J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38**, 409–455 © 2006 Cambridge University Press
Printed in the United Kingdom

Reviews

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06211040

Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. xiv + 380, $67.00, $25.00 pb; £13.99 pb.

A few years ago Barbara Geddes asked, 'What do we know about democratization after twenty years?' and provided a very critical answer. Peter H. Smith's comprehensive analysis of democracy and democratisation in Latin America disproves her scepticism. The scholarly community knows a great deal about these important topics, and the volume under review aptly synthesises this knowledge. In this way, it provides an invaluable service, especially to a broader audience of students and non-specialists.

Democracy in Latin America is impressive in its scope. After a conceptual clarification, the author analyses the rise and fall of civilian competitive rule over the course of the twentieth century, analyses the socioeconomic and political factors that influence regime transitions, and investigates the changing roles of the military and of the international system (chapters one to four). Chapters five to seven examine the institutional functioning of democracy, focusing on the debate over presidentialism vs. parliamentarism, investigating presidential power, executive–legislative relations, and party systems, and probing the characteristics of elections. Attention then turns to the output side of democracy. Chapters eight to eleven compare the economic and social policy performance of various regime types; examine the mobilisation, participation, and influence of workers, women and indigenous groups; assess the guarantee of civil and political rights during the last two decades; and probe the depth of popular support for contemporary democracies. The concluding chapter presents Smith's overarching interpretation of Latin America's democratisation, and an epilogue extends the analysis to the new millennium.

While most of the volume synthesises existing knowledge, drawn from an admirably broad range of authors, Smith sets his own accents and highlights a number of important insights. His main argument – clarified perhaps too late in chapter twelve – is that the striking spread of democracy in Latin America and its greater sustainability in the last three decades have come at a price: democracy has been 'tamed' as radical voices have lost ground, the stakes of the political game have diminished, and elites have therefore seen little threat to their core interests. Both the agreements that many emerging democracies had to conclude with outgoing authoritarian regimes and the profound market reforms adopted in much of the region have contributed to this conservative outcome. As a result, free political competition has done little to address severe social problems, such as large-scale poverty and deep social inequality. While the decline of Latin America's oligarchies, the emergence of mass society and the impressive advance of democracy brought tremendous political change over the course of the twentieth century, they have had unexpectedly limited socioeconomic repercussions. In fact,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the establishment of free and fair elections has not been accompanied by the guarantee of basic civil rights; many new democracies have therefore remained illiberal.

Smith's volume sheds new light on other important issues. For instance, whereas the United States often depicts itself as the main promoter of democracy in Latin America, the author documents that most of the time – including the early years of the twenty-first century – the US government has played an unsupportive if not negative role. The difference between the early advance of democracy in South America and its delayed emergence in Mexico and Central America – the US backyard – is instructive in this respect (pp. 36–39).

Perhaps the book's most significant contribution is the sustained attention that Smith pays to the output side and the results of democracy. The existing literature has long privileged the input side, especially elections, parties, and other institutions of representation; in line with this institutionalist emphasis, the author himself devotes three chapters to these topics. But then he goes beyond this standard focus and analyses the consequences of democracy for citizens in general and for workers, women and indigenous groups in particular. To what extent does democracy satisfy popular demands and needs, especially widespread expectations of socioeconomic improvement? Answering this question is crucial for understanding the troubles and travails of democracy in contemporary Latin America, as evident in the diminishing satisfaction with and support for civilian competitive rule that countless opinion surveys reveal. Latin Americans often attach substantive expectations to democracy; yet due to recurring economic crises, drastic neoliberal adjustment and severe political performance problems – including pervasive clientelism and corruption – many of these expectations have remained unfulfilled. The future of democracy in the region is therefore far from guaranteed.

The volume is admirably thorough and wide-ranging and covers this ample ground – including controversial topics – in a fair and even-handed fashion. Through the skilful use of simple descriptive statistics, the author condenses an enormous amount of information and makes it easily accessible to the reader, including advanced undergraduates. At the same time, Smith spices up the text with many brief case studies, illustrating important theoretical points in a vivid, memorable fashion.

There are only a few areas that the author might have treated in greater depth. One of the accomplishments of Latin America's recent democracies is that most economic and social elites have accepted the uncertainty resulting from unfettered political competition. While Smith correctly stresses the reduced threat that democracy has posed for these sectors after the end of the Cold War and the enactment of neoliberal reform, it would have been good to document the ways in which businesspeople, for instance, have come to channel their interests through democratic institutions. The persistence of clientelism would also have deserved more attention. While diminishing the hold of this informal control mechanism on popular sectors, democratic competition has perpetuated its usage by inducing political parties – even previously 'clean' opposition forces – to resort to large-scale patronage for garnering votes and ensuring governability. The resulting appointment of cronies rather than well-qualified experts to important policy positions has weakened democracies' socioeconomic performance and exacerbated popular cynicism.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

But notwithstanding these quibbles, Peter Smith's fine book offers by far the best systematic and comprehensive overview of democracy and democratisation in Latin America and is highly recommended for use in university courses.

University of Texas at Austin KURT WEYLAND

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06221047

Moisés Arce, *Market Reform in Society: Post-Crisis Politics and Economic Change in Authoritarian Peru* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), pp. xiv + 169, $45.00, hb.

The profound reordering of Peru's state and society during the regime of President Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000) certainly rivals the dramatic changes experienced during the Augusto Leguía (1908–1912) and Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975) governments. In each case, authoritarian leaders attempted to use the state to reshape its relationship with the economy and society, mostly with unforeseen consequences. While regimes portray such efforts as responding to a well-planned script designed by the leader, the reality is far messier, involving shifting coalitions of both state and social actors advancing their own political and economic agendas.

Moisés Arce examines the neoliberal reforms introduced during the 1990s in Peru. Arce's central argument is that the process of neoliberal economic reforms 'induce a variety of societal responses, including the creation of new societal organizations' (p. 5). The impact of such reforms, both in the costs and benefits incurred by societal groups, in turn affect the future direction of reforms, strengthening or weakening the direction of existing efforts as well as the possibility of extending reforms to new arenas. Arce rightly notes that much of the initial literature on the impact of neoliberal reforms assumed a general demobilisation of society and a decline in democratic accountability would result, but did not offer much empirical evidence of specific societal impacts. The study he offers here attempts to address that gap.

Arce convincingly argues that neoliberal reforms in Peru took place in three distinct phases: an initial 'orthodox' phase (1990–92) in which technocrats dominated the reform agenda; a 'pragmatic' phase (1993–98) that saw the growing influence of business elites over government priorities; and a final 'watered-down' phase (1999–2000) dominated by the coterie of personal loyalists and their clientelist policies geared to ensure a third presidential term for Fujimori. In each phase Fujimori relied upon a different 'policy carrier' to shape his approach to economic reform. But in turn, these carriers had significant influence on the policies that emerged. In three chapters covering tax reforms, social security and social sector reforms, Arce reviews how policies were shaped by the technocrats, business elites and populist loyalists in each of the reform phases mentioned above and the conditions which allowed one group to gain the reform initiative. For example, although the privatisation of pensions was developed by technocrats, the fact that many pensioners opted to stay in the public system spurred banking and insurance interests to organise a new pension fund industry association to lobby for changes in the pension system. These efforts paid off as the government in 1995 eliminated the advantages enjoyed by the public pensions, levelling the field for private funds. By contrast, in the area

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of social sector reforms the lack of 'enduring organizations' failed to create an 'organized response from societal actors' (p. 103). Instead, the state agency designed to direct funds to the poorest areas of the country, FONCODES (National Compensation and Social Development Fund) developed by technocrats, with an important contribution from international aid agencies, had by the mid-1990s become a bastion of populist loyalists intent on using it to advance Fujimori's electoral prospects. Since most FONCODES projects were short-term, Arce argues that they failed to build a societal constituency capable of 'talking back' to the state, leaving the agency little more than a clientelist tool by the end of the decade.

An obvious winner of the reform period was the business sector, which saw its influence in both state and society significantly increase. To a large extent, this is not surprising since throughout the region the shift away from state-led development has directly benefited business, both economically and politically. Yet as Arce notes, in the case of Peru this influence came at the price of growing tensions and divisions within the sector over competing interests on such issues as taxes and trade.

One of the shortcomings of the book is the lack of sufficient attention to the 'losers' of the reform period, specifically subaltern sectors. Although Arce refers to new 'associative networks' and understandings of citizenship emerging, he offers no substantial examples of how such changes impacted the pace or direction of reforms. The one instance of organised labour's success in impeding reforms he notes, namely the teacher's union resistance to education reform, was based on traditional methods of organisation and resistance, that is, strikes and street demonstrations. The authoritarian character of the regime played a major role in suppressing potential opponents of reform and disarticulating any organisation that openly challenged its policies. From outright intimidation of subaltern leaders to significant changes in the labour code that favoured business interests, the regime of President Fujimori consistently suppressed the efforts of lower class sectors to 'talk back' to the state. Arce could have addressed this issue by offering a more systematic analysis of the ways by which the authoritarian character of regime influenced policy choices. An important question left unaddressed is the relationship between the three 'policy carriers' analysed. While tensions and even rivalries were common, as Arce notes, they also shared the common interest of perpetuating the regime throughout the decade. Technocrats and business elites, for example, also shared a similar Weltanschauung that cannot be easily dismissed. Beyond their policy carrier role, these three groups were important allies of the regime, cooperating to provide it with crucial political, economic and media support needed to accomplish the transformative goals they all shared.

Overall, this book makes an important contribution towards our understanding of the policy-making processes of the Fujimori government, an area that has been significantly understudied. Arce offers a good sense of the 'winners' of Fujimori's neoliberalism and how they effectively seized the initiative to transform state-society relations. Moreover, by reminding us of the importance of analysing the societal redistribution of power that takes place as a result of neoliberalism, the book represents an important first step in assessing the legacy of the economic reforms of the 1990s.

University of Northern Iowa PHILIP MAUCERI

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06231043

David Close and Kalowatie Deonandan (eds.), *Undoing Democracy: The Politics of Electoral Caudillismo* (Lanham, MD, and Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004), pp. x + 218, $70.00, hb.

This illuminating collection explores the politics of 'electoral caudillismo' that marked the Nicaraguan administration of Arnoldo Alemán (1996–2002). To many Nicaraguan observers, Alemán stood out for his efforts not only to eliminate the last vestiges of the Sandinista Revolution but to restore some semblance of the Somoza dictatorship. The editors, however, prefer to situate Alemán's rule within the broader Latin American context of the 'antidemocratic tsunami of corruption, clientelism, neopatrimonialism, and hyperpresidentialism' that followed the 1980s wave of democratisation. Not surprisingly, the book argues that neoliberalism facilitated this 'democratic decomposition'. But many readers will surely be shocked to learn that Alemán's antidemocratic project was also supported by the party of the revolution: the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Together the ten essays – all by Nicaraguan experts – constitute the best study of how the Alemán regime, in league with the FSLN, derailed the process of democratisation that began with the revolutionary triumph of 1979.

Much of the book's appeal lies in its multifaceted analysis of Alemán's antidemocratic rule. David Close succinctly explains how the freely-elected Alemán government promoted 'electoral caudillismo' by reversing key institutional measures that the Chamorro administration (1990–96) had undertaken in order to strengthen 'constitutional democracy'. Kalowatie Deonandan, in turn, outlines how neoliberalism paved the way for Alemán's caudillo regime and his assault against the three forces that most threatened this form of patrimonial and clientelistic rule: independent unions, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the media. Karen Kampwirth further illuminates Alemán's 'quasi-dictatorial' bent by exploring his 'populist' attack against foreign-linked NGOs, particularly those allied with Nicaragua's powerful feminist movement. Her incisive analysis demonstrates that Alemán's 'war' on NGOs represented an effective strategy of blaming foreigners critical of neoliberalism for the misery caused by the neoliberal policies his regime enacted in concert with international financial institutions. Elvira Cuadra's essay more generally highlights Alemán's attempt to repress all forms of violence, even those committed by individuals with no 'obvious' political motives. Cuadra effectively contrasts the president's authoritarian response to the call by other groups, including the national police, to solve the problem primarily via non-coercive means. The broader socio-economic effects of Alemán's neoliberal regime are illuminated by David Dye and David Close. While acknowledging that the economy performed well under this regime, Dye and Close highlight its negative social impact. More important, they stress that the president's 'kleptomania' not only 'resuscitated traditional clientelism in its most retrograde form' but gravely undermined international efforts to modernise the Nicaraguan economy. This latter aspect is examined more thoroughly by Salvador Martí i Puig, whose essay considers Alemán's tense relations with external donors. In particular, Martí shows how Alemán blocked donors' attempts to put pressure on his administration to promote greater 'transparency' and 'good governance'.

Ultimately, however, this case of 'democratic decomposition' stands out for the surprising backing it received from the very party that led a revolution bent on expunging caudillismo from the body politic. Katherine Hoyt traces the perplexing

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

process that pushed Alemán's Constitutional Liberal Party (PLC) and its nemesis, the FSLN, to sign the highly controversial pact of August 1999. Designed to institutionalise a two-party system, the pact produced major amendments to the constitution and the electoral law. If Alemán was mainly driven by his desire to protect his ill-gotten fortune, Hoyt provocatively suggests that the FSLN's leadership accepted the pact precisely because it was ideologically invested in the patrimonial politics of 'electoral caudillismo'. Andrés Pérez-Baltodano shows that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church also supported the pact, thus creating what he calls the 'triumvirate of FSLN-Alemán-Church.' For Pérez, the Church hierarchy shed its strident anti-Sandinista stance primarily for 'pragmatic' reasons. Yet it is also possible that the Church hoped that the pact would institutionalise a form of caudillo rule akin to that practised by its leader, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo.

For the moment, it remains unclear whether Alemán's rule truly succeeded in consolidating a system of 'electoral caudillismo'. Indeed, Alemán's successor, Enrique Bolaños, surprised everyone by launching an anticorruption campaign that led to the imprisonment of Alemán, who is currently serving a 20-year sentence for embezzling at least $100 million in state funds. In analysing this dramatic turn of events, Close argues that Bolaños' ongoing campaign 'could give Nicaragua a chance to wipe out the worst excesses of patrimonial electoral caudillismo and return the country to the path of constitutional democracy'. Deonandan's concluding chapter hints that such a 'return' is likely to be very complicated. In re-examining the scholarship on democratic transitions, she argues that most scholars wrongly assumed that the 'history' of a state does 'not impinge on the success or failure of democracy'. In doing so, she stresses that Alemán's caudillo rule was 'structured' by the legacy of the Somoza dictatorship. But because Deonandan and her fellow contributors view *caudillismo* essentially as a top-down project rather than a two-way street, they overlook the key role that popular sectors played in upholding not just Alemán's rule but the Somozas' populist project, which, as Jeffrey Gould has shown, lasted until the early 1960s. It may well be, then, that Alemán's *caudillismo* drew much strength from the legacy of Somocista populism. And if this legacy is still very strong, it will further impede Nicaragua's return to the path of constitutional democracy. On the other hand, Deonandan emphasises that a return to greater democracy might instead be boosted by key legacies of the Sandinista Revolution. While she places most of her hope in the anti-caudillo grassroots movements engendered by revolutionary mobilisation, another important legacy – unmentioned in this book – is the fact that the Nicaraguan military, which is run by officers from the ex-Sandinista army, still seems to uphold the revolution's anti-caudillo spirit.

In sum, this book provides an invaluable understanding of a very peculiar form of 'democratic decomposition'. And even though it does not fully consider the 'democratic transition' that occurred during the Sandinista Revolution, the book raises important new questions about this process as well. If *Somocista* populism was indeed resurrected by Alemán, it probably frustrated the revolution's democratic impulse much more deeply than is commonly assumed. Above all, the FSLN leadership's support for the 1999 pact casts new doubt on its commitment to wipe out patrimonialism and *caudillismo* in the 1980s.

University of Iowa MICHEL GOBAT

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 38 (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X0624104X

Todd A. Eisenstadt, *Courting Democracy in Mexico: Party Strategies and Electoral Institutions* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. xv + 354, £50; $70.00, hb.

This book examines micro-institution building and the process through which 'the gap between the creation of institutions and their acquisition of credibility' (p. 5) gradually closed in Mexico's prolonged transition to electoral democracy. In particular, Eisenstadt documents the shift from opposition parties' reliance upon grassroots mobilisation and informal 'bargaining tables' with government officials as the principal means of defending their electoral victories, to their eventual acceptance of nonpartisan tribunals as the final arbiter of electoral disputes. He argues persuasively that it is important to focus upon both informal and formal arrangements for resolving such conflicts, and that one can derive significant insights into the dynamics of political democratisation in Mexico by analysing changes over time in the relative prominence of these different institutions.

Eisenstadt has made a valuable contribution to the study of Mexican politics by highlighting an important element in democratisation and by compiling a detailed history of opposition parties' post-electoral mobilisations and their consequences. He employs effectively interview and documentary materials, case studies of particularly significant electoral conflicts, and an aggregate sample of post-electoral disputes occurring in ten Mexican states between 1989 and 1998. The author's statistical analysis of this ten-state sample illuminates key differences in opposition party strategy during this period.

Eisenstadt shows, for example, that the centre-right Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) was quite selective in its resort to grassroots mobilisation, that the party's national leadership maintained close control over local protests and coordinated them with both legal appeals and concerted bargaining with federal government officials over election outcomes and broader public policy issues, and that the PAN's reliance upon informal arrangements tended to decline over time. In contrast, the centre-left Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD) actually increased the frequency of its grassroots mobilisations even as electoral tribunals gained greater autonomy vis-à-vis executive-branch officials. PRD activists pursued such actions in part to contest broader patterns of social and political injustice at the local level, despite continued regime repression and even when these protests were unlikely to result in PRD candidates actually assuming elective office.

Although the author dedicates equal space to the PAN and the PRD, there is a subtle but significant difference in his valuation of these two parties that goes beyond a judgment about the relative efficacy of their oppositional strategies during the late 1980s and the 1990s. Eisenstadt typically characterises the National Action Party as 'rational', 'disciplined', 'civilized', 'measured and hierarchical'. In notable contrast, he repeatedly attaches more negative adjectives to PRD activists ('ill-trained antiregime provocateurs', 'by far the worst perpetrators of post-electoral conflicts') and their tactics ('disorganized', 'bizarre', 'visceral and lawless'). At times (pp. 159, 166), Eisenstadt comes close to blaming the PRD for the death or injury of its activists in post-electoral confrontations with state security forces and partisans of the long-ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). In doing so, he perhaps unintentionally undervalues the sacrifices that some pro-democracy activists made in their challenges to Mexico's deeply entrenched authoritarian regime.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

It is not easy to account for this difference in tone because Eisenstadt provides (Chapter 7) a solid account of the challenges facing the hard-pressed PRD. He notes, for instance, that the administration of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988–1994) was relentlessly hostile to the PRD and refused to negotiate with it in the same way that it responded to PAN demands. He also demonstrates that the national leadership of the more recently established, more decentralised, and less fully institutionalised PRD was at times simply unable to control the actions of its social-movement constituents.

Perhaps the principal weakness in Eisenstadt's study is its surprisingly limited attention to the development of formal electoral institutions in Mexico. The Federal Electoral Institute, which many observers consider the key institutional player in the long struggle to establish conditions for free and fair elections, receives only passing mention. Most of the discussion of formal institutions focuses upon federal electoral courts. Here Eisenstadt usefully examines changes in tribunals' legal mandate and responsibilities, innovations in court proceedings, and the ways in which political parties modified their judicial appeal strategies so as to increase their rate of success. However, even though state- and municipal-level electoral conflicts constitute a substantial proportion of the cases that Eisenstadt analyses, there is almost no consideration of developments affecting state-level electoral tribunals beyond a simple content analysis of state electoral codes. This might serve as a guide to courts' legal position, but it does not illuminate their practical operation.

At neither the federal nor the state level does Eisenstadt consider such standard elements of organisational analysis as the number and professional training of court personnel, budgetary resources, or the development of election law and its bearing upon electoral tribunals' rulings. Nor does he succeed in penetrating the 'black box' of formal electoral institutions in order to shed light on such matters as how politicking occurs within electoral courts and how interactions between justices and government and party representatives in especially contentious cases contributed to political parties' growing confidence in the capacity of these institutions to deliver electoral justice.

This is an important issue because, in the absence of a more in-depth examination of how Mexico's formal electoral institutions actually work, one might question Eisenstadt's overall conclusion that it was the consolidation of these formal institutions that underpinned the observed change in opposition parties' behaviour. An alternative hypothesis is that opposition parties' growing electoral strength – and not just more credible conduct on the part of nonpartisan electoral courts – was what gave them greater confidence in their ability to defend their interests through legal channels. Moreover, in the absence of a deeper understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of formal electoral institutions at federal and state levels, it is possible to make the unwarranted assumption (as Eisenstadt does) that, once 'consolidated', these institutions face no further threats to their credibility and effectiveness.

Cambridge University Press surely bears some responsibility for the deficient quality of the writing in this book. A production editor should have corrected the author's entirely haphazard approach to the use of accents in Spanish surnames. A more attentive copyeditor might also have helped Eisenstadt simplify what is an over-the-top, often confusing writing style characterised by odd, exaggerated or opaque formulations ('a jugular formula for post-electoral mobilization', 'Chiapas's

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

dark and lawless jungles', 'pork-barreling without the chops'), frequent malapropisms ('the parties labored to find an inscrutable but nonpartisan leader', 'even threatening succession from the union', 'PRI operatives … traveled their states regaling voters with washing machines', 'ensuring the selection of … popular candidates rather than merely the political prodigy of the governor', 'triangular communications … among four groups', 'dissolving municipalities that remained outside his yolk'), and invented words ('monumentous', 'determinantal').

Eisenstadt errs on such factual matters as Mexico's macroeconomic performance in the late 1970s and early 1980s (p. 41); the dates of President Plutarco Elías Calles's national political dominance (p. 95); the constitutional articles regulating agrarian matters (Article 27) and church-state relations (Article 130) (p. 107); the date of Vicente Fox Quesada's election as governor of Guanajuato (p. 109); the organisational antecedents of the 'official' Institutional Revolutionary Party (p. 97); and the name (p. 189) of the PRI's principal labour affiliate, the Confederation of Mexican Workers, and the period (p. 234) during which Fidel Velázquez served as its secretary general.

The author has identified a subject that is of central importance in processes of democratic transition and consolidation, and portions of his analysis make an important contribution to the study of electoral politics in Mexico. We still await, however, a definitive account of the institutional dimensions of Mexico's successful transition to electoral democracy.

Institute for the Study of the Americas KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06251046

Gianpaolo Baiocchi, *Militants and Citizens: The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), pp. xvii + 224, £14.50, pb.

Participatory Budgeting (PB) in Porto Alegre has come to international prominence as an innovative democratic experiment that holds attractions and promises for unconsolidated democracies in the developing world as much as for Western liberal democracies struggling with voters' fatigue and apathy. Gianpaolo Baiocchi portrays in an illuminating way the politics and civics of participatory governance in Porto Alegre, Brazil, which challenge three common assumptions about civic engagement. First, while scholars of social capital, the public sphere and civil society assume civic engagement to develop and take place outside of the state in an autonomous and separate realm of civic life, Porto Alegre provides an instance where local government-sponsored institutions have boosted civic activism and created novel forms of coordination and cooperation across the state–civil society divide. Second, while theorists would predict civic engagement to increase according to levels of income and education, PB seems to have succeeded at empowering the poorest and least educated citizens. Third, analysts often distinguish between the contentious and disruptive character of 'militant' social movements and the cooperative face of civic engagement based on notions of rights and responsibilities. Yet the PB experiment seems to have produced a political culture in which participants consider themselves, and act as, both militants and citizens.

In order to disentangle these puzzles and understand the impact of participatory governance on civic life Baiocchi adopts a 'relational approach' that contrasts with

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

both neo-Tocquevillean society-centred approaches (such as social capital theory) and social movement theory. Central to his argument are the concepts of 'state-civil society regimes', 'civic configurations' and 'civic practices'. With the election victory of the leftist Workers' Party PT in 1988, Porto Alegre moved from a history of various 'tutelage regimes', in which the state demanded political allegiance in exchange for the recognition of societal demands, to an 'empowered participatory regime' that was highly open to societal demands via direct participation without consideration of political allegiance. The centre piece of the latter regime was PB, a sophisticated institutional format set up by a politically weak PT administration to define the annual investment priorities with the participation of thousands of organised and unorganised actors. This institutional innovation deeply transformed civic life in Porto Alegre, encouraging new players to participate and new organisations to emerge, but also reducing contentious activities. However, the routinisation of PB was not conflict-free and varied across districts with different 'civic configurations'. Contrary to social capital theorists, the previous absence of an organised civil society did not pose serious obstacles to the routinisation of PB, but in the presence of organised civic networks their alignment and integration with participatory governance were important. In other words, the lack of an organised opposition in civil society was crucial for success.

Does Porto Alegre provide a recipe for curing the ills of liberal democracy in Brazil and elsewhere? What are the political and civic preconditions for participatory arrangements such as PB? For Baiocchi the key issue for understanding the dynamics of participation lies in the interaction between local configurations of civil society and the state-civil society regime. However, there is some ambiguity in his argument. Although he recognises the exceptionality of Porto Alegre in the Brazilian context, Baiocchi doubts that there are rigid preconditions for participatory governance in terms of pre-existing civic activism, and puts significantly more emphasis on the state side of his relational approach. 'Regimes' are seen as an alternative to social capital (p. 144). Yet, it remains unclear how 'empowered participatory regimes' would come about in adverse civic contexts where civil society and citizens are caught in relations of clientelism and tutelage. Why would governments wish to share power and why would civil society sign up to a new set of rules? Baiocchi rightly understands civic activism as embedded in social relationships which structure the context of civic engagement. But this means that 'regimes' and 'civic configurations' causally interact in both directions, posing constraints and limitations on each other. The book focuses on the impact of participatory governance on civic life. But what about the impact on the polity and the interaction between participatory and representative institutions?

Baiocchi notes that participatory arrangements like PB discourage adversarial political practices among civil society, and he is concerned with PB's vulnerability to political change and its dependence upon continued government commitment. He also worries about the excessive localism associated with participation in PB, which makes it difficult to mobilise around broader and longer-term issues of regional or national politics. Others criticise the weakening of the legislature through PB. Yet, the basic dilemma seems to be that 'empowered participatory regimes' can only emerge in the adversarial political arena of representative democracy, which usually requires political activism of parties, social movements and civic organisations skilled in contentious practices. To the extent that PB fosters a civil society that is 'aligned and integrated' with participatory governance, and discourages civic

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

configurations aimed at and capable of effective contestation, it may undermine the ability of citizen and militants to sustain the political foundations of 'empowered participatory regimes' if the government changes. Porto Alegre may soon provide an answer to this question. The PT lost power in the 2004 elections to PPS, a party without links to social movements and with a tradition of tutelage. Baiocchi expects that civic organisations will easily return to combative practices and eventually force the re-adoption of PB should it be dismantled or manipulated. In any case, the most important lesson may be that the prospects of participatory governance are won or lost in the adversarial political arena of liberal democracy. Those concerned with deepening democracy are well advised not to focus exclusively on collaborative/ participatory arrangements and to preserve citizens' capacity to politicise their concerns through political organising and contentious politics.

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J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06261042

Juliana Santilli, *Socioambientalismo e novos direitos: proteção jurídica à diversidade biológica e cultural* (São Paulo: Editora Peirópolis, Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) and Instituto Internacional de Educação do Brasil (IEB), 2005), pp. 303, pb.

Post-dictatorship environmental governance in Brazil has attracted numerous scholars seeking to understand its underlying causes and broader implications. Part of the literature has been closely associated with the study of social movements, while other studies have focused on state-society relations or the international dimensions of environmental reforms. The Amazon region figures prominently within this literature, as scholars have been attracted as much to the plight of marginalised peoples as to the effects of ranching, mining, and agriculture on the humid tropical forest.

Juliana Santilli, a lawyer with the federal government's Ministério Público office in Brasília and a founding member of the Instituto Socioambiental, an important NGO based in Brasília, focuses on a narrow but important aspect of Brazil's new environmental governance. For Santilli, *socioambientalismo* or socio-environmentalism comprises 'concepts, values and paradigms' resulting in legal reforms and policies that combine environmental conservation with social and economic justice. Santilli argues that socio-environmentalism influenced provisions in Brazil's 1988 constitution and ensuing environmental policies, especially recent legislation that reformed Brazil's protected-area management system.

Santilli first outlines the historical development of socio-environmentalism as a movement beginning in the second half of the 1980s and 1990s. She argues that socio-environmentalism resulted from a 'strategic alliance' between environmental and social justice activists, mainly operating in the Amazon basin. This alliance was based on the idea that environmental policies must be 'socially effective and politically sustainable' by including 'local communities and promoting social justice and equitable division' of natural resource use (p. 35). Santilli does not provide a fine-grained analysis of this alliance, but rather points to general factors, such as the redemocratisation process leading to the 1988 constitution and beyond, and the mobilising effects of Brazil's hosting of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development. Curiously, socio-environmentalism is seen by Santilli to be uniquely Brazilian; however, the idea is similar, if not identical, to community-based

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

conservation promoted elsewhere in developing countries. More salient is the Amazonian bias of this alliance, and the fact that it did not include marginalised groups, such as peasants or the urban poor.

Santilli then traces the presence of socio-environmentalism in the 1988 Brazilian constitution. Here, socio-environmentalism is less strategic alliance than an idea that 'permeates' (p. 93) the constitution as a set of rights: property has an 'environmental function' that, if violated, provides the state with a basis for seizure and redistribution; indigenous groups, Quilombo communities, which are formed by the descendents of runaway African slaves, and 'traditional' groups have territorial rights. However, Santilli's analysis is not sufficiently broad to include discussion of provisions of the 1988 constitution that may be contradictory with socio-environmentalism.

The socio-environmentalist characteristics of the 1988 constitution form the basis for Santilli's case study, in which she analyses the legislation, passed in 2000, that created Brazil's National System of Conservation Units, known as the Sistema Nacional de Unidades de Conservação or SNUC. For Santilli, SNUC is one of socio-environmentalism's major achievements, because it created categories of conservation units that could include indigenous peoples, Quilombo communities and 'traditional' populations as resource users, rather than people incompatible with conservation. Santilli traces the path of SNUC through the Brazilian congress, and although she alludes to the 'preservationists' who opposed it, she does not analyse the political process leading to the creation of SNUC. Santilli does not focus on how SNUC is changing the management of conservation units, but her discussion of SNUC will be an important text for scholars seeking to understand its impacts. For example, SNUC mandated the creation of participatory management councils for conservation units; this change in governance may become an important topic of research that would measure the outcomes of SNUC. Santilli could have probed deeper into the reasons why SNUC did not legitimise the territories of indigenous peoples, Quilombo communities and 'traditional' populations as conservation territories.

Her fourth argument considers the juridical implications arising from SNUC, primarily the 'intangible socio-environmental assets' of indigenous peoples, Quilombo communities and 'traditional' populations. She argues for a *sui generis* legal regime covering indigenous knowledge systems and the biological diversity that is often associated with it. Here, Santilli's decision to outline a *sui generis* argument follows closely from her legalistic conception of socio-environmentalism and her own work as a lawyer with the Ministério Público. In her interpretation, protection of cultural diversity is synonymous with social and economic justice, but she does little to acknowledge the complicated meanings and issues associated with community, cultural identity and indigenous knowledge. In addition, Santilli's bias in favour of certain types of social justice concerns, present in specific regions of Brazil, is evident.

Socio-environmentalism certainly is a major idea in Brazilian environmental governance, but, as Santilli herself admits, the juridical framework she outlines is only 'a small part' of socio-environmental public policies (p. 250). There is no doubt that legalistic analysis, such as Santilli's, are important to understand environmental governance; the Ministério Público, at federal and state levels, is an important but under-studied institutional actor in environmental issues. However, Santilli's conception of socio-environmentalism may be less useful in understanding

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

environmental governance issues in areas such as urban peripheries, modern agriculture, mining and manufacturing. In addition, Santilli's legalistic approach may not be well suited to analyse the full set of governance issues that include interactions among legal reforms, state officials and civil society representatives, and among different territorial levels of federal, state and municipal government.

Texas A&M University CHRISTIAN BRANNSTROM

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06271049

Philip Oxhorn, Joseph S. Tulchin and Andrew D. Selee (eds.), *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective: Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Baltimore, MD: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press; The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. x+351, $55.00; £39.50, hb.

In *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective*, editors Philip Oxhorn, Joseph Tulchin and Andrew Selee bring together teams of scholars specialising in Africa, Asia and Latin America to explore the complex relationships between the state, subnational government, and citizen participation. Drawing upon eight chapter-length case studies of Mexico, Chile, South Africa, Kenya, the Philippines and Indonesia (Mexico and Chile receive two chapters each), the editors formulate a series of general claims and questions about how decentralisation should be conceptualised, how decentralisation agendas ought to be pursued to create or enhance participatory governance and, perhaps most centrally, how decentralisation either promotes or inhibits democracy.

In order to frame the individual case studies, Oxhorn identifies three key analytic dimensions of decentralisation – governance, level of democratisation and the central state apparatus – but his claim that decentralisation should be viewed as part of the 'social construction of citizenship' highlights this volume's twin emphases on citizen participation and democracy (pp. 7–9). With respect to participation, Selee and Tulchin's concluding chapter argues that participatory governance works best when it comes from below and when strong representative democracy is already in place. Furthermore, they find that municipal governments have outpaced regional governments as sites of democratic innovation (p. 309). Yet cases such as Kenya (p. 207) show the limited impact of these lessons in contexts where a dearth of democratic practices at the national centre permits subnational governments to serve as 'bulwarks' of authoritarianism (p. 7). With respect to decentralisation's impact on democracy and equity, Selee and Tulchin reject explanations grounded in theories of social capital. Instead, they argue that variations in the motivations of key actors, the structure of institutions, and the 'texture of state-society relations' best explain why decentralisation either promotes or weakens democracy and equity (p. 296).

The case study chapters exhibit several strengths including empirical breadth, analytic organisation, conceptual innovation and new perspectives. The volume provides a refreshing mix of scholarship from around the world, including a good level of detail about individual countries. For example, the Indonesia chapter by Syarif Hidayat and Hans Antlöv both introduces what they call the most radical case of decentralisation in the world (p. 266) and also provides an accessible survey of Indonesian politics.

Yemile Mizrahi's chapter on Mexico provides a well-organised synthesis of two decades of top-down decentralisation. Mizrahi's analytic structure associates

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

consecutive presidents of the same hegemonic party with different approaches (e.g. 'normative decentralization'), delivering a nuanced view of what otherwise appear to be decades of the same PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) dominance (pp. 38–50).

In terms of concepts, perhaps the strongest chapter is Gilbert Khadiagala and Winnie Mitullah's examination of Kenya's devolution of power. Khadiagala and Mitullah argue that in the 1990s, Kenya suffered from the dilemma of the 'lame leviathan', wherein the state can veto opposition, but cannot advance its own agenda (p. 198). As a result, Kenya's version of power devolution has been 'decentralization by default', as the goods and services vacuum left by an ineffective state was filled by entrepreneurial and/or desperate local actors (p. 200).

Beyond these useful concepts, Oxhorn et al. also offer new perspectives. The most vibrant voice is that of María Elena Ducci, whose provocative 'View from the Chilean Border' chapter criticises the rosy cheerleading of what she terms 'the official discourse' of decentralisation. Her analysis also includes an engaging organisational case study of 'Los Federales', a civil society group agitating for increased regional autonomy (pp. 132–136). Ultimately, Ducci's critique remains preliminary, but this would be a weaker book without her contribution.

Despite the strengths and contributions of individual chapters, a more unifying framework would enhance the edited volume as a whole. The chapters draw upon a common theoretical base and the structure of chapters are roughly parallel, but the unifying arguments presented in the introductory and concluding chapters seem only supported by the case studies, not actually argued by the case study authors. For example, the three-part explanation advanced by Selee and Tulchin noted above (p. 296) makes use of evidence from several case studies, but the chapter authors do not take up Selee and Tulchin's claim and discuss it vis-à-vis their respective country cases.

The volume could also do more to identify what each case study represents analytically. The book successfully conveys the diversity of outcomes found in this sample of six countries, and Selee and Tulchin identify a number of detailed comparisons and contrasts, but some readers may want more in terms of aggregate comparisons. The 'winners and losers' of decentralisation constitutes one possible arena for further comparative work. The volume touches on this theme repeatedly (most notably in the Philippines chapter, pp. 253–254), but it is not treated systematically. Likewise, race and ethnicity are recurring topics, both in the South Africa chapter (pp. 180–181) and in Selee and Tulchin's conclusion (pp. 297–298), but these themes are not yet fully synthesised.

The Oxhorn et al. volume offers at least two good possibilities for undergraduate teaching. Although written as a conclusion, Selee and Tulchin's chapter, 'Decentralization and Democratic Governance: Lessons and Challenges', could stand alone as a reading for a comparative course on Africa, Asia or Latin America. Two very good tables in this chapter summarise key points about the six country cases, allowing students to glean quite a bit from a compact read. Additionally, several of the case studies could add a new dimension to discussions of current events. In South Africa in 2005, for example, the African National Congress (ANC) assumed a hegemonic position, provoking increasing criticism from some ANC supporters; student discussion of these trends would be much enriched by Steven Friedman and Caroline Kihato's analysis of the ANC's complex relationship with centralisation and efforts to devolve power (pp. 170–171).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The book is clearly written by cautious optimists. They warn that decentralisation may exacerbate economic inequalities and that well-intended resource transfers may be waylaid by corruption (p. 307), yet on the whole, Friedman and Kihato seem to speak for the group when they argue that 'In sum, the dangers imputed to decentralisation by its opponents may vastly exaggerate the dangers and greatly undervalue the potential advantages' (p. 182). Coupled with the volume's empirical breadth, this cautious optimism helps make the authors' arguments both honest and valuable.

Macalester College PAUL DOSH

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06281045

Hugo Frühling and Joseph S. Tulchin with Heather Golding (eds.), *Crime and Violence in Latin America: Citizen Security, Democracy, and the State* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. xii + 284, £32.00, £13.50 pb.

Crime and violence are increasingly critical issues in contemporary Latin America, and as such this volume is a useful addition to a rapidly growing corpus of literature on the subject. This is particularly the case in view of its comparative bent and breadth; it is a collection that has been written by a mix of academics, policy analysts, government officials, and development professionals, almost all of whom draw on multiple examples in their essays. The volume emerges from public policy debates about 'citizen security', in particular those associated with the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, and as such, is highly focused. While this is very welcome, the notion of citizen security is also very problematic, and it has to be said that the volume lacks any form of reflexivity on the topic. In particular, with one notable exception, the essays all tend to display little critical consideration of the issues of power and politics (as highlighted by the Brazilian anthropologist Teresa Caldeira in her seminal work on crime and citizen security in São Paulo), and also fail to engage with the changing nature of the state in Latin America (as explored in the recent volume on the 'unrule' of law edited by Juan Méndez, Guillermo O'Donnell and Paulo Sergio Pinheiro). The exception to both of these caveats is Anthony Maingot's fascinating chapter on 'Internationalized Crime and the Vulnerability of Small States in the Caribbean'.

The volume is divided into two halves. The first part is made up of four thematic chapters that respectively explore issues of police reform and democratisation, police abuse and accountability, reform of the criminal justice system, and so-called 'risk factors' and the socioeconomic costs of violence. All of these chapters provide good introductory overviews of their respective subjects, but they all tend to focus very much on questions of institutional design and efficiency, generally from a theoretical rather than an empirical perspective. They are consequently somewhat dry and moreover, with the partial exception of Mauricio Duce and Rogelio Pérez Perdomo's chapter on 'Citizen Security and Reform of the Criminal Justice System in Latin America', lack any historical depth. The second half of the volume includes three specific country case studies of citizen security issues in Argentina, Brazil, and Peru, and two regional case studies of Central America and the Caribbean. These are all very informative essays, providing good examples of so-called 'best practices' – implicitly with a view to promoting avenues for 'blueprint development' – and significant amounts of empirical data. Overall, Carlos Basombrío's chapter on

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

'The Militarization of Public Security in Peru' is perhaps the most interesting, as it draws on his multiple experiences as social scientist, activist, and government civil servant. In particular, his afterword contains some of the volume's most interesting insights about the difficult relationship between research and policy formulation when he describes the challenges he faced on becoming Peruvian vice-minister of the Interior and co-ordinator of the National Police Reform Commission.

The volume's conclusion proposes seven key policy recommendations. Considering the breadth and occasional depth of material presented previously, these are rather disappointingly superficial, effectively amounting with one exception to a series of platitudes that include 'establish clear indicators that define objectives and measure police effectiveness' (p. 262), 'enable the forces of law and order to become professional and well paid and to have access to the latest technology' (p. 263), or 'encourage partnerships among international organizations, the state, and civil society groups' (p. 264). The one interesting recommendation – which derives specifically from the chapter 'The Violent Americas: Risk Factors, Consequences, and Policy Implications of Social and Domestic Violence' by Andrew Morrison, Mayra Buvinic and Michael Shifter – argues that it is necessary to 'address crime through preventive action and by strengthening democratic institutions' (p. 263), implicitly condemning the more fashionable turn towards repressive measures. This is all the more important a recommendation considering the current climate of '*mano dura*' policies against youth gangs in Central America. Overall, then, this is a helpful volume that provides a certain amount of useful information about crime and violence in contemporary Latin America. Its insights are somewhat limited, however, because of its very specific and uncritical focus on the institutional design and efficiency of citizen security initiatives. What it probably lacks are an overview introductory chapter situating the current crime wave in Latin America within its broader historical context, in particular highlighting the multiple causes of such violence and the nature of its interaction with other societal institutions, and a concluding chapter that explores the practical possibilities for its policy recommendations in the contemporary regional and global context.

London School of Economics DENNIS RODGERS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06291041

Universidad de Salamanca, *La justicia vista por los jueces: diagnóstico del funcióna-miento de los sistemas judiciales centroamericanos* (Salamanca: Fundación General de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2004), pp. 155, pb.

In the last two decades various international lending agencies and NGOs have invested hundreds of millions of US dollars to reform the judicial branches of most Latin American countries. During this period, an increasing number of studies have analysed the impact of those reforms. This book, though, fills a gaping hole in our understanding of the judicial systems of Central America and Panama by presenting a clear and detailed picture of how the region's judicial systems operate, who the magistrates are, their political views and career trajectories. The book also offers important insights into how these magistrates see their own role and that of the judicial system in their own country. The authors' goal was twofold, to identify factors that explain differences in judicial experience across the region and 'to contribute to the diagnostics of the fundamental problems facing each of the systems' (p. 8).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The fieldwork for this impressive collection of data was conducted by five Spanish graduate students under the direction of María Luisa Ramos Rollón, a leading Spanish political scientist from the University of Salamanca, Spain. The data collected for this book was conducted via a formal questionnaire of a sample of Supreme Court magistrates and lower penal court judges across the region. The fieldwork was conducted over an 18-month period starting in November 2002; 72 of a possible 90 Supreme Court magistrates and almost 50 per cent of all sitting judges on the penal courts were interviewed. The book is deliberately short on analysis, but dense with detailed data presented in hundreds of tables, graphs, and charts (the total number is not clear as they are not numbered).

The book is divided into six chapters each with a short concluding statement suggesting some of the important lessons to be learned based on the graphical presentation of the data. Chapter One presents information on the political culture and attitudes of the magistrates, including their attitudes toward democracy (over 90 per cent prefer democracy under all circumstances in all countries except Nicaragua with 80 per cent). Magistrates offer a self-described ideological position on a left-right spectrum – they are all self-identified moderates with Panama the most 'right' (6.0/10) and those of El Salvador the most 'left' (4.53/10). Chapter two presents the magistrates' perceptions of the judicial systems in their own countries and identifies the major problems they see facing their own judicial system. The following chapter examines the important issue of judicial independence and major obstacles to that independence, which include the passivity of investigative agencies and the intentional blocking of judicial investigations, especially when dealing with human rights violations by government agencies.

Chapter four tackles another major issue confronting the courts' ability to act on behalf of its citizens – access to the judicial system. The authors conclude that lack of access to the judicial system is a widespread problem across the region (with the exception of Costa Rica), especially for poor, less educated, marginalised groups. These groups are unable to pay lawyers' fees and do not know their rights and thus are generally unable to gain access to the courts and legal redress for their situation.

The penultimate chapter presents data on magistrates' views on the efficiency and efficacy of judicial administration. The final chapter presents socio-demographic information on the magistrates and details the trajectory of their professional careers. The book thus offers new, detailed and important data that furthers our understanding of the role of courts and judges in Central America and Panama. The book will be of great value to academics studying the role of Supreme and lower courts in the political life of these countries, as well as giving international agencies involved in fostering judicial reform a better understanding of the systems they are trying to reform.

If there is one area of the book that could have been improved on, it is in the presentation of the data themselves. Each page of the book is jammed full of graphic detail for each of the six countries, which should make cross-national comparisons easy. My concern, though, is that there is often so much data presented on a given page that the graphics are necessarily shrunk to miniature dimensions, making it difficult to read. The situation is compounded by the use of glossy paper and some clashing combinations of colours. By way of example, page 23 presents pie graphs detailing the four leading complaints from users of the judiciary for each of the six countries; this is a total of 28 individual pie charts each broken into 6 possible

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

responses by the magistrates. Despite the shortcomings of the visual presentation, this book is required reading for academics of many disciplines and practitioners alike and will offer enough background material to stimulate further comparative studies of Central American courts. In this sense it is a model for similar research on judicial systems in other areas of the world.

University of Central Florida BRUCE M. WILSON

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06301046

John Dinges, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and his Allies brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York, NY, and London: The New Press, 2005), pp. xv + 332, $25.95, $17.95 pb; £17.95, £12.99, pb.

Investigative journalist John Dinges has written a masterly history of the dirty wars of the 1970s in the Southern Cone – of the security services of the dictatorships, the armed bands of guerrilla revolutionaries and the agencies of US foreign policy. In a fluid, inter-cut narrative he synthesises what is known about the broad contours and large events of this period and provides a notably fresh interpretation drawing on an unparalleled range of contemporary documentation. The concrete connections he establishes among the principal actors vividly convey why these were 'the Condor Years'.

Military intelligence agencies – the Chilean DINA, Argentine Battalion 601 and others – were on the front lines of the dirty wars. In the period from roughly 1973–80 their operations, with varying rhythms in the different countries, defined the fundamental character of the regimes they served. In 1975 six of them formed a clandestine regional organisation, Operation Condor, to facilitate an unprecedented sharing of information and coordination of operations against their guerrilla enemies and other adversaries such as exiled democratic leaders. As an Interpol unchecked by inconvenient legalities, these services were ruthlessly efficient, as Dinges demonstrates, in eliminating armed opposition and terrifying civilians into submission.

Dinges breaks new ground with his emphasis on the armed left as an actor indispensable to understanding the dynamics of these years. He traces the convergence of the different radical groups – the Uruguayan Tupamaros, the Argentine ERP, the Chilean MIR and others – from initial explorations of cooperation as early as 1972 to their formal regional alliance in the Junta Coordinadora Revolucionaria in 1973. The Condor years, by his account, are shaped by two conspiracies, both hostile to democracy – a violent left that saw itself as the 'Fifth International' as well as the international 'Murder Inc.' (in the phrase of one US official) created by the military regimes to fight it.

This framing is an important step to seeing this period as a historical whole but raises questions for further debate. Does it in effect establish an ethical equivalence between the dictatorships and their opponents? Dinges is clear that it does not, but it does challenge normative narratives that helped empower the restoration of democracy and human rights in the region. How seriously should we take the guerrillas' fiery rhetoric and violent, but limited, paramilitary operations? Weren't they just a convenient excuse for repression? Dinges has two arguments in response. The JCR *was* a regional conspiracy formed somewhat earlier than Condor with real resources: 10,000 men and women between its Uruguayan and Argentine member organisations (with smaller numbers in Chile and Bolivia), a war chest of some

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$20 million (raised from kidnappings and other activities) and even the capacity to manufacture as well as import arms. And although the real chances for revolutionary success are easy to dismiss in retrospect, contemporary secret documents show that the Condor forces *believed* the radical left a fundamental threat to stability.

US involvement also stamps the Condor Years as an emblematic era of the Cold War in Latin America. Dinges demonstrates that the Nixon and Ford administrations encouraged and supported regional intelligence coordination in concrete ways. The CIA helped to train the Chilean DINA in Santiago in 1974 and had a working relationship with its head, Manuel Contreras, who travelled to Washington, DC, for three or four high-level intelligence meetings in 1974–76 (only one of which is admitted by the US government). There is evidence that it provided technology and training for a centralised computer database. In a richly-detailed analysis of bureaucratic politics in the US foreign-policy and intelligence apparatus, Dinges shows that Washington was well-informed about Condor operations and could probably have prevented Letelier's assassination in 1976. Overall, he strikes a persuasive balance between US influence and Latin American agency.

Dinges has done impressive research and makes sophisticated use of his sources. These are principally a vast array of contemporary written records – from Condor itself (particularly from the so-called Paraguayan Terror Archive discovered in 1992), judicial investigations, and US congressional committees and executive agencies – plus other primary sources such as interviews. Dinges demonstrates a deft touch in interpreting the world of intelligence agencies (with their 'tradecraft', 'wet work', etc.) and paints a persuasive picture of how they connect with public policy makers (especially on the US side). He is careful about evidence, provides more than 40 pages of endnotes and is not reluctant to interrupt his narrative to make explicit his processes of inference. Facts asserted in secret documents he confirms whenever possible in public sources. If contemporary documents conflict with interviews, he usually opts for the former on the ground that the latter may be based on memories that are faulty or self-serving. He demystifies the 'special aura' of secret documents but believes that the long effort to suppress them indicates that, properly interpreted, they can convey truth about events and beliefs of their time. In all, his book succeeds impressively in achieving his goal of a 'laminate of maximum strength' of historical truth.

Threaded through his account is, in effect, a second history of his sources and how they were disgorged from the depths that readers of this journal may find as compelling as that of Condor itself. As an international conspiracy, Condor generated a vast record among all its members and interested agencies in the USA and Europe – documents that, with the tides of political change, were discovered by prosecutors, investigating magistrates and enterprising journalists. Dinges tells this second story admirably, too, linking the efforts of Spanish lawyer Joan Garcés to support Pinochet's prosecution to the Clinton administration's release of tens of thousands of official documents and concluding his book with vignettes of several human rights heroes (Chilean journalist Mónica González, Paraguayan Colorado activist Martín Almada) that also played leading parts.

The Condor Years will stand as an important work of history. It exemplifies the promise of serious study of the recent past *as the past* and also some of its challenges – when, for example, important principals studied are still alive. Although written with nary a nod to academic literatures in comparative politics, international

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

relations and historical memory, scholars in all these fields will find it rigorous and relevant. And Dinges knows how to tell a story.

Santiago, Chile ALEXANDER WILDE

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06311042

Naomi Roht-Arriaza, *The Pinochet Effect: Transnational Justice in the Age of Human Rights* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. xiii + 256, $55.00; £36.00, hb.

This book is a most welcome and in some senses overdue monographic treatment of one of the key transnational legal battles of recent times: the dramatic and ultimately unsuccessful effort to have former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet extradited from the UK to Spain to stand trial for crimes against humanity. It is written by a lawyer and legal scholar with extensive expertise in Latin American issues in general, and transitional justice issues in particular. Roht-Arriaza uses the region-wide 'Operation Condor' conspiracy of which Pinochet's most notorious crimes formed a part to trace a web of previous and subsequent legal activism across continents, aimed at bringing perpetrators of past human rights violations to justice. She aims to tell us what happened, who caused it to happen and, albeit perhaps less successfully, why things happened at the time and in the manner that they did.

The book follows a narrative structure, opening with Pinochet's arrest and the Spanish investigations of 1996 which led up to it. Next it dedicates a chapter each to UK, Chilean, Argentinian and other European episodes which address the same crimes, or could otherwise be said to belong to the same stable of 'post-transitional' justice attempts by activists and NGOs to challenge domestic impunity. Roht-Arriaza goes on to highlight certain emblematic Operation Condor incidents, such as the assassination in Washington DC of former Chilean chancellor Orlando Letelier, tracing subsequent and more recent efforts within the USA to establish criminal or civil liability for acts committed outside as well as within the national territory. This, the so-called 'transnational' aspect of recent prosecution attempts, is perhaps the most novel aspect of a justice struggle which has been going on for years inside those countries which were directly affected. Roht-Arriaza then discusses the high water mark – and subsequent ebb – of enforceable universal jurisdiction which the Pinochet case has come to symbolise. She closes with a chapter considering how far actor involvement in the various cases fits into models of transnational advocacy and networking such as those proposed by, inter alia, Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink in *Activists Beyond Borders* (Cornell 1998).

Like Roht-Arriaza's earlier work *Impunity and Human Rights in International Law and Practice* (OUP 1995), this book is extremely readable and engaging. It contains admirably lucid, non-technical presentations of key legal concepts such as universal jurisdiction, making it a potential godsend for the non-specialist reader who may have found the strictly legal commentaries on the case to date inaccessible. However, the narrative style which lends the book its pace at times prevents these key concepts being given sufficient individual attention, since the imperative to 'tell the tale' precludes more extensive analysis of the most central legal and political issues. The book is, perhaps, a victim of its material in this regard, and its limitations are therefore the obverse of its many successes. To tell such a complex and detailed story, ranging across countries and continents, in such a coherent and engaging

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

manner is itself no mean feat. Since many aspects of the story are still so little-known, the decision to narrate them was certainly correct, even though it leaves a number of tantalising analytical threads hanging. More could, or perhaps should subsequently, be made of the specifically political dimensions of what was not solely a legal battle. Here, the political dimension is often reduced to the level of high politics and what governments were or were not doing. Questions about whether litigation is or is not seen as a political tool, as well as what lawyers, judges, survivors and NGOs understand to be the goals and potential achievements of legal action are not fully addressed. Moreover, the adoption of Keck and Sikkink's 'boomerang' and 'norms cascade' models, although not strictly uncritical, is echoed by the structure of the book itself. International threads and connections are emphasised to such an extent that 'transnational advocacy' is clearly being accepted as a given, or indeed actively promoted in a sometimes partisan presentation. Contestation and fracture between domestic groups, as between national and transnational spheres of action, is perhaps underplayed as a consequence of the manner in which the tale is told.

Its international emphasis notwithstanding, the book has a distinctly US flavour which lapses occasionally into US-centrism. Comparisons refer almost exclusively to the US legal system, while the British Labour Party is the 'Labor' party, and 'American' is used for 'US citizen' throughout. This, in combination with a sprinkling of factual and orthographical errors, may detract somewhat from the specialist reader's appreciation of its many virtues. Additionally, the book occasionally relies on unduly indirect sources. A Chilean activist is cited to explain the Pinochet camp's frame of mind, while a British journalist is the source for some rather questionable figures for legal fees charged by UK lawyers. The list of interviewees at the end of the book also gives no national or biographical information, making it of limited use for the non-specialist reader wanting to get a sense of the comprehensiveness of the study.

Nonetheless, the book certainly stands as a useful and engaging work for non-legal specialists wishing to understand more closely the central legal issues involved in transnational litigation as a recent 'fashion' in world affairs. With a little more strictly political analysis, it might have also fit comfortably into an emerging field of work on the judicialisation of politics from a globalised perspective. It will certainly provide a lucid and helpful single-volume introduction for students and indeed practitioners of politics and law wishing to understand the specific shape, as well as the wider significance, of ongoing Southern Cone attempts at human rights reckoning. At its best, it may also stimulate more specific attention to the domestic settings from which transnational cases spring, enabling a more critical approach to arguments of causality from transnational to national level.

Chatham House, London CATH COLLINS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06321049

Antonius C. G. M. Robben, *Political Violence and Trauma in Argentina* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. xii+467. $55.00; £36.00, hb.

Political Violence's argumentation proceeds on two levels. On one level the volume offers a thorough, comprehensive and balanced analysis of one of the most violent periods of Argentine history. On another level it presents a theoretical discussion

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of the process of interaction between social trauma and violence in contemporary Argentina. I believe that the historical narrative is more successful than the theoretical analysis. The conclusion that 'Argentina became a traumatised society' (p. 345) is neither original nor does it add much to the understanding of the historical process that Antonius Robben so carefully studies.

The book is divided into four parts, each of which focuses on a particular dimension of political violence. Part I provides an analysis of street crowds as a central element of Argentine political culture. Although Robben's choice of 1945, the birth date of Peronism, as his starting point may be disputable (crowds had been crucial components of Argentine political culture since the early nineteenth century), his analysis thoroughly follows different moments in which crowds became political protagonists, and the reaction that these crowds provoked in the political and military establishment throughout the period, until their demise as a result of the repression carried out by the military regime established in 1976. Part II shifts the focus of analysis to the emergence and development of violence as a form of political expression. In the 1950s the use of political violence was not a new phenomenon in Argentina. However, since the fall of the Perón government in 1955 Argentine society became victim to a new type of vindictive violence. This kind of violence incarnated first in the so called 'Peronist Resistance' (groups of activists who committed relatively small-scale acts of terrorism against the repressive government that replaced Perón) and later in the Cuban-inspired guerrilla groups that proliferated in the late 1960s and which eventually converged in the Peronist Montonero group. Violence became a channel to express the frustration which was a consequence of repression and political exclusion. According to Robben, crowds and guerrillas fed each other and both met with police and military repression.

In the mid-1970s Argentina was immersed in a state of virtual civil war. Part III defines what the author calls the 'war of cultures'. After the military coup of 1976 the violent political struggle between the leftist guerrillas and the military became a war for the imposition of different and incompatible world-views. To the leftists' socialism and egalitarianism the military posed their own vision of Christianity and hierarchy. Since what was at stake was nothing less than the future of civilisation, at least according to the military, then all means became acceptable in the war. While, as Robben shows, torture was not new in Argentina, no regime had implemented it in such a systematic and indiscriminate manner, complementing it with a policy of showing the victims disappear, as the generals of 1976 did. In the four chapters of Part III Robben takes the reader through a detailed horror tour of illegal abductions, secret detention centres, torture, death and disappearance. Victims of the state-administered terror were submitted to an explicit policy of dehumanisation as a result of which families as well as broader social ties were destroyed. Finally, in part IV the emphasis is placed on the different manners in which Argentine society has attempted (and has failed so far, according to Robben) to come to terms with the deep social trauma generated by the politics of disappearance. In particular the focus is placed on the Madres de Plaza de Mayo. Together, the four parts of the volume provide an excellent historical overview of the place of violence in Argentine politics during the second part of the twentieth century.

Robben's research is based on a masterly use of primary and secondary sources, and on a large number of interviews that he conducted with former guerrillas, military officers, human rights activists and members of the Catholic Church, among others. Although he takes a clear and explicit moral stand against state terrorism, in

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several cases Robben is careful enough ably to disclose different and contradictory versions of the same episode based on his interviews.

While Robben's historical analysis is superb, his theoretical framework sometimes leads him to unnecessary simplifications. In part I, for instance, there is a tendency to reify the concept of street crowd, turning it into a political protagonist. Since 1945, the nature, composition and even the reaction provoked by political crowds have changed so drastically in Argentina that one can wonder if we are talking about the same phenomenon. The crowd gathered during the 1969 'Cordobazo', for example, had little in common in terms of composition and behaviour with the crowd that on 17 October 1945 had demanded the return of Perón. Moreover, while the former crowd suffered bloody repression administered by the military government, the latter received the support and protection of the police. Similarly, the author's focus on social trauma leads him to overemphasise the role of human rights organisations in the fall of the military regime. Although these organisations were important actors, other factors (the ensuing economic crisis, which is hardly discussed in the book, the Malvinas/Falklands fiasco, opposition from other social groups and the attrition suffered by a particularly inept regime after seven years of power) were equally important in its demise. Another limitation of the text is the lack of a comparative perspective. While there are references to the Holocaust, a discussion of other experiences of repression and violence in Latin America and elsewhere would have provided important contrasting material to evaluate the specificity of the Argentine case.

In spite of these shortcomings, readers will certainly benefit from this fine book that provides a comprehensive discussion of the place of violence in Argentine political culture and constitutes an excellent addition to a growing literature on the topic.

IDES/CONICET MARIANO BEN PLOTKIN

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06331045

Cecilia Menjívar and Néstor Rodríguez (eds.), *When States Kill: Latin America, the U.S. and Technologies of Terror* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005), pp. x + 374, $50.00, $22.95 pb.

This is a useful collection of essays that examines state-sponsored terrorism in Latin America during the last half of the twentieth century. The central argument of the editors and most of the authors is that state terrorism does not represent an atavistic phenomenon rooted in the region's brutal colonial history. Rather, it is directly connected to US policies and the involvement of the United States in the domestic affairs of various countries. The editors' central concern is to elucidate the supranational relationships and overarching ideologies that linked specific states into a hemispheric regime of terror under the direction of the United States.

The volume is organised as follows: an introductory section includes an overview by the editors and a piece by J. Patrice McSherry on Operation Condor, an interstate intelligence network that targeted political dissidents and exiles in Latin America, Europe and the United States. Section Two contains six case studies of Mexico and Central America, and Section Three focuses on four South American states. A conclusion by the editors summarises the mixed, but generally unsatisfactory, results of truth commissions and international courts that addressed human rights crimes in the aftermath of the 'dirty wars'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Emphasising the centrality of the United States in militarising Latin America is clearly important for grasping the rise of terrorist regimes and appreciating how state violence was internationalised during the cold war. Truth commissions have downplayed or ignored the importance of the United States and its security apparatus in the various Latin American dirty wars, and successive US administrations have done far less than some of their Latin American counterparts to account for abusive practices and policies, and to bring perpetrators in the US government and security forces to justice. The collection therefore makes a valuable contribution by highlighting the ways that the United States fostered state terrorism, including its support for Somoza's National Guard, its backing of Fujimori and the subsequent strangulation of democracy in Peru, and its backing of the southern cone dictatorships.

The authors are generally careful not to reduce political violence in Latin America to the domination of the United States. For example, Armony notes that French counterrevolutionary doctrine, developed in the colonial wars of Indochina (1945–1954) and Algeria (1954–1962), became part of the curriculum at Argentina's war college in the 1950s and influenced a generation of military officers. The Argentine military subsequently honed its terror tactics during the dirty war (1976–1983) and then exported them to Central America. The collection, however, would benefit from more discussion of the conflicts that existed within some Latin American security forces between hardliners aligned with the United States and more moderate elements. In addition, some of the articles tend to overstate the importance of the US Army's School of the Americas (SOA) in building a repressive hemispheric military apparatus, and they gloss over the complex network of US training centres and think-tanks in the United States, Latin America and other US-approved locations through which Latin American military personnel have long circulated.

There is a tension in the volume between authors who focus on ideologies and institutional arrangements and constraints to explain violence (e.g. McSherry, Kruckewitt and Armony) and those who emphasise the importance of local histories, cultures and their embeddedness in regionally specific fields of power. The latter perspective is best exemplified by Aldo Lauria's piece on the Salvadorean civil war. Lauria argues that scholars need to develop a more nuanced appreciation of terror and state-sponsored repression that takes account of the concepts and goals of the victims and perpetrators themselves. This kind of analysis, he asserts, would pay close attention to shifting cultural and class relations. His article raises important questions about how to develop analytical frameworks that both explain broad patterns of hemispheric violence and attend to regional particularities and the diverse experiences of various groups who shape, and are shaped by, wider political processes.

While the collection clarifies an important, and particularly painful, period of Latin American history, it also makes a valuable contribution to understanding the current global 'war on terror' waged by the United States. The articles demonstrate that, rather than promoting democracy and human rights, US intervention tends to aggravate violence and the suffering of ordinary people, a process that we see unfolding today in Iraq. They also establish that the United States has long practised torture, and that there is nothing particularly novel about the torture of prisoners by US personnel in Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison. What is new, however, is the quasi-legal status that torture enjoys among US security forces today, and the openness with which government officials justify its use.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

When States Kill demonstrates the ugly consequences of state terrorism, and it is a valuable volume that should be read by Latin Americanists, as well as those concerned about political violence and the growing militarism of the United States.

American University LESLEY GILL

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06341041

Suzana Sawyer, *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. xii + 294, £16.95, pb.

Crude Chronicles offers a first-hand account of the complex and contested politics of land and oil in Ecuador during the 1990s. Taking as entry points diverse moments and sites of encounter between Amazonian Indians, multinational capital and the postcolonial state, it is an engaged analysis of the micropolitics of neoliberalisation. For her account, the author draws on her experience as a witness of grassroots assemblies in Amazonian communities; as an activist during the *caminatas* and *levantamientos* through which the indigenous movement has redefined the terms of engagement with the Ecuadorean state; as a translator in meetings between indigenous representatives, oil corporate executives and state authorities; and interestingly, as a child of a long genealogy of oil men. This nuanced ethnography immerses us in 'the belly of the beast', 'the space where transnational capitalism and elite state rule commingled (…) in the face of local opposition, and consent' (p. 2).

Analytically, the book explores the ways in which multinational oil corporations, local agro-exporting interests and a complaisant state seek to establish forms of neoliberal government in a third-world country. The constitution of new understandings of 'land' and 'property' through seemingly innocuous land titling schemes, or through the passing of 'modernising' laws, not only modifies territorial configurations – the argument goes – but also produces new ways of being in the world. But as a result of its own excesses, power fails to always produce docile bodies and profit-seeking agents. State and multinational encroachment into the lands and lives of people also elicits alternative and transgressive subjectivities.

The volume starts with the members of Amazonian indigenous organisations embarking on a 250-kilometre protest march in 1992: up the Amazonian spurs of the Andes, through the police barricades at the entrance to Quito, into the steep and narrow streets of the old colonial town. On their way to meet the president, one hundred Indian delegates from the Amazonian provinces come face to face with the larger-than-life mosaic that adorns the stairways of the presidential palace. Commissioned by the elite state and executed by the Indian artist Guayasamín, the triptic depicts the 'discovery' of the Amazon river by Francisco de Orellana: a colonial quest for El Dorado, in which 'three thousand aboriginals' perished (as stated in the inscription of the mosaic). In the last scene, the conquistadores appear at the mouth of the river, triumphant and by themselves. Sawyer rightly takes the mosaic as the representation of the exclusionary project of nationhood in Ecuador – one which both necessitates Indian bodies and their discardment for its fullfilment – *and* as a site for its contestation. The interstices between the glass fragments of the mosaic as much as the *caminata*'s reversal of Orellana's trail bespeak of oppositional trajectories and spaces. This confrontation between the delegates

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and the hegemonic – but unstable – official conception of the nation sets the stage for the rest of the argument, which elaborates this theme through detailed description and rhetorical analysis of meetings, sit-ins, legal and journalistic texts, maps and land titling schemes. The depiction of this encounter is an example of the attentive ethnographic intuition that imbues the whole text.

The outcome of the 1992 protests, for example, could be seen as a success for indigenous aspirations. The march was part of a longstanding struggle of Amazonian Indians for the recognition of their territorial rights, continually violated by oil companies and the colonists who followed in their steps. Although the area claimed was reduced by half, the state granted Indians an important extension of land in the Pastaza province. Yet, as chapters 2 and 4 show, the framing of land-as-commodity by the state and its fragmented adjudication to individual communities (as opposed to the lived and unitary notion of territory that the organisations propounded), by enabling new identities and allegiances, had deep effects on the future dealings of indigenous communities with oil companies. The chapters illustrate empirically how liberal land titling acts as a governmental technology in what Foucault famously called 'the conduct of conduct'. The American oil company ARCO, for example, relied on individuated land ownership by the communities – alongside state military intervention – in order to implement its divisive strategy to contain indigenous opposition. Through a selective deployment of its pastoral role (handed over by the neoliberal state); a discourse of individual rights, development and democracy; a foreclosure of history; and a deafness to critique granted by a racist claim to a monopoly over reason, the company successfully pitted the communities with oilwells on their lands against the more combative, province-level organisation. At the same time, 'the corporation [masterfully] untangl[ed] itself from the nasty knot of social relations it had created' (p. 136).

These neo-colonial practices, far from only producing compliant citizens, also engendered transgressive subjectivities and widened the scope of the debate. A context of increasing disenfranchisement of popular classes facilitated the important support for indigenous marches in Ecuador during the 1990s. Chapter 3 traces these connections between the struggle against oil abuses in Pastaza and diverse social movements, both nationally and abroad. In the same vein, chapter 5 focuses on the 1994 *levantamiento indígena* which mobilised the country against neoliberal agrarian legislation. The tension between a politics of difference and the need to constitute broad alliances opened spaces to question and reformulate the understanding of nation around a historically conflictive issue: the distribution of land. The protests forced negotiations between the government, the traditional landed elite and indigenous representatives; these meetings are the topic of chapter 6. An attentive dissection of the arguments across the negotiating table is used to disentangle the purported neutrality of liberal legislation, and to expose the gendered and ethnic exclusions that it conceals. But this same 'contradiction between the effects of neoliberal policy and the language of inclusion' (p. 220) that underpins normative notions of the nation-state in Ecuador, allows new ways of thinking about the nation, about its relationship with an exclusionary state, and of imagining alternative outcomes within neoliberal hegemony. The constitutional recognition of the plurinationality of the Ecuadorean state is a case in point.

Perceptive description and a fluid, jargon-free narrative style, subtly embedded in a poststructuralist framework, make the book both interesting in its argument and

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

theoretically engaging. If I were pushed for an admonition, it would be the marginal treatment of *mestizaje*; this issue, so important for understanding Latin American post-colonial modernities, might remain invisible to the neophyte on Ecuadorean studies (others will find it implicitly throughout). Additionally, the emphasis on Indian rurality challenging urban power runs the risk of reproducing the allocative topographies of the official nation, as it does stating that 'the majority of [the] Afro-Ecuadorian population (…) also lives in the "lowlands", but these "lowlands" consist of the tropical forest west of the Andes' (p. 247). Finally a note on translation: The racist saying '*Muestre su patria, mate un indio*' commonly is '*Haga patria* …'; 'build the fatherland', rather than '*show your patriotismo*' (p. 35): the Quichua *llacta*, which in Spanish can mean *pueblo*, does so in the sense of 'village', not 'people' (p. 47).

The importance of *Crude Chronicles* goes beyond its many analytical contributions; chronicles 'record excesses of the postcolonial empires of neoliberalism' (p. 17), and, as records, they outlive the academic debates that they engage with.

University of Cambridge ANDRÉS VALLEJO ESPINOSA

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06351048

Cletus Gregor Barié, *Pueblos indígenas y derechos constitucionales en América Latina: un panorama* (México: Comision Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y México Gobierno de la República; Banco Mundial Fideicomiso Noruego; Quito: Abya Yala, 2003), pp. 574, pb.

Despite the efforts at assimilation by successive governments, Latin America's 'people without history' have failed to live up to the expectation that they would melt into mestizo society. Nowadays, indigenous peoples constitute some 10 per cent of the regional population or about 50 million people. And rather than fading away, indigenous peoples have gained a new political presence during the last decades of the past century, which saw an 'awakening' of indigenous conscience and a new valorisation of the juridical and political sphere for framing their demands. The demand for constitutional reforms that recognise the multiethnic and pluricultural make-up of Latin American societies and the demand for self-determination or autonomy are central themes for the indigenous movements. Since the mid-1980s such demands have been vigorously debated and have resulted in constitutional reforms and a proliferation of secondary legislation.

The volume under review provides an overview of the legal situation of indigenous peoples in the 21 Latin American countries from a comparative perspective. After an introduction to the theme, the first chapter is dedicated to the controversial issue of the number of indigenous people. The second chapter discusses indigenous rights in terms of legal pluralism, state policies and their evolution, and the emergence of an international legal framework regarding the (collective) rights of indigenous peoples. The latter is particularly important given that it is a standard-setting process. Convention 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries of the International Labour Organization, which in 1989 resulted from a revision of the outdated 1957 Convention 107 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Populations – the use of the term 'peoples' in the new convention is significant –, is at present the most advanced international instrument regarding indigenous rights and has been ratified by a dozen Latin American

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

countries. Draft declarations by the United Nations and the Organization of American States are still being debated, but also provide new horizons. The third chapter briefly explores the ways in which some issues relating to indigenous peoples have been historically present in Latin American legislations, although in subdued ways.

Chapter four constitutes the central part of the volume. It first discusses the present constitutional reforms in the region and presents an analytical framework to evaluate their scope. This framework contains 26 variables in four rubrics: 1. general data on the country, its indigenous population and their legal status; 2. indigenous cultural rights; 3. indigenous territorial rights; and 4. indigenous self-government rights. This framework is then systematically applied to the constitutions of the 21 Latin American countries. For each country data on the indigenous population are supplied, as well as an overview of the relevant articles of the constitution and the way they relate to the analytical framework. This is followed by an overview of secondary legislation, a comment by the author and newspaper clippings and interviews with local specialists.

The analytical framework used allows for an interesting ranking of countries according to the constitutional recognition of indigenous rights. In broad outline, the author distinguishes three groups of countries. Five countries (Belize, Chile, French Guyana, Surinam and Uruguay) are not concerned with indigenous rights at all. A second group (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guyana and Honduras) constitutionally provides some limited and ill-defined protection for the ethnic populations within their territory and generally do so from an evolutionist and integrationist perspective. Finally, a third group of countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela) has constitutionally adopted multiculturalism and developed more or less extensive legislation to protect the indigenous peoples and to assure their survival (an accompanying poster provides an overview of the rating of the 21 countries in terms of the constitutional recognition of indigenous rights). To be sure, the author is well aware that the mere existence of constitutional recognition or other legislation does not say much about actual practice, as is also highlighted in the newspaper reports and interviews that accompany the case studies. The comparative approach, however, is important and interesting in showing that after some decades of the emergence of multicultural constitutionalism in Latin America the groundwork for fruitful comparison can be laid. As the author points out, his endeavour can and should be compared with the data-base on the quality of indigenous legislation constructed by an Inter-American Development Bank team (www.bid.org). A critical comparison of methodologies, classifications and the different country rankings regarding indigenous legislation they yield will be a most interesting and promising field of study.

A final chapter summarises the basic features and findings of the study and concludes that the classic model of the nation-state has been 'indigenized', resulting in hybrid and eclectic constitutionalism and legality. Traditional concepts of self-determination, territory, municipality and jurisdiction have been challenged and are being reframed in the search for a new multicultural model that allows for the integration of indigenous peoples as equals and as different.

This study – the fruit of a decade of commitment – is a major achievement in providing an updated and critical overview of multicultural (re-)constitutionalism in Latin America and will be a source of inspiration to all those interested in the issue

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of multiculturalism, indigenous rights and the way such questions are framed in legal terms that hold the promise of a new social contract. It provides extensive bibliographical references as well as a list of relevant web-sites for further consultation. Clearly, as the author himself points out, total coverage of all Latin American countries is a virtually impossible task because bibliographical sources are not always available or accessible. Moreover, the rapid proliferation of legislation requires teamwork for future comparative analysis, not only of the maze of 'indigenous law', as practiced by indigenous peoples, as state policy and as international law but, above all, of the ways in which multicultural constitutionalism, as a mediation between the local and the global, works out on the ground.

The Van Vollenhoven Institute, Leiden University WILLEM ASSIES

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06361044

Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc (eds.), *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America* (Brighton and Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), pp. viii + 250, £55.00, £15.95 pb; $67.50, $27.50 pb.

As indigenous issues become increasingly salient in Latin America, this collection of eight essays explores recent pathways that the 'Indian Question' has taken. The contributors met in a workshop at the University of California-San Diego, and they assimilated ideas from a conference in Cochabamba, Bolivia with Latin American scholars, activists and indigenous leaders. The result is a comprehensive yet distinct contribution to an expanding body of knowledge on indigenous politics in the region.

Organised geographically by in-depth country studies running north to south, this inter-disciplinary volume emphasises the explicitly political-economic facets of indigenous affairs in Latin America, working from the premise that indigenous politics is profoundly context-dependent. To apprehend the diverse trajectories that indigenous movements follow, they adopt what we might call an intersectional' methodology that examines the constellation of relevant factors at key political junctures. One of these intersections is the interplay among multiple actors involved in shaping indigenous issues, in which indigenous organisations are but one of many players. While Gunther Dietz finds that incomplete or contradictory state-led projects of economic reform and national integration drive indigenous politics in Mexico, Rathberger's consideration of Colombia and Fischer's examination of Guatemala foreground the intentions and capabilities of indigenous actors and their antagonists – from powerful capitalists to government leaders to guerrillas and paramilitary forces. Nancy Postero, in turn, interprets Bolivian multicultural politics as oscillating between indigenous movement *collusion* with the Bolivian state during multicultural regime-building in the 1990s, and the more recent indigenous movement *confrontation* with the state as multi-cultural political practice failed to fulfil its early promise of effective representation and participation.

The interplay between ethnicity and class – understood as social identity categories and as bases for political interests – constitutes a second major intersection this collection grapples with. Jonathan Warren, for example, cautions against assuming that Lula's 2002 election to the Brazilian presidency will be a panacea for

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

indigenous people, as much of the Brazilian left has yet to embrace ethnicity and race as intimately as socio-economic class in its political ideology and strategy. Leon Zamosc's analysis of Ecuador approaches this same intersection from a different avenue: he argues that Ecuador's indigenous movement is involved as much in a class struggle over the costs of neoliberal reforms as it is engaged in a fight over cultural diversity and racial discrimination. Zamosc sees this class-orientation in a more positive light than Warren on the grounds that class issues provide greater opportunity for broad popular alliances than does a more ethnically or racially focused movement. (Warren would disagree.)

García and Lucero's contribution takes a different turn on the ethnicity-class intersection in problematising the common perception that indigenous politics has failed – or has failed to exist – in Peru. By emphasising what Peru has rather than what it lacks, their essay suggests that indigenous politics may appear in forms and spaces that do not conform to a standard ethnic notion of indigenous identity, nor to the common expectation that social movements, successful or otherwise, are found at the national scale. García and Lucero's consideration of rural Quechua-speaking communities around Cusco, for instance, illustrates how an indigenous movement may emerge *against* an ostensibly ethnic project. In challenging the paternalism and double standards of the largely urban, middle class promoters of bilingual education in their midst, Quechua-speaking villagers mobilised an indigenous movement to defend their children's right to learn and master *Spanish* in school.

Apart from being a highly informative book with broad coverage of current trends, *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America* offers a strong challenge to any simple rendering of indigenous political identities, strategies, agendas or impact. But it has missed two opportunities that might be taken up in future work on the subject. First, since many of the questions and themes motivating this collection also drive the field of social movement studies, a systematic engagement with that literature would help to highlight the theoretical contribution of this volume and Latin American indigenous movements in general. A second possibility would be to include concrete information about the contributors' dialogue in the Cochabamba, Bolivia, conference that preceded publication. While there is no reason to doubt that the authors and editors took account of this dialogue in finalising their essays, readers might be interested to know more about the specific concepts and issues raised by their Latin American counterparts. An appendix to each chapter and/or to the volume as a whole would have been one way to include a summary of these conversations.

However, some of those concepts and issues may have informed the important lines of future inquiry that the volume has laid out. Among other areas, the editors suggest investigating the importance of the demographics of indigenous people, the growing influence of the indigenous vote, the opportunities and constraints of neoliberal policies for indigenous movements, and the relative impact of cultural (strictly indigenous) versus popular (indigenous/non-indigenous alliance) strategies of struggle. Given that indigenous peoples are now central political actors in Latin America, yet appear to be approaching the limits of the current model of official multiculturalism, we would do well to pursue such a research agenda.

Seattle University ROBERT ANDOLINA

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06371040

Carmen Teresa Whalen and Víctor Vázquez-Hernández (eds.), *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2005), pp. xiii + 306, $22.95, pb.

Since the 1960s Puerto Ricans have increasingly scattered throughout the United States. In the year 2000 under one third of US Puerto Ricans lived in New York state, compared to almost three-fourths in 1960. Carmen Teresa Whalen and Víctor Vázquez-Hernández's valuable anthology recognises the growing dispersal and complexity of Puerto Rican migration. The book covers several immigrant destinations beyond New York City, particularly Hawaii; Philadelphia; Chicago; Boston; Lorain, Ohio; Dover, New Jersey; and Connecticut. A notable absence is Florida, especially Orlando, currently home to the second largest concentration of Puerto Ricans on the US mainland. Most of the contributors to this volume are established scholars in Puerto Rican studies: Olga Jiménez de Wagenheim, Iris López, Félix Matos-Rodríguez, Ruth Glasser, Maura Toro-Morn, Linda Delgado, Eugene Rivera, and the editors. The authors include six historians, an anthropologist, a sociologist, and a social worker. Thus, *The Puerto Rican Diaspora* weaves together a fascinating collage of 'Puerto Rican communities little studied and often little acknowledged beyond their own borders' (p. ix).

The collection's main purpose is to document the multiple experiences of Puerto Ricans in the United States. As Matos-Rodríguez notes, 'most scholarly studies tend to equate the [Puerto Rican] "community" with poor and lower middle-class neighborhoods such as El Barrio in New York City, the Division Street Area in Chicago, North Philadelphia, and the South End in Boston' (p. 222). Whalen further argues that 'the popular use of the term "Nuyorican" to identify Puerto Ricans living in the United States, and until recently, the scholarly focus on New York City, suggest the resilience of the association of Puerto Ricans and New York City. This perspective has muted the diversity of Puerto Ricans' experiences and has thwarted the comparative analysis of Puerto Rican communities' (p. 3). Moving away from an exclusively Nuyorican viewpoint provides a more nuanced treatment of issues such as race, class, gender, language, popular culture, identity, community organisation, and to a lesser extent sexual orientation.

Another goal of the editors is to identify the basic similarities and differences in the socioeconomic incorporation of Puerto Rican migrants. The contributors underscore widepread ethnic and racial discrimination, especially in the housing and labour markets; the emergence of viable communities against all odds; the negative impact of economic restructuring on US northeastern and midwestern cities; and the construction of hybrid cultural identities that remain tightly linked to the Island. As Jiménez de Wagenheim writes, Puerto Ricans 'encountered no legal obstacles in moving to any place in the United States. But their Spanish language, rural background, and customs set them apart from their long-established neighbours. Their poverty, and for some, their darker complexions, added to the hurdles they faced' (p. 113).

Most of the contributors share Whalen's insistence on Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects. As Whalen notes, 'U.S. citizenship facilitated [Puerto Rican] migration, but has not always eased settlement and incorporation' (p. 227). Unfortunately, neither the editors nor the authors of the chapters fully develop this insight. So it remains unclear just how 'colonialism and citizenship are two distinctive badges that separate

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Puerto Rico's migration experience from that of other Caribbean and Central American immigrants' (Matos-Rodríguez, p. 225).

The authors also concur that most US Puerto Ricans have not shed their distinctive identity. As Whalen asserts, 'instead of assimilating to white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant dominance, many Puerto Ricans sought to retain Spanish language and Puerto Rican culture' (p. 227). Delgado puts it even more sharply: 'the melting pot/assimilationist theory did not apply to Puerto Ricans' (p. 82). Again, the collection does not systematically elaborate this point, perhaps because it focuses on a single group, largely isolated from other ethnic and racial minorities.

All of the chapters underline the persistence of Puerto Rican cultural practices, even in Hawaii, after five generations of the initial migration, as López shows. The migrants have preserved much of their traditional food, music, dance, language, religion, and holidays, and still celebrate ethnic parades, festivals, sports and other public events. On a more informal level, Toro-Morn observes, women often sustain strong transnational linkages between Island and diasporic communities, by taking care of each others' children and elderly, and organising family rituals like baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Finally, Puerto Rican migrants have largely clustered in urban residential enclaves (known as *colonias* or barrios). As Vázquez-Hernández, Glasser, Rivera and others show, such encapsulation encouraged the proliferation of *bodegas* (small grocery stores), *botánicas* (stores selling religious paraphernalia), restaurants, barbershops, churches, clubs and other social institutions.

The Puerto Rican Diaspora draws on an impressive array of primary sources, including government documents, oral histories, interviews, memoirs, newspaper articles, participant observation, and photographs. Several authors mine the excellent manuscript collections at the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños in New York; the National Archives in Washington; the Archivo General de Puerto Rico; and other document repositories in Connecticut, New Jersey and Massachusetts. The editors acknowledge the methodological challenge of uncovering Puerto Rican perspectives because they 'were often rendered invisible in dominant narratives' (p. 272), such as those articulated by census reports, congressional hearings, and social service agencies. Still, this well-grounded collection manages to reconstruct the diasporic experience from the migrants' standpoint. Thus, it paints a sympathetic, intimate and vivid portrayal of Puerto Rican community life both past and present.

The Puerto Rican Diaspora is a well-chosen and carefully edited collection on immigrant settlements beyond their traditional core in New York City. The book represents a broader historical and comparative assessment of the Puerto Rican exodus than has previously been available elsewhere. The individual chapters offer illuminating case studies of Borinkis (as Puerto Ricans are called in Hawaii), Nuyoricans, Philly-Ricans, Chicago-Ricans, and other Diaspo-Ricans. Overall, the text expands the temporal and geographic boundaries of Puerto Rican studies. It also provides new teaching materials about Puerto Ricans in the United States, still dominated by the Nuyorican experience. Finally, the compilation recognises many widely dispersed grassroots organisations that promote the interests of lower-class communities, such as the rights to decent housing, stable jobs, quality education, upward mobility, political representation and cultural integrity. For these and other achievements, the editors and contributors to this project should be commended.

University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras JORGE DUANY

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 38 (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06381047

Ernesto Sagás and Sintia E. Molina (eds.), *Dominican Migration: Transnational Perspectives* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004), pp. xviii + 284, $59.95, hb.

Dominican Migration: Transnational Perspectives is a unique collection of eleven articles by an interdisciplinary group of social scientists, literary scholars, journalists, and community and cultural leaders. Beyond the diversity in the backgrounds of contributors, readers are treated to a diverse set of sub-topics of transnational practices from political orientation and citizenship, to class differences in cross-border ties, to gendered educational experiences, to literary productions and thematic analyses of Dominican writers, to the transnational evolution of music and dance in New York City. The book surpasses many case studies of Dominican migration in that it moves beyond New York, including other Dominican overseas communities in South Florida and Providence as well as in Spain.

One of the stated goals of the book is to show how Dominicans have produced their own unique expression of transnationalism and must be historically understood in their own terms. The editors seek to amplify our understanding of what constitutes the dense social fields Dominicans have created across national borders by including attention to economic exchanges, political and social identities, friendship and family networks, literary productions and hybridised social values. A quick review of some of the salient arguments made in the pieces should illustrate how this goal of representing the diverse layers of Dominican transnationalism is well realised.

Duany, in a very competent overview of migration trends, argues that transnational exchanges do not necessarily break down national inequalities and may in fact reinforce them as they simultaneously redefine ethnic and racial identities on both sides of borders. Sagás then insightfully details how the granting of dual citizenship to Dominican transmigrants reflects an alignment of factors on both sides of the border. Yet, this extension of the right to vote to Dominicans abroad is largely a symbolic act by the Dominican state, since the costly obstacles to implementing overseas voting are unlikely to be overcome in the near future.

Transnational practices unfold in uneven ways within different migrant communities abroad. Itzigsohn's well researched article documents how in Providence, Rhode Island, for example, while a small proportion of Dominicans actively and continuously engage in largely economic exchanges, about half engage more sporadically and largely in sociocultural activities that do not involve significant personal commitments. Complementing this argument, Hoffman-Guzmán, in a well reasoned piece, portrays transnational behaviour and identity as a 'flowing continuum' related to class background in the relatively more affluent Dominican community in South Florida. Though middle-class status provides resources needed to sustain transnational practices, the same resources also facilitate integration and a tendency to supplant transnational activities with a more diffuse 'urban cosmopolitanism.'

More recent migration to Spain, as portrayed in Lilón and Lantigua's article, contrasts sharply with other Dominican flows. This community, overwhelmingly female, and after 1993, largely undocumented and working predominantly in domestic service, hails mostly from regions with low migration to the United States. Despite greater linguistic commonality with Spaniards, Dominicans in Spain have suffered extremely harsh treatment related to their lower educational levels and association in the minds of many with prostitution.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The gendered nature of Dominican migration and settlement is treated in two pieces. Weyland's article confirms other research about the importance of economic opportunities for women in the United States in their ability to challenge gender roles. Although her evidence is at times vague, Weyland argues that the presence of a growing 'border identity' helps women broaden the terms of their participation in a range of activities. Her richly symbolic photographs, presented as visual case studies, endorse her arguments about the creative use of resources across national borders. López provides a highly original argument to explain gender differences in educational achievement among Dominicans in New York. The greater physical restrictions and home responsibilities of young girls, combined with close role models of mothers who have suffered from low levels of education, instils them with skills and 'cautionary tales' that work in their educational favour. Dominican boys, less restrained, end up spending more time proving their manhood on the streets where sports, work and women are more relevant than education. Unfortunately, these astute observations on education are inappropriately framed as an internal feminist debate about transnationalism. This distraction aside, Lopéz's findings are among most interesting of the book.

Through Bonilla's examination of two major literary figures on the Dominican experience, Julia Alvarez and Junot Díaz, we see migration represented as a contradictory experience, both traumatic as well as liberating, that produces an enhanced hybridisation of home and host cultures. A similar paradoxical theme is uncovered by Molina in her examination of how New York City is represented in a wide array of Dominican literary productions, as a kind of monstrous haven. Molina uncovers parallels in the themes that divide Dominicans writing in Spanish from those writing in English with the experiential differences of the first and second generation in New York.

Finally, in Van Buren and Domínguez's account of how social and political developments in the Dominican Republic influenced the concentration of Dominican musical influence in New York we see a deeply grounded account of what hybridisation of culture really looks like, the threads of its evolution, and the use of musical folklore for reinterpretation and creative experimentation. As one example, they link AsaDifé's differential reception in Dominican and mixed multicultural audiences and his exploration of sacred folk forms such as the *gagá* and *palo*s as popular entertainment, to a failure to confront directly the reluctance on the part of Dominican cultural audiences to embrace African influences in their roots. We learn also of the role of transnational marketing in promoting the more conservative tendencies of merengue (with its 'frenetic frivolity'), steering away from the greater potential for biting social commentary of other genres. They conclude that stronger expressions of Dominican identity will probably come from other media such as poetry, literature and film.

Like many edited collections, *Dominican Migration* has some problems. For one thing, the quality of the articles is uneven in terms of the appropriateness of the theoretical framing, originality and depth of evidence. One fascinating aspect of the book is the way it implicitly showcases how disciplines treat diasporas as objects of investigation. Yet, the anthology accomplishes its claim to be interdisciplinary in a manner similar to the way many interdisciplinary programmes do so in universities; that is, in a serial rather than a concurrent manner. Interdisciplinary programmes typically offer students discipline-specific courses on a similar topic rather than courses which internally integrate cross-disciplinary methods. Something similar

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

happens here; the volume's interdisciplinarity is largely accomplished not within articles, but rather by a serial presentation of the disciplinary approaches of sociology, anthropology, political science, literary textual analyses and thematic literary history. The social scientists seem the least inclined to take off their disciplinary blinkers, while several of the more literary explorations frame their presentations by drawing on themes emerging from the social sciences. It is probably unfair to expect at this stage more than most of our training prepares us to do. Yet when interdisciplinarity *is* concurrently accomplished, as in the fascinating exploration of musical and dance forms by van Buren and Dominguez, we see how dazzling the result can be.

Temple University SHERRI GRASMUCK

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06391043

Bruce A. Castleman, *Building the King's Highway: Labor, Society, and Family on Mexico's* 'Caminos Reales', *1757–1804* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2005), pp. xii + 163, $39.95, hb.

Bruce A. Castleman has presented a history of the most important road in colonial Mexico: the King's Highway during Bourbon times. The first major study of a 'camino real' in New Spain explores the conflicts between Mexico City and Veracruz in their fights to get the most of the public project, and the difficulties and creative discoveries to finance its construction. For either small undertakings of 3.5 km or large-scale constructions of 64 km, the book studies the impact of roads on public health, local commerce and national security. It is hard to think there was a more profitable public infrastructure project for colonial Mexico than the provision of such overhead capital investments as roads. Communications certainly connected the colonial economy to world markets, allowing for the growth of exports, imports and local markets, opening new production opportunities by reducing transportation costs.

The second topic covered by Castleman is the institutional transition in labour markets, from draft to free-wage labour. Under the prevalent tributary regime of 1757, the construction and repair works of the King's Highway used a repartimiento labour-force where the unskilled daily wage was one real per day. Peasants, most of them indigenous people, could pay tribute by monetary means or through the labour draft regime. However, a decade later, in the 1767–68 period, draft labour was massively replaced by free-labour market institutions, and associated with it was a 100 per cent increase in the nominal wage of unskilled labourers to 2 reales per day. The repartimento labour system had deep historical roots, and was not peculiar to the Spanish conquest. Compulsory labour services have been found in the Roman and Byzantine Empires, as well as in China, Peru and Mexico. But the transition to free labour, as Castleman suggests, was probably the most efficient solution to achieving a governmental goal.

These daily wages are comparable since both of them correspond to Xalapa. For 1791–92, Castleman presents a daily wage of 2.5 reales a day in Orizaba, suggesting a further increase in nominal living standards between the late 1760s and the early 1790s if the price levels of Orizaba and Xalapa are comparable. Castleman's evidence shows that the work at Orizaba confronted shortages of peon labour, so that the equilibrium wage was surely higher than 2.5 reales. That is, construction

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

overseer Dominguez was willing to sacrifice time of construction for reduced wage rates.

Between 1793 and 1795, the viceregal government undertook a major effort to construct a road connecting Mexico City and Toluca. According to Castleman, these payroll records bring a decline in standards of living, result of economic stress. He found 891 individuals working as day labourers during the thirteen weeks under consideration, and 406 appeared during just one week. However, they were making extensive use of child labour, which might account for the lower nominal wage.

Castleman makes a bright contribution while documenting the transition from indigenous village draft labour to free-wage labour as a phenomenon accompanied by wage increases. Some reductions in 1793–94 may have been likely, but less can be said about wages deflated by prices, say in the construction of *real* wages.

Castleman's work opens the way for new research in the spirit of those classic studies made for the United States by Albert Fishlow (*American Railroads and the Transformation of the Antebellum Economy*, Cambridge, 1965), and by Robert W. Fogel, ('Railroads as an Analogy of the Space Effort: Some Economic Aspects', in B. Mazlish, *Space Programme: An Exploration in Historical Analogy*, Cambridge, 1965). For Mexico, we do have essays devoted to the nineteenth century, like those by John H. Coatsworth (*Growth Against Development: The Economic Impact of Railroads in Porfirian Mexico*, DeKalb, 1981), by Sandra Kuntz and Paolo Riguzzi (*Ferrocarriles y vida económica en México, 1850–1950. Del surgimiento tardío al decaimiento precoz*, Mexico, 1996), and by Aurora Gómez-Galvarriato ('Industrial Development under Institutional Frailty,' *Revista de Historia Económica*, 1999), where the latter assesses the effects of poor transportation on the textile industry in the nineteenth century. But research is still missing, and thus required for the eighteenth century.

Castleman's contribution also reminds us that subjects belonged to either the 'república de yndios' or the 'república de españoles', entities that coexisted in time and space. Identifying individuals in colonial Mexico had fiscal, juridical and military purposes. Was colonial Mexican society ordered by state or by class? The reader is invited to form his own opinion on the topic while visiting marriage, family, social class and occupational structure, in addition to Mexican colonial elites. Castleman writes: 'However the true nature of colonialism may someday come to be understood, there can be no doubt that it contains negotiated processes of power arrangements.'

UANL, ITESM and SEDEC CARLOS ALEJANDRO PONZIO

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06401048

Raymond B. Craib, *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. xviii + 300, £65.00, £16.50 pb.

One of the most important tasks Porfirio Díaz set himself, B. Traven wrote, was to cook up statistics. Díaz was not alone in fabricating such stately knowledge; Avila Camacho's Agriculture Secretary 'knew how to make such marvellous, eloquent statistics that the hungriest, after reading them, would be full up and burping chicken'. Yet politicians also sought reliable data on their populations and territory only to be undermined by the routine fictions of subordinates and citizens, and when national elites reported on their provinces they sometimes

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

seemed the last in a long line of Mexicans playing Chinese whispers. Mexican statebuilders' perennial struggles with what Laurence Whitehead defines as 'cognitive capacity' – the 'sustained organization to collect, process, analyse and deliver the types of information about society needed for a modern state to monitor and interpret the impact of its measures' – crop up regularly in both contemporary and scholarly accounts. No single prior work, however, has systematically focused on the modern state's travails in getting to know its own territory. Raymond Craib, in piecing together a wide-ranging and eclectic study of Mexico's map-makers from the 1830s to the present, has given students of Latin America just that.

Craib's analysis is not couched in precisely these terms. He has instead drawn on recent work in cultural geography and broader traditions of postmodernism to present his research in a theoretical framework which stresses the political construction of meaning and domination through mapping. At its centre are the practices of power by which the state's agents – national leaders, governors, *prefectos*, army officers and their half-brothers the surveyors – pushed the conversion of locally-meaningful, highly autonomous places into value-neutral, centrally-controlled spaces. Cartographic projects were, in his *double entendre*, 'state fixations': repeated attempts to fix the land as 'a stable, visible, and readable stage' that were, his psychoanalytical resonance implies, obsessive to the point of irrationality. Nit-pickers might object that the reasons Craib gives for this obsessiveness – the establishment of secure national borders, the strengthening of a tottery national identity, the domination of unruly provinces and the commodification of land – are highly rational, and that a basic cognitive capacity is as central to state existence as is the more commonly cited legitimate monopoly of violence. The compelling symbolic and pragmatic motivation for mapping was repeatedly thwarted in implementation, however, by what Craib defines as fugitive landscapes, 'lands characterised by multiple political jurisdictions and use rights, indeterminate borders and inconsistent place names, and highly contextualised systems of tenure and property'. The upshot is a story of patchwork, flawed and contested government surveys that Craib concludes with the symbolically (and fiscally) potent failure of the de la Madrid government to formulate a reliable rural property register.

It should be clear that Craib has chosen a vast and richly original theme to explore (cartographic puns will be kept to a minimum). His approach eschews the generalisations of a national or institutional overview in favour of a mosaic of thematic case studies centring on research from a single state, Veracruz. The first of these considers Mexico's thirty year search for a national map, which culminated in the 1858 publication of Antonio García Cubas' *Carta General de la República Mexicana*. This constituted, Craib argues convincingly, a defining moment in the invention of Mexico, a sleight of hand by which an emerging and uncertain nation-state was portrayed as natural, inevitable and long in existence. (He is less convincing in considering the semiotic intent of the mapmakers, interpreting a small decorative mountainscape on the *Carta General*'s border as a deliberate invitation to follow in Cortés' footsteps in a 'symbolic reconquest' of Mexico, and deeming the map 'as much biography as geography'.) In successive chapters the analysis comes down to earth in various regions of Veracruz and becomes – among many other things – an excellent fusion of village studies and institutional history. Chapters two and three contain thick descriptions of the Porfirian state's attempts to survey municipal borders and privatise communal lands, primarily in the central and northern cantons of Xalapa, Orizaba, Misantla, Papantla and Jalacingo. Chapters four and five trace

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the principal cartographic institution of the Porfiriato, the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, to its base in Xalapa to consider its grandiose aims, penurious funding, and half-hidden identity as an informal military intelligence agency. Having detailed the evolving activities of the surveyors – an alternative Who's Who of Porfirian high society – Craib returns to local societies' uses of maps, tracing a conflict over water rights to demonstrate how such disputes fuelled the production of more authoritative maps and the concomitant extension of federal authority itself. The final chapter revisits some of the villages introduced earlier to examine the complex local mechanisms of revolutionary land reform, its agents' bureaucratic biodiversity and their statebuilding logic, expressed in a systematic preference for land grants in *dotación* rather than *restitución*. Eventually, having weighed up the successes of state penetration and rationalisation against the endurance of provincial resistance, Craib's epilogue suggests that he finds the latter more impressive.

Mosaics can end up as collections of fragments; this one is more than the sum of its parts. Craib's adventurous choice of overlapping essays provides greater range and empirical incisiveness than a conventional institutional history. His analysis is subtle, imaginative and persuasive, rooted – fittingly enough for a history of cartography – in an evocative sense of local geographies. It is fluently written, the rhetoric powerful if occasionally overdone (archaeologists, for example, may be upset to find that their profession has 'fetid breath'). Most importantly, this is a study that significantly contributes to our understanding of modern Mexico on multiple fronts. It supports the recent work of Emilio Kourí in substantially revising traditional narratives of Porfirian land privatisation. It constitutes a lonely work of what might be called – if it existed – new bureaucratic history, detailing the narrative of several cartographic institutions, the well-connected, entrepreneurial types who staffed them and the countrymen they dealt with. In tracing the role of the geographers in codifying and representing national identity it fills a clear lacuna in studies of Mexican nationalism. Raymond Craib's book is, finally, an inspired sideways glance at the mechanisms, successes and failures of state formation in modern Mexico; a superficially cultural history with serious political ramifications.

Institute of Historical Research PAUL GILLINGHAM

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06411044

Luis Medina Peña, *Invención del sistema político mexicano: forma de gobierno y governabilidad en México en el siglo XIX* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004), pp. 415, pb.

Luis Medina Peña's study of the political institutions that were created in nineteenth-century Mexico and the beleaguered existence they endured is a welcome contribution to the historiography. The tension that prevailed between the utopian formulations encapsulated in the constitutions of the period, and that reality which found expression in the population's resilient and non-compliant political customs and traditions, is one of the great themes of nineteenth-century Mexican politics. It is also the main concern of Medina Peña's analysis. In this author's terms, his study focuses on the struggle or conflict that surfaced between the political *regime* that was forged and the political *system* that developed alongside it. By *regime* Medina Peña understands formal laws, official rules, the institutionalised forms of power. By *system* he interprets informal laws, culture, customs, traditions.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

In Medina Peña's view the constitutions' main weakness and the detrimental effect they had on society were due to their propensity to start with ideals rather than with a clear understanding of the population's level of education and needs. The failure of the political class to consolidate a long-lasting and stable political form of government originated in their inability to forge a political *regime* that worked with the political *system* that already existed. Order and stability were only successfully established once the political class finally understood that it was the *system* that mattered, not the *regime*. Therefore, it was in the latter half of the nineteenth century that there was a drive to make the government work by relying on the existing *system* rather than on an idealistic yet impracticable *regime*. With Porfirio Díaz, Medina Peña argues that, what was given prominence was the back-stage dealings that became an accepted part of the *system*'s supra-constitutional nature. Governance was possible when those involved respected the unwritten code of conduct that emerged with time and which respected the country's political culture and customs. When the political class attempted to ensure the *system* conformed with the *regime*, conceived in abstract terms with no grounds in the political culture it was aimed for, they failed. The ultimate success of the 1917 Constitution was consequently due to the fact that, at last and for the first time, the *regime* that was created was made to conform with the *system*, and not the other way round.

Medina Peña develops this argument by concentrating on the emergent nation's constitutional experiments, the country's federalist tradition, and by analysing the actions of the *dramatis personae* involved. In the first two chapters he discusses how the division of powers was handled in the 1824, 1836 and 1857 Constitutions. The manner in which the legislative branch of government was empowered at the expense of the executive resulted in a *regime* that was inevitably weak and incapable of quick responses or actions. The figure of the president was given little room to manoeuvre, becoming in essence the mere 'executor' of congress's policies. The justification for weakening the executive branch stemmed from an understandable fear of despotism. Nevertheless, in a period of penury, foreign interventions, and repeated civil unrest, it proved disastrous to have presidents who could only respond to the country's emergencies by adopting extra-constitutional powers that, in turn, demonstrated that the Republic's magna cartas were inadequate.

In chapter three, Medina Peña explores the federalist tradition in Mexico and how this added an additional layer of conflict to the state-building process. Whilst at a national level, the first constitutions sought to limit the power of the executive, at a regional level the local elite strove to limit that of the national government. Thus, whilst the 1824, 1836 and 1857 charters, regardless of whether they were federalist or centralist, weakened the government by curtailing the sphere of influence of the executive, the provinces destabilised the practices of governance by attempting to create their own autonomous *regimes*. The fundamental change, effected in 1857, which would pave the way for the first major shift in the elite's political thinking towards a rediscovered respect of the country's *system*, was its empowering of the state governors who became responsible for the country's electoral machine. Porfirio Díaz's understanding of the governors' importance and the way he included them in his project accounts here for his government's stability, and represents one of the most salient examples of how the *system* rather than the *regime* was what gave his term in power longevity and resilience.

Chapters four and five are dedicated to looking more closely at the events themselves and how the main political actors and institutions responded to, or

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

participated in them between 1824 and 1857. Chapter six studies Porfirio Díaz's comparatively successful creation of a political *system* that worked. However, it also highlights how this *system*, by becoming increasingly personalist and detached from the legitimately established *regime*, was ultimately responsible for its own undoing. In other words, according to the author's thesis, whilst the instability of the greater part of the nineteenth century was the result of a *regime* that did not respect its *system*, Díaz's fall was due to his *system* not having formulated a *regime* that could perpetuate its personalist nature. The final chapter concentrates on the Mexican revolution and the *regime* and *system* that came about in the wake of the 1917 Constitution. It is here that Medina Peña finds synthesis and resolution, with a constitution he believes did aim to forge a *regime* that was based on the Republic's political *system*.

There are only two criticisms I would like to make of the present volume. The first is that Medina Peña pays scant attention to the 1843 Constitution, the *Bases Orgánicas*. This is a shame, since this was the one nineteenth-century constitution that did attempt precisely to forge a *regime* that respected the nature of the *system* that was in place. The other criticism is historiographical. There were some striking omissions in the secondary sources Medina Peña consulted. To name but a few, there is no mention of Timothy E. Anna's recent work on federalism; or Richard Warren's studies on elections; or Anne Staples and Brian Connaughton's research into the church or Staples' work on education. Don Stevens, Silvestre Villegas Revueltas and Torcuato Di Tella's studies on political factions were not taken into consideration either. Had the author been acquainted with the work of these scholars, and engaged with their findings, his own interpretation would have been even more compelling and satisfying.

Notwithstanding these last two points of concern, this remains a very valuable addition to the historiography. It represents a worthy contribution to the work of that growing number of historians who have made the study of Mexico's political customs, constitutions, and institutions, a starting point for deciphering the difficult nineteenth-century state-building process.

University of St Andrews WILL FOWLER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06421040

David G. LaFrance, *Revolution in Mexico's Heartland: Politics, War, and State Building in Puebla, 1913–1920* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2003), pp. xxv + 305, $65.00, hb.

David LaFrance is becoming the leading historian on the Revolution in Puebla, the central Mexican state that despite its strategic location and economic and political importance had previously lacked sustained historical analysis of the period between 1910 and 1940. Of course, local historians have written about the topic, but no one prior to LaFrance has made such a systematic and disciplined effort as LaFrance. Now working in the often volatile public university of Puebla, LaFrance is persistently working his way through the archives and newspapers of the period. In 1989 he published a study on *Maderismo* in Puebla (1908–1913), and with the publication of his most recent book, he concentrates on *Huertismo* (1913–1914), the civil war (1914–1917) and on *Carrancismo* (1917–1920). At the moment, he is working on the extremely unstable 1920s. When this trilogy is completed,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

LaFrance's work will stand for many years to come as the obligatory point of reference for anyone interested in the revolutionary process in Puebla.

Revolution in Mexico's Heartland is a book that follows the chronological order of events, but the material is further arranged along three thematic axes: politics, war, and social and economic policy. LaFrance's extensive work in archives has produced an immense wealth of material, that, if not ordered in a systematic fashion, would have plunged the reader in a sea of actors, factions, struggles, shifting alliances, changes of policies, military operations and the like. The reader would then probably have drowned. Thus, the author uses three perspectives: he divides the seven year period under scrutiny into three parts, he pays systematic attention to developments in the state's different sub-regions (basically the Sierra, Puebla City, the south, the east and the volcano region) and, finally, he looks at major political, military and social actors, including the urban working classes, the business community, the local caciques, the Church and, of course, the different revolutionary groups. Every now and then the author makes short references to similar or contrasting developments elsewhere in Mexico, but the historiographical details overwhelmingly deal with Puebla only, which sometimes makes for arduous reading.

In terms of historical narrative, the book basically tells the story of a process that went from the most violent period of the revolution to one of (piecemeal) reconstruction, the restoration of order, state building and political centralisation. LaFrance convincingly shows that picking up the pieces of revolutionary disintegration and violence, that created widespread suspicion and unpredictability among the region's citizenry, and turning them into a manageable state of affairs was an extremely difficult and laborious process. The economy was in shambles, with no reliable currency, a deficient transportation network, persistent problems of food supplies and schools closed during prolonged periods. LaFrance studies the immense problems policy makers faced to resolve these problems, mostly with limited results. In the realm of politics, the situation was perhaps worse: malfunctioning or even nonexistent governmental institutions, such as the judiciary, lack of fiscal resources, poor popular support, overt rivalries between the executive and the state legislature and between civil and military leaders, and, more importantly, between the governor and local authorities, many of them dominated by ambitious generals, caciques or *agrarista* leaders. As a result, the regime that emerged from the violence can, according to LaFrance, hardly be seen as having accomplished 'a revolution in a holistic sense': 'Some groups and individuals rebelled with goals for overall change, but they were few, and in the end the structures they modified were numbered' (p. 212). This conclusion pits LaFrance against Knight's view of the revolution as a genuine grassroots movement that restructured existing political and socio-economic arrangements. LaFrance is also critical of the relevance for Puebla of the views of scholars such as Hart (the revolution as nationalist mobilisation) and Katz (the impact of great powers).

Instead, the overarching idea about the revolution in this book is that of the desire for local autonomy. Time and again the author emphasises the resistance of Poblanos to diverse forms of external imposition, especially by northern *Carrancistas*. Although much of LaFrance's evidence sustains this argument, he stretches the issue of autonomy to such a degree that almost all forms of opposition fall into this category. For example, when discussing the frustration of rural and urban lower classes with Madero's failure to redress socio-economic problems, he suggests that Madero misread this 'broader socio-economic meaning of local autonomy' (p. xviii).

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Hence, projects of socio-economic reform and, equally, rivalries about political and economic power and decision-making all become subsumed in the broad category of local autonomy. This conception runs the risk of obscuring rather than clarifying the complexity of the processes and positions involved in the crucial period between 1913 and 1920. Moreover, LaFrance starts his analysis with a premise that seems difficult to maintain, namely that after 1940 local and state structures have been absorbed into a 'monolithic national political apparatus'. Many studies about regional politics have, however, argued that the image of a monolithic and imposing national state is inadequate or, at least, exaggerated. Nevertheless, I value this book highly and hope that LaFrance will carry on with his enterprise for many years to come.

Utrecht University WIL PANSTERS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06431047

Romana Falcón (coord.), *Culturas de pobreza y resistencia: estudios de marginados, proscritos y descontentos. México, 1804–1910* (México, DF: El Colegio de México with Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, 2005), pp. 358, pb.

This is an innovative and thought-provoking book that through different narratives, strategies, analytical categories and modes of argumentation, succeeds in presenting a multidimensional social history of subordinate groups in Mexico from the late colonial period to the first decade of the twentieth century. The volume not only documents the lives, creativity, aspirations and discontents of hitherto neglected majorities – both urban and rural –, but also combines empirical analysis with theoretical arguments that enrich the study of power, resistance, negotiation, modernity and ethnicity in modern Mexico. Drawing upon James Scott's analysis of peasant resistance, the importance of establishing a fruitful dialogue between archives and theory as set forth by Ranajit Guha, and embracing the challenge of writing a social and cultural history that is not divorced from power and the political advanced by Gilbert M. Joseph and others, the volume begins with an introductory chapter by Romana Falcón that reviews some centrally important themes and currents in the recent historiography of power and resistance.

Falcón discusses the theoretical controversies related to the contested meanings of resistance, state formation, historical research, historical memory, politics (both collective and personal) and the transformations and meanings relative to the administration of justice, with the voices of subordinate peoples in an effort to render visible the constraints, struggles and negotiations between the powerful and the powerless in modern Mexico. According to Falcón the book has three central objectives: to document and discuss the permanent and quotidian negotiations between those with power and the marginal sectors of society; to capture the textures, struggles and aspirations of everyday life in subaltern communities, as well as to contribute to an ongoing dialogue between empirical historical research and social theory. The authors of the book – most of them postgraduate history students from El Colegio de México who worked under Falcón's leadership in a research seminar during 2001 and 2002 – examine with great detail and through richly documented studies the hidden transcripts and strategies of the marginal sectors of urban and rural society.

The book is divided into two parts. The essays in the first part of the volume address the negotiations of control and resistance in urban environments during

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the course of the nineteenth century. Scrutinising an array of primary and secondary documentation, the authors examine the multiple and imaginative responses and strategies of artisans, *jornaleros* and 'vagrants' to 'vagrant laws' in Mexico City and Querétaro (Araya Espinoza and Pérez Munguía); the strategies of social control, resistance and popular culture – as an issue of power and a problem of politics – in the capital city during a time of crisis: the United States occupation of 1847–1848 (Cosamalón Aguilar and Ortiz Díaz), as well as the cultural resistance to the modernising ideals, laws and practices of the Porfirio Díaz regime in Mexico City – when an intolerance towards *pulquerías*, popular culture and entertainment was salient (Barbosa Cruz).

In the second part of the volume, seven essays uncover the everyday 'weapons of the weak' in rural Mexico, when many communities reacted, struggled and rebelled against the social, economic and cultural implications of the transformation of corporate landholdings during the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, the modes of resistance to land seizures in Oaxaca, Querétaro and Yucatán are thoroughly examined (Mendoza García, Marino, Ortiz Yam and Gutiérrez Grageda), revealing that the means that many rural dwellers employed to preserve their possessions, communal identities and traditions involved not only violence, but also negotiation and a fluid exchange of proposals and ideas between officials and the popular classes. Furthermore, the essays explore the everyday life of rural communities during times of relative peace, such as the responses of the inhabitants of Chihuahua to the 1907–1908 economic crisis (Lopes), and the quotidian resistance of slaves in Córdoba, Veracruz during the late colonial period (Camba Ludlow).

The volume's achievements are multiple. It is sensitive to the textures of everyday life in urban and rural Mexico's nineteenth century; it embraces the challenge of writing a social and cultural history that is not divorced from power and the political, and represents a welcome Mexican contribution to the new tendencies of Latin American historiography whose concern with epistemological and methodological problems are highly salient. Furthermore, the book offers valuable insights into the lives and struggles of Mexico's neglected majorities. As Romana Falcón claims: 'En fin, el afán de esta obra colectiva es abrir veredas que permitan acercarnos a la historia pequeña de los personajes humildes y muchas veces anónimos de las barriadas, vecindades, pulquerías, trapiches, pueblos y comunidades mexicanas haciendo uso de un instrumental teórico y metodológico' (p. 39).

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J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06441043

Susie S. Porter, *Working Women in Mexico City: Public Discourses and Material Conditions, 1879–1931* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2003), pp. xxv + 250, $50.00, hb.

With lively and detailed descriptions of the travails and challenges of working-class women from the Porfiriato through the post-revolutionary period, this book contributes to the growing literatures on the history of women and of Mexico City. Porter examines the articulation between constructions of working women's honour, sexuality, and skills and the material conditions of their labour, demonstrating that working women's wages, job opportunities and space to demand rights

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

depended critically upon debates over propriety and sexual morality in the workplace.

Porter's most vibrant and engaging accounts come from Porfirian-era materials revealing labour conditions and confrontations during a period of rapid industrialisation and accompanying social dislocation. Her evocative descriptions of Mexico City's markets, for example, bring to life their sights, smells and sounds as well as the experiences of market women within them. She also uncovers compelling evidence about the ways that changing practices of sexuality and gender roles provoked anxieties, especially among urban elites and government officials. Biting interventions by prominent intellectuals set in relief the gender trouble precipitated by women's rapid entrance into workplaces and public deliberations. Many of these attitudes persisted during and after the revolution. During the 1916 general strike in Mexico City, Venustiano Carranza reportedly described women strikers as 'weak and morally compromised', telling them that they had 'sold themselves like a bunch of whores' (p. 108). A 1934 elaboration of the Federal Labour Law specified with regard to compensation for workplace injuries that a man who lost a testicle would receive ninety per cent of his salary, while a woman who lost a breast would only receive ten to twenty per cent of her already reduced wages (p. 185). Labour inspectors during the 1920s often wrote 'mujer' as the job description for the lowest-paid job in a factory (p. 45). Porter also documents more pedestrian forms of sexism, arguing convincingly that 'seamstresses did not sew in sweatshops because they learned to sew from their mothers, but because they were not allowed to be shoemakers, steelworkers, bakers or printers' (p. 4).

Porter demonstrates the persistence of many of the attitudes and strategies on the part not only of elites but also of working women themselves to engage, control, challenge, and subvert the terms of debate over women's honour and sexuality, but at times she seems ambivalent about the impact of her own argument. Although she offers convincing evidence that the post-revolutionary regime irreversibly shifted the discourse around workingwomen from one dominated by sexual morality to one dominated by labour rights, she rejects the revolution as a 'pivotal moment' (p. xix), positing instead a neo-revisionist argument that the revolution as a discursive act had less impact on working women's lives than industrialisation as a material reality. In addition to the problems of this dichotomisation, her evidence weighs disproportionately on the pre-revolutionary end of her timeframe, diminishing claims for a credible comparative argument. This question may boil down to gauging continuity (of efforts to define women's sexual morality) versus change (in working women's opportunities to claim labour rights), but Porter's evidence points to a more radical shift than she acknowledges.

Indeed, Porter's conceptual framework – centring on debates over the Habermasian conception of civil society and the public sphere – short-changes her study a bit. The book's engagement with this literature distracts from the timely and compelling contributions that she makes to labour history, joining scholars such as Heidi Tinsman and Ann Farnsworth-Alvear in pushing labour historians to take honour and sexuality into account. Also, labour and feminist historians will no doubt raise questions about subjectivity formation around the identity of the *obrera.* Porter's study considers together seamstresses, cigarette workers and street vendors and explicitly excludes both paid and unpaid domestic labour – the most common forms of women's work. However, the extent to which these diverse women shared

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a conception of this identity and whether it existed as more than an episodic appropriation at politically suitable moments remains unclear.

Porter's argument leans heavily on official census data, which she recognises as a notoriously unreliable gauge of women's workforce participation, especially for assessing the activities of semi-legal street vendors. Also, this study often leaves us guessing about the treatment of working women vis-à-vis the treatment of working men. We learn, for example, that the Department of Labour generated little documentation about women during the height of revolutionary conflict (1913–16), but we do not learn whether documentation of men's working conditions also declined during this tumultuous period or whether women's labour issues gained new space elsewhere (p. 173). Similarly, it would be interesting to know whether public-sanitation campaigns targeting food vendors treated men and women differently or simply disproportionately affected women for their greater presence in that sector. To further her discursive analysis, Porter frequently includes lengthy quotations that call for a more elaborate explication of their context within larger debates. Her citational practice reflects an unfortunate trend in academic publishing of eliminating all information pertaining to the documents' context. Archival citations include only an archive's name and a document's file number. In some instances, Porter entirely eliminates citations. In an intriguing discussion of a dispute around whether working women would be forced to carry pass-books (*libretas*), for example, she omits the citation for an article in the conservative daily *El Monitor Republicano*, which apparently sparked the debate. Since discursive analysis assumes a central place in Porter's methodology, these citational decisions cause some frustration.

Those reservations aside, this book stands as an important addition to our knowledge of working women's experiences in turn-of-the-century Mexico City. It includes provocative new information (such as surprising instances of seamstresses' employers threatening to undercut their wages by seeking lower labour costs in the United States) and offers compelling evidence about the ways in which cultural constructions of gender and sexuality shaped the material realities of Mexico City's working women.

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J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X0645104X

Julie D. Shayne, *The Revolution Question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), pp. xii + 210, $23.95, pb.

There are some issues that, no matter how often you try to leave them behind, constantly resurface and force you to interrogate them anew. For me that issue has been how practical gender needs relate to strategic gender needs. While this is not the question that Julie D. Shayne asks in *The Revolution Question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba*, her findings provide useful data for revisiting this debate theories. She asks, instead, a question that has been asked innumerable times since the Algerian revolution left women in the dust. What do women do for revolutions and how do revolutions relate to women's rights or feminism?

Shayne proposes two concepts, *gendered revolutionary bridges* and *revolutionary feminism*, through which she attempts to answer these questions. By gendered revolutionary bridges, she refers to the roles that women play in mediating the distance between

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

revolutionary forces and civilian populations. Here, I will focus on her other explanatory concept: that of revolutionary feminism. This Shayne defines as 'a grassroots movement that is both pluralist and autonomous … [that] seeks to challenge sexism as inseparable from larger political structures not explicitly perceived to be patriarchal in nature, but from the perspective of feminists, entirely bound to the oppression of women' (p. 9).

Shayne identifies five factors that are necessary for the emergence of revolutionary feminism: first, a large number of women must assume roles or activities that challenge gender norms during the course of their involvement in the revolutionary movement; second, revolutionary women must obtain training that enables them to take leadership roles; third, there must be a ' political opportunity structure' that enables women to participate; fourth, a degree of 'incompleteness' must characterise the revolutionary process, in that it has not resolved women's demands; and, fifth, a feminist consciousness must have developed among women. She explores these factors for El Salvador, Chile and Cuba during the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods.

The trio of case studies Shayne uses is admittedly 'eclectic'.

But Shayne argues that the case of Chile serves as a 'theoretical bridge' between the other two cases, claiming that because Chile had a 'militant' if not armed revolution and, because, in historical terms, it occurred between the Cuban and Salvadorean revolutions, that a consideration of the Chilean case can illuminate 'how the passage of time affects sociopolitical events' (pp. 10–11). While these arguments are not particular compelling in methodological terms, her choice of these three countries does highlight the question of how the fulfilment of practical needs relate to women's organising.

A comparison of the three cases does allow us to consider the question of why feminist movements emerge in some contexts but not in others. In both Cuba and Chile, the women's movements were coopted, to a degree, by the state and political parties. In Chile, the National Women's Service (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer or SERNAM) recruited women who had been active in the Allende government and who later opposed Pinochet. The Cuban Women's Federation (Federación de Mujeres Cubanas or FMC) was the branch of the Cuban Communist Party that addressed women's issues.

In developing the concept of revolutionary feminism, Shayne's work displays two methodological weaknesses. The first is the classic problem of using an inductive method; that is, the temptation to try and fit one's data into one's general hypothesis. For instance, what counts as revolution in Chile does not seem to count in Cuba. Why, for example, is Chilean women's participation in Allende's government counted as 'training', while only participation in the armed component of Cuba's revolution is taken account of when considering this factor for Cuba? In other words, does Chile really stand up as a case of revolutionary feminism, according to Shayne's terms.

The other weakness is that Shayne's methodology relies primarily on interviews with women who occupied leadership positions in the revolutionary movements she discusses. While she argues that this allowed her to 'understand two simultaneous political histories (revolution and feminism)' (p. 12), Her analysis of the situation in El Salvador, the case with which I am most familiar, suggest that she needs to look beyond the leaders' claims. For instance she discusses the work of the *Asociación de Madres Demandantes* (AMD) and cites an interview with Vilma Vásquez, one of the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X06261042 Published online by Cambridge University Press

co-founders of the organisation. Space does not permit me to discuss either the brilliant strategies that Vásquez and the other leaders of the AMD used to change the national discourse and laws surrounding child support, nor to describe the internal struggles that destroyed the organisation, which resulted in the prosecution of those same leaders for embezzlement. But when Shayne writes that the AMD eschewed the hierarchical structures that had characterised the left and cites claims that the organisation sought to empower the women who were seeking child support rather than paternalistically solving their problems for them, one can see the limitations of relying on a methodology based exclusively on interviews with the leaders of an organisation or movement. The fact that ideals expressed by Vásquez were far from realised and that the contradictions arising from that tension were undermining the work of the organisation would have probably become evident if more of the grass-roots members of the AMD had been interviewed. My suspicion is that the same may be true in both Chile and Cuba, especially in terms of Shayne's report of claims that SERNAM strengthened the women's movement in Chile.

My final complaint is one that could also be levelled against many of the works dealing with the Latin American women's movement. The important role of lesbians in these movements is unacknowledged and made invisible. While the *Colectivo de Media Luna* of El Salvador is mentioned once, lesbianism is not considered in the discussion of revolutionary feminism.

Shayne's interview data provides richly detailed accounts of the struggles of feminists in the leadership of the FMLN, the Cuban Communist Party and the UP, examining their role – in the case of Chile – in the post-Pinochet era. Her research effectively situates her interviewees within broader political processes and contexts. This book challenges the assumption that the satisfaction of practical needs will necessarily lead the way to a struggle for women's strategic interests and suggests that this paradigm may need to be visited again.

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