

greatest strengths, as well as its principal limitations, can be found.

There is no doubt that this book constitutes a significant contribution to the scholarly literature on Haitian politics and the politics of developing states. More than a narrowly focused case study, it introduces a new and broadly applicable conceptual category, the outer periphery, which comprises some of the world's most famously troubled states. Fatton challenges the conventional wisdom about places like Somalia, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Haiti, rejecting the practice of categorizing them as failed or fragile states—terminology that implies internal dysfunction or deficiency as the root cause of their problems. Instead, he turns the state failure paradigm on its head, arguing that a weak or failed state is “unintelligible without studying the profound impact of the world capitalist system on the country's internal affairs” (p. vii). In this way, he offers a new (if somewhat familiar) conceptual lens that calls into question common assumptions about the causes of state failure—and conventional policy prescriptions for addressing it. Building on this criticism, Fatton questions the wisdom of policymakers and prominent scholars, including Paul Collier and Mats Lundahl, who have publicly advocated for a neoliberal approach to post-earthquake reconstruction and development in Haiti. According to Fatton, it is market fundamentalism and foreign intervention that laid the groundwork for Haiti's current predicament. What is needed is a radical break with the past that would prioritize the development of domestic markets and sovereign state authority.

Notwithstanding the value of these insights, some notable shortcomings follow from the book's attempt to engage both academic and policy audiences in a single monograph. In choosing to structure the text without explicit reference to research design, systematic data analysis, or hypothesis testing, the author crafts a cogent and extremely accessible account of Haiti's political development that will likely appeal to policymakers and others outside of academia. However, in eschewing academic convention in this way, the analysis falls short of its potential in terms of methodological rigor and explanatory power. To be clear, the study is filled with rich data, both qualitative and quantitative. But a more systematic treatment of that data—whether elite interviews, qualitative case studies, or comparative statistical indicators—could help to bolster some of the inferences drawn in the study.

Further, while the study paints a vivid picture of Haiti's experience in the outer periphery, the theoretical constructs and underlying causal relationships central to the author's thesis remain somewhat fuzzy. What exactly distinguishes a state in the outer periphery from one in the conventional periphery? It is clear that the degree of economic subjugation and foreign domination is key. But where does one draw the line, and what specific measures might be used to distinguish the tipping point? Similarly,

the process by which states descend into (or emerge from) the outer periphery could be usefully elaborated. In the Haitian case, the author details a unique and inauspicious path to political and economic marginalization. However, despite his assertion that Haiti's experience is representative of a generalizable syndrome afflicting other states in the outer periphery, the study provides surprisingly little detail about how other states at the extreme margins of the world system have reached this point. Given the potential utility of the outer periphery as a conceptual category, this constitutes an area ripe for future research and theory development.

**The Impact of Gender Quotas.** Edited by Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. 272p. \$105 cloth, \$31.95 paper.  
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— Susan Gluck Mezey, *Loyola University Chicago*

The three editors of this volume have produced a high-quality book that offers a global analysis of gender equality through its studies of the effect of gender quotas on the representation of women. To do so, they brought together a group of scholars from around the world, representing a variety of scholarly disciplines. The volume addresses questions about women and the electoral process, focusing on the number and attributes of women officeholders (conceptualized as descriptive representation), the degree to which women represent women constituents (conceptualized as substantive representation), and the effect of women in office on public opinion (conceptualized as symbolic representation).

The editors present a thoughtful and comprehensive review of the literature, assessing the quality, type, and major findings of research on women and the three types of representation. They begin with a brief but informative overview of the literature on the effect of electoral quotas on the types of representation and conclude with a helpful recapitulation of the findings, diverse methodological approaches, and suggested hypotheses to guide future research.

Each section investigates the impact of electoral quotas on one of the types of representation in four countries in Western Europe, Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia and the Middle East. The authors employ a range of methodologies and approaches, including national survey data and author-conducted surveys, interviews, and field experiments. They explore demographic variables, attitudinal variables, and variables measuring legislative behavior, exploring the relationship between quotas and women's representation generally, and measuring their effect on women, national and subnational political institutions, and the electorate.

The first section on descriptive representation comprises case studies of France, Argentina, Uganda, and Morocco; the second includes analyses of substantive representation in the United Kingdom, Brazil, South Africa, and Afghanistan; and the third examines symbolic representation in Belgium, Mexico, Rwanda, and India. Given this organization, the volume offers a comprehensive view of representation and quota systems, indicating that the editors reasonably opted for breadth over depth.

Because of the richness of the data, to do the volume justice this review presents a brief synopsis of the most salient findings of the chapters. The section on descriptive representation focuses on the relationship between the country's electoral process and the number and quality of the women in public office. Rainbow Murray's study of France shows that the parity system produced a more gender-balanced legislature and, contrary to popular belief, the credentials of the women were not inferior to the credentials of the men with whom they served. Susan Franceschet and Jennifer Piscopo's study of the gender quota law in Argentina finds that women legislators are better educated, more professional, and have fewer family obligations than their female constituents; yet despite these differences, the women politicians are more likely to have a heightened awareness of sex discrimination that may make them more likely to support women's issues. Diana O'Brien's analysis of Uganda reports that although most of the demographic characteristics of the women legislators elected according to the gender quota policy are similar to those of other Ugandan politicians, the "quota" women have more electoral experience and are better equipped to hold office. Concluding the section on descriptive representation, James Sater's study of Morocco indicates that gender quotas, a top-down system emanating from the monarch, has not produced an increased number of women in office outside of those placed there through the quota system.

The section on substantive representation involves a more complex set of questions, revolving around definitions of women's interests within different electoral systems and the differing levels of political and economic development among these countries. To maintain continuity in the subject, the chapters in this section draw upon measures of descriptive representation in their analyses of substantive representation. Sarah Childs and Mona Krook's assessment of the United Kingdom shows that although differences among female Labour members of Parliament are generally not pronounced and, indeed, have eroded over time, quota women are, among other things, less likely to identify themselves as feminists and to believe that they have a responsibility to represent the interests of women. Luis Miguet's study of Brazil indicates that

the nation has no functional quota system and consequently elects few women to office; moreover, although women affect the policy agenda, they have less clout than men and have had little effect on ending the cultural subordination of women. Denise Walsh finds that although the percentage of women increased between the first and second South African nonracial parliaments, women had less substantive representation in the second one. And, last, Anna Larson writes on the reserve-seat system in Afghanistan, noting that this method of voting did not lead to a higher degree of substantive representation of women.

Because of their topics, the chapters on electoral systems and symbolic representation are the most abstract, addressing attitudinal effects of women's presence in office on the polity as a whole, as well as on women themselves. Petra Meier's study of gender quotas in Belgium shows that although the quotas led to high expectations for gender equality, they did not lead to greater egalitarianism, thus demonstrating a lack of genuine symbolic representation of women. Par Zetterberg also demonstrates that the Mexican quota system led to a higher number of women officeholders, but had little effect on increasing the level of symbolic representation of women among the electorate. In contrast, Jennie Burnet's assessment of the Rwandan quota system shows that it led to increased symbolic representation that was manifested in significant cultural changes in society's attitudes toward women. And finally, Lori Beaman, Rohini Pande, and Alexandra Cirone report that although voters in India's local village councils may vote for women to further their own policy interests, their cultural attitudes toward women remain resistant to change.

Together, the studies demonstrate that of the three types of representation, descriptive representation is most easily achieved, followed by substantive representation and, last, symbolic representation; attaining the latter seems to require a shift in attitudes and behavior that may be beyond the reach of a gender quota system. The authors also show that quota systems may have unintended consequences for the political systems that adopt them. Although they generally succeed in increasing the number of women in office, they do not always serve the intended purpose of enhancing representation of women's issues for at least two reasons. First, the women elected through the quota systems are typically better educated, have a higher occupational status, and are better-off than their constituents and, thus, may not resonate with the same issues as their constituents. Second, electing more women to office does not necessarily disturb the social and cultural manifestations of gender inequality inherent in many countries. By situating their studies within a single country, the authors in this volume are able to assess the

degree to which the adoption of a gender quota system is related to support for women politicians and women's policy issues.

The editors did a fine job of ensuring that the chapters are all of a consistently high quality, making *The Impact of Gender Quotas* a welcome addition to the literature on women and the electoral system. They are to be commended for their efforts in bringing together these studies and helping the reader assess the impact of gender quotas on the representation of women.

**Latin American Constitutionalism, 1810–2010: The Engine Room of the Constitution.** By Roberto Gargarella. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. 298p. \$74.00.

**Making Constitutions: Presidents, Parties, and Institutional Choice in Latin America.** By Gabriel L. Negretto. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 296p. \$95.00 cloth, \$32.99 paper.  
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— Daniel M. Brinks, *University of Texas at Austin*

Demonstrating the power of an interpretive lens to color the object of study, Gabriel Negretto and Roberto Gargarella examine the same object—the last hundred years of Latin American constitutionalism—from two very different perspectives. The two authors approach Latin American constitutionalism with completely different styles, concerns, and methodologies. It is at times easy to forget that they are talking about the same thing, and at times hard to reconcile their arguments. And yet in many ways they complement each other, each contributing something important to what we know about the constitutional history and politics of one of the global hotbeds of constitutional innovation. Whether one prefers the history of ideas and ideals in Gargarella's account or the quantitative analysis of interests and strategies in Negretto's, both books are eminently worth reading, and are important contributions to comparative constitutional studies.

The authors coincide on the importance of law, and of constitutional law in particular, to the politics of Latin America. Latin America is far too often depicted as a land where institutional arrangements are simply irrelevant and constitutions are window dressing. If this is true, no one told the constitution makers of Latin America, who for the last hundred years have fought and negotiated over institutional arrangements that might give them a political advantage, or to enshrine particular political ideals in the constitutions of the continent.

Moreover, in contrast to accounts that suggest that constitutional design can often be the product of mindless borrowing, Gargarella's and Negretto's both show designers making clearly intentional decisions in pursuit of their goals, if not always in pursuit of very elevated ones. The final outcome is shown to respond primarily to the

domestic politics of constitution making, and not to a process of diffusion. Designers come to the table with conflicting agendas, and what ends up in a constitution is the result of a more or less inclusive bargain, depending on the distribution of power across different interests in the constitutional coalition. As Negretto puts it in *Making Constitutions*, "In spite of . . . seeming contagion, . . . the choice of presidential reelection rules was mostly driven by local conditions and partisan factors in each case" (p. 228).

In both accounts, the majority of constitutions end up as hybrids, the result of constitutional coalitions that include disparate interests in order to succeed. Gargarella shows how the dominant constitutions of early Latin America were a fusion of liberal and conservative ideals, while more recent ones graft social and economic rights (a republican notion, in his account) onto the existing texts. Negretto, meanwhile, argues that "Constitutions need not follow a single design principle" (p. 40). He finds a trend in more recent times toward a "hybrid design" (pp. 40, 239) that is characteristic of Latin American constitutions.

In spite of these broad commonalities, however, the books could not be more different. Gargarella gives us insight into the grand ideas that animate constitutionalism in Latin America, while Negretto examines the self-interested battles over the electoral and policymaking advantages that institutional arrangements can afford. Gargarella's book is fundamentally about the substantive (value) rationality, in the Weberian sense, that animates constitutional design in Latin America; Negretto's book is about practical (instrumental) rationality. Each could be read to suggest that the other's concern is not central to the politics of constitution making. But neither explicitly stakes out an exclusive claim, and in the end it is far more fruitful to see how the two arguments work together than it is to pit one against the other.

*Latin American Constitutionalism, 1810–2010* is largely historical and descriptive. Gargarella locates Latin American constitutions within three broad ideological currents. The conservatives were countermajoritarian, elitist, and morally prescriptive, and sought to preserve order and morality. The republicans were majoritarian, focused on collective self-government to the point of restricting individual freedoms in pursuit of common goals, but also deeply intent on a constitutionalism that would create the "social conditions that . . . make collective self-government possible" (p. 10). The liberals, in turn, put a premium on individual autonomy, even if it meant restricting collective self-rule in pursuit of the common good.

The differences among these currents often made for civil war and violence, but the coincidences among them also made room for grand bargains. Conservatives and republicans often agreed on a strong executive and distrusted "excessive" individual autonomy. The liberals