

Reviews

Mary W. Eubanks, *Corn in Clay: Maize Paleoethnobotany in Pre-Columbian Art* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1999), pp. xvi + 249
£42.50, \$49.95 hb.

In this book, Mary Eubanks presents a corpus of Moche and Zapotec pottery in which maize is represented in relief. Moche and Zapotec potters made moulds by impressing clay round real ears of maize and incorporated the mould-made ears into the design of the pot. She argues that races of maize are distinct and, when shrinkage of the clay is taken into account, the clay versions can be identified on the basis of specific criteria that include measurements of kernel width and thickness, ear shape and row number. Since the distribution of maize races is localised, she considers that the moulded clay ears have a good potential for demonstrating that cultural contact occurred between the two areas. Zapotec pottery from Oaxaca, Mesoamerica, and Moche pottery from northern coastal Peru come from two widely separated regions, but she observes that their chronology is roughly similar.

Chapter two, entitled ‘Moche effigy jars’, contains the corpus of Peruvian material examined by Eubanks. Most of the pots are effigy jars surrounded by moulded ears of maize with a face, often characterised by fanged teeth and large ear spools, depicted at the neck of the vessel. There are other types of pot in the inventory, including a few from other cultures and periods, such as the Chimú depictions of ‘baskets of maize’ on jars with a flaring neck.

The Zapotec urns in chapter three include excavated pieces from the site of Monte Albán. Most of the urns consist of a cylindrical vessel with an anthropomorphic or theriomorphic figure built onto the front of the vessel. The maize ears are incorporated into the headgear or on other parts of the body of the figure. Other urns do not have an attached figure and they are encircled by ears of maize.

Chapter four takes a closer look at methodological factors in order to assess the reliability of the identifications. On p. 163, Eubanks says that she identified sixteen maize races on 129 ceramics – fourteen races on seventy-two Peruvian ceramics and eight on fifty-six Mexican ceramics. Six races occurred on pottery from both the areas. By p. 185 and p. 201, the numerical results have changed; she says nineteen races were identified with sixteen races on the Peruvian ceramics and ten on the Mexican ones. She adds, ‘Eight of the same races appear on jars from both regions’ (p. 185). Presumably this apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that some of her identifications are to more than one race. For instance the measurements obtained from many of the Peruvian examples of moulded maize ears fit within the characteristics for ear length, diameter, row number and kernel characteristics in Pira maize from both Venezuela and Colombia as well as Nal Tel maize from Mexico. On p. 186, Eubanks says that she considered Nal Tel and Pira as ‘one and the same for the purposes of this study because they are

indistinguishable morphometrically and phenetically', but it is evident that she grouped together some other pairs with similar characteristics as well. In chapter five she discusses the implications of her identifications and the diffusion of races of maize between the two areas. Her study shows that the South American maize races of Confite Puntiagudo/Canguil, Oke, Karapampa and Puya were represented on Zapotec urns, and the Mesoamerican race of Chapalote on Peruvian jars. Observing that 'maize does not have a natural mechanism for seed dispersal and is therefore entirely dependent on humans for its survival' (pp. 199–200), she argues that people took these maizes from one area to the other before 00 AD.

Eubanks also uses stylistic evidence to support her case. She only found one example of a figure depicted with crossed-legs on a Moche vessel (fig. 40), but it is a common characteristic of Zapotec urn figures. Equally there is an example of a Zapotec pot with the vessel itself forming the body of the figure (fig. 107), a common feature of Moche pottery. *Corn in Clay* is a fascinating book for raising issues not only concerning the diffusion of maize, but also for highlighting implications for understanding stylistic variation in local traditions when cultural contact with another area can be demonstrated to have occurred from independent strands of evidence.

The book would have benefited from more careful editing. A comment on p. 116 directs the reader to a pectoral glyph in fig. 88, but the item in the photograph is fragmentary and does not have a pectoral glyph. On p. 177 it is claimed that Oke is depicted on figs. 21 and 22, but it is not. The reference to 'Z-16, fig. 94' on p. 178 should read 'fig. 95'. Figure 42 has an inaccurate caption. Another problem occurs on p. 177, where the Quebrada de Humahuaca in Argentina is erroneously mentioned as being at the 'southern boundary of the Inca Empire in pre-Columbian times'.

Eubanks accepts rather uncritically the more recent name Ai-apaec for the anthropomorphic personage on the Moche vessels on the grounds that the identification is 'conventional' (p. 30). It is not clear to me whose convention this is. For the sake of consistency she decided to impose the term 'Classic', which is used in Mesoamerican archaeology, on the Andean material as well, going against current practice. Whereas the Zapotec ceramics have rather more provenance data associated with them, most of the Moche ceramics she discusses lack such information. With few exceptions, the publications she consulted on the Moche tend to be rather dated. Recent excavations of Moche sites are producing a wealth of data, including examples of pots with moulded maize from secure archaeological contexts (e.g. San José de Moro). This new material should provide Eubanks with further information to refine her intriguing research on the evolution of maize and the role of cultural contact between different regions of the Americas in the process.

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PENNY DRANSART

Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. vii + 447, \$60.00.

While the social and cultural history of the indigenous peoples of the New World (especially in Mexico) after the Spanish conquest has been revolutionised in recent decades, less attention has been paid to advancing our knowledge of the

world created by Iberian immigrants and their creole descendants. The larger patterns of the story are already well known, including colonial politics, economy and religion, but as of yet we only have a vague understanding as to the values and mentalities that governed everyday creole life in the colonies. With *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, Ann Twinam breaks new ground by allowing the reader an intriguing glimpse into the world of colonial Latin American elites, their social behaviour, survival skills and anxious preoccupation with the concept of honour. With laborious archival research she has traced legitimation petitions from colonists to the King of Spain in the eighteenth century, as well as the fate of many of the petitioners as it is revealed in local archives. In her analysis, she successfully demonstrates the duality within elite circles between private and public persona, and the fascinating process by which an illegitimate might 'pass' as a person of honour among elite peers well aware of his or her private reality.

Twinam constructs her book by looking at the problem from two perspectives. First, she extracts from the documents what they tell us about the life course of the petitioners, as well as the typical social responses that they were likely to encounter from their peers. Second, she studies the bureaucratic process itself, providing a novel view of the evolution of Bourbon social policies. In the first half, she separates the lifecourse of her subjects into the periods of birth, infancy, childhood and adulthood. Within this framework, she demonstrates the complexities surrounding an illegitimate birth, the situation of the parents and the diverging implications for men and women, the importance of the child's baptismal classification as well as private and public recognition by the newborn's family circle. She skilfully sketches the sort of situations that illegitimate children and young adults might typically encounter, and their driven quest for honour and property as adult petitioners to the King. From the point of view of royal bureaucrats she traces their evolution from complete inertia in the first half of the century to increased efficiency, and the eventual usage of legitimation *cédulas* as tools for social reform in its last two decades.

Twinam handles her material with impeccable care and skill. She adorns her argumentative framework with fascinating anecdotal evidence, but reminds her readers that the nature of the sources does not allow for generalisation and overtheorising. At the same time, she uncovers tantalising trends and patterns in terms of gender, timing and geography. She demonstrates the complexities of the concept of honour among Latin American elites as it applied differently to men and women, and caused dilemmas for the descendants of illegitimates. While she successfully shows the restrictions that honour imposed within elite circles, she also accentuates its ambiguities as well as the creativity with which elites operated when it came to social 'passing'. Thus, Twinam argues that the loss of virginity before marriage or living in extended engagements or consensual unions by no means excluded elite women from acceptance within their social circle. While mothering illegitimate children could exclude them from future marriage, or damage the upward mobility of their children and relatives, their situation was considered a matter of conscience and not necessarily of honour. Combined with the knowledge that the rates of illegitimacy were generally higher in Latin America than in the North American colonies or in Europe, Twinam's findings thus portray a colonial world much more fluid, adaptable and accepting than one might have thought, and where the modern concepts of the *marianismo* and *machismo* of Latin American society simply do not apply. She also highlights the crisis this social system suffered in the late eighteenth century when colonial elites,

faced with pressure from Bourbon reformers on the one hand, and the upward social mobility of the castes on the other, began to discriminate against illegitimates who traditionally would have passed successfully.

Public Lives, Private Secrets provides an intriguing glimpse into the fundamental issues of sexuality, family and honour as they influenced the life histories of the Latin American legitimization petitioners and their families. Its broad scope extracts the common characteristics that shaped colonial life in Spanish America regardless of locality. With her sensitive analysis of this novel material Ann Twinam has produced a study that sets the standard for a dynamic future for the social and cultural history of Colonial Latin America. She deserves rounds of applause.

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ELLEN GUNNARSDÓTTIR

Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits; Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. ix + 307, £35.50, £12.95 pb, \$49.95, \$17.95 pb.

Following the groundbreaking efforts of Asunción Lavrin and Josefina Muriel, historians have begun, in the last two decades, to take an interest in conventual institutions for women in colonial Latin America. This interest has yielded the understanding that nunneries were not closed off depositories for elite women, untouched by the worldly milieu that surrounded them, but active and dynamic centres for the reproduction of the cultural world that had fostered them. The most sophisticated and thoughtful analysis to date of the process by which the fate of elite colonial society and its nunneries became intertwined is Kathryn Burns's work on convents in Colonial Cuzco. In her book *Colonial Habits; Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*, Burns traces the history of the city's nunneries from the Conquest to the National Period, from the point of view of their evolving relationship with the city's elite. In her analysis she coins what is bound to become a classic descriptive term for the process, that of the 'spiritual economy' signifying the 'inextricability' of the spiritual and economic exchanges between the convents and surrounding society.

Burns begins by analysing the foundation of the Santa Clara convent in early sixteenth century Cuzco, in the midst of the turmoil of Conquest, from the perspective of the politics of *mestizaje*. Cuzco's Spanish Conquerors founded the convent in order to enter their mestizo daughters there, thus breaking the bond with their Indian mothers and acculturating them to Spanish life. In turn, their daughters would ensure Spanish hegemony in the region by reproducing Catholic culture, either as wives and mothers or by their example as nuns. She continues by tracing the evolution of the spiritual economy of Cuzco through the colonial era, underpinned by the constant exchange of elite daughters and dowries in return for conventual credit in the form of loans to the region's entrepreneurs, and prayers for its benefactors. Neither party perceived contradictory implications in their actions; in Burns's words, 'such things were simply common sense'. The nuns also took part in perpetuating the colonial order of which they were a part by reproducing Spanish family life within their cloisters which they filled with a large female population of lay women, servants and slaves. From the height of its baroque splendour, Burns then demonstrates the decline of the spiritual

economy in the late eighteenth century as debt-weary elites, regional turmoil and secularising Bourbon reformers began to dismantle ecclesiastical mortmain; its complete breakdown then occurred during the Republican nineteenth century, as nuns withdrew into their empty cloisters and became peripheral to the social order.

Burns does an excellent job of connecting the convents of Cuzco to larger, well known events and processes, such as the turmoil and civil war that characterised the Spanish Conquest, the golden age of the Andean economy, as well as the agrarian revolts – most famously the Túpac Amaru rebellion – of the late eighteenth century. She also takes care to portray the Andean characteristics of her case by tackling the involvement of the convents with indigenous elites, both as credit institutions, but also as enforcers of the hierarchy that subjugated Andean elites to the Spanish by admitting Indian noblewomen only in the capacity of white veiled nuns or lay members. Indeed, one of the great merits of her work is her constant attention to the particularities of the uneasy cohabitation between Andeans and the Spanish.

Colonial Habits is meticulously researched and exquisitely written. Burns is one of the best prose writers working in the field today, and her story unfolds effortlessly and harmoniously. She pays attention to the sort of detail that expresses the mentality of an age better than pages of laborious analysis, and while she supports her economic arguments carefully she takes care to not hinder the flow of her narrative with heavy statistics. In her analysis, the logic, or ‘common sense’ of the connection between convents and their surrounding society becomes understandable to the reader, a difficult feat indeed, for the subject requires one to discard entirely the modern notions of religious enclosure and the separation between the material and the spiritual. It would have been interesting to gain an insight into the sort of spirituality that the convents fostered, but such sources are notoriously difficult to find, and clearly unavailable in this case. With her excellent book, Kathryn Burns has thrown the evolution of Peru’s Andean region into new relief, and produced a leading work within this emerging field.

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ELLEN GUNNARSDÓTTIR

Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1999), pp. xviii + 336, tables 4, ills. 123, \$49.95 hb.

Susan Niles’ study of the various building projects associated with the Inca Huayna Capac does much to flesh out our understanding of the last decades of the Inca Empire. It is only because the Spaniards arrived and cut short this chapter of Andean history that his reign and its architectural products have misleadingly come to be termed ‘Late Inca’: the grandiose schemes that Niles documents are better seen as the manifestations of a culture expanding in power and ambition rather than one in decline. Her main focus is on Huayna Capac’s projects in the Urubamba Valley which included rerouting a long stretch of the river, landscaping the valley floor into fertile irrigated terraces and constructing a palace with pleasure gardens, orchards and water features. For most people Inca architecture equates with the buildings commissioned, and in some cases perhaps

designed, by Huayna Capac's grandfather Pachacuti in and around Cusco: Coricancha, Pisac, Ollantaytambo, Machu Picchu. Niles argues that Huayna Capac's style of architecture can be distinguished from that of Pachacuti on a number of counts. There is an increased emphasis on symmetry about a central axis both in plan and elevation; building footprints and terraced fields alike tend to be rectangular or square, with precise 90° corners, rather than the more varied and irregular shapes of earlier work. In Pachacuti's architecture there is an apparent concern with blending architecture into its landscape setting – monuments were designed to mimic or grow out of the surrounding crags and contours – and buildings were also aligned to provide those inside with good views of the natural world beyond. Niles suggests that in Huayna Capac's time, and specifically in his Yucay estates, there was a shift in emphasis. As well as being more geometric, less organic in form, the later architecture tended to be more inward looking, facing on to internal courtyards and other buildings rather than outwards. The agricultural terraces and pleasure gardens did provide broad vistas but only on to territory belonging to Huayna Capac himself. Niles argues that this was deliberate: it provided the Inca with a compelling visual metaphor for his own power while also enabling him or his delegates to supervise and control the agricultural workforce from a distance.

The discussion of Huayna Capac's architecture takes up the second half of the book. The earlier chapters are concerned with history, and in particular with the ways in which the Incas preserved the memory of people and events from the past. Niles carefully teases out fragments of Inca history from the sixteenth-century chronicles, identifying a range of devices – songs, poems, set speeches and rituals – by which history was passed on to the next generation. There is much fascinating material here, particularly concerning the *purucaya* rituals through which, following the death of an Inca, his successor both learned and celebrated the history of his ancestors while simultaneously preparing the ground for his own conversion to an ancestor. Among the techniques used was the evolution of a network of shrines, both natural and architectural, which served as mnemonics. The heir apparent would witness a celebration of the sacred and historical associations of the place and in some cases would favour the shrine, and so those charged with its maintenance, with gifts and endowments.

There is a certain disjuncture between the documentary and the architectural parts of the book that is not fully resolved by the material on the inscription of history on to the landscape. As the title states, it is about narrative *and* architecture. This is not really a criticism; it is a product of a richly interdisciplinary approach, and there is plenty that is useful and suggestive in both parts. It is also in the nature of the material. Huayna Capac's architecture has been little studied not just because much of it is in a poor state of repair but also because there are many gaps in our knowledge of the man and his reign. For a figure who was well-remembered by many of those who provided information to the early Spanish chroniclers this seems paradoxical, but Niles argues convincingly that because he died suddenly he had not the time to prepare his own official account of his reign. Moreover, during the civil war that followed neither Atahualpa nor Huascar was in a position to do so either. The sacred, symbolic or historical significance of Huayna Capac's various building projects cannot therefore be clarified by reference to the type of formal recitation that Niles investigates in relation to earlier rulers.

My only reservation concerns the opening pages where Niles embarks on some silly generalisations about history and truth suggesting that alphabetic history is truer than other forms of history, and that the Spanish chroniclers were seeking a unitary, true history of the Incas. This is repeatedly contradicted by her own research (she is well aware of the way Spanish chroniclers skewed Inca history to fit the current political agenda, for example) and would not merit comment if it were not already hard enough to get students to question the easy clichés of cultural superiority without having them confirmed in an otherwise thoroughly sound, scholarly book.

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VALERIE FRASER

Guerre et ethnogenèse mapuche dans le Chili colonial: l'invention du soi. By Guillaume Boccara. Foreword by Nathan Wachtel. (Paris: L'Harmattan Recherches Amériques Latines. 1998.) Photographs. Plates. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. 392 pp., 190.00FF pb.

The goal of this book is to demystify the legendary Mapuche resistance to the Incas and later to the Spaniards between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries and explain the process by which Mapuche identity is constructed. The book is of great historiographic significance. Guillaume Boccara explores the relationship between sociopolitical organisation, warfare, Mapuche ethnogenesis and colonial institutions of power, organisation and authority. He explains the mechanisms through which groups, identities and ethnicities are constituted and identifies the social, political and economic transformations experienced by the *Reche-Mapuche* of southern Chile during the colonial period. This book is exemplary in the way it combines anthropological and historical lenses and methodologies and is solidly grounded in documentary evidence. The author addresses the contemporary interest in practice theory and post-structuralism. Guillaume Boccara seeks to incorporate the actions, representations and strategies of social subjects in the construction of social models and focuses on dynamic historical processes. He uses socio-political and warfare mechanisms to shed light on indigenous resistance in the frontier zone, Spanish colonial expansion, colonial state functions, the process of mestizage and the creation of new historical subjects. The book is well written and a valuable contribution to historical anthropology, political anthropology and border studies.

Boccara offers a welcome new interpretation of the relationship between Mapuche socio-political organisation, warfare and identity, and challenges the traditional notion that the Mapuche had a segmentary lineage organisation. In fact, he states that in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the indigenous people of southern Chile did not identify themselves as Mapuche at all, but as *Reche* or 'authentic people'. These *Reche* were organised in small, disperse endogamous kin and allied groups with different levels of integration and differentiation where the power of *ulmen* or lineage heads was context specific. The *lebo* was the autonomous social-political unit where judicial and political decisions were made, disputes resolved and ceremonies performed. The *lebo* and its ceremonial space, the *rebue*, served as the basis for *Reche* socio-political order and social identity. Warfare was central to the material and symbolic production and reproduction of the *lebo* as a socio-political community and larger alliances for warfare – such as the *ayllarebue* and the *futamapu* – were sporadic and circumstantial.

The author explores *Reche* notions of warfare as a way of grasping difference and constructing self through exocannibalism, Recheisation of captives, identification with the 'Other' before war and assimilation. He makes a good case for homology between the head, heart and bones of the human body and leadership, decisions and voice of the social body. He stresses the importance of the warrior ideal, war trophies, captives and goods in the struggle for prestige, and he explores the relationship between political and spiritual forms of authority in warfare.

Boccara is superb in mapping the complex process of Mapuche ethnogenesis in the eighteenth century associated with the concentration and unification of power, authority and wealth. The *lebo* and the *rebue* lost their political autonomy and were unified in macro-regional socio-political organisations such as the *ayllarebue* and the *futamapu* that became permanent. *Apoulmen* headed these macro-regional socio-political units and held legislative/judicial power over the *lebos*. They became wealthy through cattle herding, raiding and commerce, used slaves and incorporated the horse. *Apoulmen* met and resolved conflicts with Spanish authorities and enemy Indians in parliaments. These parliaments transformed traditional political way in which the Reche-Mapuche viewed and organised their socio-political space. As this process of unification and concentration of power intensified, political-economic interests replaced the warrior ideal.

The book points out an important relationship between Mapuche ethnogenesis and ethnification. Boccara argues that Reche-Mapuche resistance allowed them to survive as a group but was also the vector of a profound transculturation that expressed itself in a new form of social organisation and identity. It was largely because the indigenous people of southern Chile incorporated Spanish notions of unification and concentration of power, created political heads and indigenous leaders and used parliaments as a form of socio-political and spatial organisation that they were able to flourish under eighteenth century colonial rule, acquire a new macro-regional Mapuche ethnic identity and, in turn, reinforce their capacity to resist the Spaniards. Boccara argues convincingly that Mapuche identity is created both by a process of ethnogenesis, due to specific socio-historical circumstances, and a process of ethnification, due to the effect the colonial state had on indigenous cognitive structures and economic and socio-political organisation. This process of cultural production intensified when inter-indigenous warfare came to an end at the beginning of the nineteenth century; macro-regional units became the Mapuche 'Self' and stood in opposition to the non-Mapuche or *huinca* 'Other'.

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ANA MARIELLA BACIGALUPO

Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status; Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), pp. xi + 151, £38.00, £18.00 pb, \$40.00, \$18.95 pb.

This brief book compares the Spanish colonial classification of Native American peoples in the Cochabamba region of Bolivia and in the Northwestern frontier of New Spain (not all of Spanish America, as suggested by the title). No reason is given as to why these two regions were chosen for comparison, but they were both sites of original historical research by the author. Jackson found important

differences in the patterns of classification in the two regions. In the former Indians were needed as producers of both food and of wealth (mainly mining) and as a source of tribute for the crown. It was therefore important that they should be carefully separated from the emerging Mestizo population. In this way a caste system evolved differentiating Spanish, criollos, Mestizos and a generic category of Indians. In northwestern Mexico Native Americans had little economic value, the Mestizo did not evolve out of a changing Indian population, but was, according to Jackson, derived from ‘predominantly nonlocal indigenous groups’ (p. 110). While not entirely clear, the latter probably refers to the Indian-derived Mestizos from Central Mexico. What is important in Jackson’s argument is that no caste system appeared, and apparently no clear generic ‘Indian’ category.

Jackson’s findings illustrate the differences in Spanish treatment of what anthropologists used to contrast as the ‘high cultures’ of Mesoamerica and the Andes, and the surrounding areas of societies that had not developed extensive hierarchical systems. The former were based on intensive agriculture and as such provided populations accustomed to directed labour, whereas the peoples in the surrounding societies were accustomed to more lineage and family-based labour systems. For the Spanish empire the former were the major source of wealth, whereas the latter more often presented problems than rewards.

The study depends heavily on parish records for tracing the use and change of terminology and labels used to discriminate among various sectors of the population. Of particular interest in both areas is the degree to which a welter of racial terms were used over extended periods, terms that had often had no clear ethnic significance. Parish priests resorted to their own particular concepts and categories, often with different terms being applied to given individuals. Indeed, Jackson concludes that in Bolivia, ‘Racial identity in parish registers, parish censuses, and tribute records, however, obscures social and cultural realities’ (p. 51). More than twenty different terms were recorded as used by priests in northwestern Mexico at the end of the eighteenth for discriminating among local peoples.

The analytical aspects of the study are sadly marred by a confusing use of conceptual categories that left the present writer unsure of the intellectual intent of the work. At the outset, Jackson states that his interest is in the ‘creation of identity and legal statuses used to facilitate colonial domination ...’ (p. 3). Specifically, he writes about the ‘creation of racial identity in parish registers’ (p. 51). Throughout the work ‘identity’ is constantly employed as something that the Spanish ‘create’ ‘establish’, or ‘impose’ with respect to the indigenous population. The present writer is totally unfamiliar with such a usage. ‘Identity’ usually refers to a self-definition or self-image, not an image or category imposed by outsiders – in this case the Spanish. The Spanish did try to create socio-ethnic categories, in some cases ‘legal states’, but whether and where these were adopted as or part of the identities of the Native Americans is a very different issue and was clearly by no means on a one-to-one basis.

Although Jackson refers to ‘ethnically homogenous’ populations and to ‘distinct indigenous ethnic groups’, it is nowhere possible to find out what he means by the term ‘ethnic’. (It appears in the index in only one instance, ‘ethnic conflict’.) Given the haphazard use of this term by social scientists, it is important to know what he means. This failure poses real problems because he refers in a number of instances to ‘pseudo-ethnic’ categories (pp. 61, 75, 81–2) and in one

case refers to ‘pseudo-ethnic identities’ (p. 95). While confused, this suggests that Jackson recognises that not all his so-called ‘identities’ have any reality to the people so labelled. But which of the many ‘racial’ or ‘identity’ terms he digs out of the church records he might differentiate as ‘ethnic’ as opposed to ‘pseudo-ethnic’, or how he might propose to do it, totally escaped the present reviewer. At one point (p. 25) he proposes that, ‘The ethnic diversity in Valle Bajo [Bolivia] contributed to demographic instability’, but one is left to guess what is meant. (What is demographic instability?)

Jackson’s material can be of considerable interest to specialists in these areas, and his findings conform to received knowledge. The basic Indian societies were extraordinarily different, and the Spanish also had different goals in the two regions. Unfortunately his analyses may leave some readers as confused as it did the present reviewer.

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Vincent C. Peloso, *Peasants on Plantations: Subaltern Strategies of Labor and Resistance in the Pisco Valley, Peru* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. xxi + 251, £34.00, £11.95 pb, \$49.95, \$17.95 pb.

In *Peasants on Plantations* Vincent Peloso presents a detailed and compelling analysis of the evolution of labour arrangements on Hacienda Palto, a cotton estate located in the lower Pisco Valley of Peru’s southern coast, from the end of Chinese indenture (1874) until World War II. Peloso brings these historical materials to bear on two inter-related questions of general significance. On the one hand, he seeks to challenge what he characterises as the stereotypical view that dominates thinking about plantations and plantation labour: ‘Landowners are seen as forever in control and the campesinos by turns submissive and explosive’ (p. 6). On the other hand, Peloso seeks to ‘illuminate how the interactions of peasants, managers, and landowners formed plantation society and, in turn, Peruvian culture’ (p. 14). Peloso is particularly concerned with the ‘nature and extent of peasant ... resistance to landowner dominance ... and ... how the peasants helped to define the culture, and by extension the nation’ (p. 16).

Peloso devotes the bulk of *Peasants on Plantations* to material that sheds a critical light on stereotypical views of plantation life. According to such views, ‘landowners governed the process of production ... [and] held [peasants captive] through debt, soothing their anguish with benevolence. Periodic spontaneous rebellions ... unleash[ed] reprisals by the landowners, one more vicious than the next, in a cycle that has grimly repeated itself without end’ (p. 6). In countering this image, Peloso uses the evolution of labour relations as a window into the changing balance of class forces in the countryside, documenting how first one class and then the other gained the advantage. He is also careful to analyse the broader economic and political conditions that formed the context in which plantation owners and labourers engaged in their unequal struggle over the conditions of peasant life and labour. In explaining the appearance of particular labour arrangements, Peloso puts special emphasis on the issue of labour scarcity. He argues convincingly that ‘in periods of agricultural growth, population decline, and labour scarcity, farmhands found field conditions attractive,

and ... sought out labour on the big estates' (p. 6). In periods of high population growth and plentiful labour, however, labourers were at a disadvantage. 'Wages fell, sharecropping became disadvantageous, and campesinos usually suffered inversely with the vigor of agrarian markets' (p. 6).

Peloso is very adept at showing how changing conditions of labour supply, credit and market demand structured the range of options available to peasants and landlords alike. He is equally insightful in demonstrating how the agency of rural cultivators was a key factor in the formation of plantation society. Indeed, Peloso provides an innovative analysis of *enganche*, wage labour, credit and tenant contracts, showing that institutions that are often seen as instruments of landlord power could become tools of resistance in the hands of plantation labourers. Beyond their manipulation of these institutions, Peloso shows, peasants' ability to act rather than be acted upon stemmed from labour's mobility. If pushed too far, rural cultivators could (and did) simply abandon the plantation, leaving the landowner without a work force.

Peloso's 'subversive' analysis of rural institutions like *enganche*, along with his demonstration of the centrality of peasants to the growth of the plantation sector, offer strong support for the second main contention of *Peasants on Plantations*. 'The peasantry,' asserts Peloso, 'was critically involved in the formation of Peruvian culture from the mid nineteenth century at least until World War II' (p. 154). Peloso argues that the paired concepts of hegemony and resistance provide the key to understanding the role of peasants in the formation of Peruvian society. Although it was the never-fully-realised hegemonic project of the plantation owners that created the space within which peasants resisted, rural cultivators were fully capable of mobilising the institutions of rural society's dominant sectors to pursue their own goals. Peloso argues that the rental contracts that peasants entered into with landlords in order to gain access to land were a particularly valuable tool in resisting elite domination. Contracts defined a realm of mutually agreed peasant rights and landlord obligations (as well as landlord rights and peasant obligations) that both parties were compelled to treat publicly as legitimate. Because the contracts were (in theory) binding to peasant and landlord alike, deviations from the terms of these contracts could be challenged by rural cultivators. Contracts were thus empowering to the peasantry, and not only because they set limits to the exactions of the elite. Contracts also defined the terms in which contestation could legitimately be carried out. The contract, Peloso argues, was 'the greatest symbol of the space between dominance and hegemony' (p. 167).

Although *Peasants on Plantations* advances a compelling, empirically grounded analysis of the evolution of plantation labour arrangements, the author is not always successful in linking his empirical material to theoretical concerns. Peloso's discussion of hegemony and resistance, for example, would be much more effective if he were to engage the debates on these concepts in more depth. Indeed, at times Peloso writes as if the inability of the planter class to establish hegemony in the plantations were revealed by the planters' failure 'to convince the cotton field hands that [the planters] were in control' (p. 17), by the planters' inability 'to gain the willing submission of the tenants' (p. 165). Similarly, Peloso's argument that plantation tenant farmers are 'peasants' would be much more convincing if he were to engage more fully with the influential literature on agrarian society that distinguishes different types of rural cultivators (tenant

farmers and peasants among them), and seeks to understand the economic, social and political behaviour of each according to the structural relationship in which each type is embedded.

These points aside, *Peasants on Plantations* is a significant addition to the scholarship on plantation society in turn-of-the-century Latin America. Peloso succeeds admirably in deconstructing stereotypical images of plantations, and in showing the central contribution of subaltern groups to the emergence of modern Peru.

Colby College

DAVID NUGENT

Janet L. Finn, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata* (Berkeley, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1998), pp. xviii + 309, £35.00, £12.95 pb; \$45.00, \$16.95 pb.

Students of the history and sociology of copper mining in Chile can now feast on a veritable banquet of delights in the nearly simultaneous publication of Thomas M. Klubock's *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1998) which examines Chile's largest underground copper operation, and Janet Finn's *Tracing the Veins*, addressing Chile's largest open-pit mine. While both monographs devote their most astute analysis to the issue of how class and gender shape community (and how the community that is formed in turn recasts class and gender), Finn's book takes the further step of bringing together the two main hubs of the Anaconda Company's holdings, in Butte, Montana, and Chuquicamata, in the desert north of Chile. In doing so, the author forces us to think about the central methodological issue of comparative analysis, an issue which one traditionally approaches by asking, 'How are these two areas different?' For Finn, the question is how the two areas are *connected*.

Yet connecting Butte and Chuquicamata ('Chuqui') also produces a set of problems, from basic questions of research (a native of Butte, Finn has a palpable familiarity with its history as well as enviable access to its personal stories; she can count on none of these advantages in Chile), to the difficult task of determining how her story will be narrated. Any early awkwardness as one flips between the two towns quickly gives way to a sense of fascination as the reader explores not just how corporate decisions shape each area differently, but the different ways in which the company and its workers *imagine* their disparate communities. Is it any coincidence that the company allows a 1967–8 strike in Butte to drag out for nine months with devastating impact on the lives of the miners at the same time that production in Chuquicamata peaks? Or that the Butte strike is finally settled on March 30, 1968, one day before the labour contract expires in Chuqui?

Finn splendidly follows these connections into the lives of the miners. To the extent that the company tried to construct a feeling of community pride and partnership in Butte in the postwar years, the miners of Chuquicamata become threats, not allies. By 1959, Chuqui was producing five-times more ore than Butte. By 1971, the socialist government of Salvador Allende had nationalised Chuqui's mines, ultimately leading to the downfall of Anaconda and the closure of Butte's mines in 1983. As one Butte labour leader observed with all

seriousness, 'You know, the worst thing that ever happened to the Anaconda Company was when those Mexicans in Chile got educated' (p. 84).

The author records the ways in which these communities are connected – not through an analysis of the structures of production (and questions of class consciousness), but rather through an analysis of the structures of consumption and an examination of the ways in which community is both constructed and consumed (both figuratively and literally) by the mines. Mining is remarkably dangerous and polluting work. Between 1961 and 1973 more than half a million disabling injuries occurred in mines in the United States, nearly twice as many as occurred among US soldiers in the Vietnam War. Butte, described by one resident as a 'mouth full of broken teeth' (p. 205) must somehow clean up a vast pit containing 28 billion gallons of toxic water.

Mining consumes its workers at their labours, the working women who face the tensions and ragged emotions of such an uncertain life and must somehow bind family and community together during strikes, and towns themselves as pits expanded. Finn notes the ironies of company health policies that forever warn 'their' workers about the risks of illicit sexual behaviour and yet ignore silicosis.

There are, however, some limitations to Finn's consumption-oriented approach as it can overlook or disregard important features of the broader political and historical context in which the mining communities operate. Most problematical in this regard is the author's very rapid analysis of the Allende years (1970–1973), a time of turmoil in the mines as well as the larger society. Finn equates the story of Berta, an Allende supporter who later criticised the government for food shortages, with that of Mary Lou, a Butte woman who organised against Anaconda for denying striking miners medical attention at a community hospital. While the story nicely illustrates the way in which 'women crafted new forms of political action' (p. 168) it ignores the fact that in one case the culprit was a corporation and in the other it was the first government elected in Chile which attempted to legislate in the name of the working class. While many problems were of its own devising, others (including food shortages) were determined by its powerful domestic and international opponents.

Nevertheless, Finn's study is a fine addition to the literature and an absorbing text for all interested in questions of community, agency and the ways in which local and global concerns can be brought together in a unitary political perspective. Anaconda had little problem imagining globalisation; certainly the workers in the communities it has left behind (and in many others) can imagine their own future connections in a positive light.

Oberlin College

STEVEN VOLK

Linda Green, *Fear as a Way of Life – Mayan Widows in Rural Guatemala* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. xvii + 229, \$20.00 pb.

Judith Zur, *Violent Memories – Mayan War Widows in Guatemala* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), pp. xiii + 338, \$75.00 hb.

Fear As a Way of Life – Mayan Widows in Rural Guatemala and *Violent Memories – Mayan War Widows in Guatemala* are perhaps best read in tandem with *Between Two Armies in the Ixil Towns of Guatemala* by David Stoll, published in

1993. Though published at the end of the 1990s, *Fear as a Way of Life* and *Violent Memories* are for the most part based on fieldwork conducted in Guatemala from 1988 to 1990, as is Stoll's 1993 book on the Ixil area. Collectively, these three works point to the strengths and limitations of gender-based research (whether explicit or ambiguous) as well as the significant and differentiated impact war has on communities and researchers alike. Based on ethnography in Kaqchikel (Green), K'iche' (Zur), and Ixil (Stoll) communities, the projects also call attention to the need to recognise regional and gender specificities of lived experiences within larger structures of violence.

Each of these three anthropologists seeks to chronicle her/his respective community of study before, during and after La Violencia. While Green and Zur explicitly explore La Violencia and theories of violence through the memories and lives of Maya war widows, Stoll's observations are largely based on the Civil Patrol experience of Ixil-Maya men. In this way, Green and Zur's works can be read as challenges to the gendered patroller perspectives offered in *Between Two Armies* and also as complements to a work in which women's voices are largely absent. While Stoll's work descriptively focuses on masculinised public space, Green and Zur move with fluidity from the limited public space of Maya women to the creative private space of Maya war widows – ultimately revealing more about private and public male/female power relations despite (or because of) their consciously gendered focus on widows.

Perhaps reflecting their own experiences as women conducting research with the most vulnerable members of highly militarised communities (the widows), both Green and Zur chose the use of pseudonyms. While I recognise the need for pseudonyms for individuals, I question the validity of disguising the communities in which they worked for several reasons. First, both Green and Zur admit that the communities in which they worked are easily identifiable to informed researchers and others familiar with Guatemala. This is especially true of Zur's research site where a public (and much publicised) exhumation took place in 1992 at the request of local widows.

Second, both Zur and Green had regular contact with the military bases in the area where they worked. Zur visited the local army base every three months with the hope of 'circumventing any problems'. Further, she eventually disclosed to the army that she was studying the impact of La Violencia (p. 7). Green complained to the local comandante about threatening behaviour of local patrollers. 'A few days later, the comandante and several soldiers arrived in the village, called a community-wide meeting, and instructed everyone to cooperate with the gringa who was doing a study' (p. 76). Arguably, the army was and is well-aware of the location of Zur and Green's research sites and the use of pseudonyms for community names does not change that knowledge.

Still, re-reading the works of Green, Zur and Stoll, this issue of pseudonyms for communities raises not only the ethical responsibilities of anthropologists, but also the very real ways in which our research on violence marks us as individuals. As a male anthropologist, David Stoll had less access to the female-bounded space of women in general and widows in particular. In his research on the civil patrols, he developed relationships with patrollers. Regardless of the depth of his friendships, he had a measured sense of the boundaries between the bravado of patrollers' discourse and the reality of their acts of violence. Moreover, though Stoll's work is about the civil patrols, his research project consciously focused on

reconstruction rather than violence. Indeed, Stoll candidly wrote, 'Aside from the risks involved, I was fatigued by the subject of violence' (p. 13).

Working with widows whose husbands had met violent deaths following accusations of subversive activities, Green and Zur explicitly defined their projects as research on violence. By virtue of association with the widows (probably even more so than their gender), Green and Zur were marked both publicly and privately by widow vulnerability and fear of continued violence in a highly masculinised public space dominated by militarisation. Green writes that fear was the 'metanarrative' of her fieldwork and experiences with the widows (p. 56). She eloquently describes her decision to include her own experiences of fear and terror during her fieldwork. 'It soon became apparent to me that any understanding of the women's lives would include a journey into a state of fear where terror reigned and shaped the very nature of my interactions and relationships in Xe'caj' (p. 59). Zur sums up her own navigation of significant intimidation during her fieldwork: 'Perhaps denial rather than rational preparation saw me through such incidents' (p. 7).

Zur and Green explicitly aim to write against La Violencia. Despite similar thematic choices for their portrayals of widows including marriage, family, religion, weaving and household reproduction, there is much divergence between these two works. Based on broad ethnographic research and multiple interviews with widows, Green concluded that violence was 'in the social landscape'. Moreover, pointing to the thousands of clandestine cemeteries in Guatemala, she argued that violence and its memories were, in fact, also embedded 'within the geographical landscape' (p. 171). In contrast, Zur concluded that there '... were few reminders of the war dead in the social and physical landscape' (p. 164).

Notwithstanding the limitations of primarily focusing on five Maya widows and overemphasising the meaning of these testimonies as understood by a local 'expert' priest (whose understanding becomes the cornerstone of her inquiry), Zur advances her objective to write against violence in her ethnography. Still, her writing on the exhumation in 'Emol' is based on her conversations with community widows three years after her formal fieldwork and one year after the actual exhumation. Her descriptions of the widows' emotions and a 'major split' within the widows organisation during the exhumation are derived from the later observations of unnamed international observers (p. 289). Relying on this evidence, she concludes that the exhumation was a catalyst of community discord. This is a surprising conclusion given that community divisions predated the exhumation in 'Emol' and elsewhere. These divisions were themselves a product, by strategic design, of state terror applied to control communities by further dividing and exacerbating long-standing community antagonisms. While Zur acknowledges some pre-existing differentiation in K'iche' communities, she does so in her search to identify the moment when community cohesion was broken before La Violencia, during La Violencia and in its aftermath with the belief that this cohesion would have provided 'a stable cultural bedrock [for victims] to return to' (p. 48). But this type of search for such cohesion is bound to be elusive.

Linda Green contends that to understand La Violencia in Guatemala, it is imperative for investigators to explore the Guatemalan army's utilisation of 'cleavages, divisions, and animosities that have existed in, and between, some communities in the altiplano for centuries' (1999: 10). She offers a nuanced

analysis of the differentiated responses to La Violencia, ranging from individual and community opportunism to cooperation. While Zur views CONAVIGUA (a Maya widows group) as a site of fragmentation due to dissipating widow involvement following the exhumation in 'Emol', Green views the shifting local membership in 'Xe'caj' CONAVIGUA as responsive to the ebb and flow of local activism and military threats. Green identifies the pain and anguish inscribed on the bodies of the widows and the clandestine cemeteries as sites of transformative counterdiscourse and loci of local and national struggle. She reminds us that we cannot locate a precise moment or a clear catalyst dividing pristine community cohesion from internal fragmentation and differentiation. Despite their differences, Green and Zur make an important contribution to anthropological debates about the impact of La Violencia on rural Maya communities by introducing the voices of widows and insisting on the value of their words.

University of Notre Dame

VICTORIA SANFORD

Virginia Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998), pp xvi + 248, £21.50, £10.95 pb, \$30.00, \$14.95 pb.

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

In the rush to explain why millions of Latin Americans, particularly those from the popular classes, have converted from their native Catholicism to Pentecostalism, many scholars have ignored the historical context of the meteoric rise of charismatic Protestantism. *Protestantism in Guatemala* skilfully sets the historical stage upon which the drama of mass conversions to Pentecostal churches has been played out since the 1970s. Conducting her fieldwork in the early 1980s, prior to the boom in Latin American Pentecostal studies, Garrard-Burnett is more interested in explaining the failure of historic Protestantism to become a mass movement in Guatemala than in analysing the success of Pentecostalism. Given that at the middle of the twentieth century, after seven decades of evangelising in Guatemala some historic churches, such as the Presbyterian, could claim no more than one percent of the population as Protestant, the recent surging of Pentecostalism makes me wonder what the Protestant pioneers did wrong.

In a history that goes to great lengths to relate the story of Protestantism in Guatemala to the larger social and political context, Garrard-Burnett demonstrates

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

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

University of Houston

R. ANDREW CHESNUT

Lynn Horton, *Peasants in Arms. War and Peace in the Mountains of Nicaragua, 1979–1994* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Monographs in International Studies, Latin America Series Number 30, 1999), pp. xix + 372, \$26.00 pb.

This book explores the deeply contrasting perceptions of peasants in the municipality of Quilalí, situated in the Segovia mountains of northern Nicaragua, during the war between the Sandinista government and the Contra rebels in Nicaragua from 1980 to 1994. The origins of this research lie in the author's previous experience in an agricultural cooperative on Nicaragua's Pacific coast that strongly supported the FSLN during the Contra war.

Horton asks: what factors, structural, historical or cultural, contributed to different peasant experiences within the same nation during the same time period? She argues that most books analyse the US role in funding the Contra war but neglect the grassroots perspective of the peasants themselves, who made up the majority of the combatants. Although her book discusses in depth the introduction of capitalism into Quilalí as well as the impact of low intensity conflict (LIC), her work highlights cultural explanations for peasant opposition to the FSLN.

Resistance in Quilalí was in part a reaction to Sandinista policy but it was also a defense of pre-existing values which were community rather than class based. Peasant identity was built upon a common discourse which included respect for the *patrón*, strong and hierarchical family ties, religious values and a desire to own individual property. Thus, in Quilalí peasant consciousness was complex and contested. More affluent peasants (*finqueros*) fought with the Sandinistas and then became the local leaders of the Contra forces. Poorer peasants moved back and forth from one camp to the other.

Quilalí was not a traditional community of subsistence farmers, but a mix of large landholders, middle size *propietarios* and poor peasants. Moreover, Horton's analysis of the introduction of capitalism to Quilalí in the 1950's demonstrates that it did not force peasants into armed rebellion against the government. The relative availability of good land, the possibility of upward social mobility, the perceived beneficial continuation of patron-client relations and the political safety valve of the agricultural frontier resulted in a variety of responses to the rapid changes which capitalism brought to Quilalí. Despite Sandino's guerrilla war in these very mountains in the 1930s, the tradition of rebellion could not be sustained and capitalist changes did not deepen rebellious tendencies.

Horton's research adds an important cultural, geographic component to the other more dominant explanations for the Contra war, namely the failures of Sandinista policies (which cost them the support of middle peasants as well as large landowners) and the LIC of the Reagan administration, which steadfastly financed the Contra war during the 1980's. With regard to the former explanation, Horton does a fine job of showing the reader the small window of opportunity the Sandinistas had to introduce new agricultural policies before they lost support. First, they confiscated large land holdings and introduced state farms. But the FSLN was unprepared for land invasions by peasants who believed they were entitled to individual property. Furthermore, the initial confiscations lost them the support of large and middle landholders, who wanted a free market

economy. When state farms did not work, agricultural cooperatives were introduced with mixed results. By 1980 opposition formed in Quilalí and the following year the Reagan administration began to fund the former National Guardsmen.

It is the LIC and its pervasive influence, which needs more discussion. The Nicaraguan revolution was not a controlled experiment, and we cannot hold constant either of these causal variables, Sandinista policy or US policy, while Horton analyses cultural variables. Admittedly, there is great difficulty in measuring the impact of LIC policy at different points in time, but one wishes that Horton had done so. The conventional wisdom is that, as the Contra war deepened, the Sandinista government was compelled to devote more resources to the war effort and less to education and health care, thus eroding their base of support. Yet Horton might have considered at what point these northern, clientelistic peasants valued and then devalued the literacy campaigns, which Sandinista *militantes* and *non-militantes* acknowledged as personally beneficial? Greater attention to the interplay between structural and cultural variables would at times strengthen an excellent piece of research.

Horton presents a well researched and documented case study. She conducted over 100 specialised interviews with both Contra and Sandinista supporters from November 1992 through May 1993, with follow-up interviews done in September of 1994. To her credit she does not claim to generalise or make grandiose claims about how *all* peasants act and react to rapid social change. The book contributes to our understanding of the successes and failures of the Nicaraguan revolution, the origins of the Contra war and the complex motivations of the peasantry, which led them to rebel, to support or resist.

St. Lawrence University

LAURA NUZZI O'SHAUGHNESSY

Ruerd Ruben and Johan Bastiaensen (eds.), *Rural Development in Central America: Markets, Livelihoods and Local Governance* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000), pp. xiv + 252, £50 hb.

This book has an introductory chapter by the editors and twelve articles which were originally presented at the Annual Conference of the Association for European Research on Central America and the Caribbean (ASERCCA) held in 1997 in Portsmouth. Two-thirds of the chapters are on Nicaragua. The main theme of the book is the study of 'real markets' as experienced mainly by peasant farmers. Their various livelihood strategies particularly since the launch of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) during the 1980s with the shift to market liberalisation are analysed. The book has a coherent and balanced structure divided into four parts: examining the performance of agrarian commodity markets, the structure of rural land markets, rural financial markets and the dynamics of rural labour markets. Analysis of 'real markets', in contrast to 'abstract markets' of the predominant neo-classical economic textbook literature, involves an examination of different types of exchange relations within particular economic, social, political, institutional, cultural and historical settings. Missing markets and market failures arising from high transaction costs, lack of adequate information, insecure property rights, unequal power relations, and so

on, are common throughout the rural sector. All chapters succeed, to a greater or lesser extent, in demonstrating the usefulness of the 'real market' approach for our understanding of the variety and complexity of factors facing peasant farmers and rural labourers. They have to deal with a multiplicity of exchange relations in their struggle to secure their generally fragile livelihoods. While reading these chapters I was struck by the creative capacity of the rural poor who, despite their vulnerability and the many risks they face, reveal a quite extraordinary ability to construct survival strategies. While the odds are generally stacked against them they manage to exploit whatever minor opportunities this increasingly commodified and liberalised market offers them.

What also impressed me is the extent to which peasant farmers have become commodified and the enormous variety of commodity exchanges they nowadays engage in. It might well be that they have already done so for a long time, but it is likely that liberalisation and globalisation have contributed to this more intense and varied insertion of peasants in market exchanges as these have also multiplied and expanded. With regard to agrarian commodity markets I found Hazel Johnson's analysis on exchange relations, food security and maize markets in Honduras most enlightening. She makes a useful distinction between 'partially-proletarianized farmers' and 'pretty commodity producers' and suggests that 'cooperative ventures for mutual advantage' may be a way forward for at least some peasant maize producers. One of René Mendoza's surprising findings on the so-called 'fair trade' or 'alternative' commodity chain, which claims to benefit peasant farmers, is that it has been unable to shake off the hierarchical legacy in commodity chains. Furthermore, on the one hand a relatively larger proportion of total value added is appropriated by the developed countries in this 'solidarity' chain as compared to the traditional chain and, on the other hand, producers sell lower-quality coffee to it, diverting the best coffee to the traditional chain.

As for land markets, Hans van Heijningen's chapter on land transfers in El Salvador, resulting from the Chapultepec Peace Treaties of 1992, shows that reliance on markets for the redistribution of land rights is clearly an insufficient measure as the new land transfer programme failed to provide access to credit, technical assistance and organisational capabilities to beneficiaries. Instead of the expected 'repeasantization', it is more likely that 'reproletarianization' will be the outcome unless the State provides the above-mentioned services. This is unlikely to occur within the present neoliberal context. Ben D'Exelle and Johan Bastiaensen discuss the post-agrarian reform situation in Nicaragua and especially the parcellation of agrarian reform co-operatives. In Nicaragua the counter-agrarian reform has only marginally involved the direct 'legal' expulsion of beneficiaries from the land but takes place largely through the less visible and uncontested market process. In Chile the counter-agrarian reform has relied on both processes. Unfortunately the authors make no reference to this prime example of counter-reform in Latin America. However, the Chilean case fully validates their conclusion, that unless state economic and technical support is forthcoming many of the new peasant title holders resulting from the parcellation will slide into a semi-proletarian situation until accumulated debt or some other emergency forces them to sell their land. Thus, instead of labelling parcellation as a 'reform from below' that offers protection against possible counter-reforms (p. 11), it is more appropriate to refer to it as 'a market-assisted' counter-agrarian

reform, especially in situations of liberalisation and state withdrawal. Jos Vaessen, Orlando Cortés and Ruerd Ruben undertake in their chapter an analysis of the transformation of agrarian reform cooperatives in Nicaragua since liberalisation. They identify three distinct pathways of cooperative change on the basis of a unique data set covering an eight-year period. Their finding is that while decollectivisation is common, some cooperative relationships are often maintained so as to reduce risks arising from market failures and for other reasons.

The three chapters on labour markets provide an illuminating analysis of whether engagement of family household members in wage labour is a way to secure the survival of peasant farming and perhaps even repeasantisation through capitalisation or whether it is just a step towards full proletarianisation or depeasantisation. Although the authors do not refer to the important debate between *campesinistas* and *descampesinistas* which raged among scholars in Mexico during the 1970s and had repercussions throughout Latin American peasant studies, their researches provide a welcome empirical contribution to a debate which was often ideologically driven. In Ruerd Ruben's and Marrit van den Berg's view 'access to wage labour and non-agricultural activities are important elements for rural livelihood strategies that, far from disintegrating the family farm, could substantially contribute to the consolidation of viable farming units under conditions or market failure in land and capital markets' (p. 15). However, I wonder if this is the case for Honduras, which they analyse, because even in 1993 70 per cent of the income of farm households below 3.5 hectares came from off-farm and non-agricultural activities and only 30 per cent from farm activities. Giel Ton analyses the seasonal migration of smallholders from Nicaragua to Costa Rica to work as wage labourers on sugar and banana plantations. Wage earnings from migration represent about a third of the household income. An important proportion of this wage income is spent on agricultural inputs on the smallholding thereby allowing their survival as semi-proletarians. This proposition is similar to Alain de Janvry's classic 'functional dualism' thesis to which Ton makes no reference.

In conclusion, a major issue underlying the various contributions, and which in some chapters is addressed more explicitly, concerns the future viability of peasant farming. Whether some of the market relations that peasants engage with are viewed as securing their survival or whether they are interpreted as signalling their demise is an open question which only future developments and high quality research of the kind displayed by the contributors to this book can provide an answer to. (This issue is fully addressed in D. Bryceson, C. Kay and J. Mooij, (eds.), *Disappearing Peasantries? Rural Labour in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 2000). In the meantime I fully concur with the editor's sensible conclusion that market liberalisation will not bring about sustainable peasant household farming within the present institutional context. Instead of reducing the role of the state as advocated by neoliberal policy makers they call for a renewed state which is able to tackle the many failures and inequities of existing 'real markets'. What is required are: 'local and global initiatives for reinforcing peasants' political and entrepreneurial organizations, as well as efforts at building up social capital among the peasantry in order to improve their negotiating power *vis-à-vis* other rural agents and the state' (p. 17). If I had to choose a chapter to recommend to my students it would

be Ruben's and van der Berg's on farmers' selective participation in rural markets for it provides the clearest and most comprehensive analytical framework for the analysis of off-farm income that have come across to date.

Institute of Social Studies, The Hague

CRISTÓBAL KAY

Terry Rey, *Our Lady of Class Struggle: The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Haiti* (Lawrenceville, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1999), pp. x + 362, \$21.95

The indexes of books on the sociology of religion always carry a full range of references to Durkheim, Weber and Gramsci. This is no exception; but it adds a very strong dose of Bourdieu, a French sociologist, for good measure. Such a list of characters however, far from giving structure and direction to this study, seems to stand awkwardly in the way of a smooth reading of a complicated story. 'The whole theory of Bourdieu's work,' we read, 'may be interpreted as a materialist anthropology of the specific contribution that various forms of symbolic violence make to the reproduction and transformation of structures of domination.' It is a great pity that the reader has to wade through so much of this stuff before getting into the meat of this potentially important book.

It is equally frustrating to have to read a woefully inadequate, indeed often misleading, chapter that purports to set out an overview of Haitian history from its colonial days through to the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide at the hands of the USA in 1994. There is insufficient space to list the inaccuracies and omissions. Rey repeatedly refers to the Vodoun (sic) religion as 'the cement' which held the Haitian resistance to the French together. He never once mentions the Creole language, equally the product of those times and pressures, as another binding force for the struggle. He has no grasp of the complex religious picture during the time between independence and the eventual forging of a Concordat with the Vatican (1804–1860); much of his narrative is, quite simply, wrong. He rightly identifies an emerging opposition to Vodou (sic) on the part of the Roman Catholic Church but seems to know nothing about a cause célèbre, the Bizoton Affair, which saw a group of Haitian peasants found guilty of cannibalism and executed by a firing squad in 1863. His accounts of the different anti-Voodoo campaigns are eclectic: no mention of the great St James incident in the 1890s, for example; and no hint of the pro-Vichy fears on the part of the Breton hierarchy in the 1940s who viewed President Lescot's approach to American Oblate fathers as threatening their patriotism as well as their religious authority. And some of his dates are wrong: Aristide was elected president in 1990 (not 1989), Jean-Claude Duvalier left Haiti in 1986 (not 1984); Romaine la Prophétesse was active in 1791 (not 1991).

All this is a great pity since there is such a manifest need for informed analysis of Haitian popular religion. Rey undertook some four hundred interviews, travelled immense distances to attend religious festivals, made a significant effort to explore the mind of members of Haiti's elite as well as her rural (and urban) masses. The question he addresses is quite simple: what are the differences between the Marian devotion of the Haitian poor and that of the Haitian rich, and what explains these differences? But the analysis of the interviews he undertook in his attempt to answer this question is squeezed into a very small number of

pages towards the very end of the book. He concludes that the reverence for the Virgin on the part of Haiti's poor and elite alike serves to reinforce their respective world views. He is most helpful in disentangling the various cults of the Virgin and in explaining how the cult of the Assumption in a previous generation became tainted by those using it for political ends and was eventually replaced by the cult of Notre Dame du Perpetuel Secours. This latter tradition, yoked to miraculous appearances on Haitian soil, led (in 1942) to the proclamation of Mary in this role as the patron saint of Haiti.

Rey spends considerable time comparing (and contrasting) devotion to Mary with that offered to the Voodoo figure known as Erzili. His findings seem to indicate only a small degree of syncretistic overlap. The Virgin remains a kind of court of final appeal; she is above some of the worldly preoccupations that are the daily concern of Erzili. Members of Haiti's elite seemed resistant to any attempt to compare the two.

The book's bibliography shows some serious omissions. Rey draws significantly on Jean-Price Mars' *La vocation de l'élite*, for example, but does not list François Duvalier's important *Le problème des classes à travers l'histoire d'Haiti*. Indeed, he shows scant awareness of the indigenist movement at all, the writings of people like Louis Diaquoi, Lorimer Denis or Carl Brouard are never mentioned. Michael Dash has contributed significantly to the discussion of these writers but he makes no appearance either. Nor does David Nicholls' seminal work *From Dessalines to Duvalier* appear.

So this book does not quite pass muster. And yet I think anyone wanting to engage with the realities of popular religion in Haiti simply has to read it. There is so little else that attempts what Rey has worked so hard to offer us. For all its deficiencies, therefore, we remain profoundly in his debt.

Wesley's Chapel and Leysian Centre

LESLIE J. GRIFFITHS

Rubem Cesar Fernandes, Pierre Sanchis, Otavio Guilherme Velho, Leandro Picquet Carneiro, Cecilia Mariz and Clara Mafra, *Novo Nascimento: os Evangélicos em casa, na Igreja e na política* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 1998), pp. 263, R\$ 27.00, US \$13.50 pb.

Daniel Miguez, *Spiritual Bonfire in Argentina: confronting current theories with an ethnographic account of Pentecostal growth in a Buenos Aires suburb* (Amsterdam: CEDLA), pp. viii + 204, \$25.00 pb.

These two books both represent highly significant additions to the burgeoning corpus of research on the Pentecostal phenomenon, while at the same time enriching the approaches to its analysis. They raise serious issues concerning the ways in which such research and analysis is published and finds its way into the public domain, for we have here two excellent publications that will have a small circulation among the *cognoscenti*.

The book by Miguez bears all the marks of the doctoral dissertation from which it derives. It was written in English by a person whose mother tongue is not English, and has been published by an academic institution in the Netherlands which, for all its distinguished academic record, is unable to provide the marketing and – in this case most egregiously – the editing support which an

author needs. The result, especially in the early chapters, is a text littered with an embarrassingly large number of stylistic infelicities, orthographic mistakes and occasional malapropisms. Thus the author's invaluable research, arising from several years of fieldwork and doubtless painful drafting in a foreign language, will not reach the readership which it deserves. It is to be hoped that in due course he will have the opportunity to publish in a journal affording wider dissemination of his work. The book from ISER (Brazil's most prominent institution specialising in social science research on religion) raises different questions: it is the result of the largest and most detailed quantitative surveys ever undertaken of the evangelical phenomenon in Latin America, funded by international agencies such as the Ford Foundation and the World Council of Churches, but although it provides extremely useful results which are already widely quoted, the core of the book is written more in the format of a report of research findings than an analysis. This reader has the sense that the pressures on ISER, as on innumerable NGOs, to comply with the requirements of funding agencies, and also to maintain the flow of funding on which its survival depends, prevent its researchers from devoting the necessary time to analysis of data once they have complied with the agencies' requirements – which require 'reports' rather than more analytic academic documents.

Miguez's title is, perhaps unintentionally, ambiguous, yet its ambiguity well reflects his message. By using the word 'bonfire' he presumably intended to evoke the 'fire' metaphor common in books on this subject, but of course a bonfire is a fire designed to destroy – almost ritually – and so he might also be trying to evoke the destruction, if not of spiritual life, then of the theories evoked in his sub-title. Even if the intention is not quite so complicated, one message of the book is that we would do well to discard some quite widely and perhaps irreflexively accepted theories or generalisations.

For Miguez's originality lies as much in the methodological sphere as in any other. Unsurprisingly, work on evangelical religion has been based on evidence gathered among evangelicals, yet the generalisations in common circulation tend to portray the movement as a more or less inevitable consequence of structural changes in the environment. To be sure, some have drawn attention to the marketing skills of evangelicals, others, like David Martin, to the effect of a long-term trend in Western societies plus a reaction against a Catholicism which embodies the established social and political order. But behind all these there is an underlying assumption that the turn to evangelical Christianity is a response to apparently unending social crisis. This sort of conclusion would in principle require elaborate and expensive quantitative research to establish – for any particular set of conditions – why some people join and others do not. Kurt Bowen has gone into this issue somewhat in his book on Mexico, but Miguez is the first to deal with it in any ethnographic depth and he does so very insightfully by undermining the polarised image which social scientists – perhaps too heavily influenced by the evangelicals' own rhetoric – have constructed of the differences between Pentecostals and 'the rest'. (A similar pattern was observed among students of the Soviet Union who, however hostile they were to the object of their study, nonetheless were absorbed to some extent into the self-image of the system and thus unable to read the signs of its decay.)

In place of this polarised image Miguez proposes a much more nuanced range of variation, and furthermore shows how if one observes the range in different

spheres (or at different ‘levels’) – namely the ‘personal’, the ‘public’ and the more strictly religious – one can see that they do not necessarily move in harmony even in single individual cases: an individual may, for example, attend a local prayer group and find solace for her suffering, yet reject or avoid the more spectacular cures offered on the stage of the larger temple to which the prayer group is affiliated. This sensitivity to variation is related in turn to what he terms the many ‘contradictions’ – perhaps better rendered as ambiguities – of Pentecostalism as experienced by the individuals whose lives – so often marred by heart-rending misfortune – he has charted. He notes for example the circular reasoning whereby pastors can defend the curative powers of faith whether a sick person’s conditions improves or not, by blaming a ‘lack of faith’ on the person’s part. He also questions the potential of Pentecostalism to play a socio-political role by describing the uneasy political and social-welfare involvements of the Centro Cristiano – the Church at the centre of his study.

Miguez offers an excellent description of the institutional development of the Centro Cristiano, showing how important entrepreneurship, training and managerial skills have been to its growth. Indeed, although his case histories illustrate very well the ‘limits’ of the revolution announced with much brio by so many observers, this reviewer included, the irrefutable evidence of church growth contained in his institutional account, when combined with his somewhat down-to-earth approach to conversion, constitute quite strong evidence at least that Pentecostalism offers an outlet and an opportunity for entrepreneurial and social initiative.

The corpus of reliable information on Pentecostalism is further enriched by the research report of the Rio de Janeiro Instituto de Estudos Superiores da Religião (ISER). Based on a meticulously drawn and very large sample of ‘evangelicals’ in the Rio area, this book is centred around the conclusions of a survey of 1,500 *evangélicos* in Rio de Janeiro written by Rubem Cesar Fernandes, Leandro Picquet Carneiro, Cecilia Mariz and Clara Mafra. The research confirms some widely held views and casts serious doubt on others: the predominance of women is confirmed, as is the high rate of church attendance and of compliance with the obligation to donate regularly to the church, and also the close association between health and family crises and conversion. The churches also show an impressive ability to deliver the votes of their congregants to the preferred candidates of the leadership. On the other hand, we find surprisingly large numbers taking part in the election of pastors (contradicting some assumptions about authoritarianism), a widespread use of contraception, and more tolerance than one might expect with respect to homosexuals and unmarried mothers. But these results vary, especially when the Assemblies of God are contrasted with the high-profile and controversial neo-Pentecostal Universal Church, whose members are more right-wing in their votes, less participatory in church management, and less fertile.

The book also includes comments on the research by Pierre Sanchis and Otavio Velho, and the latter in particular raises questions about the survey method which bring us back to Miguez’ approach, for he remarks that the question remains whether various trends found among the sample are peculiar to the *evangélicos*, and to answer it one requires therefore a control group and an even larger sample, or else more qualitative field work. This suspicion receives further corroboration from Cecilia Mariz’ findings on the views of *evangélicos* on

abortion, as well as by those of Clara Mafra on their views about *machismo* and the like. In the midst of all this we encounter one finding which raises all sorts of questions, yet remains unexplored: whereas almost all evangelical men in the survey were married to evangelical women, the same could only be said about half the women. The finding may not mean what it seems to mean, but again brings out the complications involved in quantitative research on this subject.

Overall, it is the protean and mercurial character of the Pentecostal phenomenon which emerges forcefully from these books: although it is hard to pinpoint with any certainty the consequences and implications of the movement, and although the cultural changes they bring about may well be limited, it becomes ever clearer that these churches and their leaders and preachers are able to respond to a vast range of needs and pressures and to manage the growth of their organisations, and that their capacity to do so stands in sharp contrast to alternative offerings from political or religious or welfare-oriented organisations.

Cambridge University

DAVID LEHMANN

Lourdes Sola, *Idéias econômicas, decisões políticas: desenvolvimento, estabilidade e populismo* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo: FAPESP, 1998), pp. 17 + 449, R\$35 pb.

This book joins the debate over the origins of bureaucratic authoritarianism in Latin America. The author rejects explanations that attribute the emergence of BA regimes to common economic or ideological determinants. Instead, she traces the collapse of the democratic regime in Brazil to unique political constraints that undermined the capacity of policymakers to manage critical economic problems. The result was an economic crisis that contributed to the breakdown of democracy in 1964.

The author develops her argument through a case study of economic policymaking between 1945 and 1964. At the time debate on development was dominated by a group of well-educated and sophisticated technical experts who occupied influential posts within the state. Following Hélio Jaguaribe, Sola divides these *técnicos* into subgroups. While all supported development through rapid industrialisation, the 'cosmopolitans' were more open to foreign investment than the 'nationalists'. In addition, the 'structuralists' were more concerned with social reform and tolerated higher levels of inflation than the 'monetarists'. While she discusses all groups involved in policymaking, Sola is mainly concerned with the actions and ideas of the *técnicos estruturalistas* who combined strong nationalist sentiments with the techniques and doctrines developed by the Economic Commission on Latin America.

Sola focuses on the *técnicos estruturalistas* because she wishes to challenge Albert Hirschman's thesis refuting the argument linking the rise of authoritarianism to the 'exhaustion' of import substitution industrialisation and the subsequent demise of the cross-class coalition that had sustained previous democratic governments. Hirschman attributed authoritarianism to the flawed ideology and policies of the *técnicos estruturalistas*. Their commitment to social and economic reforms blinded them to real economic constraints (especially inflation and disequilibrium in the balance of payments) threatened growth.

Instead of managing these constraints, the *técnicos estruturalistas* continued to push their agenda of agrarian reform, radical nationalism and income redistribution. Their failure to stabilise the economy eventually led economic elites to abandon democratic rulers and join the coup coalition.

Sola challenges this argument by comparing the efforts to achieve monetary stabilisation in 1958–9 under the Plano de Estabilização Monetária (PEM) and in 1963 under the Three-Year Plan. Two well-known adherents of the cosmopolitan perspective, Roberto Campos and Lucas Lopes, led the PEM, while two prominent nationalists, Celso Furtado and Santiago Dantas, devised the Three-Year Plan. Despite their ideological differences, both groups were committed to achieving stabilisation with growth. They were mutually dedicated to reforming institutions and removing privileges that they regarded as impediments to growth and stability. Both faced similar limits on their power. Although largely insulated from the pressures of patronage politics, they were not immune to larger pressures associated with democratic institutions. In the context of weak parties and fragile coalitions, both cosmopolitans and *estruturalistas* were forced to abandon their respective stabilisation plans.

Sola maintains that the *técnicos estruturalistas* who advised Goulart were not the uncompromising, all-or-nothing radicals Hirschman portrays. Instead, they were politically savvy reformers, willing to introduce change incrementally. However, even gradual shifts required more political support than they could muster from the weak Goulart regime. In contrast to Hirschman, Sola contends that entrepreneurial elites withdrew their support out of fear that institutional reforms proposed by the *técnicos* would deprive them of their privileged economic position.

Sola's analysis provides a useful counterweight to works that find fault with the economic ideology of the *técnicos estruturalistas* but fail to consider the political constraints they faced. By refocusing our attention on the uncertain political context of economic policymaking during the 1950s and 1960s, this book adds an important dimension to our understanding democratic breakdown in Brazil. Her provocative views on the reasons for defection by economic elites, though not fully supported by her evidence, are both intriguing and plausible.

Despite these strengths, the book will frustrate some readers. The discussion frequently lacks focus. At times, the text descends into trivial arguments over facts or interpretations of little interest to the non-specialist. At other points, long digressions on certain economic policies, such as the debate over agrarian reform, unnecessarily divert attention from the core argument. The introduction of new hypotheses and arguments that seem unrelated to previous discussions undermine the overall coherence of the text. Finally, because the author presupposes extensive prior knowledge on the reader's part, she neither adequately summarises the arguments she engages nor fully defines many of the concepts guiding her analysis.

Many of the book's weaknesses stem from the decision to translate the original dissertation without revising or updating the text. Not only does the book read like an unrevised dissertation, it does not situate the author's analysis in relation to several excellent scholarly works on this period published since 1982. More importantly, the neoliberal critique of the strategy of ISI and the achievement of price stability under a democratic regime in the 1990s raise questions about the author's central thesis. Unfortunately, the author's failure to reevaluate the

original argument in light of more recent scholarship and events amounts to a missed opportunity. This limits the value of an otherwise useful addition to the scholarship on the political economy of contemporary Brazil.

Grinnell College

ELIZA WILLIS

Caren Addis, *Taking the Wheel—auto parts and the political economy of industrialization in Brazil* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. ix + 257.

This book makes an important contribution to understanding the industrialisation process in Brazil. Based on an analysis of the role of the auto-parts sector in shaping Brazil's auto-assembly industry, Caren Addis not only undertakes a broad-ranging data survey (including personal interviews with the players involved) but also challenges current interpretations of the implementation of a mass production system headed by the State. In fact, the results of this survey highlight the vital role played by small auto-parts producers in the industrialisation process, revealing the existence of hybrid forms that blend elements from various types of systems and production logics. Additionally, at the start, the Brazilian agencies (particularly the suppliers and State officials) intentionally skewed the mass production model in order to force foreign auto-assemblers to support local auto-parts companies.

Theoretically inspired by *The Second Industrial Divide*, by Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, Addis notes that what looks like industrialisation in fact consists of various industrialisation processes of different types and sizes – these are hybrid production processes that have been surprisingly successful in the sphere of exports. During the implementation period for Brazil's automobile industry (the 1950s), small businesses were ahead of their time with proposals to cooperate with the major international auto-assemblers, which to some extent was repeated through the Japanese production schemes. It is also noted that the language used does not follow the practice. While auto-assemblers, state officials and auto-parts companies use the phrase 'mass-production', the latter two were looking ahead to something very different from the systems prevailing in the industrialised countries. They wanted the relationships between suppliers and assemblers to be 'horizontal' or cooperative, rather than handled at arm's length. In terms of the relationships between companies and the state, apparently irrational decisions have not precluded development. The state assisted under-developed and under-qualified auto-parts businesses through market reservations. But although sheltered behind the barrier of protectionism, many businesses have used high domestic profits to invest in upgrade quality, helping them meet the demands of discerning export markets.

The purpose behind the implementation of Brazil's vehicles industry was to seek modernity, through an industrial concept deployed as a means of disseminating a more modern mind-set throughout the economy and society, believing that this would be the best alternative for leap-frogging development and catching up with the industrialised nations. According to this author, expert interpretations of industrialisation highlight the need for massive capital investments, with the process being guided by both state and major investors,

based on mass production terminology and concepts, with the need to leap-frog stages, demanding heavy investment.

Reviewing these common interpretations of industrialisation in Brazil, Addis's analysis shows that the production practices of Brazil's automobile industry were decisively shaped by the small auto-parts firms. Working in tandem with state officials, these companies drew up legislation that deliberately created hybrid practices instead of mass production, including relationships between assemblers and suppliers that were more cooperative than conflictive.

This book is rich in information on the various phases of the auto-parts industry and its changes over the years, with innovations that in fact appeared during its implementation period, from 1950 through 1964. According to Addis, 'the suppliers sought protection from international competition with legislation that prohibited imports of goods already produced in Brazil. Simultaneously, on the domestic front, they pursued organised markets and cooperative assembler-supplier relations by demanding protectionism and rigid local content laws and by hammering out understandings among firms that the supplier sector would be the domain of national firms' (p. 39). However, the author acknowledges that this process 'emerged as a result of negotiation, compromise, and contingency as the suppliers, assemblers, and state officials pursued their sometimes divergent visions' (p. 40).

As the implementation period drew to an end in the mid 1960s, assemblers began pressuring suppliers to increase quality, but often without the benefit of the long-term and single-source contracts that they had enjoyed during the implantation period. The military regime that took power in 1964 represented the 'final blow to hopes of state tutelage and the restoration of the assembler-supplier relations that existed during the implantation period' and a pro-foreign capital interpretation of economies of scale decisively won out over the horizontal (and also nationalist) variant espoused by auto parts firms (p. 108). By the 1970s, assemblers and suppliers had adopted strategies of vertical integration, and relations among them were often conflictual.

In conclusion, Addis stresses the need to interpret the role of the state, far from any structural logic of industrialisation. In the case of Brazil, she stresses the core role assigned to small players, the auto-parts firms, which were so influential in the automobile industry that, despite their deficiencies, the implantation was predicated on high levels of local content and protectionism for auto parts firms and built up practices that forced assemblers to nurture suppliers. This necessary review of the usual analysis reveals that 'state actions were not rational, not autonomous, and did not lead to mass production.' Hybrid practices in Brazil proved intentional and innovative strategies to hedge against uncertainty and market fluctuations, promote learning and meet the challenges of small volume production, and cannot be considered an unsuccessful example of mass production.

This book provides new empirical and theoretical elements to evaluate the various ways through which production systems operate within a context of economic restructuring. The quality of her work justifies attentive reading by all those interested in the history and development of industry in Latin America and the rest of the world.

Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

JOSÉ RICARDO RAMALHO

Anthony Hall (ed.), *Amazonia at the Crossroads: The Challenge of Sustainable Development* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2000), pp. vi + 257, £12.00, \$19.95 pb.

The heartening thesis of this timely book is that contemporary trends in Amazonian development provide reason to be cautiously optimistic. The claims here are modest and carefully modulated, but they nonetheless represent a significant departure from the tenor of much recent literature on the region – particularly from that apocalyptic popular narrative which has become so familiar in past decades.

This intelligent volume assembles papers from a conference held in June 1998 at the University of London. Organised by Anthony Hall and Michael Eden, the meeting brought together prominent figures with extensive policy and development experience in Amazonia in an attempt at stock-taking, at assessing changes in the region as a logic of sustainable development has moved to the centre of policy discourse. In his brief introduction, Hall argues that sustainability is slowly, unevenly, but appreciably being incorporated at all levels of Amazonian society. And, significantly, that it is becoming evident in the practices of the state, federal and international agencies that have been setting and implementing regional planning agendas. As he well knows, ‘sustainable development’ is a malleable and amorphous term, and many of the battles that continue to be waged in development circles are precisely over the content of such appealing rhetoric. One of the virtues of this collection, then, is that it goes some way to specifying how something that we might call sustainability is becoming evident in Amazonia.

The volume is divided into two sections: ‘Development as Extractivism’ and ‘Towards Sustainability?’ Broadly speaking, the first catalogues the persistence of familiar patterns of regional exploitation, the second offers signs of new life.

The outstanding chapters in the first part are those by Philip Fearnside and David Cleary. Fearnside, in a concise account of the dynamics of deforestation, effectively ties macro-economic conditions to regional environmental effects. This makes particularly interesting reading alongside Cleary’s subtle discussion of small-scale gold mining. In an engagingly-written analysis, Cleary points out that while the collapse in gold prices and the exhaustion of easily accessible alluvial gold has radically reduced the scale of this sector of the industry and of the environmental impacts with which it is associated, this decline is also likely to provoke an increase in deforestation as workers move out of mining and into logging. Papers by Wouter Veening and Jessica Groenendijk (on logging in the Guianas) and by Judith Kimerling (on oil exploration in Ecuador) are also helpful, broadening the geographical and disciplinary scope of the collection. Veening and Groenendijk, in particular, offer valuable information on a part of the region that has received little attention.

The second half of the volume begins with Hall’s thought-provoking overview of Brazilian environmental policy, and his recognition of a shift away from a longstanding and autocratic development paradigm towards something more participatory. Hall emphasises what he calls ‘productive conservation’, a mode that presupposes the active presence of people and economy in the landscape. Though his analysis is both pragmatic and optimistic, it does not attempt to deny the contradictory tendencies of current state and federal policy,

and in this respect provides a useful introduction to Dennis Mahar's discussion of Rondônia's PLANAFLORO program. By examining the array of social forces organising through and around this explicitly participatory initiative, Mahar offers insight into the dynamic context in which policy is configured, helping us see the shifting alliances through which local politics materialise.

Chapters by Nigel Smith, David McGrath, and by Emilio Moran and collaborators, look in more detail at the existing options for 'productive conservation'. This is a fruitful approach, most effectively employed in McGrath's case study of fisheries community management, an account which emphasises negotiation and accommodation on the part of both local communities and a newly-receptive IBAMA, the federal Brazilian environmental agency. It is not unusual for Amazonianist researchers to present local resource management practices as alternative development models, but it is refreshing to see close attention to the social dynamics of the relationship between state agencies and non-government actors. Smith, for example, includes a brief but differentiated discussion of regional NGOs, and Darrell Posey, in a survey of emerging intellectual property regimes and bioprospecting, stresses the increasing capacity of indigenous groups to create alliances and assert their own agendas. The concluding paper, by René Dreifuss, departs from the overall thematic by focusing on questions of integration and cooperation among the nine Amazon countries, and includes a provocative discussion of the regional interests of the Brazilian military.

This, then, is a valuable and consistent collection, and one marked by pragmatism. Most of these authors are searching for an inclusive politics, one that encompasses the varied social constituencies of the region. That such a consensual social order is still some way off in a turbulent Amazonia is not in doubt. Nonetheless, we should at least be grateful that its imagination is now a possibility.

A final word: Mike Eden died during the preparations for the 1998 conference on which this book is based. Mike was a fine researcher and teacher, and a kind, generous and supportive person. I speak from personal experience. As Mike's student at ILAS in 1991, I received my first introduction – and inspiration – to what has become a career in the Brazilian Amazon. Mike continues to be profoundly missed, but in the reasoned and careful optimism of the present volume he has a fitting memorial.

University of California, Santa Cruz

HUGH RAFFLES

Piers Armstrong, *Third World Literary Fortunes: Brazilian Culture and its International Reception* (Lewisburg, PA, and London: Bucknell University Press, 1999), pp. 262. £32.50 hb., \$41.50 hb.

Armstrong's book purports to be an examination of the successes and failures of Brazilian literature abroad, particularly in the light of the runaway success of 'boom' literature from other Latin American countries. What it is, in fact, is an interesting introduction to the work of some of Brazil's finest writers (Machado de Assis, Mário de Andrade, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, João Guimarães Rosa and Jorge Amado), and a very informative overview of Brazilian cultural

history, in the form of an account of the writings of Euclides da Cunha, Gilberto Freyre and Roberto da Matta, among others. The inclusion of a sociological perspective is essential to Armstrong's basic premise: Brazil is known internationally for its expressions of popular culture, especially those with African roots, symbolised in *carnaval* and dubbed the 'Carmen Miranda syndrome' by Armstrong himself, and that it why only writers who consciously reproduce this (such as Jorge Amado) enjoy any kind of success abroad.

Armstrong's solid background in comparative culture stands him in good stead to relate the work of chosen writers to a wider Latin American context, resulting in a book which will be useful for scholars of Spanish American literature wishing to increase their knowledge of Brazilian literary history. His observations on the differing agendas of Brazilian and international scholarship with regard to Brazilian literature are thought-provoking and, at least in the case of Mário de Andrade, seem to prove his 'Carmen Miranda' theory. We learn that academic theses on 'stereotypes of the Amazon and Amerindian music, and the prominence of the tropical adventure of *Macunaima* – an exception within Mário's opus', dominate scholarship on Mário de Andrade abroad (p. 132). His analysis of the work of the chosen writers is impassioned but ultimately sensible, with the exception of one questionable observation: he writes that Machado de Assis was a 'mulatto (more exactly quadroon) but left not a single conspicuous trace of this enormously important biographical detail in his literary testament' (p. 25). Contemporary scholars of Machado's lesser known work would doubtless disagree with such an assertion.

It is not clear what led Armstrong to include the work of writers other than Amado in this text. He does not include, nor even mention in passing, the work of Brazil's most successful writer abroad, the international best-seller Paulo Coelho, presumably because of the low esteem in which Coelho is held by academics, but also because Coelho's success would be hard to explain in the context of the 'Carmen Miranda syndrome'. It would have been good to include the work of Clarice Lispector, whose international trajectory, thanks in part to her 'discovery' by the French feminist Hélène Cixous, would surely have enlightened the debates on academic reception of Brazilian literature contained in the book. It is also a shame that Armstrong does not analyse the success of Jorge Amado in the old Soviet Union, limiting instead his study of international reception to the US market, both academic and commercial.

Potential readers may well be put off by the rather opaque quality of the prose in this book, which at times seems deliberately inaccessible to the uninitiated reader. Reading pleasure is further hindered by an excessive number of typos, the fact that not all quotations in Portuguese are translated, reader-unfriendly chapter subheadings, and a generally confused organisation. Very little of the book deals with international reception, and it is difficult to grasp an overarching argument, or explanations for the failures of Brazil's writers abroad which go any way beyond the obvious. There is much of worth in Armstrong's book, but a different premise, perhaps, along with judicious editing, would have produced a more valuable text on Brazilian cultural history.

University of Leeds

STEPHANIE DENNISON

Michael L. Conniff (ed.), *Populism in Latin America* (Tuscaloosa, AL, and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1999), pp. vii + 243, pb £37.95, £20.50, \$44.95, \$22.95 pb.

What is it with populism that both infuriates and fascinates academics in equal measure? In a recent review article Peter Flynn (*Bulletin of Latin American Research* 19 (2000), pp. 239–247) wants to do away with the concept, claiming that it has confused and muddled discussion of Latin American politics ever since it was allegedly first thought up in relation to the region by Torcuato di Tella in 1965. And yet, as this book shows, populism continues to be regarded as a central concept for the understanding of Latin American politics. There are, however, two reasons why populism is such a problematic concept. Firstly, because it is a more value-laden concept than most, both in academic discourse and in every day political parlance. In common, both academics and politicians have treated it mainly as a negative phenomenon if not as a term of abuse. Politicians love to be popular but no politician would ever acknowledge being a ‘populist’. Secondly, because populism is indeed a highly contentious concept. But the lack of agreement about the meaning of populism is no more a reason for its abandonment than it is for doing away with many other essentially contested concepts in the discipline of politics.

Thus, a key question for a book on populism is whether it contributes to a better understanding of the term. Sadly this book does so only in a very limited way, albeit not without value in itself. We are told in the introduction that the authors ‘set aside many social scientific debates in the field in order to keep our focus on the leaders and their followers’ (p. 1). But how can we distinguish a populist leader from a ‘non populist’ one without an adequate conceptual background? We are also told that Latin American populists ‘exhibited charisma’ (p. 4). Indeed, but doesn’t this apply as well to many politicians that were not populist? Even more unhelpful is the claim that ‘populist promised, and sometimes delivered, a better life for the masses’ (p. 6). Isn’t this the stuff from which all politics aspires to be made? Perhaps closer to the conceptual mark is the statement that ‘[T]he populist appealed to the common man and woman, to the poor and working classes, and to the humble and downtrodden not only for votes but for legitimacy’ (p. 7), but unfortunately there is no systematic exploration of this essential aspect of populist politics. Instead, populism is reduced to the notion of ‘leaders who had charismatic relationships with mass followings and who won elections regularly’ (p. 7), a definition in which only the abundance of charisma seems to distinguish populist leaders from any other politician that is rather good at winning elections.

After a rather conceptually shaky introduction the book includes eight case studies of populist leaders in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, Ecuador and Panama plus a general essay on neopopulism in the age of neoliberalism, a bibliographical essay and suggestions for further research. The case studies are mostly the work of historians rather than of political scientists and their overall drive is descriptive rather than analytical. The lack of a strong comparative essay is to be regretted because a more systematic exploration of the common characteristics of such a wide variety of cases could have contributed to a better understanding of the politics of populism. In its absence the reader is left to seek for itself the nature and limits of a type of political appeal whose essence

is perhaps best captured in the remark that '[H]e (Velasco Ibarra) made them (the people) feel important, like participants in charting Ecuador's destiny' (p. 145).

Unfortunately the case studies' treatment of the more contemporary cases of populism (or neopopulism) is rather meagre. It is left to the general essay by Kurt Weyland to shed some light on the unlikely affinities between neopopulist politics and neoliberal economics. Although drawing heavily on his previously published essay (*Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31, 1 (fall 1996), pp. 3–31), Weyland's analysis is perceptive and contributes to the understanding of the enduring presence of populism in a region that was thought to have left it behind together with military coups, left-wing revolutionaries and economic statism.

In spite of its many weaknesses the book is a useful introduction to the topic, particularly for students of Latin American politics. By bringing together such a large number of cases it gives a broad historical overview of Latin American populism, particularly in its golden era. Of particular interest are the case studies of populism in the smaller countries where the literature is less abundant, such as that of Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador and Arnulfo Arias in Panamá. The bibliographical essay is a useful guide to the vast literature for those interested in a topic that refuses to be written off from the academic debate.

The London School of Economics

FRANCISCO PANIZZA

Alberto Arce and Norman Long (eds.), *Anthropology, Development and Modernities, : exploring discourses, counter-tendencies and violence* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. xvi + 232, £16.99 pb.

This collection of essays, arising out of a conference among scholars based largely in the Netherlands, addresses a new development studies. Within the context of globalising economic forces, supra-national politics and the eruption of violence amid poverty, development studies can no longer assume the authority of the nation-state nor the institutional framework of stable societies. Framed in terms of the uneven and contested nature of modernities as they are produced and remade around the globe, the authors here contribute an innovative take on the complex changes occurring in the global South. Development is no longer assumed to reside in a Western modernity but is part of the interfaces between local narratives and modernity, producing 'counter-tendencies' and, in some cases, violence. In the face of expanding mechanisms of market production and state reduction, Third World people reposition themselves and their social behaviours producing great heterogeneity in responses to neo-liberalism and development programmes. Long and Arce in their introduction and ending chapters extend their work on actors' lifeworlds and the importance of retaining a sense of experiences and subjectivities in understanding the knowledge-power relations inherent in development. The other contributing authors draw on a variety of social science perspectives in their analysis of cases.

Despite Arce's and Long's research focus on Latin America, the case study material comes from across the world. One startling and welcome dimension of the book is its inclusion of material on Islam and globalisation (Chapter by Karam) and on the Soviet Union's former 'development' of its Islamic neighbours (Kandiyoti), thereby correcting some absences in our knowledge about this part of the developing world. Africa is represented by two chapters,

on the subversion of colonial and modern developmental discourses (Fisher and Arce; Fairhead), while Asia is discussed in terms of its recent violence. For the readers of *JLAS*, the Latin American discussion focuses on Guatemala and Bolivia largely, although mentions are made in introductory and concluding chapters to other countries of the region. Looking at the organisation of space in Guatemala during and after the civil-military violence, Finn Stepputat's chapter focuses our attention on the way that control of territory and its representation was central in the perpetuation of military violence, as well as informing the post-conflict settlement of former refugees. He concludes that population movements and state formation processes are grounded in violence, itself gendered and socially divisive, as the state attempts to extend its control over its territory. Arce's chapter discusses another Latin American contested and violent (internal) frontier, in his analysis of the Chapare region of Bolivia and its coca production. Examining the responses of coca-growers to the eradication programmes sponsored by the USA, Arce documents how farmers started to collect their own information, and make an argument that eradication will result in development. In the privatisation/NGO-isation in certain areas of Latin America, such development 'counter-tendencies' he argues, will be on the increase. He contrasts the coca farmers with the Chilean agricultural export companies using the internet and telephone to manage prices and sales across the region, inserting themselves into 'modernity' in distinct ways and with different outcomes.

Oriented towards higher level undergraduates, graduate students and researchers in the field, his collection represents an informed and clearly-written introduction to a wide range of issues that development studies and practitioners are increasingly grappling with. It comprises a fascinating range of case study material, and overall it positions Third World subjects clearly at the heart of neoliberal changes and conflictive development.

University of Cambridge

SARAH A. RADCLIFFE

José Havet (ed.), *Identities, State and Markets: Looking at Social Change in Latin America* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1999), pp. viii + 268, \$24.95 pb.

The churlish might think that there are many faddish clichés knocking around in Latin American studies at the moment, and the title and the editor's introduction to this volume seem to reflect a good many of them. The more charitable, however, would commend an ambitious attempt to address important issues associated with the notion of 'social change' in Latin America, especially as the line-up of contributors and chapters suggests a healthy interdisciplinary approach which draws most heavily on insights from sociology and political economy. At first glance, this volume has the clear makings of an important contribution to a burgeoning literature on the social dimensions of the contemporary political economy of Latin America.

In the introduction the editor seeks to frame the notion of social change in Latin America in the context of globalisation, and then to disaggregate the focus of the book into three sub-sections concentrating respectively on identities, state and market. The focus on globalisation is without doubt interesting and relevant,

and offers the possibility of addressing important questions on the social impact of global change, as well as interrogating what the 'social' might mean under conditions of globalisation. This (contrary, it must be said, to the editor's presentation of the state of the art) constitutes one of the main areas of interest in the field of globalisation studies at the present time. Taken individually, there are a good number of contributions in this volume that are detailed, interesting and focused. Peter Ranis provides an empirically rich account of the relationship between state and labour in Argentina in the context of the privatisation of the electricity company SEGBA. Thomas Legler's chapter offers an interesting and informed comparison of the nature of the state in development in Asia and Latin America. The two chapters on regionalism at the end of the volume (Dookeran and Campanella, and Rosas) offer theoretically grounded analysis of the transformation of markets in the context of regional integration. Jean Daudelin's chapter constitutes a compelling account of the political economy of minorities in Nicaragua. There are also fascinating accounts of the implications of identity in Chile for the HIV/AIDS issue (Carrasco), and useful considerations of the process of decentralisation in Peru (Schonwalder).

It is therefore frustrating that as a collection the essays in this volume hang together only poorly. There is a constant and nagging confusion over what 'social change' is supposed to mean, in that most of the chapters seem to engage with this concept only tangentially, and its meaning is almost invariably left under-clarified. There is every justification for treating 'social change' as a multifaceted concept or process, and for bringing a variety of perspectives to bear on it. However, while it might mean many things, it should not be allowed to dissolve into meaning nothing at all. Only a handful of the contributions to this volume explicitly use the notion of 'social change' as their analytical guide. Globalisation, presented at the start as the 'red thread' of the volume, was mentioned only by three of the chapters. The editor (in a rather confusing construction) distinguishes between the 'high levels of analysis' associated with the sections on state and markets, and indeed this is where the mention of globalisation crops up, and the 'low levels of analysis' associated with the chapters on identity. But surely this is missing the point: a study of social change which declares itself guided by the observation of the impact of globalisation is bound to consider the impact of such change on the construction of identity and on political activity at the societal level as well as on state and market activity. The globalisation thread seems rather thin (and at times invisible) as an issue or concept around which the volume purports to cohere. Finally, the connections between the three sections of the volume are largely ephemeral, and the differences in the styles of the chapters (and indeed in their presentation) often excessive. Some appear to be in entirely the wrong section.

As a result, this volume is something of a missed opportunity. There are a good number of high quality chapters here, and the issues that the volume sets out to address are important, timely and of wide interest across a range of disciplines. Readers will therefore find much of interest in parts of this book, especially if prepared to take individual chapters in isolation, but unfortunately rather more in the way of conceptual fog and inconsistency when it is taken as a whole.

University of Warwick

NICOLA PHILLIPS

Robert N. Gwynne and Cristóbal Kay, *Latin America Transformed: Globalization and Modernity* (London: Arnold, 1999), pp. xx + 362, £45.00, £17.99 pb.

For some time now there has been a paucity of good texts in social sciences-based Latin American studies, especially of the sort which are useful for teaching purposes and contribute to broader research in the field. *Latin America Transformed* brings together a distinctive collection of essays which shed light on a range of contemporary issues and debates in the field, approached from a variety of disciplinary angles. The book is divided into seven parts, which attempt to make sense of recent transformations in Latin American political economy with reference to politics; globalisation and economic change; environmental change; culture and modernity; social change; and rural and urban development. It sets out to provide a 'holistic' approach to the study of Latin America which the editors encapsulate in a broadly 'political economy' approach to the subject matter, which is grounded (at least in the Introduction and some of the early chapters) in a redrawing of structuralist and dependency theories. The theoretical foundation is in many ways 'political economy meets development theory', reflecting the particular expertise of the editors as well as the analytical challenges that contemporary Latin America invites. Furthermore, the theoretical project favoured by the editors signals a critical approach to the dominant neoliberal contours of contemporary Latin American political economy that challenges not only its 'domestic' expressions but also the globalisation process with which it is associated.

One of the themes running through the volume is a dissatisfaction with the neoliberal project, encapsulated in Kay's call in his chapter on rural development for a shift to a 'post-liberal development strategy'. The social consequences of neoliberal economic policies receive particular attention, not surprisingly, as does the exclusionary nature of the political systems associated with neoliberal projects. Neoliberalism is held to account not only for overall increases in poverty and inequality (as well as the exacerbation of a range of existing social problems), but also (at least in part) for the development of a politics marked by the depoliticisation of political society and the incomplete nature of democracies in the region. Patricio Silva demonstrates in his chapter on the 'new political order' that depoliticisation results from the replacement of politics by 'consumerism', the 'technification' of politics, and the apathy and depoliticism which result from generalised disenchantment. Given that these political traits can be traced directly to the effects of neoliberal transformations, the solution is often presented as a radical shift away from neoliberalism as the foundation for economic organisation. The chapters in the volume highlight, however, a 'paradox' between this depoliticisation process, on the one hand, and widespread political mobilisation on the other. Sarah Radcliffe's survey of civil society and social difference looks specifically at the emergence of social movements which coalesce around a range of issues and agendas; this is echoed in Kay's discussion of the peasant movements challenging neoliberal projects and in the chapters on the environmental question. The clear message appears to be that Latin American political activity is by-passing the traditional linkages between state and society, and that resistance to the neoliberal and globalisation agendas is progressively constituting the focal point for political organisation at all levels.

What a 'post-liberal' development strategy might look like is not quite clear from the discussions in the volume, perhaps in the same sense that traditional structuralist and dependency perspectives were useful in identifying the structural determinants of development trajectories but less so in considering avenues by which the structurally embedded condition of 'underdevelopment' might be addressed in any sort of remedial way. While the critique of neoliberalism is consistent throughout the volume, not all of the chapters explicitly develop the editors' theoretical project of 'modernising' structuralist and dependency perspectives in order to challenge the globalisation/neoliberal models which currently shape the political economy of the region. Nevertheless, this sort of structuralist political economy approach has very considerable utility and resonance in the contemporary context of globalisation (and the debates surrounding it), and the location of the Latin American region in the structures of the global political economy offers perspectives on contemporary development which are increasingly recognised to be indispensable to analysis.

In sum, Gwynne and Kay's book offers an extremely useful mapping of the contemporary realities of Latin American political economy and provides a wide-ranging analysis of the major themes and issues. The chapter on Central America and the Caribbean is a welcome addition, but suffers rather from its isolation in the volume – a chapter on these subregions in the section on political transformations would have been interesting and useful from a comparative perspective (particularly relating to the Central American political context), and mention of Central America and/or the Caribbean elsewhere is rather too sporadic given the explicit attempt to integrate them into the volume. Nevertheless, this is an impressive, timely and lively volume, which is especially valuable for teaching purposes and provides a wealth of data and detail for researchers.

University of Warwick

NICOLA PHILLIPS

Riordan Roett, (ed.), *MERCOSUR: Regional Integration, World Markets* (Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner, 1999), pp. xi + 139, £11.95 pb.

This short collection of very short essays (nine in about 100 pages excluding notes) presents the essential background facts about MERCOSUR and its current policy dilemmas. It would be an excellent introduction in a comparison of regions. While some of the authors go beyond this to put some analysis in the context of more general discussions of regionalism or international relations post-Cold War, there is too little space to develop this and no summary chapter to draw the themes together. This reduces the benefits from the well-chosen authors. Predominantly Brazilian, they are mainly academics, but some also have direct experience of the negotiations and all are at the forefront of MERCOSUR studies.

The political basis of MERCOSUR comes out clearly in most of the economic chapters as well as the explicitly political one by Monica Hirst. Lia Valls Pereira, in a clear presentation of its history and institutions, emphasises that it was a 'political initiative'. Hirst goes further to note that after the political convergence of Argentina and Brazil in the late 1980s, there was a divergence in their policies in the 1990s (noted also with respect to the USA by Roett). But by that time the increasing economic integration, originally seen as a 'political tool', meant that

there continued to be strong motives for the region. Félix Peña also refers to the evolution of MERCOSUR, calling it a process. This fits the European model of integration, which was also led by political motives and then strengthened by economic. This model would help to explain the transition in the early 1990s, particularly in Brazilian policy, noted by Pedro da Motta Veiga.

The introduction by Roett and the chapter by Ricardo Markwald and João Bosco Machado both take the need for coordinated or joint industrial policy in a region for granted. Markwald and Machado compare total and sectoral data on MERCOSUR's internal trade, other Latin American trade and non-Latin American trade to show that while there have been strong increases in all of these, there has been little change in the pattern of trade. They and Roett conclude that industrial policy (including 'selective ... protection' and 'reduction in ... capacity') is therefore 'inevitable' to improve competitiveness (and change the pattern to more exports of high value goods outside Latin America). They do not, however, use any of the now well-developed measures of the degree of trade diversion or creation from a region or compare MERCOSUR to other regions; they simply use a page to make the old comparison of liberalisation vs. interventionism. They do not question how to resolve the differences between the Brazilian commitment to industrial policy and the Argentine preference for liberalisation.

What of the future of MERCOSUR? Valls Pereira identifies two issues to be resolved: the commitment (especially by Brazil) to 'total autonomy' of macroeconomic policy in the context of what is intended to be a Common Market and the need to find a way to present joint positions to the rest of the world. Wolf Grabendorff, in his analysis of EU-MERCOSUR relations, emphasises the difficulties of the second for the two regions, noting the number of actors, state and other, on both sides, but sees the EU-MERCOSUR relation as a new and essential part of regions' reactions to globalisation and the end of the Cold War divisions.

Roett looks at the FTAA, but principally from the point of view of the USA (and of a US observer: pages of minutiae on Clinton-Congress relations). An implicit consequence of this is that if, as Roett argues, gaining negotiating credibility with the USA was one of the motives for MERCOSUR, it has failed, but the emphasis of the other authors on the internal motives for integration shows that these were the driving forces. Roberto Bouzas interestingly emphasises the rest of Latin America in his discussion of MERCOSUR's external agenda, putting rationalising MERCOSUR's relations here ahead of the EU or FTAA.

A problem noted by Valls Pereira, but insufficiently recognised in the economic chapters, is the dominant position of a single country. Aside from a brief mention by Bouzas, Paraguay and Uruguay are ignored. Argentina is well covered, but several authors emphasise the central role of the Brazilian external affairs ministry in setting both the internal and external agendas. It would have been interesting to compare the internal dynamics of MERCOSUR to those of other regions, especially as the authors differ in their optimism about its durability. Most implicitly assume it, but Peña summarises the different views of the different countries and ties the future to what type of progress is made in the FTAA and relations with the EU.

Miguel Rodriguez Mendoza, Patrick Low, Barbara Kotschwar (eds.), *Trade Rules in the Making: Challenges in Regional and Multilateral Negotiations* (Washington, DC: OAS, Brookings Institution, 1999), pp. xii + 546, £20.95 pb, \$26.95 pb.

The OAS brought together this set of papers, principally by OAS and IDB officials and Washington-based academics, to serve as a textbook for officials involved in the FTAA negotiations. But it would be useful to anyone needing a good background on the current international trade regime and current issues. For each issue, it attempts to describe the history and current state of the multilateral regime, then some regional regimes, and the implications for FTAA negotiations. The topics cover almost all the conventional trade issues, plus the new and potential issues, with several chapters specifically on regions. It omits one important subject: intellectual property, although there are three articles on safeguards and anti-dumping, of which only the first, by Murray Smith, fits into the general scheme.

Two of the papers go well beyond the text book requirements and contribute outstanding new material and analysis. Rodriguez on Latin American regionalism not only gives a good history of MERCOSUR and the Andean Community, but analyses them first against a selection of economic measures of trade creation and diversion and then against possible interpretations of the GATT/WTO rules on regions. He uses this comprehensive study to conclude that they have expanded trade within the region without damaging external effects. The discussion of the WTO's General Agreement on Services and the treatment of services in Western Hemisphere agreements by Francisco Javier Prieto and Sherry Stephenson provides a clear guide through difficult data and rules, and derives specific criteria for FTAA negotiators. Stephenson's description of standards and technical barriers to trade surveys both the WTO rules and other international standard-setting bodies and considers how regional organisations can supplement these.

Bonapas Onguglo gives a good account of the nature and probable effects of past preference schemes which leads into an analysis of the new forms of reciprocal agreement between developed and developing countries, not only NAFTA and the FTAA but the European Union's proposals for the Lomé countries. Robert Lawrence's discussion of how regions develop from a need for 'deeper integration' is familiar, but remains useful. His strong views on the economic motives for regionalism are balanced by Roberto Bouzas' emphasis on the need for political commitment. Unfortunately, neither uses his arguments to examine existing Latin American regions or the FTAA. Robert Hudec and James Southwick summarise the legal position of regions in the multilateral system, but neglect some of the economic analysis that can be used to supplement this, for example to estimate whether new rules of origin are more restrictive than pre-region.

Edward Graham's discussion of the history and theoretical justification of competition law provides a complete background on this, complemented by an analytic survey of existing Latin American national and regional laws by José Tavares de Araujo and Luis Tineo. In contrast the paper on investment by Maryse Robert and Theresa Wetter gives a reasonable summary of the WTO provisions relevant to investment and of bilateral investment treaties, but ignores the UN and UNCTAD attempts to define codes and investment rules in previous

Latin American regions. It therefore fails to illuminate the political background to controversy on this issue. Simeon Sahaydachny and Don Wallace provide a clear but incomplete history of government procurement rules.

Of the newest issues, Craig VanGrassick discusses labour from the point of view of how the USA can satisfy its domestic constituency. While he also gives an account of the different types of ILO codes, he does not emphasise sufficiently the possible conflicts between unilateral action and the multilateral system. (His assertion that GSP measures on labour are exempt from WTO jurisdiction is questionable). Gary Sampson on the environment, in contrast, concentrates on the distinction between what is permitted at national level and what requires international action. Unfortunately, he does not discuss how regional agreements, in Latin America or elsewhere, have tackled the interaction between trade and environment objectives.

It is surprising that the 'old' issues of trade negotiations receive so little attention. The chapter by Sam Laird on market access gives a good, but brisk review of the issues of tariffs, non-tariff barriers and the various methods and formulas which can be used in negotiations to reduce them, but there is nothing on how this has been done in Latin American regions (except by implication in Rodriguez' paper). This will clearly be an issue in the FTAA, complicated by the existing FTAs and customs unions, with their own methods of reduction and periods of transition. There is a useful chapter on rules of origin by Luis Jorge Garay and Rafael Cornejo which analyses not only the different legal forms but the different purposes which they serve. The description of the dispute settlement mechanism by Rosine Plank-Brumback is clear on the current procedures and the current problem of systemic overload, but does not sufficiently emphasise the contrast between the consensus and negotiation basis of the old system and the current clear legal path. This would be relevant to considering potential systems (and transition paths) in the FTAA.

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SHEILA PAGE