that Italy rightfully belongs in ‘the Latin world’, explores the relevance of the Italian case to the Latin American experience; and long established authority in this area, Susan Rose-Ackerman, reflects upon the growing realisation that ‘leaner government is not necessarily cleaner’.

This latter point is highlighted by Laurence Whitehead in his discussion of high level political corruption in Latin America which opens part two. Economic liberalisation may curtail some forms of grand corruption but others may become easier. This, as a number of contributors to this collection observe, has become particularly apparent with regard to the process of privatisation. Following Whitehead, Luigi Manzetti examines the pitfalls of market reforms without transparency; Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva provides interesting examples of the corruption of journalists in Brazil reinforcing the point that a vigorous press is not necessarily free press; and Edmundo Jarquin and Fernando Carillo-Flores discuss the complexity of anti-corruption policies, albeit largely confining themselves to listing what needs to be done as opposed to assessing feasibility.

This last point highlights what are the two fundamental weaknesses of this collection: first, most of the issues, questions, themes, policy recommendations have been aired at length in a range of publications, conference papers, journal articles and suchlike during the five years that have passed since this roundtable took place. Consequently, readers seeking new perspectives on anti-corruption initiatives will be disappointed. Second, while a number of the contributors emphasise that greater transparency must compliment economic liberalisation, the full implications of this are not worked out. In fact there is a contradiction here: greater transparency can ultimately only be achieved by strengthening structures of accountability particularly legal institutions, inspectors general and other oversight mechanisms. This would seem to demand an expansion of the public sector in order to ensure that contractions elsewhere operate in the public interest. In a continent where the public services of its most developed state, Argentina, are collapsing, and the administration of its richest city, São Paulo, is well down the road to disintegration, one wonders where the resources needed to fund these structures of accountability are likely to come from?

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Judith A. Teichman, *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and Mexico* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. xv + 273, £45.95, £16.95 pb.

In *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America* Judith Teichman provides a provocative argument about the politics of market reforms and its implications for democracy as well as a rich description of the reform processes in Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. This book emphasises the personalistic aspects of the Iberian traditions in the region to explain the policy networks that were instrumental for market reforms in the three studied countries.

In Teichman’s view Latin American policy networks link ideas with domestic and international actors. Personal relationships and loyalties sustain these networks

taking advantage of personal power and discretionality in the application of the law. Therefore, 'policy networks are hierarchical, cohesive, tightly integrated, and resistant to penetration from the outside' (p. 18). In Latin America, policy networks link personalistic leaderships with US-trained technocrats in government and their counterparts in international financial institutions (mainly World Bank and International Monetary Fund). The characteristics of each country and the circumstances in which they started the process of reform are associated with different features of the policy networks. In some cases policy networks are more porous to social allies from the business sectors and, in Argentina, to some privileged labour unions. Policy networks are more cohesive under authoritarian Chile than in democratic Argentina. They include a stronger component of domestic technocrats (although trained together in the same American Ivy League universities) in Mexico than in Argentina where the relative absence of such individuals increased the dependency on the technical advice of the World Bank.

Although policy networks played a key role in each of the three countries, they were subjected to historical legacies and the interaction between domestic and international factors. According to Teichman, their role is more relevant in the first stage of reforms where consultation is minimal. However, in the second stage of reforms popular dissatisfaction with the previous pro-market policies increases the number of actors providing policy input. Moreover, the inclusion of new actors, she argues should be considered by the international actors in the policy networks. Because policy networks have closed and secretive deliberations, international actors cannot make alliances with social actors who agreed with them more than government officials do. Whereas governmental reformers could ignore the advice from the World Bank when they did not like it, 'including societal groups might enlighten bank officials and cause them to modify policy advice, producing ultimately different policy outcomes' (p. 212). In contrast, the secrecy and unaccountability of the process can have negative consequences for policy success, according to Teichman. Electoral politics and open deliberation rather than insulated technocrats may help implement sustainable market reforms while fostering democratic consolidation in Latin America.

This description of policy networks, however, does not provide the conditions defining when ideas overcome vested interests in imposing a reform, such as her description of trade liberalisation in Mexico. Alternatively, it does not explain under which conditions ideas coincide with the desires of the private sector, such as in the case of privatisation in all three countries. Is this a characteristic of the policy involved or are policy makers using some policies as compensations for others in order to convert the losers into winners by taking advantage of the redistribution created by market reforms? Were the personalistic features of the Latin American policy network a result of the Iberian heritage? Perhaps political leaders were taking advantage of the redistribution generated by market reforms to constitute (in the case of Pinochet) or reconstitute (in the cases of Salinas and Menem) their support coalitions in a similar way in which others before them used import substitution policies. These are questions opened by the book that deserve further research by others following in Teichman's footsteps.

Teichman's main conclusion is that market reforms in these three countries were not homogenous. She analyses the policies implemented in these cases to show that they did not hurt the vested interests that were supposed to oppose them, according to the economic literature on market reforms. In her conclusion, she states 'the evidence from this study contradicts the notion that market reforms generate opposition from

privileged interests while its beneficiaries, a diffuse cross section of the public, remain silent. In fact the biggest winners of the initial period of reform were the powerful conglomerate owners, who bought up public firms, took advantage of new export opportunities, and acquired privileged and personal access to the highest reaches of political power' (pp. 210–211).

This conclusion, which summarises the evidence of her empirical chapters, contributes to the political science literature on privatisation. Teichman's arguments resonate with Joel Hellman's 'Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions' (*World Politics*, vol. 5, no. 2, January 1998). Hellman's argument is that market reforms in the former socialist countries are captured by the initial winners, who take advantage of the arbitrage opportunities between the reformed and the unreformed sectors generated by the sequencing of reforms. Later, these 'unexpected' winners hinder the implementation of second generation reforms that eventually reduce the rents acquired in the first round. Teichman's description of Telmex (Teléfonos de México) pressing against competition in telecommunications follows a similar logic. Teichman's book, thus, speaks to a current debate in the political science literature on market reforms while emphasising a key mechanism in their implementation: policy networks.

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Mark Eric Williams, *Market Reforms in Mexico: Coalitions, Institutions, and the Politics of Policy Change* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001), pp. xiv + 258, \$75.00, \$26.95 pb.

This recent publication provides us with an excellent account of the political dimension of the reformist process in Mexico. It centres on the question of what makes reform policies successful. First, it carefully examines the political dynamics that characterised various policy arenas across presidential administrations in Mexico. Secondly, it extends the comparison to the Argentine case. For Williams, the core of the explanation of relative successes and failures lies on the coalition politics both outside and inside the state. This factor, together with certain institutional dynamics that help to offset or compensate for the costs involved in the changes in each case, crucially determines the fate of reformist initiatives.

The policy areas selected include privatisation, deregulation and environmental reform. In all three the Mexican government aimed to produce substantial changes. However, political success, defined as the capacity to implement a specific policy and therefore attain the government's main goals in those areas, was relatively higher in the first two than in the third. Thus, after making a critical review of different possible explanations of these dissimilar outcomes, the author suggests his own, based on the factors mentioned above.

His argument has the merit of highlighting an element usually neglected by coalition approaches: coalitions made within the state, and their impact on the elaboration of a policy initiative and on the chances of successful implementation and consolidation. It also points out to diverse strategies that may be used to cope with opposition and gather support. But coalitions are at the centre of the analysis and are treated as 'agents' with capacity to affect the organisational position of their members, generate institutional innovation and advance ideological paradigms.

Such personification and tremendous transformative capacity of a coalition sounds excessive for a vague entity defined as ‘... an alliance of actors joined together to advance a shared interest’ (p. 38) – a definition quite close to the traditional notion of interest group. Also, the argument takes for granted the resolution of collective action problems within the coalition when, in fact, political leadership, the characteristics of the political party system, relations among various elites, and bureaucratic capacities are all key aspects of the dynamics that bring and hold together coalitions. In the Mexican case, there is plenty of evidence showing the crucial political role played by the executive, the impact of *camarillas* on micro and macro aspects of the political game, and the incidence of an extremely intricate relationship between the governing party at that time (the PRI) and the state. These factors have been fully analysed by a vast literature, part of which has included them in the explanations of how policy makers in Mexico successfully coped with opposition and built support for reforms. The author acknowledges the existence and contribution of different approaches but considers them insufficient if taken individually and prefers to turn to the all-encompassing concept of coalitions and coining of new terms.

In addition, the implementation of market-oriented reforms in Mexico was intertwined with another of considerable magnitude: simultaneous and progressive political liberalisation that drastically altered the basis of the Mexican political system. The scope, timing and content of some economic measures had to be adjusted as to keep pace with politics and help to rebuild the PRI’s hegemony or, at least, maintain the political opening under its control. Thus, dynamics of coalition building have to be analysed on the light of both processes.

On the other hand, the comparison with the Argentine case is done on the basis of a general analysis. While three concrete reforms implemented in Mexico are studied, the case of Argentina is focused only on privatisations and this policy is explored as a whole package. This allows a further exploration of the author’s main arguments but obscures some important nuances and casts doubts about the generalisations suggested. My own research suggests considerable variation across areas within a single policy in terms of the success in implementation. Variables such as the nature of the resource or service to be privatised, the characteristics of the market in each economic sector, the number of relevant actors involved and their different capacities and resources, the kind of networks generated by their interactions, etc. largely affected the policy makers’ chances of success.

Moreover, the Argentine case confirms some of the elements either discarded or not fully explored by Williams. For instance, the importance of presidential leadership on the implementation of privatisations and the evolution of the executive’s strategies along time in order to overcome dissent and resistance. His capacity to flexibly adapt to changes in the political and institutional context proved crucial to achieve policy goals. Finally, Menem’s accomplishments have to be understood also in the light of the peculiar resources and room to manoeuvre with which Peronism provided him, his own political background, and the contribution of Cavallo’s team to the acceleration and smoothing of the reforms process. Although Williams mentions some traits of the Argentine political system, he does not analyse either party organisational and ideological characteristics or the internal dynamic and relations with other actors established by the economic team, much less the kind of individual assets provided by Menem and Cavallo. These factors are not only relevant to explain success in the Argentine case but also mark a crucial difference with the Mexican experience.

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Werner Baer and Joseph L. Love (eds.), *Liberalization and its Consequences: A Comparative Perspective on Latin America and Eastern Europe* (Cheltenham and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2000), pp. x + 323, £65.00, hb.

For years, scholarly analyses of neoliberal reform in Latin America and marketisation in Eastern Europe focused primarily on the causes of these drastic policy changes. Those authors who examined the differential outcomes of these transformations attributed them mainly to the nature and quality of economic policy-making (the consequences of ‘shock therapy’ versus ‘gradualism’, and so forth).

The present volume helps to push the discussion an important step forward by analysing the consequences of liberalisation in a comprehensive, interdisciplinary perspective. The authors advance two basic points, namely that ‘history matters’ and that ‘institutions matter’. As regards history, the parallel chapters by Bulmer-Thomas and Good investigate economic development over the last century in Latin America and Eastern Europe, showing that in a longitudinal perspective, state interventionism and communism did not perform exceptionally badly. Other authors explain the differential economic and political performance of post-communist countries by invoking historical factors. The chapters by Brada and Kochanowicz attribute the greater economic success and stronger political support for the market system in the Western tier of the former communist countries not only to the desire to join the European Union, but also to historical legacies, especially the long-standing exposure of those regions to West European culture. Conversely, Chirot accounts for the difficulties facing economic and political liberalism in Romania by stressing the country’s relative isolation from ‘the West’. Going less far back in time, Greskovits attributes Hungary’s economic and political success in part to ‘the favorable legacies of the Hungarian version of socialism’ (p. 126).

Several authors also stress the importance of institutions. In his particularly interesting chapter, Brada argues that popular support for the market system did not depend on immediate economic outcomes alone, but also on the new economic system’s association with political democracy (p. 82). Graham provides an insightful analysis of Brazil’s reform process, which did not merely free markets, but rebuilt the institutional parameters of economic activity. Goldman, in turn, attributes the distortions plaguing privatisation in Russia to the absence of institutionalised competition and accountability. In his wide-ranging discussion of privatisation in Latin America, Whitehead also emphasises the ‘institutional weakness of the regulatory regime’ (p. 270), an argument echoed in Fishlow’s assessment of the performance of Latin America’s new market systems (p. 299).

The emphasis on history and institutions is valuable, correcting economic analyses and demonstrating the benefits of an interdisciplinary perspective. The chapters clearly suggest that single-minded neoliberal efforts to establish free-market systems were based on deficient analyses and yielded problematic outcomes, as even the initial advocates of drastic market reform – such as the World Bank – have recognised in recent years. Yet while those agencies highlight the role of institutions, the present volume also establishes the importance of lasting historical legacies, which constrain choices and shape outcomes. The book thus suggests a fairly optimistic prognosis for East Central Europe while yielding more pessimistic predictions for the post-communist countries further to the East. (The authors develop this historical argument much less systematically for Latin America.)

White the central message of the book is valid and important, the authors do not always advance their arguments in the most convincing ways, however. Certainly, history and institutions are by nature more fuzzy and harder to ‘measure’ than economic factors. But several authors could have defined their central concepts more clearly and could have presented stronger evidence. For instance, Chirot’s notion of ‘competence’ (pp. 117–18) remains nebulous, and Whitehead never settles on a clear definition of ‘privatisation’ (p. 266). Also, Brada and Greskovits do not back up their discussions of popular support for Eastern Europe’s new market systems by citing some – easily available – survey data. Similarly, the presentation of systematic economic data would have given Fishlow’s ‘evaluation’ of Latin American neo-liberalism a firmer foundation.

In addition, the editors could have done more to provide ‘a comparative perspective on Latin America and Eastern Europe’, as the volume’s subtitle promises. The goal is commendable and ambitious, but is not fully attained in the present volume. The book contains – more or less – parallel analyses of similar topics for each region, but provides too little direct comparison. The introduction is disappointing; it lists some important questions, but does not outline a systematic framework for comparison. Alston’s comparative discussion in the concluding chapter, which is the best section of the volume, is perceptive and interesting, but too brief to anchor the whole book. Also, the editors could have made better use of the commentators by systematically asking specialists from one region to discuss the comparative implications of the chapters examining the other region.

In sum, this volume makes a useful contribution to the literature by offering wide-ranging, thorough, and largely convincing analyses of the historical and institutional context of economic liberalisation in two important regions. Its interdisciplinary approach and cross-regional scope are particularly impressive. The book will be of considerable interest to specialists on market reform, in particular, and to Latin Americanists and East Europeanists, in general.

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André A. Hofman, *The Economic Development of Latin America in the Twentieth Century* (Northampton, MA, and Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), pp. xvi + 322, £65.00, hb.

Research on long-run development processes in Latin America has always been hampered by the absence of adequate statistics to test theories, study trends and examine cyclical change. All those working in this field therefore owe a great deal to André Hofman who has tackled this deficiency in this book with persistence and courage.

Although limited to only six Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela), these account for 80 per cent or more of most socio-economic variables in the region. Furthermore, Hofman has made a special effort to include in the comparisons countries from outside Latin America. There are six countries from the developed world (France, Germany, Japan, Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States); two from the European ‘periphery’ (Spain and Portugal) and two from Asia (Korea and Taiwan). The last comparison is particularly helpful as so many theories have been developed in the last two decades based on the relative performance of Latin America and a handful of Asian countries.

Hofman sets out to prepare estimates of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), population, labour and capital inputs, foreign trade and prices for the period from 1900 to 1994. Much of this has existed in scattered form for many years and Hofman's research has been used as an input in the statistical appendix of Rosemary Thorp's *Progress, Poverty and Exclusion: An Economic History of Latin America in the 20th Century* (IDB, 1998). However, this is the most complete statement of the data, the methodology and the pitfalls, and it will be of immense use to researchers for many years to come.

This kind of research, however, is not for the faint-hearted. Some of the assumptions required to prepare a series on labour inputs – yet alone capital inputs – are truly heroic. Hofman does not dodge this methodological minefield – indeed, he is to be congratulated for addressing the issues so frankly. Yet it would not be difficult to challenge many of the assumptions and come up with a series that is radically different.

An example is provided by the exchange rate. Wherever possible, Hofman works with Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) exchange rates designed to give a more accurate comparisons not only among Latin American countries, but also between Latin America and the rest of the world. These exchange rates are difficult to calculate and Table 5.2 (p. 80) compares different estimates as deviations from official exchange rates. In the case of Argentina, for example, they go from 1.41 to 2.24; this not only gives a huge variance in the conversion of domestic currency data to constant dollars, but also implies that Argentine prices in 1980 (the base year) were higher than in the United States.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the calculation of changes in total factor productivity (TFP) since 1950. This is possible since Hofman's calculations include labour and capital inputs, adjusted for changes in quality. He then applies standard growth accounting techniques to estimate the growth in total factor productivity, i.e. that part of growth in GDP that cannot be attributed to the accumulation of factor inputs.

TFP is the Holy Grail of development economists, since it captures improvements in efficiency from better use of existing resources. It is also much used in comparisons of Asia and Latin America. Since Hofman's work includes two Asian countries using a comparable methodology, the results permit a legitimate comparison of the two regions subject to all the usual *caveats* about the quality of the data and appropriateness of the assumptions.

The results, summarised in Table 6.15 (p. 117) suggest that Asia has consistently enjoyed higher TFP growth than Latin America. In the period from 1950 to 1973 the annual rates were 4.4 and 2.5 per cent respectively while in the 1980s TFP growth in Latin America turned negative. Since 1989 Hofman estimates that TFP growth is once again positive in Latin America, but only half of the rate in Asia. Thus, these results serve both to undermine the argument that Asia growth was 'only' due to massive accumulation of capital inputs and to emphasise the lacklustre performance of Latin America for most of the post-war period.

Almost half of the book is taken up with the appendices which provide the basic data on the variables mentioned above. The first half of the book is then a mixture of a discussion of methodological problems (e.g. the measurement of capital inputs) and a survey of Latin America in the twentieth century. The latter is not very successful as the number of countries (six) is too small and the performance of the rest of the region was in many respects different from the six for which Hofman has prepared estimates. However, this does not matter too much. Hofman should be



judged by the quality of the quantitative series he has prepared and in this respect he must be congratulated.

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VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS

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José Luis Roca, *Bolivia, después de la capitalización: una crítica al gonismo y sus "reformas"* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2000), pp. 269, pb.

José Luis Roca has written a lively and informed political testimony of contemporary Bolivian politics. As an active participant in party politics, and member of the minority Christian Democratic Party (PDC), Roca tells a version of recent Bolivian political history which is rich in detail and anecdotes regarding the major political personages of the ruling class during approximately the last thirty years. What the book inevitably lacks in impartial analysis, it makes up for in the wealth of personal insights into important policy decisions and political practices during this period. This is particularly true of the author's assessment of the Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada administration during 1993–7.

José Luis Roca is a long-standing member of the PDC, of which he was president at one stage. He is from 'oriente' and has been a vocal representative of the lowland areas, in particular Santa Cruz and Beni. Roca has been an active campaigner for greater political and administrative decentralisation to regional government, generally speaking on behalf of the local bourgeoisie of those regions. José Luis Roca is a gentleman of the democratic right, with little time for left-wing politics and even greater disdain for indigenist claims. In his account of Bolivian politics the damning depiction of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada stands somewhat in contrast to the relatively lenient portrayal of Banzer and of the Acuerdo Patriótico coalition government of the MIR and ADN-PDC under Jaime Paz Zamora. However, his own personal distance and distrust of Luis Ossio, vice-president and member of the PDC, to his credit, accounts for his healthy absence from the corridors of power during that administration.

The book is intended primarily as a critique of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada and the constitutional reforms and laws passed during his government. The first half of the book is a political history of Bolivia since 1979, with extended references to the MNR governments following the 1952 Revolution. The second section is devoted entirely to an analysis of the 1993–7 Sánchez de Lozada administration.

Although much of Roca's critique of Sánchez de Lozada's presidential term focuses on the law of capitalisation, considerable attention is also paid to other aspects of Goni's reforms. Firstly, Roca laments the constitutional reform which alters the presidential election system limiting the possibility of victory to the two runners-up. He also takes issue with the new regime of uni-nominal seats, designed to make congress more representative. It is, however, unclear whether Roca objects to this reform *per se* or to its current format. Roca's critique of the new municipal regime, and of the law of popular participation, which involves a degree of devolution of resources to local government, raises important questions of long-term viability and governability. The new agrarian law, according to Roca, has confused rather than clarified rural land issues. Not all is bad, however. Roca applauds the judicial reforms, and in principle does not object to the new presidential re-election clause in the constitution, but expresses great relief that Goni was unable to impose the possibility of his own immediate re-election *à la* Menem.

The major objection to Sánchez de Lozada's government is directed at the design and implementation of the capitalisation law. Roca objects to capitalisation not so much in principle as in practice. The capitalisation law was a cornerstone of the Sánchez de Lozada presidency, and represented an innovative form of privatisation of public enterprises. In theory, up to 49 per cent of a public enterprise could be sold on the market, with the remaining 51 per cent of the shares remaining in a form of trust-fund in the name of Bolivian citizens. All Bolivians would be able to draw on their share of the capitalised enterprises through a system of pension funds. In reality, the actual process of capitalisation has been the object of much criticism and controversy. Roca's objections are several. Firstly, he presents an intricate and compelling argument regarding the dubious and obscure structure and operation of the capitalised firms which do not comply with the legal framework set by the code of commerce for private companies. Secondly, and related to this, there are serious problems regarding the transparency and accountability of how this new form of public/private funds are being managed. Thirdly, the controversial Bonosol proved to be primarily an electoral and political instrument, rather than a viable long-term solution to social provision. Finally, Roca presents a damning account of how specific companies were privatised in practice.

*Bolivia, después de la capitalización*, is a highly informative and lively account of Bolivia's recent experience with democratic rule. For students and scholars of Bolivian politics this is undoubtedly a useful and enlightening contribution to our understanding of the ambitious, if disappointing reform process which took place during the Sánchez de Lozada presidency.

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Colin Clarke, *Class, Ethnicity, and Community in Southern Mexico: Oaxaca's Peasantries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. xxvi + 307, £45.00, hb.

In this wide-ranging book Colin Clarke seeks to answer important questions about the relationship between class formation and ethnic identity and their interaction with local and national politics and economics. He takes a long historical look at the specific case of Oaxaca, Mexico – a southern state that is one of the poorest and most indigenous in the republic of Mexico. Through an examination of urban and rural Oaxaca beginning in the colonial period, he builds on the research of several generations of Mexican, US and European scholars to illuminate economic, political and cultural change. His strongest conclusion is that Oaxaca has maintained several different kinds of peasantries that have become increasingly urbanised, educated, migratory (both nationally and transnationally) and tied to a wide range of political formations. Nevertheless, he concludes that Oaxaca's peasantries continue to be most strongly influenced by the Mexican state, until recently through its convergence with the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) which governed for more than 70 years until July 2000. Clarke argues that Oaxaca's peasantries have not become proletarianised, but have increasingly sought ways to supplement their partial rural livelihood through wage labour and migration. In addition, while Oaxaca's peasantries are primarily indigenous, he states that they have much in common with their rural mestizo brothers and sisters with whom they often share poverty and political marginality.

Published in the year that the PRI was defeated in national elections (2000), Clarke's book strongly emphasises the continued likelihood of PRI dominance. The way the book is constructed may in part explain why it fails to emphasise the ways that the PRI was losing control at the national level and the signs of its erosion in both urban and rural arenas of Oaxaca.

Clark's book is most useful as a summary of the broad range of social science scholarship that has made Oaxaca one of the most studied regions of Mexico. Any student seeking to work in the area would be well-served by this book which draws on an impressive reading and analysis of previous work. The author has incorporated a wide range of bibliography on the topics of class, ethnicity and politics that is strongest until the early 1990s. After that date the analysis becomes uneven, with recent findings incorporated in some chapters and left out in others. At a larger level, because of a less intensive analysis of the 1990s and little comparative analysis with other parts of Mexico, Clarke fails to take seriously the proposition of scholars such as Jeffrey Rubin and others who have argued that the PRI never had hegemonic control in Mexico, that PRI hegemony varied through time and by region, and that the corporatist model of PRI dominance needs to be reconsidered.

Because the book appears to involve little original fieldwork in specific locations in the state, the author is dependent on other people's research and census data ranging from 1930 to 1990. The range of topics covered is so wide and the time span so broad, that there is an inevitable unevenness to the breadth and depth of topics covered. Thus, while the author provides an insightful account of student movements in Oaxaca City in the 1970s and a detailed description of the internal politics and divisions in the PRI surrounding the 1986 gubernatorial elections in Oaxaca, this level of detail and richness is often missing in the discussion of other points. Relying on particular ethnographic studies to illustrate general points statewide can also result in somewhat inaccurate generalisations about a highly complex region (a point Clarke often emphasises).

Two of the chapters rely heavily on data from the Mexican census to draw conclusions about class, ethnicity, education and employment. Statements such as 'people who went barefoot or wore sandals (Indians) were engaged in agriculture' raise questions about the ability of indicators such as 'wears shoes or sandals' to represent ethnicity accurately. Plenty of urban mestizos in commerce, petty industry and other sectors still wear sandals to this day in Oaxaca City. Clarke fares much better when simply pulling together ethnographic and historical analysis to try to look at the complexity of the linkages between ethnicity, class and community.

While the concluding chapter does a good job of pulling in the broader political-economy context in which communities exist in the state of Oaxaca, this kind of consideration is often lacking in individual chapters. The book ends by recognising the importance of Mexico's participation in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Zapatista movement in Chiapas and the emergence of a wide range of ethnic movements in the state of Oaxaca. It seems somewhat curious that Clark suggests that Oaxaca continues to be 'comparatively trouble free' in comparison to Chiapas when the state has several sites of major military occupation including the Sierra Sur (Loxicha region), parts of the Mixteca, and parts of the Isthmus and Mixe region in response to the organising activities of the EPR (Popular Revolutionary Army) and other opposition efforts. Military and paramilitary activity in the Loxicha region alone since 1996 resulted in state and federal arrest, torture and detention of more than 200 indigenous people in a conflict that is still being resolved.

Despite some of its problems, *Class, Ethnicity, and Community in Southern Mexico* is admirable in the scope of issues that it takes on and the effort it makes to reveal the complexity of Oaxaca as a whole. It is an invaluable reference book and is a must for the library of anyone who works or studies in the region.

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LYNN STEPHEN

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Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld, *The Native Leisure Class: Consumption and Cultural Creativity in the Andes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. xv + 259, £31.50, £13.00 pb; \$45.00, \$18.00 pb.

When anthropologist Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld chose Otavalo as a research site, several scholars of Ecuador discouraged him from working there, dismissing it as ‘clichéd’, thoroughly ‘done’, or ‘culturally suspect’ (p. 216). In doing so, they ignored one primary reason he wanted to go there – its ongoing cultural dynamism. In order ‘to research consumption as a social field of action’ (*ibid.*), he needed a place where Indians had achieved enough economic success to become consumers and even to form a leisure class.

The result of Colloredo-Mansfeld’s choice is this charming ethnography, which successfully fills a gap in scholarship on consumption long dominated by attention to the United States and Europe. Retaining a clear focus on material culture – not only weaving but house construction, clothing, and kitchen appliances – he shows how *otavaleños* have parlayed income from textile sales, often earned outside Ecuador, into a comfortable transnational lifestyle. The author makes a significant contribution to economic anthropology and Andean studies by looking at an oft-neglected side of indigenous social economy, viewing it not only as subsistence, production or even exchange, but as consumption. Readers will also find much in common with recent literature on Africa, especially in the author’s discussion of bodies and hygiene.

At the heart of Colloredo-Mansfeld’s study is a fundamental question about how culture, class and race interrelate. *Otavaleños* have not ceased to consider themselves to be indigenous despite nationalist racism and discrimination. They invest in the trappings of indigenous culture – fiestas, collective work parties and traditional dress – as much as in modern conveniences – Reeboks, televisions and boomboxes. Yet not all *otavaleños* make it big as textile dealers. Those who do form a native bourgeoisie which increasingly ignores or discriminates against poor Indians, often using the very terms that white society levels against them.

Colloredo-Mansfeld poses three central questions (p. 28). What values guide *otavaleños*’s economic development? Among the values he considers are work ethics, moral obligations to family and ideologies of identity, race and social difference. By what means do *otavaleños* reconcile conflicting value systems? How do they use material culture as a social medium to produce networks of identity and power? He is successful at answering the first and last questions. The second one is perhaps the thorniest of all and, once he departs from the material culture territory, the author finds himself on somewhat shakier ground.

Otavalo, although unique in Latin America, is certainly not the only indigenous community that has experienced a renaissance. One of Colloredo-Mansfeld’s larger goals in the book is to identify ‘organizational regularities that may relate this case’ to

other such communities (p. xiii). Because racism and ethnic discrimination shape nationalist ideologies, he points out, indigenous economic and social forms are viewed as anti-modern and are devalued. Yet a single community or ethnic group may have an initial advantage, such as an historically important skill or location, which it exploits at a pivotal moment of economic integration, yielding significant, enduring long-term payoffs. Ironically, these large payoffs (when the market expands) ultimately reduce the range of occupations people pursue. Because talented women and men follow the leader, often within their ethnic group, they shun subsistence employment and other potential avenues of advancement, ignoring the fact that highly competitive markets make such payoffs far from a sure bet. As long as niche specialisation intensifies in the production realm, consumption grows in cultural importance and becomes a primary means of demonstrating collective identity and obtaining stature.

More generally, Colloredo-Mansfeld is concerned with social and cultural divisions that result when one part of a community achieves economic success and funnels it back into culturally valued goods and activities while other parts do not. 'While the signs of such fragmentation exist, Otavalo has yet to split categorically this way', he states in the preface (p. xiii). The evidence that he presents throughout the book and the analysis he unrolls in the last chapter and the epilogue, however, led this reader to conclude that such splits and fragmentation are profound and established, not incipient. This analytical inconsistency seems to inhere in two factors. First is the author's position as an ethnographer. He is not a detached outsider who is abstractly sympathetic to the *otavaleño* merchants's achievements, but a sensitive anthropologist who lived with families and shared their personal experiences of success and failure. Second, distinct but closely related, is his desire to challenge racial discrimination by taking the optimistic stance that economic well-being and cultural pride will ultimately improve the position of all *indígenas* rather than widen the split of the few against the many.

This brings me back to the question of conflict and reconciliation, about which I would have welcomed more information. In the prologue Colloredo-Mansfeld briefly discusses indigenous political activism, especially the CONAIE-led 'uprising' of 1990, and throughout the text he mentions that economic analyses need to take politics into account. He includes stories about a strike against the bus company and community attitudes toward a potable water project (pp. 73–81). But I found no discussion of textile merchants' involvement with politics, or even an explanation of who the community authorities are. No matter how willing I am to believe Colloredo-Mansfeld's claim that 'not only is the distance between daily life and political action getting smaller' (p. 6), an analysis of class that explained the merchants's political involvement or lack thereof would be more convincing. 'Never before ... has there ... been such an accumulation of capital and material prosperity within a native Andean group in Ecuador' (p. 213), he claims near the end of the book. If factors such as racism are preventing wealthy *otavaleños* from leveraging their economic power into political power, we need to hear more about how that works.

Andean history clearly teaches us that elite Indians have effectively combined political and economic power more than once. In the eighteenth century, to cite the paramount example, Túpac Amaru II, enriched by the mule trains, became a potent revolutionary force. Most of Colloredo-Mansfeld's data seems drawn from the last two or three decades, but chapter two specifically begins in 1930. The prologue and chapter five contain a brief overview of local and national history, and a summary of the history of belt weaving respectively. A concise statement at the outset, identifying

what historical period is under consideration, and why, would help orient the reader. The general impression that this book leaves is that the enrichment of an indigenous community is a very recent development. A more sustained discussion of history which incorporated developments elsewhere in the Andes, such as colonial Peru, would provide a richer context for this specific case.

All in all, this is a fine book with many specific positive features. Data from time-allocation studies is well incorporated. Quantitative data about household composition, gender and labour force composition, household use of material objects, and so forth complement the abundant, perceptive ethnographic portraits. There are 17 photographs; I would like more. One particularly endearing feature is the author's own drawings, which add another, very human, dimension of representation.

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David Kyle, *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. xiv + 251, £32.50, hb.

International migration is one of the most important social, economic and cultural phenomena affecting Ecuador today. The mass movement has developed rapidly over the past two decades, producing a migration consciousness that penetrates every level of Ecuadorian society. In 1993 Ecuadoreans constituted one of the largest groups of undocumented immigrants in New York State; in 2000 a postage stamp was printed in Ecuador detailing the country's national monument on the equator alongside New York's Statue of Liberty and the Coliseum in Rome. Despite its widespread impact there are very few published monographs in Spanish or English dealing with the patterns of international migration from this country.

David Kyle's work therefore provides much needed empirical data about how and why transnational movements have developed in the Andean region of Ecuador. He uses a three-way comparative approach: between two regions, between two rural communities in each region, and between migrant and non-migrant households in each community. He deals first with Azuay, in the central-southern highlands, where a booming industry in weaving Panama hats dominated the local economy for a century until the 1950s: now, tens of thousands of peasant families live off remittances from illegal labour migration to the United States. He then turns to the Otavalo region in the northern highlands where indigenous Quichua-speakers have been travelling to and from their home villages for centuries selling their handicrafts around the globe, often at considerable profit. Taking these two, very different, case studies together is a mammoth task, but in just one year's fieldwork Kyle has gathered a wealth of new and fascinating material that is well analysed in *Transnational Peasants* at several different levels.

The discussion of his findings is foregrounded by a succinct history of each region, beginning in the pre-Columbian period. The secondary sources for Azuay appear to be much more limited than those for Otavalo, but nevertheless both histories prove essential for understanding how contemporary migration patterns are embedded in pre-existing socioeconomic relations. The historical dimension, along with the comparative approach, draws attention in particular to the role of ethnicity and prior economic activities in the formation of today's transnational movements. In Azuay,

for example, Kyle draws out a subtle connection between the white and mestizo exporters of Panama hats (woven by rural, often Quichua-speaking peasants) and the present day *coyotes* and moneylenders who control the local trade in illegal labour migration. This history of exploitative white and mestizo middlemen contrasts sharply with the indigenous handicraft sellers of Otavalo who have always maintained control over their own movements and profits.

As relevant as the contrasts between the two regions are the similarities that emerge in this study. The centuries old issue of land ownership remains highly significant among peasant artesan producers in both areas and is closely related to the internal social stratifications that have dictated the way in which transnational flows have evolved. In Otavalo this has been less obvious than in Azuay: the ‘specialness’ of these indigenous merchants has resulted in an essentialising of the Otavalan ethnic by outsiders. Kyle breaks down this cohesive image by comparing the village of Peguche, which has been producing cloth for the foreign market for five hundred years, with Guanansi, a rural community tied to a hacienda for most of its history that has only recently entered the regional export industry.

Kyle is very good at analysing the intermediate level of transnational processes. He explains clearly how social networks function, showing how migration movements eventually create a dynamic of their own and are not driven simply by push or pull factors. He is careful to position these social networks in relation to the wider dimension of macroeconomics and the narrower dimension of individual decision-making. However, apart from some interesting details drawn from his participant observation experiences and some quotes from principal informants, he does not explore the subtleties of individual experiences in much depth. He scarcely considers the psychology of ‘migration fever,’ for example, which is increasingly significant as it begins to infect every citizen in the country. Where the study gains in its three-way comparison it inevitably loses in some of the more sensitive personal details that come with prolonged stays in a single fieldwork site.

*Transnational Peasants* analyses migration patterns through a number of conceptual and theoretical frameworks, in particular those of the social constructivist and historical-structural approaches. Relating several different perspectives to the data succeeds in drawing attention to new factors, but it also emphasises the fact that no single past theory suffices for understanding both the sociodemographic dimension of human mobility and the different social realities involved in such movements. In order to overcome these limitations Kyle has used multiple fieldwork sites, multiple conceptual levels and multiple theories: as a result, however, he sometimes runs the risk of overcomplicating the basic issues. One hopes that new theories of ‘transnationalism’ and new empirical research will divulge the complexity of contemporary migration without losing sight of its day-to-day meanings.

Transnational processes constantly evolve, changing the social and economic factors that characterise them. Kyle’s awareness of this – his acknowledgement, for example, that one day Otavalo could have as many migration merchants as merchant migrants – proves his deep understanding of the situation. It is surprising, therefore, that he fails to mention the dramatic shift in migrant destinations away from the United States towards Italy and Spain in the past five years – a factor that changes many of the intermediate level processes significantly. But, this detail aside, the study is, overall, a well-timed and very substantial contribution to the literature on contemporary Ecuador and on transnational movements worldwide.

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Peter Redfield, *Space in the Tropics: From Convicts to Rockets in French Guiana* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), pp. xvi + 345, \$55.00, \$22.50 pb; £35.00, £14.50 pb.

Before proponents of the so-called literary turn in anthropology achieved dominance in the field, the anthropological monograph was an easily identified artefact. It was, generally speaking, a case study in which the experience of fieldwork was rendered as a research report, an offering for inclusion in the exercise of cross-cultural comparison. That has changed. Now, authorial self-consciousness about the rendering of the text is obligatory. This often makes for interesting writing (and, sometimes, interesting anthropology), but it places a new set of demands on the reader for which the new orthodoxy has made little provision. What, for example, comprises the critical canon of the literary turn? Is all contemporary anthropological writing that is sceptical of the scientific anthropology project of equal merit? Are Casteneda, Geertz and Taussig operating in the same anthropological ball-park?

There are at least two reasons for the absence of criteria for distinguishing between good and not-so-good anthro-literary texts. One of these derives from the association that the literary turn has with a generic postmodern critique of metanarrative and associated explanatory misdemeanours: to articulate clear criteria would be subversive of the hard fought gains of the new critical stance. A second is the fact that despite the rising dominance of anthro-literary tendencies, the field as a whole is still inclusive of anthropological postures ranging from evolutionary psychology to ethno-poetics, and still embraces – albeit casually – the vestiges of the Boasian four-field framework (cultural anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, physical anthropology).

*Space in the Tropics* attends very self-consciously to anthropological preoccupations with the rendering of texts, and the goals of the project, its organisation and range of sub-texts are carefully and artfully presented. This degree of transparency makes it possible to operate fluently on a broad scale, but has its drawbacks.

French Guiana is the site of two modern experiments, the penal colony of which Devil's Island is the focal monument, and the Ariane space programme. The two serve as markers around which the author presents a diverse set of materials – from Bentham to Foucault to the Australian penal colony – in the name of anthropology as colonial history, as well as forays into the English novel (via Robinson Crusoe), Caribbean peasant formation and the role of European racial ideology in South American nation-building. The multi-layering of the narrative is impressive and the links often compelling, but one is left with a question: is this one big book whose thematic unity provides a model for similar experiments, or is it a complex of linked essays no one of which defines the overall character of the book?

Chapter one commences with an analysis of Robinson Crusoe as a metaphor for a Europe encountering and coping with life in the tropics and concludes with a list of key concepts. Chapter two provides an overview of the development of the colony of French Guiana and its peculiar position within the French empire. Chapters three and four focus on the most compelling material: the development of the penal colony (along lines suggested by British experiments in Australia) and the relationship between the cleansing of home territory of criminal and miscreant elements and the inscribing of a new kind of colonial society on the blank slate of the New World. Chapters five to nine focus on the Guiana Space Centre and the superimposition of a new technology experiment on top of a failed colonial one (the penal colony).



Unlike much anthro-literary writing in which hall-of-mirrors type twisting disregards empirical material, *Space in the Tropics* provides an institutional and historical analysis that encapsulates these experiments in social engineering. The banality of Devil's Island and the technocracy of the Ariane project are captured and analysed and each chapter itself is neatly contained. The thematic links, however, betray some of the ambitions of anthro-literary writing. Useful though the example of Defoe is, the trajectory of Robinson Crusoe leads not only to Jules Verne and Dreyfus, but also to a European literary imagination that has little to do with French Guiana, and thus is used, quite understandably, very selectively. Similarly, French Guiana is hardly unique as a site of experiments of this scale, yet to address the other South American/Circum-Caribbean literature would tax the monograph form.

*Space in the Tropics* is an ambitious project and one that casts much light on the complexities of colonial enterprise, both esoteric and prosaic. The ethnographic content is minimal and anecdotal – and in this the allegiance to the new ‘new ethnography’ is overt – but the institutional analysis of awkwardly articulated rulers and ruled says a lot about the hidden allegiances of empire.

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Jorge Larrain, *Identity and Modernity in Latin America* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. vii + 250, £50.00, £14.99 pb.

This book's thesis is that Latin American cultural history can be analysed as a cycle, in which theories emphasising the imperative of ‘modernisation’ (in the sense of the need to achieve ‘Western modernity’) alternate with theories emphasising the specific identity of Latin American society and culture, largely of an essentialising kind.

Larrain proposes six alternating stages, correlating an emphasis on modernity with phases of accelerated economic development and emphasis on identity with phases of stagnation. Thus, for example, the exhaustion of the state-sponsored developmentalism of the 1970s, military dictatorships and the onset of the ‘lost decade’ of the 1980s, produce an ‘identity crisis’. Some diagnoses seek to account for ‘development failure’ in terms of the inauthenticity of Latin American modernity. Others write off the project of Western modernity more radically, through re-evaluations of the cultural heritage of the aboriginal population of the Americas, reworking of the idea of cultural *mestizaje* as a source of originality and vitality, or reaffirmation of the decisive ‘difference’ constituted by Catholic culture as an alternative framework for thought and sociality. While Larrain draws extensively on literature, alongside literary writers who act as public intellectuals in other genres, he complements these sources with social science contributions. Social science also provides the vantage point from which local theories of modernity and identity are analysed and critiqued. The master-narrative that gives meaning to the historical phases identified is largely political economy, and Larrain is sceptical of postmodernist relativism as a ‘confused and confusing mode of thought’, though he concedes that it ‘nevertheless responds to real changes in the world and can still have some critical insights which help to rethink modernity’ (p. 187). Yet the argument is in no sense economic, and the text offers a useful account of sociological theories of modernity and identity in its second chapter. This argues for an historical-structural approach to national identity rather than the constructivism or essentialism, offers an effective survey of theories of modernity as

historically contextualised developments in European self-consciousness, and offers a preliminary discussion, amplified later in the book, of the implications of globalisation, focused on the symbolic mediations of the media and the relationship between the decline of class and national identities and emergence of new social movements. The writing throughout is of a clarity that makes this a perfect introductory text for undergraduate and Masters courses, with points being recapitulated at all the right moments to help a student keep track of the argument.

Given the scope and ambition of the book, it is easy to find points to argue about. On matters of detail, this is a virtue in a teaching text. More broadly, although Larrain offers reasons for accepting the premise that a consciousness of common identity exists in Latin America, and argues that it is not restricted to intellectuals, he concedes that his work replicates a more general tendency to concentrate on Hispanic America. Brazilianists may not be satisfied by his solution to this problem, which is to pay greater attention to Brazil than any individual Hispanic country. For some purposes he uses Darcy Ribeiro's sub-grouping of countries (witness peoples, new peoples and transplanted peoples) and for others, emphasises particular national settings, but in the main the focus is on 'common cultural elements' that cross national borders. This limits the extent to which the historical-structural approach to identity is carried through in practice. Noting repeatedly that cultural heterogeneity at the base of Latin American societies is substantial, Larrain concludes that the role of the state is crucial in the creation of 'national cultures' and that power relations therefore determine what 'is going to count as national culture and what not' (p. 9). This framework makes it difficult to produce a perspective that does justice to bottom-up processes of cultural production (or political and social change), an issue that has greatly pre-occupied revisionist historians and historically-minded anthropologists working, for example, how 'racial' and ethnic distinctions actually worked in regional societies and on ways in which subalterns appropriated facets of 'modernity' in efforts to contest local forms of domination. An understanding of diversity, complexity and change seems the key to improving on the essentialist models whose defects Larrain so ably critiques for failing to register that Latin American societies must be seen as having 'modernised' in their fashion through the course of their history.

The book ends with a survey of key elements of Latin American modernity that unpacks the telluric and the baroque into a more defensible series of observations about its particular historical trajectory. Yet this does not completely transcend the difficulty that the types of Latin American consciousness on which the book focuses define the predicaments of modernity and identity with reference to the ideas that European and North American 'others' celebrate in their own self-images. Modernity is not the same as 'modernisation' (in the sense of change), as Larrain himself notes, but a construct that enables us to talk about history from a particular, non-innocent, standpoint. What this book shows well is how Latin American intellectuals have been participating in the evolution of a debate in which 'modernity' was not 'out there' beyond the borders of Latin America even in the epoch of Enlightenment, but something that could be accepted, rejected or contested anywhere in the world of Atlantic civilisation. Northern self-consciousness offered a distorted perspective on historical change because it failed to register the extent to which European freedoms were the mirror, for example, of the racialisation of the colonies. In this sense, it is difficult to step back to an analytical position outside the framework of the problem, since the circumstances of European expansion into the 'New World' give that region a special position in the past theorising of modernity and the present expression of its

discontents. What this book does undoubtedly achieve, however, is a stimulating overview of the ways modernity and identity have been thought by intellectuals of varied political and ideological persuasions in Latin America, with particularly useful coverage of aspects of Catholic thinking. In doing so it raises a multiplicity of issues on which teachers of social science, history and literature will be able to build.

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Vivian Schelling (ed.), *Through the Kaleidoscope: The Experience of Modernity in Latin America* (London: Verso, 2001), pp. vi + 312, £45.00, £15.00 pb.

This collection of commissioned essays by leading cultural analysts working in Latin American studies makes a most innovative and valuable contribution to existing scholarship. The essays are organised around the central theme of Latin America's 'other' experience of modernity and take an interdisciplinary approach. In her introduction, Vivian Schelling provides an incisive overview of the specificities of modernity in a continent characterised by colonial legacies and uneven processes of development. She outlines the relationship between modernity and the 'popular', one of the principal thematic strands that links the essays together. In a postscript, Schelling explains that this volume was originally intended to include parallel chapters on Hispanic America and Brazil. For reasons beyond the control of the editors, however, this structure could not be adhered to throughout, resulting in a more thematic approach and greater relative emphasis on Brazil. This will not disappoint Brazilianists, although the book works best when the parallel format is respected.

The volume is divided into four parts and is composed of eleven essays. Part I: Predicaments of a Peripheral Modernity brings together an essay by Néstor García Canclini, entitled 'Contradictory Modernities and Globalisation in Latin America', with Ruben George Oliven's 'Brazil: The Modern in the Tropics'. Canclini addresses the current crisis of economic and cultural development in Latin America, proposing that we understand modernity in terms of four processes: emancipation, renewal, democratisation and expansion. He contends that there have been signs of regression in each of these areas, and that the divide between Latin America and the metropolis has grown ever wider, fuelling religious, ethnic and political fundamentalism. He concludes that modernity is an open and uncertain movement, which does not imply the end of history or geography, and is not an era that has been superseded by post-modernity. As he states, 'The history of globalisation has hardly begun' (p. 48). Oliven's essay traces the ways in which the formation of the nation in Brazil has been linked to themes of modernity, and has drawn on the country's rich vein of popular cultural production. He considers the contradictory relationship that intellectuals have enjoyed with Brazilian culture, paying particular attention to the Modernist Movement of 1922. This focus complements Nicolau Sevcenko's approach in his wide-reaching study of the Canudos Revolt (1893–97) and the development of the cities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Brasília. This impressive essay constitutes the perfect companion piece for Beatriz Sarlo's survey of the cultural history of Buenos Aires in Part II: Modernity in the City. Sarlo deftly sketches the various 'pentimentos' or layerings that have constructed the city since 1890, when it began to emerge from the pampas as a pole of migration and modernity. Against a contemporary vision of Argentina's capital city as a site of urban-cultural degradation, she examines the work of novelist Sergio Chejfec.

Part III: Modernity in Popular Culture and the Avant-Garde encompasses an essay by the influential Renato Ortiz, which probes the concepts of identity, nation and popular in the Brazilian context. He draws the conclusion that, “‘Popular’ now becomes that which is most consumed’ (p. 138), namely, the products of the culture industry. Ana López’s survey of early cinema in Latin America picks up on some of the issues raised by Ortiz concerning the relationship between nation and modernity. She looks at silent film production, a much neglected area of film studies, and shows how the ‘spectacular experiments’ of pioneering Latin American cinema made audiences want to participate in a distant modernity, and yet by their very existence suggested that a home-grown version was equally feasible. Gwen Kirkpatrick’s exploration of the localist and universalist trends in Latin American modernist writing also engages with the theoretical debates highlighted by Ortiz. She cogently argues that the literary experiments of the vanguard artists were in part an attempt to approximate the simultaneity achieved by the cinema. Beatriz Resende’s study of Brazilian modernism revisits long forgotten creators of artdeco literature, rejected by the canon for not being sufficiently modern. (Regrettably, this volume contains some repetition and overlap in relation to Brazilian modernism, a topic that is dealt with in varying depth by several contributors.)

In Part IV: Modernity in Politics, Ideology and Religion, Nelson Manrique maps the history of the ‘Indian question’ in the Andean countries, with particular reference to Peruvian society and the legacies of anti-indigenous racism. José de Souza Martins draws on a wealth of illuminating examples from contemporary Brazilian life to illustrate how modernity in Latin America appropriates and deconstructs Western culture. As he writes, the point is ‘to look modern, more than actually to be modern’. (p. 259) The volume is brought to a close with a fascinating essay on religious plurality and modernity in Brazil by José Jorge de Carvalho, which centres on two well-known religious movements in Brasília, the Valley of the Dawn and the Legion of Good Will.

This ambitious and stimulating book is essential reading for those working in the field of Latin American cultural studies. It is accompanied by a helpful glossary, and its accessible style, due in large part to the first-rate translations by Lorraine Leu, will make it an ideal text for university students of all levels.

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LISA SHAW

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Alberto Moreiras, *The Exhaustion of Difference: The Politics of Latin American Cultural Studies* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. x + 350, £45.95, £15.50 pb.

Thanks to what might be thought of as a kind of Congress of Vienna complex, academic concern with Iberia and its American extensions has long suffered from a certain sense of intellectual inferiority. And in practice, as many of us in the fold of Modern Languages know first-hand, literature and thought in Spanish and Portuguese can still often find themselves treated with less than adequate respect. Of course, in recent decades this situation has been changing radically, not least in the USA, for many and quite different reasons. Prominent among these are the rise of cultural studies and corresponding shifts in the perception of Latin American difference.

Announcing itself to be a reflection on Latin Americanism, Moreiras’s new volume is densely committed to high theory, to a vindication of that area as philosophically

abundant and integral to the larger global concern. Indeed, the author's irritations, where they surface, are mostly with scholars whom he considers reductive and to have sold Latin Americanism short above all in intellectual terms. From any point of view, there can be no doubt that for his part he succeeds in his aim of intricately wedding Latin Americanism to mainstream thinking generated by post modernism, post-colonialism and the wider array of current theory that focuses in particular on the divide, if not acrimony, separating cultural studies from received literary criticism.

Solidly set out over nine chapters, the bases of Moreiras's argument are given in the Introduction, 'Conditions of Latin Americanist Critique'. Noting particular affinities with Fredrick Jameson (*The Cultural Turn*) and Perry Anderson (*The Origins of Post-Modernity*), he here proposes three hypotheses regarding the current significance, state and position of Latin American Cultural Studies. Sequential in time, these hypothesis are predicated on the epochal shift coincident with the end of the Cold War in 1989 and, with it, the end of an ideologically imbued narrative that had sustained Latin American area studies. Yet, overall, he goes on to pay little detailed attention to this sort of understanding of context. At the same time he shows himself to be perhaps more interested in connections and disagreements between particular figures, than in the texts and the primary sources they draw on. Significantly, it is the ABRALIC conference in Rio in August 1996, and the exchanges there 'at the sessions, in the halls, in the bars, during walks along the beach', which prepare us for the book's chosen exponents of hypotheses. This approach has the effect of highlighting, as it were choreographically, its exclusions and omissions. So does the habit of labelling bits of the book's apparatus with club-member names ('I dedicate this footnote to x' etc.).

The first four chapters, entitled 'Global Fragments', 'Negative Globality and Critical Regionalism', 'Theoretical Fictions and Fatal Conceits', and 'Restitution and Appropriation', 'analyse positions held to be non-viable as a result of the 1989 shift, geopolitical models of knowledge that today have become impracticable'. The first works out from Petras and Morley's 1990 indictment of institutional intellectuals; the fourth works back through the conundra of representation, ingeniously linking Borges's *Tlön* and its *ur* objects with Bartra (the porpoise and the axolotl), Taussig and Santi.

From there, we join what is called 'a sort of archaeological dig', in chapters dealing with 'The National Popular in Antonio Candido and Jorge Luis Borges' (5), 'The End of Magical Realism: José María Arguedas's Passionate Signifier' (6), 'The Aura of Testimonio' (7) and 'The Order of Order: On the Reluctant Culturalism of Anti-Subalternist Critiques' (8). The close, 'Hybridity and Double Consciousness', aims to end the book on an affirmative ('if not a positive') note.

So complex as to resist any easy summary, Moreiras's propositions at best have the clarity and comprehensiveness of good philosophy. At worst they are challenged by a (Latinate) wordiness and meta-reasoning often fostered by that discipline. A major difficulty stems from terminology itself. For example, much of the argument about how the rational critic may relate to the Latin American other hinges on readings of what is called 'magical realism' and its obsolescence. Yet at no point are we reminded that this term is a highly tendentious (and cynically propagated) version of what Carpentier called 'lo real maravilloso americano', a very different concept even at the lexical level, let alone in cultural and political history. As a direct result, the boundary lines between knowledge and 'non-knowledge' turn out effectively always to be disadvantageously pre-drawn. And it becomes that much harder to imagine how this same rational critic might ever be able to escape Cartesian solipsism (the West's

appropriative severed head) and actually learn from America's languages, scripts and epistemologies, the constructs of its music and humour.

The time is certainly ripe for a book with the ambition and competence this one doubtless has. Despite questions raised by its own 'politics', it succeeds admirably in its project of intellectually ransoming and enhancing Latin Americanism, and of clearing a space for meaningful debate.

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Shawn William Miller, *Fruitless Trees: Portuguese Conservation and Brazil's Colonial Timber* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. xiii + 325, £35.00; \$55.00, hb.

Brazilian foresters, agronomists and farmers regularly use the term *madeira de lei* to describe high-quality trees or timber. The origin of the term, however, is not widely known. In the seventeenth century the Portuguese crown claimed for itself as 'timbers under the law' trees that were highly regarded for shipbuilding, civil construction and cabinetry. The category of *madeiras de lei* was central to the crown's 'conservationist' forest policy. But, as Shawn Miller argues in his fascinating study, the policy that relied on royal monopoly over *madeiras de lei* failed miserably and became a major cause of deforestation. Acting as a 'heavy chain' on individual initiative, Portuguese conservation policy 'laid low many valuable trees to no worthy end' (p. 69).

To support this argument Miller must prove various points: that Brazilian timber was valuable to the Atlantic shipbuilding industry (Tapinhoã and Vinhático were highly regarded as hull planking timbers because they were resistant to shipworm and dry rot); that timber was exported when policies were changed in the mid 1700s; that physical obstacles to logging were not insurmountable; that Brazilian colonists believed the royal monopoly impeded the logging industry; that significant areas of forests still existed in the late colonial period; and that high taxes reduced the efficiency of cabotage and private sawmills. Here, Miller's case is persuasive, but there is little direct evidence, apart from the elites whom Miller champions for their anti-monopoly sentiments, that the royal monopoly caused forest destruction. In fact, Miller suggests that similar deforestation would have occurred under different policies, such as those covering North American and Baltic forests (p. 231).

In comparison with other European colonial powers, the Portuguese crown adopted a spectacularly restrictive forest policy. This policy developed from its Brazilwood policy, which had prohibited felling and export of the valuable dyewood, and the catastrophic loss in 1647–8 of 80 per cent of Portugal's total marine fleet. In 1652 the crown declared royal trees as *madeiras de lei* which had to be preserved by landowners and logged only by royal operations. Logging in colonial Brazil faced several obstacles, such as the dispersed characteristics of prized trees, heavy weight of logs, unsuitable river transport and lack of oxen. But the crown prevented the establishment of sawmills, forced longer transport routes and failed to lower the high cost of inter-coastal transport, which added one-third to the total cost of timber. The unreliable fleet system exacerbated problems afflicting the logging industry; poor warehousing facilities encouraged decomposition of timber. With the right policies, colonial Brazilians could have made productive use of forest resources, but they instead destroyed forests as 'act[s] of defiance that thwarted any attempt by the king to remove timber from private land' (p. 10).

The environmental ideas that guide Miller's study differ significantly from those of Warren Dean, whose benchmark study of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest, *With Broadax and Firebrand* (Berkeley, 1995), set the standard for later research. Miller wants to ask what colonists did *with* forests, rather than Dean's obsession with what they did *to* them (p. 3); the real tragedy of colonial Brazilian deforestation was that it was 'massive destruction and little benefit' (p. 232). Miller refuses to accept that colonial logging necessarily would have been destructive to forests, suggesting optimistically that selective logging (described as removing 'a few dozen giants per hectare') could have developed into an industry with 'few negative results for the forest ecosystem at large', thus creating with 'the opportunity for sustainability' (p. 69).

Although Miller claims that his argument was made 'with absolutely no view to problems which currently beset the Brazilian forest' (p. 231), his critique of monopolistic forest policy cannot but encourage questioning of current forest policies. It is unclear which 'problems' Miller has in mind – 'sustainable' logging and market-based forestry initiatives, perhaps – but the conclusions in the book may encourage readers to contemplate the unintended consequences of the present forest code, which relies on mandatory percentages and land categories (steep slopes, river banks, lake shorelines, etc.) of rural property designated as 'Legal Reserve' and 'Permanent Conservation', respectively. Alternatively, one might ask why, in the most recent debate on the forest code (January–May 2000), neither side critiqued the terms of the discussion or questioned the allegedly 'objective' percentages and land categories on which current policy depends.

*Fruitless Trees* is an important book that offers many insights for environmental historians of Latin America. Based on extensive administrative correspondence in Brazilian and Portuguese archives, the book explores deforestation by looking at the policies and factors that supported and impeded colonial Brazil's logging industry. Miller's approach to the topic, stressing the utilisation of forests rather than their inevitable destruction is sure to cause debate, while his original and captivating discussions of labour relations, timber transport and shipbuilding will resonate well beyond specialists in colonial Brazil.

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Annelies Zoomers and Gemma van der Haar (eds.), *Current Land Policy in Latin America: Regulating Land Tenure under Neo-Liberalism* (Amsterdam: The Royal Tropical Institute, KIT Publishers, and Frankfurt and Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert Verlag, 2000), pp. 333, \$32.50; €28.80, pb.

Annelies Zoomers (ed.), *Land and Sustainable Livelihood in Latin America* (Amsterdam: The Royal Tropical Institute, KIT Publishers, and Frankfurt and Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert Verlag, 2001), pp. 257, \$25.00; €28.80, pb.

Land reform has for many years been viewed, on both the political right and left in Latin America, as a prerequisite for achieving economic and social progress. Virtually all countries have experimented with land reform in different guises, from the piecemeal to the revolutionary, with varying degrees of success. Yet the last four decades have seen a significant shift in perceptions by policy makers and practitioners regarding the nature and scope of land reform within the development process. In

Latin America, up to and including the 1960s and 1970s, land reform was seen almost exclusively in terms of large-scale, overtly conflictive, state-sponsored expropriation and redistribution programmes, with property being re-allocated in the form of cooperatives and collectives rather than private holdings. Such measures were implemented in Mexico (1917), Bolivia (1952), Cuba (1959), Chile (1964–73), Peru (1969–75) and Nicaragua (1979) with less wide-ranging reforms being carried out in most other countries. Invariably, however, these policies were not very successful in achieving their goals of egalitarianism, social justice, efficiency and economic growth. Severe problems of land polarisation, rural poverty and deprivation remain depressingly common throughout the continent. These disappointing results, together with the increased political sensitivity and unacceptability of the radical land reform model, led governments and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank to eschew the very notion of land reform as a viable policy option for many years.

That is until the new 1980s paradigm of neo-liberalism offered a means of resurrecting land reform as a legitimate policy option while stripping it of its extreme political overtones. Driven by the 1982 debt crisis structural adjustment led to the gradual abandonment of import-substitution industrialisation (ISI) and its replacement by export diversification, economic liberalisation and a reduced role for the state in promoting development. In this ‘second phase’ of land reform the state would now play more of a facilitating role within the market place and aggressive expropriations would largely be replaced by negotiated land sales based on the principle of ‘willing-buyer/willing-seller’, while communal tenure arrangements would be superseded by individually titled property. This would, it was envisaged, encourage economic efficiency, increased export crop production, strengthen the livelihoods of the poor and even encourage sustainable development by automatically providing incentives for natural resource conservation. You could at last have your land reform cake and eat it – many times over, and without getting indigestion.

This very welcome twin-volume collection is the product of a two-day workshop held in Amsterdam in 1999. It is a timely examination of the consequences of this switch in focus in land reform strategies in Latin America and its implications for future policy in this field. The first volume, edited by Zoomers and van den Haar, offers a broad overview of land privatisation and individualisation in terms of major aims and achievements, including a number of detailed case studies. The first section shows how many of the assumed income and conservation benefits have failed to materialise and cautions against some simplistic in-built assumptions of the new market-based model. Carter demonstrates that market-oriented land sales may lead to income polarisation with greater poverty and insecurity for those weaker placed, while Zoomers raises grave doubts about the assumed relationship between individual titles and greater efficiency, productivity and sustainability. Forster stresses the variety of property regimes and social regulation structures necessary to cope with specific development and conservation requirements in diverse situations such as forests and waterways, a key issue given that much of the region is effectively under common property governance. Part two examines land tenure regulation as ‘a contested political process’ in which key actors play major determining roles as pro-active agents of resistance and change, both in shaping the policy agenda and in the process of implementation. Deere and Leon focus on women and indigenous groups, while Córdova looks at the role of land acquisition in transforming women’s lives. Chapters by Assies (Bolivia and Brazil) and by van der Haar (Chiapas, Mexico) illustrate the



conflict arising from tensions between land privatisation and the securing of indigenous territorial rights and identity. Other contributors such as van den Homberg and Henkemans examine new conflicts arising from competition amongst diverse groups in contested land situations, including farmers, agribusiness industries and environmental organisations. Part three of the volume is concerned more with micro-level changes, many unexpected, and looks at the diversity of responses by different actors and importance of adapting land reform strategies specific situations.

Micro-level analysis is continued in the second volume, edited by Zoomers, which examines the relationship between land reform and sustainable livelihood strategies in five countries, focusing on the material and social goals of rural households themselves rather than overall policy objectives. In the context of increasingly diversified rural livelihoods combining farm and off-farm employment both within and across national borders, the specific contribution of land access and tenure is put under the microscope. After a brief introduction to basic concepts, part one considers land-use and how this has been influenced by, and adapted to, international migration, with case studies from Bolivia (Paulson), Bolivia (Cortes), Mexico (Appendini et al.) and Peru (de Vries & Gilvonio). The second section examines further impacts of privatisation. There is a cautiously positive message from Peru (Morris), followed by an examination of the importance of addressing appropriate institutional arrangements and property rights for common property governance and conservation in Mexico (Gerritsen & Foster). In two further chapters on Nicaragua (Ruben et al.; Davis et al.), the complex dynamics between land and income sources is examined. The third part takes a look at the growing influence of globalisation small holder agriculture and its integration into world markets, with studies from Mexico (Paulson; Schoren) and Chile (Bee).

The respective concluding sections of both volumes draw together the major lessons from the case studies on the effects of land liberalisation in Latin America, reassessing some of its underlying assumptions and drawing out key lessons. Land markets may bring benefits if they are properly regulated within an appropriately supportive economic and political context, and if land policies are sensitive to specific local circumstances in terms of the many variables that affect people's livelihoods. However, what is very clear is that land reform on its own, of whatever ilk, is no panacea for addressing rural poverty and underdevelopment. Yet in many circumstances secure access to land and sustainable production systems is still a major ingredient in strengthening rural livelihoods that policy-makers and practitioners at all levels should take seriously.

One surprising omission from the two volumes is the lack of any significant analysis of the Movement of the Landless (MST), arguably the largest grassroots rural social movement in Latin America. The MST has been the single most important force in maintaining the momentum behind land reform in Brazil over the past decade and is negotiating with the government over the introduction of market-based land policies. It would also have been helpful if the second volume had offered a more complete discussion of the 'sustainable rural livelihoods' conceptual framework, much discussed in the broader development literature, in order to better place land within a wider analytical context. Another quibble would be the lack of an index for either volume. However, despite these shortcomings they offer much material and a rich source of food for thought on the future of land reform in Latin America as it embraces liberalisation.

Robin E. Sheriff, *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), pp. x + 264, \$60.00, \$22.00 pb.

Just before the Second World War Ruth Landes left her native New York to study race relations in the Brazilian northeastern city of Salvador. Like many other intellectuals and indeed activists of her time, she found that there was no race problem in Salvador. Instead, therefore, she wrote what has become a classic in the field of Afro-Brazilian religion, *The City of Women*. Fifty years or so years later Robin Sheriff left New York to study the issue of race in Rio de Janeiro. Unlike Landes, however, she saw the silence over racial issues that she found in the *favela* (shantytown) in which she lived for nigh on two years as a symptom not of the absence of racism, but rather a particularly unpleasant form of this seemingly universal blight; unpleasant exactly because of that silence, which she interprets as a form of cultural censorship *concomitant* with the ideology of racial democracy. Most of her innovative book is dedicated to revealing the racism behind the silence through the observation of daily life in the *favela* but predominantly through a series of conversations with her neighbours in the *favela* and the middle class denizens of blocks of flats in the immediate vicinity. The *faveladas* to whom she speaks and with whom she quite rightly sympathizes are predominantly of darker colour and represent racism from the point of view of its principal victims. Her interviews add significantly to the scholarship of the way in which poor people of colour in Brazil understand racism, and deal with it in their daily lives, through actions that range from silent disgruntlement to outraged denunciation through the courts. Sheriff's analysis, however, goes well beyond current understandings of Brazil by arguing that what we have all along called Brazil's racial classification is not really a classification at all, but rather a complex set of adjectives that are used, like 'fat' or 'thin' to describe appearance and/or to 'talk' about racism. Sheriff goes further, however, to argue that underneath all of these words, is a 'bedrock reality of racialized polarization and opposition'. She thus lends ethnographic verisimilitude to the customary statistical fusion of 'blacks' (*negros*) and 'browns' (*pardos*) into a single non-white sociological category.

Her whiter middle class informants provide an opportunity for understanding their particular version of racism in Brazil. They almost always attribute it to other people and prefer to adopt a 'studied indifference', a 'culturally produced reticence' to look at what is *embaixo do pano* (beneath the tablecloth) of racial democracy. To complete her picture Sheriff devotes a further chapter to an analysis of conversations with a few activists of Rio de Janeiro's Black Movement. Among them she finds, of course, a bi-racial view of the world, but also an awareness by some at least of the 'shadows of essentialism' which she found lurking in the *favela* as well.

After having been introduced to all of Sheriff's interlocutors, and having been carried along by Sheriff's admirable prose, the reader may well reach the conclusion that the people of the *favela* and its environs inhabit a social and cultural world where racism is a constantly nagging presence which becomes the more abominable since constantly 'muffled' by what she terms the 'specious' and 'platitudinous' ideology of racial democracy. The reader might well wonder why the book is called 'Dreaming Equality'. In her conclusion, however, she addresses the title of her book. While continuing to claim that racial democracy 'obscures oppression and its moral meaning', proffering a 'preachy and inauthentic tenderness in place of genuine equality and sincere respect', she goes on to suggest that although a myth, it is also a dream of racial equality. As such, the moral debt that it throws into the 'rigid face of

brutal essentialism', may be 'all that it left of the beacon that Brazil holds out to the rest of us'.

There is not enough space in this necessarily short review to comment satisfactorily on Sheriff's complex analysis. A few words, however, are due. Firstly, her view of racial democracy as 'myth' and 'dream', as if myths were not dreams and vice versa, 'muffles' her capacity to understand that it is exactly within the tension between the formal ideology of 'racial' equality and the informal ideology of the deprecation of Africa and the promulgation of a racialised solution for racism that the Brazilian drama (and that of so many other societies) unfolds. Second, her claim that there is a 'bedrock reality of racialized polarization and opposition' among the inhabitants of the shantytown must be questioned. How can one be sure that one 'reality' is more basic than others, especially when based on just a few selected conversations over a limited period? And why is this supposedly bipolar vision of the world more basic than any other? It must be because Sheriff really believes that her conversations in fact produced what she terms a metadiscourse on race. One of the problems that dogs the analysis of 'race' anywhere in the world is that the discourse used to analyse is never 'meta', but rather constitutionally contaminated by the meanings and the politics of 'non metadiscursive contexts', not least that of the interview situation itself! Surely, as has been argued at length elsewhere, we would expect to find the bipolar mode, already almost hegemonic in academic discourse and the mass media, becoming increasingly prevalent throughout society without being necessarily ontologically 'basic'. My final comment has to do with scholarship *per se*. Sheriff claims that scholarly literature on *favelas* is silent on colour and race. Yet Moema de Poli Teixeira Pacheco, for example, who wrote eloquently about family and 'race' in a *favela* of Niteroi (she found amongst other things that there was a stronger opposition between autochthonous *cariocas* and immigrants from the State of Paraíba than between 'races') and whose thesis is present in the bibliography, is ignored in the text. Instead, Sheriff's preferred academic interlocutors are some of her fellow US Brazilianists.

And yet *Dreaming Equality* is most certainly a book to be taken seriously and an important contribution to an ongoing debate which becomes daily the more relevant as the Brazilian state breaks with a century-long tradition of juridical 'colour blindness' to institute quotas for people of colour ('*pardos*' and '*negros*') in the civil service and public universities. Whether this is a response to the 'bedrock reality' of a bi-racial society or the inexorable march of a particular view of the world which is becoming increasingly hegemonic through, amongst other mechanisms, Sheriff's book, is a question for dispute. Whatever the case, Robin Sheriff's Brazil is quite surely not the Brazil of Ruth Landes.

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Christopher Dunn, *Brutality Garden: Tropicalia and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. xii + 256, £45.95, £16.95 pb.

The recent exhibition of work by Hélio Oiticica at London's Whitechapel Gallery was yet another reminder of the continuing reverberations caused by the *Tropicália* movement which came to the fore in Brazil during 1967–68. Oiticica's radical art works and installations were a direct influence on Caetano Veloso, one of the leading lights of the musical manifestations of *Tropicália*, and a central figure in Christopher

Dunn's new book. *Tropicália* was a short-lived, but hugely significant cultural movement, which made most impact in the field of popular music through the contributions of the singer/songwriters Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil and Tom Zé, the singers Gal Costa and Nara Leão, lyricists Torquato Neto and Capinam, the rock group Os Mutantes, and arrangers Rogério Duprat and Júlio Medaglia. *Tropicália* represented a potent cocktail of wildly diverse elements – avant garde music, rock, pop and traditional Brazilian genres – all deliberately thrown together in a carnivalised mélange, deliberately designed to incongruously juxtapose the traditional with the up-to-date, the national with the foreign, and 'high' with 'low' forms of culture. In short, *Tropicália* represented an aural and visual assault on the senses.

*Brutality Garden* focuses on this musical element of *Tropicália*, but also pays due reference to the ways in which the movement interacted with cinema (Glauber Rocha), theatre (Teatro Oficina) and visual art (Hélio Oiticica). The author addresses the vexed issue of whether these non-musical Tropicalist manifestations should be considered to be part of the wider *Tropicália* movement. His conclusion is that it is only in the field of popular music that a self-conscious movement can be identified, but that cross-cultural interaction was crucial to the movement's impact. Dunn provides a sound background to the complex political, cultural and social factors which culminated in what he terms the 'Tropicalist moment', spanning 1967–68. Due attention is paid to the huge debt owed by the movement to the legacy of the Brazilian Modernist movement of the 1920's and in particular, the poet and author Oswald de Andrade whose concept of 'cultural cannibalism' formed the ideological backbone of *Tropicália*.

To all intents and purposes *Tropicália* was abruptly curtailed by the intense government censorship that descended on the country after the imposition of the Fifth Institutional Act in late 1968. The 'Tropicalist moment' was played out in a politically and culturally charged atmosphere and the Tropicalists found themselves a target for both the extreme right wing military government and leftist supporters of *canção de protesto*. Dunn stresses the pivotal role played by television and the televised song festivals that not only provided a platform for the movement, but also served as the medium to bring the 'mass mediated circus' co-led by Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil to the attention of an unsuspecting Brazilian public. One of the major strengths of this work is that it traces the continuing influence of *Tropicália* after 1968 until the present day. This includes the various commemorations and re-evaluations in Brazil on the thirtieth anniversary of the movement, and the way in which the music of Tom Zé and Os Mutantes was belatedly embraced in North America and Europe during the late 1990s. Dunn writes particularly well on Tom Zé, the significance of whose work has often been unjustly neglected, and whose contribution is only now being realised even in Brazil.

*Brutality Garden* is written in a fluent, accessible style, successfully synthesising huge amounts of fragmentary information into a coherent whole. The book is liberally punctuated by aptly chosen song quotes which strengthen the author's argument and it is clear that his interviews with several of the former members of the movement has enabled him to obtain a close reading of the motives of the participants – he clarifies for example that Caetano Veloso saw *Tropicália* as essentially a movement of pastiche rather than parody (p. 92).

This is the first major study of *Tropicália* to be published in English and is a welcome addition to the general literature on the subject, which, perhaps surprisingly, is relatively scarce. Having said that, I feel that the book's title promises more than it

delivers, as from a total of 214 pages of text, only 17 (p. 170–87) are devoted to the subject of the Brazilian counterculture, in itself a potentially fascinating study for further research. It would also have been illuminating to have had some idea of how the general public perceived *Tropicália* at the time (record sales figures perhaps?), and how it was viewed outside the Rio–São Paulo axis. Dunn does tantalisingly provide a footnote (p. 226) referring to the parallel Tropicalist movement that emerged in Recife in April 1968, yet further information might have provided a wider perspective to his analysis.

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Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), pp. xiii + 267, £45.00, £14.00 pb.

Charles A. Perrone and Christopher Dunn (eds.), *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. xii + 288, \$55.00, hb.

Suzel Reily (ed.), *Brazilian Musics, Brazilian Identities* (British Journal of Ethnomusicology Vol. 9/1, 2000), pp. v + 167, £15.00, pb.

Towards the end of 2001 Rio de Janeiro's Museum of Image and Sound hosted a National Meeting of Researchers of Brazilian Popular Music, the first of its kind in many years. The programme of participants reads like a Who's Who of popular music journalism, academic musicology and independent expertise spanning the last forty years or more, and is indicative of the flourishing state of scholarship, debate and criticism on this key area of Brazilian culture at the turn of the century. I would even go as far as to suggest that (if one adds to this some excellent new internet resources and a discography enriched by many remastered collections of long deleted or rare recordings) a sufficient critical mass has now accumulated to create the conditions for a qualitative leap in intellectual reflection on the field of Brazilian music, at a time when its international profile is in the ascendant.

So how does the work being published outside Brazil match up at this promising juncture? The three English-language publications reviewed here are certainly exemplary in terms of the range and excellence of current research; but they also suggest that, despite all being concerned in various ways with similar issues of transcultural and transnational change, the historians, the ethnomusicologists and the cultural studies specialists are still largely operating within discrete disciplinary confines, speaking more often to their own community of peers and engaging little with the literature beyond their own familiar frontiers.

There remain considerable benefits, of course, from holding to a consistent methodological approach underpinned by experience and expertise in one's chosen field. This is evident in each of the three publications: Fryer's meticulous historical reconstruction of the presence of African traditions within the musical life of Brazil up to the end of the nineteenth century, from archival sources and travel writings; Perrone, Dunn et al.'s analysis of the cultural politics of transnational musical fusion and dialogue in the context of the black diaspora and the countercultural avant-garde of the late twentieth century, and the in-depth, fieldwork-based anthropological studies presented in the special issue of the *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*. On more than one occasion, however, I missed the perspective that comes with a broader

interdisciplinary awareness, and felt that, as a result, opportunities had been wasted to speculate more creatively and adventurously on the significance of the material under investigation.

Turning first to *Rhythms of Resistance*, I should preface those reservations I do have by praising unequivocally the painstaking historical scholarship that makes this such a rich and authoritative account of the musical lives of enslaved and free blacks during Brazil's colonial and imperial periods, and of the traditions of the Congo basin and Gulf of Guinea on which they drew. In fact, Fryer's book is much more than this, for in his concern to explain the religious and dance heritages of Nigeria, Benin and Angola, and the festivities and games to which they gave rise following the Middle Passage, he effectively gives us a very full introduction to Afro-Brazilian cultural tradition as a whole, which will be useful to the non-specialist reader in its own right. In addition to chapters on 'music for worship', 'capoeira and berimbau', 'street cries and worksongs', and dramatic dances, there are appendices detailing the repertoire of African musical instruments in Brazil and various aspects of music-making in the African corner of the lusophone Atlantic triangle.

The real meat of the book, though, are the amply cited descriptions of the slaves' musical activities recorded in the writings of scores of European visitors to Brazil in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This perspective does beg a crucial question about the status of such accounts, however: what are the consequences of relying so heavily on contemporary European travellers' sources for an understanding of Afro-Brazilian musical traditions? For all its meticulous scholarship and the acknowledged indebtedness to Brazilian specialists such as José Ramos Tinhorão, this does often read for me too much like an outsider's view filtered through the ears and eyes of other, earlier outsiders.

Where this attitude becomes most problematic is in the way the book locates its subject historically. 'African rhythms are at the heart of contemporary black Brazilian music', announces the dustjacket, which may actually reflect more on the publishers' marketing pretensions than on the author's intellectual intentions. But despite a brief, final chapter entitled '*Maxixe* and Modern Samba', Fryer's concluding account of 'The Emergence Brazilian Popular Music' stops precisely at the threshold of the recording industry, and is mainly concerned with the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century song-forms known as the *lundu* and *modinha*. In other words, it does not really engage with those critical processes of revision and reinvention through which cultural tradition and memory were reappropriated and sometimes lost as Afro-Brazilians negotiated their place within modernity. Chapter five, 'Three vanished instruments' (the lamellophone marimba, the compound bow-lute and the xylophone marimba), is very telling in this respect, for there is no attempt to explain or speculate as to why these, rather than any other instruments, should have failed to survive into the modern period.

What ought to stand on its own merits as a valuable piece of historical reconstruction is instead allowed to endorse the attitude to black history as 'heritage' (see the subtitle) or as an original source to which the music-making of modern Afro-descendants is to be traced genealogically. As suggested by Fryer's questionable use of concepts such as 'acculturated music' (to refer to early popular songforms such as the *modinha* and *lundu*) and 'neo-African' music (by which he means ritual, dramatic or religious music), what emerges implicitly from this perspective is the rather old-fashioned view of modern black music as a survival or retention of pre-modern traditions, its 'authenticity' being measured in terms of its closeness to those 'roots'.

A more up-to-date understanding of the contemporary dynamic of Afro-Brazilian music-making is one of two major themes addressed in the essays assembled by Charles Perrone and Christopher Dunn in *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*. Bringing together Brazil- and US-based specialists, this collection certainly has the ‘buzz’ of cutting-edge scholarship listening and observing at the cusp of the country’s most exciting musical developments, and there is much to be learned here. However, there is an unevenness in the contributions, and a more careful editorial eye should have avoided some of the most offputting stylistic excesses and the frequent duplication of supporting information. The latter perhaps reflects a lack of clarity as to the intended audience; the language often assumes an academic familiarity with specialist jargon, whereas arguments and histories rehearsed repeatedly – such as the *Tropicalistas*’ rediscovery of Oswald de Andrade’s theory of cultural cannibalism, and the background to the black renaissance in Bahia – are so familiar to anyone working in the field as to suggest the book is intended for a much wider readership.

Of those chapters dealing with contemporary black music, I would highlight the following three, all of which go beyond the merely descriptive or narrative, and take seriously the global dimension of the book’s title. Livio Sansone, examining the relationship between international funk (or soul and rap) and its local variants in Bahia and Rio, argues for a dialectical perspective that is neither ethnocentric or essentialist, nor simply Third-Worldist, i.e. the notion of a dependent periphery uncritically consuming and manipulating symbols derived from the centre. For Sansone, the association between funk music and black ethnic identity is too easily oversimplified, and should be treated with caution; certainly, the black mythical universe with which the *funkeiros* identify is a modern (North Atlantic), rather than an archaic, African one, and their participation in funk dances is therefore, according to Sansone, a way of ‘partaking in modernity or imagining a place of one’s own within it’.

The most interesting proposition of Ari Lima’s ‘Black or *Brau*’ (the only essay effectively to handle a theory of globalisation and ethnicity together with the aesthetics of black culture) is that if the logic of global culture is one of material and symbolic consumerism, then the specific dynamic of modern Afro-Atlantic culture lies in the tension between that consumerism and ethnic identifications rooted in cultural memory, leading to fluid, uncompleted and multiple identities or interpretations of ‘being black’. This is exemplified in the atypical musical career of Carlinhos Brown, who has been investigating not so much the ‘roots’ of AfroDiasporic musical tradition, as the boundaries between tradition and commercialism, black and white, local identity and world music. Osmundo de Araújo Pinho, discussing ‘Reggae, Black Counterculture and Globalisation’, raises a number of absolutely central questions, e.g. ‘Do black festivities reproduce patterns of African socialisation and symbolism, or are elements identified as African mere picturesque ornaments integrated into national culture? Can Afro-Brazilians be the subject of a dynamic and living tradition that is parallel to and even antagonistic toward the national culture?’ – as is often the case in this volume, however, these paths of enquiry are disappointingly not followed through.

This was a frustration I encountered with an otherwise fascinating essay by Charles Perrone which, like his fellow editor’s contribution, forms a bridge between the subject of Afro-Diasporic music and the book’s other principal theme, the legacy of MPB and the Tropicalist avant-garde. Perrone examines in detail the musical content of the two screen versions of Vinicius de Moraes’s stage interpretation of the Orpheus myth: Marcel Camus’s 1959 *Black Orpheus* and Carlos Diegues’s *Orfeu* of 1999. The

central problem he encourages us to consider is the contradictory relationship between the earlier film's social protagonists (the black working-class carnival-goers and shantytown dwellers of Rio's *morros*) and the characteristically white, middle-class musical style i.e. bossa nova, that its soundtrack helped to disseminate (a contradiction eliminated in the 1990s version, with its prevailing soundscape of contemporary rap and samba). Perrone's intriguing but rather inconclusive discussion of the orphic theme itself (music as enchantment) begs some more forthright speculation as to the significance of this paradox. Musically and aesthetically I, for one, found the new film precisely devoid of the aura of enchantment conveyed by its predecessor, for all (or because of) the latter's lack of naturalism or sociological authenticity. Whereas the variety of contemporary 1990s musical references provides *Orfeu* with a more mundane location in real cultural-historical time and space, *Black Orpheus's* bossa nova soundtrack arguably brings the cyclical, mythical ethos of the orphic theme to the fore, dehistoricising and mythologising the *morro*.

The problem of cultural (mis-)translation and mediation across time and space is the subject of two other essays by John Harvey and Christopher Dunn. Harvey's piece looks at the Tropicalist 'revival', that is to say, the North American reception of the 1960s band, the Mutantes, via Beck, Kurt Cobain and David Byrne, in the late 1990s. Harvey draws an interesting parallel between the Mutantes' 'mistranslation' of the international rock idiom into the local conditions of 1960s Brazil and the contemporary US music scene's pursuit and discovery of the ironic hipster in sixties Latin America. While there is no explanation of how this process operated musically, the essay does end on a very pertinent (if unanswered) question: 'Is the revival of Os Mutantes and the Tropicalists by Anglo-American hipsters an instance of the First World avant garde mining the Third World for inspiration in the same fashion as the primitivism so characteristic of European modernism, or does the adoption of a group whose very cultural strategies question such cultural relationships signify a more sophisticated relationship to otherness among a postmodern Anglo-American counterculture?'

In 'Tropicalia, Counterculture, and the Diasporic Imagination', meanwhile, Christopher Dunn very convincingly clarifies the instrumental role of the *Tropicalistas* Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil in stimulating the local interest in reggae that was to be so central to the Afro-Brazilian cultural renaissance of 1970s Bahia. In making his point, however, Dunn comes dangerously close to exaggerating the influence of Caetano and Gil to the point where all other cultural-historical forces of the period fade into the background. His perspective sounds to me worryingly like Hermano Vianna's approach, in *The Mystery of Samba*, which attributes the expansion and nationalisation of samba in the 1930s to the 'mediating' intervention of the middle-class intellectual Gilberto Freyre. The effect in Dunn's essay, no doubt unintentionally, is to appear to minimise the powerful agency that was operating from within the black communities themselves in the direction of a diasporic identification with their Caribbean peers, the national liberation movements of Africa or North American blacks engaged in the Civil Rights movement.

In fact, the editors' enthusiasm for the achievements of *Tropicalia* and its two most prominent figures has shaped this volume in such a way as to risk giving the reader the impression that they are responsible for every single original, innovative, avant-garde or internationalist development in late twentieth-century Brazilian popular music. Caetano's presence (in the contributors' discussions, photographs and his own essay on the influence of Carmen Miranda) is all-pervasive here, and the



Cannibalist/Tropicalist aesthetic of transcultural mixture becomes something of a mantra that celebrates fusion as an end in itself (epitomised by Fernanda Abreu's advice, quoted by Frederick Moehn, on how to survive in a transnational world: "the trick is to "go on living, mixed, mixed").

But it cannot be enough simply to register and celebrate this phenomenon of fusion, which is surely the *sine qua non* not just of Brazilian, but of most if not all popular music in the modern world. We need to go beyond that banal fact, to ask questions of the processes of transcultural exchange, to expose their unevennesses, the contradictions and conflictual forces that cross them. As Moehn puts it in the conclusion to his contribution: 'As researchers of the various popular musics of the world, we need to be aware of the peculiarities of locale, race, class, and gender, and of the varied *motivations* for transnational affinities. The pronouncement of a progression toward global musical homogenization, if true, is premature – for now, we need to learn better to understand where difference hides in the transnational culture industries.' Why, for example, as Hoehn quite correctly asks, is it the music of that minority of MPB artists which enjoys most appeal with listeners and critics outside Brazil, when these artists' sales inside the country are far outstripped by romantic and dance genres such as *pagode* or *axé music*?

In order to begin addressing questions such as these, one would need to discuss several broader issues that might have been expected to figure in a volume entitled *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*: the relationship between popular music and globalisation itself (the editors' introduction does not offer this kind of theoretical framework but is, rather, a panoramic overview of transnational musical dialogues between Brazil, the USA and Europe); the dynamics of the international 'world music' phenomenon and the place of Brazilian popular music within this, and the economics and political economy of the Brazilian and international recording industries.

One contribution that stands out from the rest in challenging the critical hegemony of the cannibalist/tropicalist/MPB tradition is Idelber Avelar's essay on the origins of Brazilian Heavy Metal. With a strong sense of the ideological and political forces operating in the 1980s, Avelar accounts convincingly for the emergence of heavy metal as an oppositional alternative to MPB's effective capitulation to, and endorsement of, the post-authoritarian status quo of the New Republic.

Another startling reminder that the *Tropicalistas* have by no means enjoyed a monopoly of avant-garde innovation founded on musical fusion, crossover or mediation, is the work of experimental musician Hermeto Paschoal and the group he led during the 1980s and early 90s. This is the subject of the most compelling essay in the special Brazilian issue of the *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* edited by Suzel Reily. As author Luiz Costa Lima Neto explains, after his experiences with the left-nationalist phase of the MPB movement via the Trio Novo and Quarteto Novo between 1966 and 1969, multi-instrumentalist, arranger and composer Paschoal sought a different path towards musical 'authenticity' from the purist, populist model of the day. Avoiding any identification with the programmatic or commercial labels categorising contemporary music, he adopted pre-commercial, craft attitude to music-making, encouraging anti-hierarchical, collective, improvisational approaches to composition and performance. While radically experimental, however, he also distanced himself from the aesthetic attitude of the *Tropicalistas*, with their carnivalesque celebration of the contradictions between folk tradition and electric rock, or between pre-modern, non-Western forms and the international mass culture industry, for instance.

The crucial opposition for Paschoal is, instead, that which sets the ‘natural’ in tension with the ‘conventional’. While conventional structures can easily be understood as those elaborated within specific cultural-historical traditions such as Western art music, jazz or the popular styles with which he grew up in his native Northeast, the sounds derived from the natural environment (for example, the animals and the “found” objects such as pots and pans and iron rods, for which he is famous) generate a denser, more unpredictable texture of acoustic resonances that disturb the boundaries between what is heard as harmonic and inharmonic, as ‘noise’ and “music”. Paschoal’s originality lies in his unusually acute ability to hear these irregular, dissonant ‘partials’ and to set them in dialogue with the harmonic vocabulary of conventional musical styles, in a constant pursuit of the unexpected: ‘The familiar is made exotic and vice versa, for ... Hermeto claims that “the atonal is the most natural thing there is”.’

While the editor’s introduction to this volume (‘an overview of the development of musicological research in Brazil since the nineteenth century’) doesn’t entirely do justice to the most innovative scholarly work on contemporary popular music, as registered in *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization* (mention might have been made, for example, of Editora 34’s important series ‘Coleção Ouvido Musical’), it does usefully argue for a revision of the historiographical slant that tends to prevail elsewhere, presenting the contributions as all ‘focusing on a musical universe that has been marginalized by the dominant narratives’ (which we can take to mean in part the Tropicalist/Rio/Salvador/São Paulo axis). So Martha Tupinambá de Ulhôa examines the tradition of *música romântica* within the social setting of middle-class Montes Claros, in the interior of Minas Gerais. Maria Elizabeth Lucas, meanwhile, draws our attention to the little publicised musical regionalism active in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. Elizabeth Travassos gives a detailed account of the sung poetic duels known as ‘cantoria’, ‘repente’ or ‘desafio’, in which an adherence to the ‘ethics’ or stylistic and performative conventions of the genre enables contestants to ‘temporarily suspend their social identities to confront one another as equals’. Another kind of singing contest, the *nodojiman* or amateur competitions of the post-War Japanese-Brazilian community, is the subject of Shuhei Hosokawa’s contribution.

Leaning more towards the descriptive than the analytical, the authoritativeness of these accounts is impressively grounded in the kind of intimate familiarity with the detail and character of their subject-matter that only this kind of prolonged field study can guarantee. They are presented unapologetically as representative of a type of research committed to reflecting the ‘multiplicity of identities that are musically constructed within the national territory’, and it is certainly true that, aside from the essay on Hermeto Paschoal, they all share a perspective on the significance of musical activity as expressive of local or ethnic identities. However, this arguably lays them open to the sort of criticism voiced in *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization* by Livio Sansone, who warns against what he describes as ‘the traditional approach of many ethnomusicologists to less developed societies: to isolate one musical form and to associate it with a circumscribed group’. One consequence of this approach, for Sansone, is that ethnomusical differences appear to acquire a stability and essentialism that may not correspond entirely to reality. Another is a reluctance to ask the kinds of questions posed in *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization* about the circulation and interaction of musical practices as fluid, dynamic processes within a wider, trans-cultural if not global context. There is at times the impression in *Brazilian Musics*, *Brazilian Identities* of a certain introspection, a defensiveness, even, towards the more

internationalist perspective of the research community beyond its own ethno-musicological ranks, an impression reinforced by the many cross-references and reciprocal acknowledgements connecting together the contributors to the volume. This is understandable given the argument raised in the introduction about the need for marginalised critical narratives to challenge the hegemony of the centre, but it is surely unhealthy in the long-term. The challenge for future research must be to open up a greater dialogue between the variety of disciplinary perspectives reviewed here, without undermining their individual strengths and virtues.

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Gerardo Leibner, *El mito del socialismo indígena en Mariátegui* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1999), pp. 261, \$13.70 pb.

Almost everything possible has been said about José Carlos Mariátegui's life and intellectual production. Although his life was short, Mariátegui's legacy for Latin American theoretical leftist thinking has not been exceeded; he still remains one of the most original and creative Marxists of Latin America. His writings cover a vast array of topics from world politics and sociology to surrealism and literature critique. Mariátegui's Marxism was quite free from one-dimensional extremism and orthodoxy. He also seriously studied pre-Columbian cultures and developed, together with the 'generation of 1919', for the first time in Peru, something that might be called non-paternal *indigenismo*. What is more, Mariátegui was one of the first Latin American intellectuals to point out the eurocentrism in Latin American thinking, criticising the tradition of Arielist idealism.

Mariátegui came to be a symbol and a myth. Gerardo Leibner's book analyses one of the best well known – but in Leibner's opinion under studied – Mariáteguiian doctrine: the question of indigenous socialism. In conclusion, Leibner states that although Mariátegui was not the first to consider the altiplano Indians as the possible protagonists of socialist revolution, he was the most important *criollo-mestizo-costeño* who considered indigenous people as subjects in Peruvian (and Latin American) society. In addition, Mariátegui's reformulation of indigenous socialism somehow came to form part of the modern Peruvian national identity, when he andeanised or Peruvianised modern revolutionary discourses, even though – as in many revolutionary projects led by intellectuals – this development was ultimately more important to the leftist *criollos* and *mestizos* than to the Indian masses. In particular, Mariátegui's vanguard journal *Amauta* had an important role to play in this adaptation; '*Amauta contribuyó al crecimiento del indigenismo de un fenómeno cultural provinciano, local y regionalista a un fenómeno de dimensión nacional*' (p. 30).

Is there anything new in Leibner's book? Is there still something valid to be said about Mariátegui? Leibner analyses Mariátegui's *indigenismo* through some new sources. But more important than the interpretation of the new sources is the ability to avoid the uncritical mythologisation of Mariátegui. Leibner shows that with regard to the 'Indian Question' Mariátegui's lack of a critical standpoint was due to this need to believe in the revolutionary myth, not only in the Sorelian but also in his own subjective Peruvian way. While criticising Mariátegui on this point, Leibner correctly understands that the belief in socialism never killed Mariátegui's intellectual capacity – and correctly points out that in the creation of the Peruvian socialist indigenous myth, Mariátegui was more an interpreter than a creator.

The four chapters of the book show from a novel perspective the interesting relation of Mariátegui with Cuzco and Puno *indigenistas* and other intellectual groups defending and formulating the rights and needs of the indigenous population. *Indigenista* intellectuals such as Luis Valcárcel emphasised the change of cultural identity, while Mariátegui saw the ‘Indian Question’ through a clearly socialist lens. At the end of the 1920s these different viewpoints coincided quite well. A lot of attention is also paid to the discussions of the Inca State’s socialist/communist character. Leibner analyses how intellectuals – whether they were indigenous, leftist liberal, Marxist, socialist or anarcho-syndicalist – created the links between the indigenous (Inca) collectives and indigenous resurrections, and after ‘discovering’ this link, added the spices of theocratic, archaic or dynastic Inca socialism and theories of socialist revolution. This was how the basic idea of Andean socialist revolution was made, continuing to be relevant for the revolutionary movements founded subsequently.

Leibner’s book opens an important and fresh approach to Peruvian and Latin American indigenous myths. Especially interesting are the author’s analyses of the Andean indigenous rebellions and of debates of different indigenous groups on the concept of *nuevo indio*. At the same time, the book shows that research on Mariátegui’s legacy is still valid. Mariátegui’s revolutionary thinking was subsequently used for many political purposes all over Latin America. Leibner’s study provides new insights into how the ‘Mariáteguian processes’ developed in the Peruvian context – and again shows that ‘*El “pensar y recrear marxismo” caracteriza la diferencia esencial, cualitativa, entre Mariátegui y la mayoría de los marxistas en América Latina, anteriores e incluso posteriores*’ (p. 21).

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