

These extend from the abuse of a husband who becomes violent when drinking, to the loss of a child, the lack of health care, a legal system that favors men, overall power differentials, and the violence of exclusion and poverty. For students of Guatemala, the accounts sound eerily familiar. While the author acknowledges that the focus is on documenting events and the sources of structural and symbolic violence rather than forms of resistance and women's agency to counter some of those, missing in the accounts are the numerous stories of women who leave their husbands or their in-laws to put an end to persistent abuse. Indeed, women may have much to lose when moving out of situations of violence and those decisions are not made lightly. But Menjivar recognizes that the experiences of women are diverse, as are women's ways of dealing with them, even when they are considered a "normal" part of a woman's life.

While the study is focused on ladinas of Eastern Guatemala, the author also conducted some research in the Maya highlands and often compares and cites commonalities between the two. She does so to highlight the fact that some parts of the worlds of ladina and Maya women are shared and indicates that she hopes to avoid the ladino vs. indigenous construct to show that Maya and ladina women experience much of the patriarchal ideologies of gender, even across class and ethnicity. Here the reader would have benefitted from some more methodological detail with respect to these comparisons, as it is difficult to assert the extent of Menjivar's work in the highland region.

The author considers the structural economic and political conditions that generate violence and the less visible, more internalized and insidious forms that include humiliation, racism, and sexism as well as other ideologies of domination and control that result in internalized dispositions (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004). Furthermore, hegemonic ideologies translate into women's own feelings of inadequacy and inferiority (p. 43). In its documentation of the institutionalization and normalization of gendered violence at domestic and state levels, this book makes an important contribution: it offers insights into a less-studied area of Guatemala and highlights the pervasive presence of gendered ideologies of control in women's lives.

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POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE

The Ruins of the New Argentina: Peronism and the Remaking of San Juan after the 1944 Earthquake. By Mark A. Healey. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011. Pp. xvi, 408. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index.

Much like the earthquakes that struck Haiti and Chile in 2010, the disaster that befell the province of San Juan, Argentina in 1944 revealed both the strengths and weaknesses of social, political, economic, and physical structures. By the 1940s, landowners in San Juan, San Luis, and Mendoza had transformed the Cuyo region in the central-

west part of Argentina into a successful wine-producing area. A small number of elite *viñateros*, or winemakers, employed the majority of the population as sharecroppers, hired hands, and seasonal laborers.

In the city of San Juan, the provincial capital, most residents lived as poor tenants with their *viñatero* landlords in a densely packed city of adobe buildings and narrow streets. Just before nine in the evening on January 15, an earthquake measuring 7.4 on the Richter scale destroyed the city. Few structures remained standing, the loss of life was staggering, and most residents suddenly found themselves homeless, in the dark and in desperate need of help to survive. Just as the distinct responses to the 2010 earthquakes in Haiti and Chile underscored the dramatic differences between those two countries, the disaster in San Juan revealed the realities of the world that the *viñateros*, who had managed the region's economic development, had made. The earthquake exposed dramatic social and economic inequalities that lay hidden beneath the seeming prosperity of the region, and the crisis the disaster created also provided an opportunity to redress them. This, at least, is how citizens across a broad political spectrum—except perhaps the *viñateros*—interpreted events, and Healey's newly published work provides a detailed analysis of the earthquake, the local and national responses to it, and its connections to the political career and legacy of Juan Perón.

Even after more than five decades of scholarship, this book shows that Peronist Argentina remains a fertile field for historical study. The result of many years of careful research, Healey's book re-examines Peronism by revisiting the moment when that movement arguably first took shape—not in the mythical days of October 1945 but in Perón's response to the earthquake in San Juan nearly two years before. This is a project with many thematic angles, including architecture and engineering, economics, elites, and popular politics, and Healey engages them all through a narrative account of the earthquake and its aftermath.

The book makes two compelling arguments. First, Healey explains how the San Juan earthquake created a unique and fortuitous conjuncture of events through which Perón seized effective control of the military government. Most historians before Healey have stopped at this point, making the earthquake an interesting footnote to the Peronist mythology—like the celebrated fact that Perón first met Evita at a fundraiser for disaster victims. However, Healey's analysis convincingly interprets Perón's response to the earthquake as analogous to the later Peronist approach to Argentina. That is, Healey uses the disaster to study Peronism at work, complete with its messy combination of soldiers and professionals, elites and populists, and local and national forces. This is especially important for a historiography that has focused on Peronism in Buenos Aires and ignored its formation beyond the capital. Healey's work is at once a tightly argued, well-sourced, and incredibly detailed account of mid-twentieth century San Juan and a nuanced and persuasive analysis of Peronist Argentina.

Accordingly, Healey's metaphor of "ruins," while evocative, is perhaps misleading. In his narrative of San Juan's eventual reconstruction after the nation—and Perón—had moved on, Healey documents what Peronism actually accomplished, the reality of Per-

onist Argentina, and the differences between the prevailing rhetoric and that reality. The rebuilt San Juan did not completely fulfill bold plans for remedying the inequalities of “the world wine made” (p. 25) and Healey’s book explains how and why Perón’s New Argentina itself fell short of realization. Rather than ruins, the rebuilt San Juan may very well have been an unintended, if accurate, monument to Perón’s vision of a nation remade.

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The Society of Equality: Popular Republicanism and Democracy in Santiago de Chile, 1810–1851. By James A. Wood. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011. Pp. x, 334. Notes. Bibliography. Index.

La Sociedad de la Igualdad, una asociación política revolucionaria y republicana que reunió a jóvenes intelectuales liberales con grupos del artesanado urbano entre abril de 1850 y abril de 1851, ha sido objeto de una extensa historiografía en Chile. Se le ha interpretado desde ser el inicio del socialismo hasta ser la primera sociabilidad política moderna. James Wood ofrece una interpretación distinta. Ella sería la culminación de un movimiento popular y republicano desarrollado por el artesanado urbano de Santiago a partir de la Independencia en 1817. Con ello refuta que la política fuese un campo solo de las elites.

Los primeros cuatro capítulos estudian las formas de participación de grupos del artesanado urbano a través de asociaciones y especialmente de la prensa, dentro del complejo contexto político que el autor sintetiza y explica con maestría. Los dos capítulos siguientes tratan en detalle la Sociedad de la Igualdad, su ideología, sus actores, su organización. Concluye que luego de su fallido intento revolucionario, se diluye la alianza y los grupos artesanales derivan de una agenda política a una agenda social expresada en las mutuales. El libro termina situando el caso chileno con otros latinoamericanos, a partir de una historiografía que ha rescatado el republicanismo como fundación de la cultura política hispanoamericana del periodo postcolonial así como la participación política de sectores populares en la formación del republicanismo. Es allí donde Wood ve, para el caso chileno, el origen de la participación democrática.

Wood define el movimiento popular republicano como aquel en que miembros de las clases populares (en alianza generalmente con sectores de la elite) se apropian del republicanismo, la ciudadanía política y la igualdad ante la ley y reclaman el valor universal de la igualdad para hacer respetar y/o ampliar la ciudadanía política. Este movimiento se enfrenta a un republicanismo conservador que busca restringir la participación en nombre del orden. Dicha confrontación se constituye en la esfera pública, el otro concepto “ancla”, en la que participa este actor popular.

La proposición es de gran interés; lejos de ser parroquial, se inserta en el amplio contexto de la región y del Atlántico Norte. La bibliografía es sólida y la investigación