

accountability to rank-and-file members, cumulative transformations in these parties have undermined their representative capacity. Thus, while the consolidation of electoral democracy has empowered political parties, their failure to build stronger ties with their own members has contributed to distrust and alienation from parties as institutions. This development raises sobering questions about the overall quality of political representation and Mexico's future as a democracy.

There are some minor errors in this book – the dates given for Porfirio Díaz's long rule, 1876–80, 1884–1911; the names of the *Partido de la Revolución Mexicana* and the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*; Lázaro Cárdenas' role vis-à-vis the *ejido* in Mexico's post-revolutionary agrarian reform – and the author's effort (p. 11, n. 3) to situate the Mexican case in the literatures on authoritarianism and totalitarianism is rather jumbled. Yet on balance, Wuhs makes valuable, original contributions to the comparative politics literature on institutional change and party development and to debates concerning the challenges to democracy in contemporary Mexico.

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Christine Hunefeldt and Misha Kokotovic (eds.), *Power, Culture and Violence in the Andes* (Brighton and Portland OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2009), pp. ix + 202, £55.00, hb.

This book emerged from a conference organised at the Centre for Iberian and Latin American Studies at the University of California, San Diego. As such, the volume presents all the advantages and disadvantages of publishing the results of such a conference. Some individual chapters are valuable contributions despite the lack of a clear common thread. Each author examines the dynamics between power, culture and violence in the Andes from different theoretical and disciplinary perspectives and based on different case studies; all deal either with Peru or Bolivia.

The book is divided into two sections, one on 'Histories of Violence' and the other on 'Ethnicity, Power and Violence'. In the first section, Rodrigo Montoya, in a meandering essay, tackles the issue of violence in the Peruvian Andes. He resorts to insights from Sigmund Freud, going from the present-day ritualised violence between Canas and Canchis provinces in Cuzco to the violence inflicted upon criminals, to the legacy of the Catholicism of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda of the sixteenth century, and ending with the Shining Path and the Truth Commission of 2001–3. Rachel O'Toole's essay on the violence between slaves in colonial Peru is more interesting, showing how slaves defended themselves from accusations in courts by claiming that they were 'savages' but also men of honour. Ana Peluffo analyses the way in which Manuel González Prada, the anarchist intellectual firebrand of the late nineteenth century, used gender to explain the defeat of Peru by Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879–84). Peluffo posits that González Prada blamed the effeminate Peruvian Indians for the defeat and pushed for a revitalisation of Peru by making its men more masculine. This contribution fits well with Christine Hunefeldt's chapter, preceding Peluffo's, which shows in a case study of Puno that the Peruvian army's press-ganging of Indians, the state's deficient financial support for the military and the divisions between the National Guards and the regular army inevitably led to the Chilean defeat of Peru.

On the whole, the second section contains the best essays. Misha Koskotovic demonstrates how Mario Vargas Llosa's literary production has veered to the ideological right through his reinterpretation of the mistreatment of the cacique Jum, a pivotal event in *The Green House* and a later book, *The Storyteller*. She points out the way in which Vargas Llosa's understanding of violence against the natives changed to one in which he considered it an inevitable, and in the long term positive, consequence of modernisation. Miguel La Serna's chapter on the violence between the neighbouring communities of Chuschi and Quispillaccta (Ayacucho) prior to the Shining Path insurgency is one of the best of the volume. In a very fully documented and densely argued essay, La Serna suggests that the violence that exploded after the 1980 Shining Path declaration of war was most of all a manifestation of inter-communal hostility among Andean indigenous communities.

The last two essays concern Bolivia. Herbert Klein provides a masterful reinterpretation of indigenous political participation after the 1952 Revolution, asserting that the electoral triumph of Evo Morales 'is not an accidental phenomenon nor is it the national progression of political awareness typical of emerging groups within the Latin American political scene' (p. 145). Rather, Klein shows that after the 1952 Revolution the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* accepted the indigenous communities as peasant unions and gave the vote to illiterates, leading to the emergence of peasants into national politics. Initially, the peasants supported white minority governments in return for their backing of the 1953 agrarian reform and agrarian price supports. This schema broke down in 1974 when the Banzer dictatorship attacked peasant protestors. The 1970s brought about the rise of urban Indians, in particular in El Alto, perched above the city of La Paz, and a growing identification of the Bolivian popular classes as indigenous. It was Evo Morales who was able to harness the potential of the indigenous political majority, through the *cocalero* movement that survived by creating broad alliances with national and international progressive groups. In addition to being inclusive (unlike his rivals in the Aymara indigenist movement) through the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) party, Morales' redefinition as an Aymara contributed to his soaring political fortunes. As Klein shows, the rise of the indigenous component of the Bolivian population was possible because of Morales' predecessor. President Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada's decentralisation campaign brought power to the countryside and the destruction of the old parties. This finally led to a majority of the Bolivian electorate voting for Morales and MAS. Nancy Postero's chapter on the symbolism and use of Andean utopias complements well Klein's more structural essay. She traces the history of Andean utopian visions and Morales' use of them, analysing the advantages and disadvantages of such utopian rhetoric.

Thus, the book has many different takes on violence and power in the Andes. Given the diverse disciplinary composition of its contributors, including historians, scholars of literature and anthropologists, it is less coherent than other books, such as the one published by the Centro Bartolomé de las Casas in Peru on the same topic in 1991.² Many individual contributions are worthwhile. Unfortunately the book has not been copy-edited properly, and Section 1 especially is full of awkward terms, poorly translated sentences and many outright misspellings that greatly detract from the content. For this reason I can only recommend the book for graduate students and scholars who are interested in the region. Since this volume is the first in a series

² Henrique Urbano and Mirko Lauer, *Poder y violencia en los Andes* (Cusco, 1991).

on Latin America, one hopes that the press and the editors will take better care with the following ones.

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José Antonio Lucero, *Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes* (Pittsburgh PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 2008), pp. xviii + 256, \$65.00, \$29.95 pb.

Struggles of Voice is not the first work to provide a systematic comparison of indigenous movements in Ecuador and Bolivia, and a number of analysts have turned their attention to the constitutional and legal differences between the two countries and the histories of their respective indigenous mobilisations. Lucero, certainly aware of this scholarship, does not offer yet another account of why Ecuador's indigenous peoples organised from the lowlands into a national federation while Bolivia's impetus came from the highlands and, despite fissiparous tendencies in the 1990s, resulted in the eventual election of a president. As the title of his book suggests, he is interested in the multiple voices that are behind these schematic differences, and he has heard rather a lot of them. Unlike many other scholars he has taken the time to talk to a large number of activists, some of them foot soldiers, others middle-ranking, others national leaders; he certainly has not focused exclusively on the main players. The reader is thus offered a very different perspective on how people in the Andes represent and mobilise themselves as indigenous subjects.

For those of us who are uneasy with the facile assumption that indigenous movements can be understood simply as political representations of indigenous people, Lucero's work provides an important antidote. He most certainly does not take an indigenous identity as somehow given, or as having suffered a period of latency only to be awakened by indigenous politics, where "'real' ethnic identities seemed simply to be awaiting the right conditions in order to emerge, almost geologically, through the cracks of shifting political formations' (p. 15). In his careful examination of a wide range of groups he shows how history, region, class and religion are critical elements in understanding how concerns came to be articulated in terms of specifically indigenous identities. In some cases one might even say the indigenous movement has formed the indigenous identity. This is not to say that indigenous people are cynically manipulated or shrewdly opportunistic, but rather that there are a series of dialogues between a wide range of people out of which an indigenous identity and movement can emerge. Lucero offers his readers a vision of pragmatic actors who are nevertheless embedded in historical social relations and who have a long history of being discriminated against for their cultural practices. This methodological framework allows him to have a critical appreciation of the political, historical and social contexts of indigenous mobilisation and identity without explaining them away and thus leaving us with political manoeuvrings and no cultural reference. In this one could say he marries an anthropological approach to culture – which sees it as dynamic, constructed, but also meaningful – to a more conventional political science approach to ethnicity and culture focusing on interest groups and articulations of power. For Lucero, 'Indigenous movements in Ecuador and Bolivia are all genuine expressions of historical and political realities, yet they have been imagined and articulated in different ways' (p. 111).