

Book Reviews

Domínguez, Jorge I. and Michael Shifter (eds) (2003, 2nd edition) *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, (Baltimore, MD and London) xix + 450 pp. ISBN: 0–8018–7120–4, £13.50 pbk.

Since the early 1980s, Latin America has undergone a profound political and economic transformation. While in 1980 the majority of the regimes in the region were authoritarian and had relatively closed economies characterised by high levels of state intervention, today most countries have made a transition to formal liberal democracy and embraced (however sceptically) the principles of a market economy. But now that the original enthusiasm associated with these momentous changes has given way to more sober appraisals of the current situation in Latin America, critical questions regarding the nature, quality and efficiency of these regimes have come to the fore.

Now in its second edition, *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America* brings together a group of leading scholars in the field to analyse some of the most important political and economic developments in the region since the book first appeared in 1996. In addition to an introduction by Michael Shifter and a conclusion by Jorge Domínguez, the volume's co-editors, the book is organised around six thematic chapters and seven country cases. The range and depth of the material covered is impressive, but all chapters seek to address the same fundamental question: how far has democratic governance progressed in the region? The themes examined include presidentialism and representative institutions, the military, market reforms, labour, gender issues and public opinion. The countries studied in depth are Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico. In combination, the thematic issues and the case studies allow for both broad cross-national comparative analysis and careful attention to context and history.

As I cannot possibly do justice to all of the arguments presented in this volume, I will instead highlight certain aspects of the book that I found particularly compelling. Both Victoria Murillo's analysis of relations between organised labour and political parties and Javier Corrales' discussion on market reforms are extremely useful in understanding current tensions in state–society relations in Latin America in the area of economic reform. Both authors emphasise the explicitly political nature of such reforms and highlight the role of political affiliations and alliances, negotiation and compromise in making the implementation of controversial economic reforms possible. Corrales concludes his essay with an insight that in retrospect seems all the more perceptive. Discussing what may become of the second phase of neoliberal reforms (involving areas of the state that until now have not been touched), he argues that the main challenge will be 'boundary reform': given their symbolic importance, certain issues

were simply off-limits to technocrats during the first round of reforms and moving to the second phase ‘requires going beyond the boundaries of this agreement[,] . . . [which] requires a new round of negotiations’ (p. 98). The fate of Bolivian (ex) President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, who was trying to reform the energy sector and the deep divisions within and between parties that a similar attempt at reform has caused in Mexico are both powerful illustrations of the point made by Corrales.

Marta Lagos’s findings about the fragility of democratic institutions in Latin America in her article on public opinion also deserve highlighting. One particularly disturbing finding is the fact that, between 1996 and 2001, national legislatures and political parties have shown to be the institutions least trusted by the population, ranking well below the Church and, yes, the armed forces (p. 145). This lack of faith in political parties and congress is troubling because a key insight to emerge from the case studies is that parties play a crucial role in nurturing and sustaining democratic governance: if the health of the party system in a particular country deteriorates, so will the quality of its democracy. This is precisely the ailment that has gripped Latin America’s two oldest democracies, Colombia and Venezuela. In each case, the long-standing two-party system (or ‘partyarchy’, as Michael Coppedge calls it in his chapter on Venezuela) has lost its legitimacy and generated widespread disenchantment among the population. The result has been a rejection of traditional parties as vehicles of representation, which in turn has led to a severe crisis of governability in both countries. Fujimori’s Peru also suffered from a thorough discrediting of formal political institutions (see Carlos Iván Degregori’s chapter), though the election of Alejandro Toledo in 2001 – with its concomitant reinstitution of institutionalised politics – offers a measure of hope for the future of Peruvian democracy.

Argentina provides an example of the opposite effect. According to Steven Levitsky, Argentine democracy was able to survive the economic collapse of 2001 and the successive resignation of several presidents in large part because ‘strong political parties enhanced democratic governance and provided a buffer against authoritarian encroachment’ (p. 245). Even in Brazil, as Bolívar Lamounier recounts, President Cardoso was able, through careful negotiation and craftsmanship, to form durable coalitions and enforce a certain degree of party discipline in an otherwise ‘pathetically weak party system’ (p. 288). This was crucial in generating desired policy results and providing democratic stability. Lula’s presidential victory in 2002 also points to the strengthening of the Brazilian Labour Party (PT) as a highly disciplined political force capable of holding its constituency together and producing policy results. In Mexico, by contrast, as the PRI lost the presidency in 2000 for the first time in its 71-year history, the party system has been ‘in disarray’, as Denise Dresser puts it, making the task of consolidating the country’s incipient democracy ever more difficult (p. 322).

In general, I found this book to be very strong in terms of diagnosing the strengths and weaknesses of democratic governance in Latin America. Some contributors, most notably John Carey in his essay on presidentialism and executive–legislative relations, also venture into the policy-making arena by putting forward recommendations (like allowing reelection) aimed at strengthening democratic institutions. This is a laudable effort, given that the task of improving the quality of democratic governance in the region is likely to require a continued collaboration between academics and

policy makers to identify problems and point to workable solutions. However, I was surprised to find that some of the issues that have become most relevant in the debate on democratic progress received relatively little attention in this volume. While the first edition of *Constructing Democratic Governance* devoted a whole chapter to democracy and inequality, the topic was dropped from the second. This despite of the fact that, as Domínguez himself puts it, 'the conditions that affect the daily lives of most citizens in nearly all Latin American countries improved too little... [in the] 1990s' (p. 352) and that a lot of people evaluate the merits of democracy on the basis of what it actually delivers in terms of material well-being (Lagos pp. 149–161). There was also almost no discussion of the problems associated with weak law enforcement and the alarming lack of respect for the rule of law in most countries in Latin America, but judicial reform is surely one of the most pressing items in the agendas of these fragile democracies. Finally, I would have liked to see a chapter on decentralisation and the quality of democratic governance at the subnational level. Whether by design or not, democratisation has been accompanied by decentralisation reforms in country after country in Latin America and it would have been interesting to see whether (and how) these dual processes have reinforced each other or have actually generated new tensions.

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Baily, Samuel L. and Eduardo José Míguez (eds) (2003) *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America*. SR Books (Wilmington, Delaware) xxv + 293 pp. \$19.95 pbk, \$65 hbk.

This is an excellent collection of chapters providing a useful overview of migration to Latin America since independence. The focus is largely on migration in the period between about 1870 and the early part of the twentieth century, although in some cases the empirical material stretches from the late colonial period to the present day. In the Preface, the editors stress that the book aims to provide English-language audiences with an insight into the scholarship on Latin American immigration. While they do not claim that the book is comprehensive in terms of destination, immigrant groups or migration themes, the reader is provided with a very useful source of information on Latin American immigration.

Míguez's introduction is a very clear and concise overview not only of empirical trends, but also of some very useful comparisons between Latin American nations, as well as comparing the Latin American experience with that of the United States. Such comparisons, which are found in a number of places in the book, make it appealing to scholars interested in migration in general.

The rest of the book is divided into three sections. Each section begins with a story which is a pen portrait of the experiences of individual migrants who travelled to Latin America during the period of mass migration. These stories, based on letters, official statistics and oral histories remind the reader that these migration flows are made up of

real people who were embedded in particular family, village, religious or nationality networks. I found these stories a welcome counterpoint to what, at times, can be the rather dry analysis of immigration statistics.

The first section consists of six chapters and is entitled 'Transnational Migration'. The chapters deal with different migration flows to the region, including Spaniards, Italians, Portuguese and Japanese. Most include some comparative elements and deal with themes such as reasons for migration, why particular destinations were chosen and the importance of social networks. The significant role of Latin American governments in attracting migrants through the use of subsidised boat tickets or agricultural colonisation schemes is highlighted and compared with the US experience. The greater opportunities for social mobility within Latin America are also mentioned by a number of contributors and are explained by the absence of a large pre-existing immigrant community, and, for many Southern European migrants, the shared cultural practices between the migrants and the host community.

Although the section was entitled 'Transnational Migration', nowhere in the book was there any examination of this notion of 'transnationalism'. There is a significant debate, particularly in parts of US social sciences, about what 'transnationalism' is and whether it is a new phenomenon, or just a new name for international migration. From reading this book, it is clear that there are a number of areas where valuable linkages could be made between the literature on transnationalism and the Latin American historical experience. For example, the continued linkages between migrants and their families in Latin America and other family members in the source country.

The second two sections focus on the country case studies of Argentina and Brazil, as they were amongst the two most popular destinations for immigrants. These case studies include a chapter on the Danes in the Argentine Pampa by María Bjerg and one on Jewish immigration to Brazil by Jeffrey Lesser. Samuel L. Baily provides a very useful conclusion which, as with the introduction, expertly draws together the main themes of the book and also possible areas for future research. The need to consider second-generation groups within Latin America struck me as particularly important in providing greater information about processes of identity formation.

Overall, the book is generally well produced, and there is a very helpful guide to suggested readings in English at the end of the book. However, in some places I felt rather 'short-changed' as a reader. This was particularly the case with the Baily's chapter 'Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870–1914: A Comparative Analysis of Adjustment'. This was adapted from his 1999 book on Italian immigration to the two cities. This chapter included no footnotes or references; rather the reader is told to 'consult the notes and bibliography in the above-mentioned book' (p.69). Given the editors' desire to provide readers with a useful starting point in finding out about migration to Latin America, this decision seems rather out of keeping with the remaining chapters.

I found this book provided very useful insights into the formation of Latin America's present-day societies, as well as highlighting the role of certain immigrants in the development of the region's cities and economies. It is an excellent starting point for Latin Americanists wanting to examine the nature and influence of migration in the

post-independence period, as well as providing material to allow migration scholars a perspective on a region with which they may be unfamiliar.

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Htun, Mala (2003) *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce and the Family Under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. Cambridge University Press (Cambridge), xi + 219 pp.

Sex and the State is a sweeping study of the politics of gender policy in the Southern Cone under dictatorships and democracies. Using a comparative historical approach, Mala Htun unravels how discourses surrounding gender rights evolved in Argentina, Chile and Brazil over the course of the twentieth century and how timing mattered for the fate of specific gender issues in particular countries. Htun advocates the disaggregation of gender issues; 'technical' gender issues such as more egalitarian property rights or family policy, she argues, have fared better than absolutist policies such as divorce and abortion (p. 13). Htun also identifies a range of factors that shape the success or failure of women-friendly policies in Latin America; her delineation of these factors effectively expands the field of feminist comparative policy from its (up until now) advanced industrial focus to Latin America.

Following an informative chapter on the normative traditions that have influenced debates on gender issues in the region, in chapter three, Htun argues, contrary to received wisdom, that women in the Southern Cone saw greater policy advances under military regimes than under subsequent democratic governments. Military regimes with desires to 'modernise' their countries appointed panels of legal experts to reform civil codes. As a result, these countries experienced 'expedited' reforms of civil codes that led to the legal recognition of women's civil capacity in all three cases and improved women's property rights in Argentina and Brazil. She subsequently moves away from the regime-type thesis. In her discussion of divorce in the three countries, Htun concludes that successful passage of legislation legalising divorce in authoritarian Brazil and in democratic Argentina was largely due to the existence of church-state conflict which freed politicians to vote against the Church on this 'absolutist' issue. In democratic Chile by contrast, where many politicians were indebted to the church for the protection of their lives under the previous dictatorship, politicians were unwilling to oppose the Church. Coupled with the church-state conflict, passage of divorce legislation also required reformist coalitions in Congress, supported by 'issue networks' of lawyers in civil and international society.

Whereas military modernisers, lawyers and church-state conflict are the foci in chapters three and four, in chapters five and six, on laws on family policy and abortion respectively, Htun emphasises variables more familiar to scholars of feminist comparative policy—the roles of 'issue networks' composed of lawyers and feminists, women's state machineries, international accords on women's rights and institutional variables such as executives and political parties. Although there is variation among countries,

the more technical reforms of family law were fairly successful across the cases, while proposed feminist reforms on the absolutist abortion issue made little progress.

Htun's argument that it is necessary to disaggregate gender issues is quite convincing, as is her emphasis on church-state relations. Also, Htun's delineation of the factors that shape gender politics in Latin America is one of the book's strengths. Yet, how, for example, might she respond to competing interpretations of the same events? In Htun's account of property reforms, women are seemingly absent from the political process, while male lawyers take centre stage. This view runs counter to that of Deere and León, who view the international women's movement and the rise of women teachers in the workforce as critical to property reform in the region. Similarly, Htun does not discuss the role of feminist activists in debates over divorce, whereas these play a central role in Haas' account of Chilean attempts at divorce reform. Discrepancies such as these among authors ought to spur debate and more systematic investigation into these events.

Finally, Htun's proposition that military regimes advanced feminist positions to a greater degree than democratic regimes is scintillating. Her discussion of property rights is intended to support this thesis. However, Htun's definition of which marital property regimes are favourable to women might be considered problematic. For Htun, 'partial property rights' and 'separation of property' are marital property regimes that are more favourable for women than 'common property' regimes because these allow women to control partial assets during marriage, as opposed to the common property regime that gives the husband control of the pooled property of both spouses. What Htun overlooks is the fate of women in each of these regimes in the event of a husband's death. Deere and León, by contrast, argue that given inheritance patterns and men's greater earning power, marital regimes that pool more resources are ultimately better for women and view the common property regime as most favourable, because it allows women a greater share of common property in the event of a spouse's death. A closer look at marital property regimes yields contradictory conclusions and thus throws into question one of Htun's main claims.

In general, the comparative sweep of this book is impressive and makes *Sex and the State* a good choice for graduate courses in Latin American politics or in gender and politics. A turn towards comparative, policy-related work is long overdue among scholars of gender and politics in Latin America; in this regard I hope that *Sex and the State* sets a new trend and stimulates debate and further scholarship in this area.

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Craske, Nikki and Molyneux, Maxine (eds) (2002) *Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America*, Palgrave (Basingstoke), xv + 226 pp. £65.00 hbk.

This volume considers the important question of the potential and the limits of post-authoritarian democracy as a vehicle for the promotion of greater gender justice. This theme has been an important issue for women's movements as well as their observers. The collection demonstrates the new prominence given to rights and the notion of women's rights as human rights in the struggle for gender justice. It also highlights the interaction between the national, regional and international levels. At the international level, women's rights have been a central focus of international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, adopted by the UN in 1979, CEDAW and international human rights and women's conferences. At the national level, extending women's rights has been portrayed as part of extending democracy and citizenship. Activism, often in the form of groups and wider networks, has played an important role at the national, regional and international levels.

After a general introduction by the editors that lays out the terrain of the debate in general terms, the rest of the volume is made up of case studies that examine the range of ways in which gender rights can be enhanced in new democracies. In addition to 'Women's rights', such as a woman's right to bodily integrity, focusing for example on reproductive rights and gender-based violence, the rights examined include the more conventional political and civil rights as well as social and economic rights. While some chapters focus directly on particular campaigns, others look more generally at the broader issues and themes. Jasmine Gideon for example discusses social and economic rights in the context of Central America, complementing the feminist focus on citizenship by extending the notion of the economic to include unpaid labour and the reproductive economy. In a wide-ranging discussion of the issues, Mala Htun and Mark Jones examine quotas as one important way in which the nature and impact of women's political representation can be increased at the national level.

A number of the chapters examine the importance of the law and the ability of women to access the rights that already exist in law. After a general discussion about women's access to the legal system, Fiona Macaulay looks at Themis, a woman's legal aid and literacy campaign in Brazil. There are a range of case studies that look at different efforts to extend women's rights in legal terms. Elisabeth Friedman carefully analyses the alliance building that occurred in the campaign to reform the Venezuelan labour law and change the provisions that discriminated against women. Niki Johnson looks at the campaigns waged around domestic violence in Uruguay and the attempts to make the gender-based dimensions of that violence explicit. Ceri Wilmott details the debates surrounding reproductive rights in one very socially conservative country, Chile, arguing that women's groups have been able to at least open up the issues for discussion. Only one contribution, by Sarah Radcliffe using the example of Ecuador and Peru, examines an issue that has become far more prominent in recent years, that of the rights of indigenous women.

Although the book demonstrates that reforms have been achieved and points to the important role played by the links between the national, regional and international in

making this possible, it also paints a nuanced picture of the challenges and difficulties faced by women and women's movements. Friedman for example demonstrates how the new labour law does not cover domestic workers making it irrelevant to a large proportion of the female workforce. In conclusion, Virginia Vargas, a long-time feminist activist as well as a commentator, argues that the contradictions and complexities of engaging with the state remain. Indeed, although this volume uses a wide definition of the political which is to be applauded, more contributions looking at the gendered nature of the state and conventional politics in post-authoritarian democracies might have been useful. Overall, this is a valuable collection that highlights both the advances secured by women's movements in the field of rights and policy and demonstrates the difficulties that surround such strategies. As such, it will be useful to researchers and students alike.

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Robinson, William I., *Transnational Conflicts: Central America, Social Change and Globalization*. Verso Books (London), £18 pbk.

In a number of ways, *Transnational Conflicts* can be read as an extension of the theoretical arguments first set out by William Robinson in his well-received and often-cited 1996 work, *Promoting Polyarchy*. Whereas *Promoting Polyarchy* concerned itself with the policy of democracy promotion in the developing world pursued by the United States government after 1984, *Transnational Conflicts* focuses on a broader pattern of social and economic change but within the specific context of Central America. The two books nonetheless share two common features. First, Robinson once again focuses on the politics of globalisation, transnational social forces and North–South relations. Second, as with *Promoting Polyarchy*, he does this via an ambitious–if problematic–fusion of world-systems theory and neo-Gramscian theories of world order. The result of this is that the two books share many of the same strengths and weaknesses.

On the plus side, *Transnational Conflicts* is an impressive piece of research, in terms of both its theoretical scope and its empirical detail: the book is both sophisticated and (for the most part) sensitive to the historical trajectory of Central American politics and development. Robinson's core theoretical argument is that the onset of globalisation–which, he claims, represents an 'epochal shift'–has undermined the role of the nation-state as an agent of social change, and as a consequence of this, it is now necessary to conceive of development as a *transnational rather than a national phenomenon*. As he puts it, '[a]ccounts that attribute structural causation to specific variables in an age of globalization reflect the persistence of nation-state centred approaches among scholars whose objects of inquiry are actually transnational phenomena' (p. 4).

On this basis, Robinson focuses specifically on the five Central American republics–Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua–and seeks to account for two inter-related changes in the region's politics and development which

have taken place in the last few years. First, he identifies what he calls a 'rearticulation' of Central America to the world economy (p. 149), by which is meant a shift away from the traditional development pattern of agro-exports and import-substitution industrialisation and towards new economic activities linked to the rapidly emerging global economy, including *maquila* garment manufactures, non-traditional agricultural exports and tourism. Second, Robinson identifies, albeit tentatively, a concurrent series of deep-seated social transformations in Central America as the isthmus becomes integrated fully into global civil society. These social changes include the emergence of a new dominant transnational technocratic and financial elite, an increased role for international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), new social movements and so on.

In short, Robinson sees the social and economic transformation of the Central American isthmus as an approximation of globalisation. Herein lies the main problem with this book. It is not that Robinson fails to provide an adequate account of globalisation nor is his grasp of the intricacies of Central American politics and society anything other than impressive. Rather, the problem with this book is that there is a fundamental disjuncture between the theoretical argument and the empirical setting to which it is applied subsequently. For instance, much of Robinson's account of globalisation rests on a reading of the work of Peter Dicken and others regarding the functional integration of circuits of capital and global commodity chains, driven by intrafirm and intraindustry trade (pp. 13–20). Placed in the Central American context, however, such notions are, at best, of partial relevance given the tenuous link that exists between the region and these types of economic activity. To be sure, Robinson points to the increasing significance of *maquila* production—an industrial practice which is certainly nothing new—in the isthmus as an example of precisely the type of economic activity of which Dicken et al. speak, but even this is based mostly on relatively backward industries (e.g. garments) and fairly rudimentary forms of economic organisation.

The disjuncture between Robinson's theoretical framework and his case study is even more pronounced when it comes to his treatment of the state. Of course, it has become something of a truism in much recent social science writing (and the sociology of development in particular) to argue that development is best conceived in social rather territorial terms. Nevertheless, while we may indeed accept the often made observation that a *de facto* 'third world labour force' now exists in, say, the sweatshop districts of Los Angeles or Miami, the fact remains that the overwhelming majority of the world's poor still reside in poor countries. Analytically speaking, it can be argued, moreover, that the abandonment of 'state-centric' analysis advocated by Robinson and others leaves the social scientist in something of a quandary: if the state is dead; then how do we explain the persistence of national patterns of development? This question may be regarded as churlish and may even miss the point, but the fact remains that, if we go down the road advocated by Robinson, even (relatively) modest questions, such as why has Costa Rica's national development model been more successful than that of Honduras or Guatemala, become almost impossible to answer.

All in all, *Transnational Conflicts* is an impressive book and it will certainly help bring a (much needed) renewed focus on the politics and political economy of the Central America isthmus, but its more ambitious theoretical claims need to be treated with caution.

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Hopenhayn, Martín (2002) *No Apocalypse, No Integration. Modernism and Post Modernism in Latin America* (Translated by Cynthia Margarita Tompkins and Elizabeth Rosa Horan), Duke University Press (Durham and London), xix and 160 pp. £14.50.

The premise of this book is that: 'Latin American intellectuals and militants have been left at an impasse without a vital program of action' (back cover). The reasons for this impasse are well known. They include the interlinked failures of the modernisation and dependency perspectives, the equally symmetrical failure of radical revolution and the neo-liberal counter-revolution (think Argentina) and the broad postmodernist challenges to all meta-narratives and utopias. Hence, the question is precisely what does Martín Hopenhayn provide us in terms of thoughts, challenges or evidence to move us beyond this impasse. The broad perspective is that of cultural studies but it is worth noting that Hopenhayn is also Social Development Researcher for CEPAL (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe) in Santiago, Chile.

Hopenhayn inhabits a thought world characterised by ambiguity. He has absorbed much of the postmodern disenchantment with ideals but is too familiar with social (under)development in Latin America to discard the modernist mission altogether. He is at his best when he is discussing ways and means to achieve a recomposition of the cultural dimension of development. The main cultural effects of modernisation are located in a simultaneous diversification and fragmentation in terms of collective participation and of consumption. For Hopenhayn, culture seems to be the domain in which the fragmenting effects of the market can be countered by a strong bid for cultural integration and where 'the creative reconfiguration of emancipatory dreams' (p. 33) might occur. The essays in this collection (a first in English) range across themes from the crisis of the planning state, the postmodern challenge to meta-narratives through to the need to create a utopia to challenge the crisis of Latin America today.

There is much that is thoughtful and insightful in this collection of essays, and it is certainly most welcome to see Martín Hopenhayn's writing more widely available in English. Yet, I do get a sense that much of the more straightforwardly sociological or political economy discourse could be brought usefully to bear here. Sometimes, the approach seems a mite traditional, covering fairly bland statements with a clever use of language. Hopenhayn himself admits to how: 'I try out rhetorical combinations that are more ingenious than effective... ' (p. 45). Talking of which the English translation, is to my ear anyway, rather off-putting. For example, we are told that: 'Capitalism occupies the prophecy that Marx served for socialism' (p. 18), there is reference to 'This abundant impoverishment among the poor... ' (p. 24) and of how 'I don't want to fall

into the recipe of easy ways out of the postmodern discourse' (p. 138). Those familiar with Hopenhayn in Spanish will know what is going on, but I am not so sure about the English-speaking undergraduate.

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Kimura, Rei (1998) *President Fujimori of Peru: The President Who Dared to Dream*. Eyelevel Books (London), 192 pp. £5.99 pbk.

The hero, or rather heroine, of this book is not, as one would imagine, Alberto Fujimori, President of Peru (1990–2000), but Fujimori's mother, Matsue Fujimori. Kimura's narrative on Fujimori's life turns on the personality of this Japanese lady, who through an arranged marriage, set sail with her new husband, Naoichi Fujimori, to Peru in 1934. Kimura engagingly relates the difficulties and setbacks of the life of the Japanese immigrant to Peru and the Fujimori family in particular, and uses these to underline the stoic characteristics of the formidable Matsue, characteristics which she passed on to her favourite son, Alberto. From her, Kimura tells us Fujimori developed his determination, courage, honesty, industriousness and 'clean, methodical (...) Spartan lifestyle' (p. 29). Furthermore, Fujimori's "innate kindness", and his "compassionate concern for the poor of Peru", comes both from the mother, Kimura maintains, and from the constant discrimination and poverty which the Japanese faced in Peru before and during the Second World War.

Indeed it was these experiences, according to Kimura, which motivated Fujimori to run for the presidency in the first place. The clever, withdrawn, unsociable schoolboy who 'out of his kindness' helped his schoolmates with their homework (p. 32), would go on to become President to 'help the poor Indios (sic)' (p. 63) who admired and needed him because of their superstition and helplessness (p. 79). However, while Fujimori's immediate motivation was concern for the poor, he also had more ferocious characteristics that were needed because of 'Peru's deeply divided racial structure' (p. 160). Fujimori, we are told, 'hated opposition' (p. 26) as a boy and when President, summed up his executive skills in the phrase: 'First you act and then you inform' (p. 45). In a country racked with terrorism and economic crisis, such authoritarian traits were necessary if one were to govern effectively, opines Kimura (p. 93).

Not that such authoritarianism did not have its casualties, she adds, generously mentioning the 'many innocent people' imprisoned by the masked judge system (*jueces sin rostro*) set up by Fujimori. However, that is about as much as we hear about the consequences of the arbitrariness and authoritarianism of the Fujimori regime. There is little or no mention of the endemic corruption of the regime, the thousands killed by the security forces, the massacres, the media manipulation, or the millions thrown into poverty by the regime's economic policy. Vladimiro Montesinos, the regime's *eminence gris* and Fujimori's moral *doppelganger*, astonishingly deserves only one mention (p. 172). Fujimori's underhand and legally questionable methods to achieve re-election in 2000 are underwhelmingly judged by Kimura as 'going overboard somewhat'

(p. 165). Indeed, Kimura concludes with a flourish that Fujimori is justifiably known as 'the greatest Latin American leader of the century', whose humility is touching in a country where sadly millions will never wear 'a suit and tie in their lives'! (p. 184).

Kimura's book has some strengths: her account of the hardships of Japanese migrating to Peru is written with feeling and interest and she manages to portray to an extent the conflict within the *nissei* of their Japanese/Peruvian identity. Yet, even here she's indecisive, at one time judging Fujimori 'as more Peruvian than Japanese' and then later characterising his perseverance and the ability to control his feelings, as essentially Japanese (p. 45). Indeed, it is dichotomies such as these which go to the heart of this enigmatic and complex man, whose legacy is still strongly felt in Peru today. The reader would find books such as Luis Jochamowitz's biography *Ciudadano Fujimori* (Citizen Fujimori) (1997) or Sally Bowen's *The Fujimori File* (2000) more rewarding in exploring these contradictions, than this overdramatised, repetitive, frequently inaccurate and partisan book.

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Cahill, David (2002) *From Rebellion to Independence in the Andes: Soundings from Southern Peru, 1750–1830*. CEDLA Latin American Studies no. 89. Askant Academic Publishers (Amsterdam), xiii + 215 pp.

This volume comprises a number of David Cahill's historical essays on southern Peru, dealing principally with the period from the latter half of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth—a period that incorporates the indigenous uprisings led by José Gabriel Tupac Amaru and other Indian leaders, the political and military collapse of Spain and the Creole-led wars of independence. The nine essays that comprise the volume have all been published previously in a variety of journals and edited collections over the last 20 years, but this volume groups them together for the first time and includes four that have not appeared previously in English, thereby making some fascinating work more accessible to scholars of the Andean region.

The first four essays of the collection do not deal directly with any of the conflicts of the time, but instead introduce some themes that are crucial to an understanding of the background to the different rebellions and to the discontent of different sections of society. One key theme is that of the complexities of racial/fiscal categorisation of people in late colonial society. This is the subject of the first and fourth chapters, both of which compare aspects of eighteenth-century society with the Inca period. The first compares the colonial categorisation of people along racial lines (which determined liability to the payment of different kinds of taxes) with ethnic distinctions under the Inca regime. The fourth deals with the deconstruction of indigenous society and the persistence of *yanacona ayllus* (retainers in Inca society) in the eighteenth century.

The second theme of these essays that sketch out the background to revolt, not unrelated to the first, is the package of administrative and fiscal reforms introduced in

the American colonies by the Bourbon regime, aimed at improving the efficiency of tax collection. Not only was tax to be collected more effectively, but more categories of people were also to be drawn into the tributary net than had previously been the case. The second chapter of the book deals with the frequently conflictual relations that existed between priests and both *subdelegados*—officials of the colonial regime—and indigenous *caciques*. The third deals with the forced sale of merchandise to the indigenous population (*reparto de efectos*) and its persistence after being outlawed by the colonial administration.

The essays in the latter half of the volume show how the above themes were played out in the different conflicts. Both fiscal categorization and excessive zeal by tax collectors underlay the riots in Arequipa that form the subject of chapter six. In examining some atrocities of the Tupac Amaru rebellion, chapter seven shows how racial and ethnic divisions were heightened following the siege of Cuzco. Cahill here aims, to some extent, to desanctify the image of the rebel leader concluding that his policy for the extermination of peninsular Spaniards (*chapetones*), at this time widened to include American-born Europeans. Chapter eight takes as its subject a somewhat later disturbance, the Ocongate uprising of 1815. Here, the author examines the contribution of fiscal pressures to this uprising and looks at the emergence of non-traditional indigenous cadres who both supported Creole insurgents and went beyond their aims in their nativist rhetoric. The final essay examines the late-colonial policy of appointing non-indigenous administrators as *caciques*.

Cahill's essays are not only detailed studies of the period that often take us into the intricacies of lives of individual actors, but are also used by the author to comment on and critique the methodologies and interpretations of other historians and historical anthropologists working on the Andean region. He is particularly critical of a preoccupation in Andean anthropology with the persistence of structural forms and with the uncritical assumption by some authors that continuities exist between colonial or present-day forms and the Inca (or even pre-Inca) past. This critique surfaces in chapter five of the volume which looks at the colonial Corpus Christi celebrations of Cuzco and examines the writings of other authors on the subject. Cahill's critiques here are sound, although structuralism's fall from grace and eclipse by more recent theoretical tendencies makes them less relevant now than they would have been at the time of writing.

Overall, this is a scholarly and fascinating volume, my only slight annoyance being with its format rather than content—references are embedded in endnotes and there is no separate bibliography, making it harder for the reader to follow up topics of interest. However, this is a very minor point. Cahill's essays are finely nuanced and impressive in their attention to detail, and this volume forms a useful contribution to historical and anthropological work on the Andean region.

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Book Reviews

Weeks, Gregory (2003) *The Military and Politics in Postauthoritarian Chile*. The University of Alabama Press (Tuscaloosa/London). viii + 208 pp. \$ 47.50 hbk. \$22.95 pbk.

As a latecomer to the last wave of democratisation in Latin America, in Chile the Armed Forces finally transferred power to a civilian leadership in March 1990. The handing over of the presidential sash from General Augusto Pinochet to the democratically elected president, the Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin, at the seat of the Chilean congress in Valparaíso officially and very visibly, brought to an end almost 17 years of authoritarian rule and ushered in a new democratic era. The military returned to the barracks and, once again, civilians were running the government, re-establishing the structures that had been the rule and not the exception, in twentieth century Chile. After all, prior to the overthrow of the Popular Unity administration of Salvador Allende and the usurpation of power in 1973, the Chilean Armed Forces had rarely ventured into politics, certainly in comparison to the militaries in neighbouring countries.

The reality was, however, rather more complex and less straightforward and favourable for the civilian authorities as this account of the process of democratisation suggests. The Armed Forces had retreated to the barracks and there were subsequently no attempts, as for instance in Argentina in the 1980s, violently to overthrow the democratic governments; yet, they would not completely withdraw from politics. Even after March 1990, the leverage of the Chilean military, as Gregory Weeks justifiably points out in the introduction to his book, 'remained considerable'. It continued to be 'a potent political actor, capable', as events during the course of the 1990s would repeatedly demonstrate, 'of changing government policy' or forcing civilian policy-makers to 'scrap policy altogether' (p. 3). The ruling centre-left Concertación did not manage to establish supremacy over the armed forces, undermining democratic rule and the quality of Chilean democracy. That Pinochet remained commander-in-chief of the army until 1998 was a consistent reminder of this dilemma.

Weeks 'seeks to explain how the Chilean military has managed to maintain [this] active presence in politics' after 1988 (p. 2), i.e., after Pinochet had lost the plebiscite which should have legitimised his stay in power for eight more years but paved the way for the return to democracy instead. Following a not particularly inspiring summary of the secondary literature on the relationship between the military and democracy and some theoretical considerations about civil-military relations (Chapter 1) and a rather more interesting and readable overview of the development of the Chilean military since independence (Chapter 2), Weeks tackles the central question of his book in five chapters. In a chronological approach, which, he argues, 'provides the best view of the changes that have taken place over time and how different issues have surfaced over time' (p. 2), he recounts the turbulent and conflictive relationship between the Chilean armed forces and the consecutive governments of the Concertación, including the first years of Ricardo Lagos's administration (2000-) and explains the persistent influence of the former.

Decisive for this continuing leverage was, as Weeks justifiably, if not entirely surprisingly, concludes, that 'The Chilean military left power in 1990 in a position of

strength'. It not only laid claim to having 'rescued *la Patria* from the threat of communist rule and rebuild it for future generations', a view shared by a substantial portion of the population, as the electoral support for the two main rightist parties, Renovación Nacional and especially the Unión Demócrata Independiente, indicates. Through the Constitution of 1980, which had been approved in a rigged plebiscite and a number of laws that further restricted the authority of civilians in a variety of policy areas, it moreover 'codified what' it 'considered its legitimate role in government' (p. 153). The Armed Forces ascribed to themselves the roles of guardians of the new order they had established and ensured that it could not be changed by democratically legitimised politicians without their consent and/or that of their civilian allies. And there are now signs that this will happen any time soon. 'As a result, the road to civilian supremacy will be long and the end is nowhere in sight' (p. 154).

Although Weeks' arguments and conclusions, bleak and sobering as they are, are convincing, the book leaves a decidedly mixed impression. Besides the first chapter, it is certainly written in an accessible way. Equally, one has to give him credit for not treating the Armed Forces as a monolithic block; he pays attention to the positions of the different branches and includes the first years of the Lagos administration, too. Yet, overall the study is lamentably short on analysis, often not providing more than accounts of confrontations and meetings between representatives of the military and the governments. His statement to the contrary notwithstanding, I also strongly feel that the chronological approach does not work particularly well. A thematic approach, evolving around the questions of, for instance, military doctrine, human rights and political and constitutional reforms—areas he discusses throughout the study—would have made more sense. It would have enabled him and consequently the readers of his book, to identify the changes and continuities in the military's attitudes and its positions more easily.

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Spektorowski, Alberto (2003) *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right*. Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame Press (Notre Dame, Indiana), X + 269 pp. £44.50 hbk. £24.50 pbk.

This book contributes an original and defiant interpretation of a subject often dealt with by Argentinean historiography: nationalism's development during the interwar period. It adopts an approach inspired by comparative politics and political thought, interested in this phenomenon's context and influences.

Denying the usual images of a demonised right, according to which only liberalism or the left can be identified with progressive values, Spektorowski talks about a *revolution of the right*, since the 1930s. This implied new ways of political mobilisation, new values and a new political style, presented as an alternative to the liberal democratic order. The revolution's main figures—at least, the nationalists studied in this book—supported anti-imperialism, social justice and economic modernisation,

constituting a local variant of the *reactionary modernism* in its heyday in Europe. Two apparently antithetical trends gathered in an unexpected synthesis: the right-wing's integralism and the left-wing's populism. Their different ideological roots were blurred by a common denominator, namely, the rejection of the liberal tradition that had created the Argentinean state in the 1880s.

Spektorowski's explanation of the origins of this revolution puts together the inter-war period's ideological climate, marked by the expansion of reactionary modernism, with Argentina's domestic conditions for that development, basically the experience of the military government, lead by Uriburu, that replaced Yrigoyen in 1930 and the conservative restoration under President Justo. In this sense, the author sketches thoroughly the outlook of the European revolution of the right's ideologists and main movements, from *Action Française* to the Spanish regenerationism. He concludes that Italian fascism was the most successful embodiment of this ideological current and likewise the most important paradigm for the Argentine right.

But Spektorowski also analyses the local evolution of authoritarianism during the first two decades of the twentieth century, which paved the way to the acceptance of, and the interaction with, those external influences in the 1930s. What is particularly interesting is the analysis of the shift of conservative authoritarianism from Yrigoyen's condemnation until his rehabilitation after his fall. During his two presidencies, conservatives had attacked his policies from a liberal stance, after *Uriburismo* they vindicated him from an antiliberal point of view, in confluence with the left-wing populism. This vindication was accompanied by the creation of a founder myth, focused on Juan Manuel de Rosas' *caudillismo*. Old foes became allies and new alliances were woven. The integralist–populist synthesis was achieved and would be strengthened in the debate on neutrality and the New Order during the II World War. A new political identity was forged then, around antiliberalism on a worldwide scale.

In spite of the force of this integralist–populist formula, Argentine nationalism was highly fragmented and scattered and for that reason perhaps it would be more accurate to refer to it in the plural. Nevertheless, the author considers that its importance lay less in its organisation, never accomplished, than in its influence, exerted over key figures of the military, religious and political circles. If it failed in unifying forces, nationalism was successful in the task of advising influential figures of the political arena. For Spektorowski, its influence is undeniable in the case of the military regime of 1943, from which Peronism emerged. The ideas of popular mobilisation, social justice and corporativism, divulged by nationalists in the 1930s, were taken and popularised by Perón during his first term as Argentine president, at least.

According to the author, Peronism consecrated the 'third way' to modernisation – neither Marxist nor liberal – proposed by nationalism, and, at the same time, acted as its vector over the years. The antiliberal tradition was perpetuated through Peronism, which offered a haven to the different trends of the nationalist synthesis, in conflict during the 1970s. Spektorowski alerts us to the risks of this perpetuation, which is, in his opinion, the main obstacle for the development of a liberal democratic culture in Argentina. Indeed, the nationalist populist formula provides a powerful 'temptation' in periods of political crisis and therefore weakens liberal institutions.

This valuable and well-documented essay offers a renewal of the studies of Argentinean nationalism in several ways. In the first place, Spektorowski rejects rigid taxonomies and demythologises the right, showing its ambiguities and its connections with other expressions of the ideological and political spectrum, even with those apparently in its antipodes. In the second place, he moves away from canonical interpretations of Peronism and underlines its continuities with right-wing nationalism, usually denied by historiography. Finally, he puts forward some thought-provoking hypotheses about the general democratic process in Argentina. In summary, this is an important book for those who are interested in this country's political history.

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Rein, Raanan (2003) *Argentina, Israel and the Jews. Perón, the Eichmann capture and after*. University Press of Maryland (MD.), xxi + 275 pp. \$25 pbk.

This book focuses on the triangular relationship between Argentinean governments, the Jewish local community and the State of Israel since 1947 until the 1960s. It aims to cover a gap in the studies on the diplomatic relations of both countries and at the same time it contains a reflection on several aspects of Argentina's and Israel's history. One of the main hypotheses of the author is that Argentina has managed its foreign policy, at least since the end of the World War II, so as to reinforce the relationships with the USA. Moreover, Argentinean policy assumed that the Jewish community controlled the US government, making its relationship with Israel central.

Rein's account begins in 1947, with the debates in the UN on the partition of Palestine and the creation of a Jewish state. Despite Argentina's abstention, Rein argues that the President Juan Domingo Perón was well disposed towards the Argentine Jews and the State of Israel. This claim is at the centre of the book. For decades, the image of Argentina as a 'paradise for Nazis' and a haven for German war criminals has prevailed. Rein challenges this view. On the one hand, he considers the different motivations of the government in facilitating emigration from the defeated III Reich. He minimises ideological affinities and emphasises the importance of other factors: the traditional priority given to the immigrants from Northern Europe; the desire to attract and utilise German scientific knowledge in order to industrialise and modernise the country; the fact that the administration of visas was outside the government's direct control and the use of false identities by the Nazi criminals, provided by European church officials. On the other hand, he observes Perón's determination to erase the stigma of fascism that was the result of domestic and US opposition in earlier years. Perón tried in vain to win over the Jewish community and to cultivate fluid relations with Israel's government. He made numerous public gestures of sympathy to the new Zionist State and was sensitive to the demands of the Argentine Jewish community. He even attempted to create a Peronist Jewish organisation, the Organización Israelita Argentina (OIA, Argentine Jewish Organisation), although with little success. For Perón was destined to be disliked due to the German influence on the Army, the policy

of neutrality during World War II, the government's resemblance to the Axis regimes, the nationalists' support for his candidature, the influence of the Catholic Church as well as the political and class identity of the Argentine Jewish community.

Later the *Revolución Libertadora* that deposed Perón in 1955 was less sensitive to Jewish claims, although there were no significant changes in the relations between Argentina and Israel. Under Arturo Frondizi's government, elected in 1958, more Jews held high office in the history of Argentina than at any other time. Despite the excellent relations between Frondizi and the Jewish community and Israel, the Eichmann kidnapping by an Israeli command, followed by his trial and execution (1960–1962) created a diplomatic crisis. This was overcome but there were consequences. Argentine Jews now had to face renewed attacks from nationalist groups, who questioned their loyalty to the country. The wave of anti-Semitism that occurred after the Eichmann kidnap was the most serious in Argentina since the *Semana Trágica* in January 1919 and it led the Jewish community to develop defensive tactics, to create new frameworks to enforce Jewish identity and in some cases to begin large-scale emigration to Israel.

Through the book Rein carries out a dispassionate and objective analysis of delicate topics, confronting well-established interpretations with new sources and approach. Not only does he reconsider the character of Perón's policy towards Germans and Jews, but he also reappraises the scale of Argentina's anti-Semitism and its concrete effects on the Jewish community. If the 1960–1962 events marked a watershed in the development of anti-Semitism in Argentina, it was also a peak the like of which has not been seen since. Moreover, the menace to Jews did not come from the State—in spite of its inertia or passivity—but from the minority nationalist groups, at least until 1976.

The exhaustive examination of the 1947–1962 period concludes in the epilogue with the quick sketch of the problem since then.

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Fountain, Anne (2003) *José Martí and U.S. Writers*. University Press of Florida (Gainesville et al) xiv + 153 pp.

This worthy volume usefully brings to our attention an interesting and possibly revealing aspect of José Martí's intellectual make-up, namely his knowledge and admiration of contemporary North American writers.

The study is evidently based on previous doctoral work and, indeed, displays all the strengths and weaknesses of that genesis. Those strengths lie in the author's methodical and scholarly approach, in the helpful precision and clarity of the impressively compiled detail and in her preference for classification of the subject matter. Regarding the latter, there are essentially three sub-sections—Martí and Emerson, Whitman and Longfellow (each dealt with separately and extensively), Martí and the Writers of the Romantic Movement and Martí and Writers of Realism—a structure within which the author provides a wealth of interesting detail on Martí's attitude and references both to

the giants of his time and to an array of lesser known writers. As a result, the picture which emerges of Martí is of a genuine polymath, aware of and interested in, the writings and ideas of those he clearly recognised as kindred spirits, especially those who broadly shared his social conscience or his appreciation of nature. In this respect, the closing chapter, 'Reading America', serves as an insightful essay on Martí's attitude to the finer points of the North American society and culture which he feared, on the one hand, but which he also knew so well and admired so much.

If there are weaknesses in the book's approach, however, they lie in three areas. First, the author is generally somewhat reluctant to challenge the orthodoxy on, or our understanding of, Martí; in the crowded and somewhat overworked field of Martí studies, this is indeed a pity, as one senses that something of an opportunity might have been missed. Second, given that the book seems largely to be aimed at non-specialists, it is regrettable that some sort of explanation of the context is omitted. There are above all two areas which most needed to be elucidated. The first is an exposition of the wider question of U.S.–Cuban relations, a regrettable omission which leaves the reader unaware of quite how significant Martí's knowledge and attitude might have been and of how his appreciation of his North American counterparts was simultaneously both representative of his class and revealingly atypical of his fellow intellectuals. This leads on to the second omission: an indication of the traditional and still powerful Cuban intellectual orientation towards the pole of Europe rather than North America. At the time when Martí was becoming familiar with the work of American writers, in the United States, most of his educated Cuban counterparts tended to distinguish between, on the one hand, a cultural admiration for Europe as the preferred model and, on the other, a political admiration for the economic and political model offered by the United States; rarely did they appreciate North American culture and, later, as the U.S.–Cuban relationship deepened and Cuban nationalism strengthened, there was less willingness to pursue such an appreciation. Hence, it was precisely in challenging this pattern that Martí was unusual for his time and potentially significant for the future, yet this significance is not really brought out in the study. Indeed, one final regret is that the book's tendency towards classification and cataloguing, while thorough and undoubtedly useful for future reference, leaves us with an impression of a Martí who appreciated these writers and mentioned them extensively, but, apart from Emerson, was relatively untouched by them and their ideas; instead, we have a picture of a coincidence and an occasional impact, but are left unclear about any lasting significance of this encounter.

To focus on possibly missed opportunities is, however, to detract from the study's strengths which are to be applauded. Fountain clearly knows and appreciates her material intimately and clearly has an analytical ability which one hopes will take this material further in subsequent work; after reading this study, we do know something more about Martí (which is always welcome) and our picture of his range and depth (as well as his essential 'seriousness') is enhanced.

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Oropesa, Salvador A. (2003) *The Contemporáneos Group: Rewriting Mexico in the Thirties and Forties*, University of Texas Press (Austin). \$26.25 hbk.

The Contemporáneos group remains in undeserved obscurity, familiar only to Mexican literary critics and historians and university poetry specialists. It is a palpable injustice. All the more so when their contemporaries in Mexican arts and letters are names to conjure with well beyond the Rio Grande—Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, Octavio Paz, Mariano Azuela, Martín Luis Guzmán, not to mention the inhabitants of Mexican cinema's Golden Age.

Salvador Oropesa offers a number of interconnected explanations for this wilful neglect in the introductory chapter of his *The Contemporáneos Group: Rewriting Mexico in the Thirties and Forties*. The state-sponsored culture of Mexico in this period, he argues, was machista and homophobic—deeply hostile to the radical individualism of an artistic practice that defied nationalist formulas and stereotypes. The Contemporáneos, he argues, recuperated a national cultural history in all its diversity and contradiction—the inclusive and inchoate notions of the baroque were at once celebration and irony.

For Oropesa, this is a particularly modern response, an anticipation of a Mexico freely pursuing the dictates of the market albeit under the controlling hand of the 'head of the revolutionary family'—as successive Mexican presidents have styled themselves. Like most families, this one combined oppressive controls disguised as protection with a highly concentrated microcosm of the contradictions and conflicts at work in the society at large. But for the Contemporáneos group and particularly for its most prominent public voice, Salvador Novo, this family, with its demands for loyalty and a shared code, was an intolerable constraint on their expressive freedom and individuality.

Their response was to return to a notion of the baroque as, 'the model to write free literature in a context of oppression' (6). That freedom was, as Oropesa sees it, as much an affirmation of desire and the autonomy of the body as it was a declaration of aesthetic diversity—a neo-baroque in which all texts are interwoven and all forms instantly present. The dissonant and slightly chaotic result of that encounter was an appropriate reflection of the new city that the Contemporáneos inhabited and represented.

The reaction to the culture of the male nation was a resolutely homoerotic cosmopolitanism—albeit one still spoken in whispers in the Mexico of the late twenties and early thirties. Salvador Novo published ferocious satire on Diego Rivera, the epitome of the national cultural project, *La Diegada*, in 1926. By the early thirties, the polemic had reached an extraordinary pitch of virulence. Essays by the visiting Bolivian writer Tristan Marof among others demanded the persecution and suppression of gays and cosmopolitans, echoing the attacks by Congressional committees as well the 'official' intellectual elite cascading in from every side. Against that background, Novo's obscene assault on Marof pales into insignificance and his dandyism and defiance should be seen as genuinely courageous.

But what was the offence committed by the Contemporáneos? In Jorge Cuesta's words, quoted by Carlos Monsiváis, it was seeing 'que el *desarraigo* (my emphasis) nacional ofrecía la posibilidad de un arraigo intelectual'—the growth of the new

metropolis as an opportunity to share and exchange aesthetic (and erotic) experiences. Although Oropesa does not suggest this, the voluble debates with the cosmopolitans were surely influenced by the literary debates developing in the context of Russia at the time – and echoing through communist cultural circles to which the new Mexican cultural elite were very close.

Novo is very much at the centre of Oropesa's study, continuing the author's earlier work. Chapters on Lupe Marín's two *romans a clé* and on Augustín Lazo's theatre writing are anecdotally interesting, but seem to me to be largely peripheral to the core arguments. In the final chapter, the author returns to the later Novo, the chronicler of urban life, the retailer of gossip among the urban middle class. With his *Nueva Grandeza Mexicana* (1946), Novo becomes, as Carlos Monsiváis describes him, 'the ideologist of bourgeois optimism'; this Mexico City is phantasmagorical, full of objects and fleeting sensations and encounters in an unending stream. This is the restless, inchoate place where the neo-baroque finds its corresponding materiality. Under the presidency of Alemán (1946–1952), as chronicled by Novo, Mexico City becomes a metropolitan market place in which all commodities are equal.

Here, Novo's defiance and self-affirmation become manner and rhetoric, style and sound. Oropesa's explores that change by referring to the U.S. experience of Walter Winchell and the phenomenon of celebrity in a post-modern cityscape. Yet, it seems to me this conflates and compresses a rather longer and more complex experience – and introduces theories from a very different time and place. The reality is that Novo became his own representation – a parody of a rebellious and iconoclastic individualism in which he in turn became the icon and the ideologue of a comfortable conservatism, amused but no longer threatened by this scandalous but endlessly amusing Wildean star.

As a study of Novo, Oropesa's work is valuable. But it cannot really claim to be a study of the Contemporáneos as a group. Villaurrutia, Cuesta and Torres Bodet, for example, are offered only walk-on parts, while other associations (the discussion of 'Last Tango in Paris' for example) seem to me entirely peripheral. Hence, the study of the movement, of its influence and impact, of its recuperation of the breadth of literary history, of the uncomfortable issues it raises – from the Right – concerning the homophobia that has burgeoned and not only in Mexico, at the heart of the 'revolutionary family', has still to be written.

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Merrell, Floyd (2003) *The Mexicans: A Sense of Culture*, Westview Press (Boulder) xi + 276 pp. £58.99 hbk. £19.99 pbk.

In *The Mexicans: A Sense of Culture*, Floyd Merrell develops an original and ambitious portrait of Mexican culture. His aim was to provide the reader with an in-depth understanding of culturally specific patterns of social interaction and communication and their roots in socio-economic developments throughout Mexican history from the

era of Conquest until the recent presidency of Ernesto Zedillo (1994–2000). The book's structure is broadly chronological. Merrell's account alternates between the chronological discussion of significant social, economic, political and demographic developments and the analysis of cultural patterns that emerged from these developments, such as *machismo* or personalist, caudillo-style politics.

Merrell begins his argument with an outline of his theoretical background assumptions. He characterises culture as an ongoing social process based on the interdependence, continuous interaction and complex interrelatedness of individuals and objects in the social world. It develops through individuals' exposure to certain practices and ideas and their variable and possibly conflicting responses to them. Specific understandings of social life are transmitted through direct contact between social groups in cultural 'contact zones'. Contact zones lead to cultural change and development through conflicts about divergent values and practices, their re-negotiation and processes of mutual adaptation between the involved groups.

This theoretical approach guides Merrell's following the discussion of political, social and demographic developments during the Conquest and the early colonial era. The period witnessed the emergence of Mexico's extraordinary ethnic and cultural diversity between Spaniards and criollos, African Americans and mulattos and Amerindians and mestizos. Merrell argues that this diversity gave Mexican culture a hybrid character incorporating a wide range of frequently conflicting and contradictory practices and values varying according to locality, individuals' ethnicity and socio-economic status and a multiplicity of other factors. Mexican culture for him is characterised by the 'contradictory complementarity' of these divergent cultural elements. The tensions between different cultural practices have led to a range of responses from open confrontation to mutual adaptation or the toleration of enduring difference. A key example for this is the myth of the Virgin of Guadalupe. A central symbol of Mexican national identity, the myth emerged from the contact and hybrid fusion of Spanish-Catholic and indigenous religious beliefs. This hybridisation of religious beliefs, Merrell argues, did not initially bring about a cohesive new religious belief system. Rather, it resulted in a range of varied and often dissonant understandings of the Virgin. For instance, indigenous Mexicans, on the one hand, worshipped the Virgin alongside persisting pre-Hispanic beliefs while clergy, on the other hand, incorporated her into an orthodox Catholic belief system never fully adopted by the indigenous.

In relation to his theory of contradictory complementarity, Merrell reviews a range of works on Mexican culture by authors such as Octavio Paz or Samuel Ramos. He challenges dualistic theories of Mexican cultural identity describing it in terms of the confrontation of polar opposites, such as Spanish and indigenous cultures or tradition and modernity. These theories, Merrell indicates, cannot fully account for the complexity and volatility of Mexican culture resulting from the interaction between the beliefs, values and practices of a great range of social group of divergent origins encompassed in Mexican society.

The cultural and social tensions of the Colonial era, Merrell explains, have profoundly shaped the Mexicans' mentality and typical features of communication and social interaction. He analyses practices and popular understandings related to notions

such as *machismo* – aggressive, domineering hypermasculinity – *personalismo* – the special valuing of style, form and the presentation of self in interpersonal relationships – and *caudillismo* – the dominance of charismatic, impressive, strong individuals in social life and politics. These cultural traits, he explains, came to the forefront during the wars of independence and the following political and social conflicts and have shaped social life in Mexico since then.

Merrell then examines Mexico's social and economic development since the Revolution. He argues that contemporary Mexico is characterised by the 'contradictory complementarity' of modern and pre-modern forms of social life. For instance, he contrasts the existence of modern political and economic institutions with social, economic and political practices in daily life centred on the affirmation of established hierarchies and charismatic authority figures. These characteristics stand in a marked contrast to modernisation in Western societies built around abstract and impersonal institutions and principles.

The Mexicans: A Sense of Culture is directed at the general public as well as at an academic audience. It is therefore written in a consciously simple and accessible style. Nevertheless, it manages to convey a plastic and credible image of the complexities and heterogeneity of Mexican culture. The book contains a fruitful approach to discussions on Mexican cultural identity precisely insofar as it challenges widespread and often simplistic theories explaining its particularities through the opposition and interaction of Spanish and indigenous or traditional and modern forms of social life. Using a more open analytic framework built around the concepts of cultural hybridity and contradictory complementarity, Merrell instead depicts Mexican culture as a multifaceted and unpredictable mosaic of values, beliefs and practices. His approach opens up interesting possibilities for a detailed study of Mexican culture and history transcending respective academic and popular myths. It is an important merit of the study that it looks at well-known and frequently cited facts about the historical development of Mexican society and integrates them into a fresh and original portrait of Mexican cultural identity.

However, Merrell's account is at some points not fully persuasive. It is in certain parts characterised by a tension between, on the one hand, his attention to the tremendous complexity of Mexican culture and, on the other hand, his use of globalising categories such as *machismo* to characterise central cultural patterns. While he does to some extent qualify the weight of these categories at the level of practice, he fails to sufficiently distinguish between their importance at the levels of discursive representations of Mexican culture and factual practice, thus somewhat overstating their significance at the latter. This might in part be due to the book's relatively limited extent. 250 pages do not seem to be quite enough for a discussion of 500 years of Mexican history and a further elaboration of some points might have added strength to Merrell's argument. Nevertheless, *The Mexicans: A Sense of Culture* provides an interesting and original reading on Mexican culture, which may serve as a good introduction to the topic.

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Book Reviews

Gutmann, Matthew C. (2002) *The Romance of Democracy: Compliant Defiance in Contemporary Mexico*. University of California Press (Berkeley), xxx + 289 pp. \$49.95 hbk. \$19.95 pbk.

The hopes for democratisation to radically transform the life of the poor in Latin America have dwindled in recent years. So too perhaps have the dreams many once attached to the new social movements. In *The Romance of Democracy*, Matthew Gutmann, an anthropologist at Brown University, peers into the visions and perspectives of the working poor in Mexico City to understand their frustrations, the limits of defiance and the boundaries of compliance. This nicely crafted ethnographic study draws on the author's experiences while residing in a historically important neighbourhood in Mexico City, the *Colonia Santo Domingo*, in the 1990s and thus builds on his earlier ethnography on machismo in Mexico. Like his earlier work, *The Romance of Democracy* challenges our thinking on Mexican culture and the politics of the poor.

Gutmann writes in a remarkably engaging style weaving together the practical and the theoretical, the scholarly and the poetic. Rather than merely detailing his experiences as a gringo in a working class community or simply mapping the political views of the residents, Gutmann couches these views within lively discussions of Mexican culture, recent developments in Mexican politics, the distinct interpretations of recent events and competing anthropological theories on agency, resistance, new social movements theory and democratisation. The range of themes explored include the enduring significance of the student movement in 1968 and the UNAM strike in 1999, the U.S., NAFTA and the crossing of the border, the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas and the indigenous, the changing nature of gender and class relations and the presidential elections.

Throughout the study, Gutmann takes to task resistance theory and theories of agency, finding both to be overly optimistic, simplistic and deterministic. In a lengthy revisionist discussion on the contributions of Oscar Lewis's studies on the poor in Mexico, for instance, Gutmann contends that questions of apathy, fatalism and resignation have been neglected and that a certain romanticism has led analysts to view the poor as historical subjects fully able to comprehend their circumstances and control their own destinies. How realistic is it, he asks, for the residents of *Colonia Santo Domingo* 'to dream. . .that they might be able to change for the better the world into which they were born?' (p. 50)

The author's rich theoretical discussions coupled with his insights into Mexican culture and society provide the context through which the views of the residents of the *Colonia Santo Domingo* come alive. The reader understands their frustrations, their distrust of the government, their concerns about escalating crime, the sale of Mexican industries to the highest bidder and even their disillusionment with electoral democratisation. As one resident quipped following the 2000 contest, 'Now we have democracy in Mexico, too! We got to choose between a whole bunch of *imbeciles!*' (p. 217) But far from uniform, the residents of Huehuetzin Street have different political affiliations, different perspectives on the prospects of democracy, distinct and nuanced views on the U.S., the UNAM strike, the indigenous or gender relations and different levels of agency, seeking their own ways to understand and promote change. They are at

times incredibly insightful about their own and the country's situation and informed and yet at other times disingenuous and uninformed. They are at times apathetic and compliant and at other times engaged and defiant. Citizens of a struggling, non-consolidated democracy, the residents certainly want to see democracy as more than merely a ritual of voting every 6 years, but they often feel themselves 'stifled or propelled by events out of their control.' (p. 224).

The Romance of Democracy, in sum, provides the reader with an absorbing mix of critical theory and bottom-up insider perspectives into Mexican political culture. Not being an anthropologist was less of a problem than I initially imagined and in fact I learned much from and appreciated the well-researched and referenced theoretical discussions. My only criticism centres on the lack of positive theory. While Gutmann succeeds at pinpointing the failures of existing theories on the poor, resistance and agency – and though throughout the book he meticulously highlights what a theory should incorporate, the nuances it should take into account – he never fully constructs a theory of compliant defiance. Nonetheless, his research certainly sets the stage. The text is clearly appropriate for upper-division and graduate level courses in anthropology and Mexican studies and is accessible to non-anthropologists.

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Menchaca, Martha (2002) *Recovering History, Constructing Race: the Indian, Black and White Roots of Mexican Americans*. University of Texas Press (Austin), xi + 408 pp. £41.95 hbk. £18.95 pbk.

Recovering History, Constructing Race is informative and extensively researched. This is a book written for the person who wants to learn the complexities of Mexican American racial history. Menchaca represents Mexican American racial history as both ethnobiologically based and culturally based genealogies. The former is comprised of the interrelated histories of kinship and descent, migration and settlement of indigenous peoples of Mexico and the Southwest United States, Spanish conquerors and West African slaves. The latter is the history of difference in Mexico and the United States constituted through racial ideology, institutional practices and their material effects.

Menchaca situates her study within the theoretical framework of racial projects advanced by Michael Omi and Howard Winant. Racial projects are historically and geographically situated processes which simultaneously represent and organise human bodies and social structures along particular racial lines. Omi and Winant argue that race is a matter of social structure and cultural representation operationalised at both the level of state activity and policy and the level of everyday life. Menchaca's narrative focuses primarily on recovering the histories of Spanish, Mexican and US legislation and state (and Church)-regulatory practices constitutive of race in and through the organisation of migration and settlement, land-based wealth and status and ultimately, social privilege. The author devotes very little space to situating her

project within the literature engaged with critical race theory. This is the singular limitation to this book.

The book is organized into nine substantive chapters, an introduction and epilogue. The narrative is ordered chronologically and geographically, moving from pre-history to the present, from the Old World to the New World and from central Mexico to the US Southwest. Each chapter contains a wealth of detail which I only briefly outline below.

Chapter One *Racial Foundations* and Chapter Two *Racial Formations* present the peoples and institutional practices which come together to constitute the racial order in Mexico upon its conquest by Spain. *Racial Foundations* begins by placing the author's work in the context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century academic research into Mexican American prehistory. It briefly describes 'a textual politics of neglect', a body of knowledge, which until the recovery of history begun in the early 1970s, minimalised Mexican American historic roots in the Southwest. Drawing from archaeological and ethnohistorical sources, the chapter concludes with an account of Indian, Black and White roots of Mexican Americans in the indigenous peopling of the New World, West Africa and the Iberian Peninsula.

Racial Formations describes the conquest of Mexico's indigenous inhabitants and the forced migration of enslaved West Africans to Mexico. The chapter examines the establishment of a new social hierarchy, the *casta* system, predicated upon race and nativity and institutionalised through marriage laws, land titling and labour regimes. The author discusses the familiar institutions of inter-marriage between Spaniards and Indians which produced Mexico's *mestizo* population and the institution of *encomienda* through which Indian lands were alienated and Indian labour was coerced. Included, too, is a discussion of the less-familiar slave marriage codes through which unions between Black male slaves and Indian women had the effect of producing a free, albeit stigmatised, population of *afromestizo* offspring.

The stigma and discrimination attached to *afromestizos*, *mestizos* and Indians alike became the basis, according to Menchaca, for their migration towards the northern frontier, beginning in the 1600s, for the opportunities accorded them by a more relaxed racial order. Chapter Three *The Move North: the Gran Chichimeca and New Mexico*, Chapter Four *The Spanish Settlement of Texas and Arizona* and Chapter Five *The Settlement of California and the Twilight of the Spanish Period* detail the migratory movements of Spanish, *mestizo*, Indian and *afromestizo* military, missionaries, miners and settlers and the conquest of the indigenous people they encountered. Each of these chapters offers detailed accounts of the colonists engaged in the successful as well as failed attempts at establishing Spanish settlements, missions and *rancherías* and the military, religious and civilian institutions established for the domestication of the Indians of the northern territories. These chapters also provide evidence of the varied fortunes of colonists of colour who benefited by the relaxed racial hierarchy at the expense of indigenous peoples and of the increasingly blurred racial boundaries between colonists and indigenous peoples through inter-marriage over two centuries of Spanish rule.

Mexico's war of independence and the dismantling of Spain's racial order is the subject of Chapter Six *Liberal Racial Legislation during the Mexican Period*,

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1821–1848 and Chapter Seven *Land, Race and War, 1821–1848*. The new republic sought to redress the effects of Spain's *casta* system through land reform and the extension to Indians, *mestizos* and free *afromestizos* of the citizenship rights enjoyed by white Mexican citizens. Menchaca explores the contradictory consequences produced by these liberal racial reforms for people of the northern territories. The 'colour-blind' legal framework institutionalised in the northern territories ends with the loss of these territories to the United States following the Mexican American War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The US conquest of the northern territories and the reinstatement of a racial order which reinforced boundaries between peoples of colour and accorded few civil rights, access to land or citizenship to many Mexicans of colour is the subject of Chapter Eight *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Racialization of the Mexican Population*. Chapter Nine *Racial Segregation and Liberal Policies Then and Now* offers an analysis of US racial legislation and social movements through the twentieth century. The Epilogue concludes the narrative with the author's reflection on the ways in which historical processes of racialisation have influenced her husband's family's racial identification. Menchaca's work is an excellent resource for scholars.

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Sabloff, Jeremy A. (ed.) (2003) *Tikal: Dynasties, Foreigners, & Affairs of State: Advancing Maya Archaeology*. School of American Research (Santa Fe, New Mexico) and James Currey (Oxford), xxiv + 419 pp.

The subtitle does not adequately convey the contents of this book, whose origin was a 1999 seminar, 'Changing Perspectives on Tikal and the Development of Maya Civilization.' The book might have been called 'Updating Tikal Archaeology', and therein lies much of its value. Eight of the eleven chapters were written by members of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Tikal Project, directed by Edwin Shook and William Coe from 1956–1970. The information they provide on Tikal's architecture and artefacts summarises interpretations based on that project, much of which still awaits final publication, as it also updates those views using new findings at Tikal and elsewhere in the Maya area. The remaining authors provide data and insights into Tikal's archaeological and epigraphic records obtained since the end of the Pennsylvania project. Although not all topics could be addressed (e.g., environment, subsistence, art styles and burials receive short shrift), the principal subjects of Tikal archaeology are reviewed.

Maya scholars, other archaeologists and the interested public will want to peruse this volume to get a sense of the state of knowledge concerning what is arguably the most important Classic Maya city. Unfortunately, there is no introduction (beyond a brief preface) or conclusion to guide the reader through the mass of detail, although some chapters do point out important breakthroughs and changes in earlier thinking.

A more serious production blunder rendered the volume far less useful than it should have been—a decision to reproduce all maps and many figures at a size too small to be read and almost all photos too dark or blurry to be of much value. Readers without access to the Tikal maps and architectural and artefact illustrations will be at a disadvantage.

The book actually opens with a chapter on epigraphy by Simon Martin that attempts to reconstruct the fragmentary dynastic history at Tikal based on current readings of hieroglyphic inscriptions at that site and other centres. This editorial decision reflects the shift away from the ecological focus of the 1960–1970s and increasing emphasis on epigraphic evidence for Classic Maya history and politics. Archaeologists, including some of these chapter authors, are now attempting to correlate their evidence with the historic constructions of epigraphers. Given the longevity of Tikal's dynastic period and its prominence in the central Peten, the chronology provided by its inscriptions is a baseline against which the histories of other centres can begin to be correlated. In this vein, Robert Sharer in the final chapter discusses possible dynastic relationships in the Early Classic between Tikal and Copan to the east. Thus, the archaeological data are framed between two epigraphic discussions.

Martin compiles the new readings of the Tikal rulers' names so that the old nicknames—Curl Snout, Double Bird, etc.—can be laid to rest. Moreover, he outlines the cyclical rising and falling of Tikal's political fortunes from its dynastic beginnings (c. AD 100) to the demise of its royal house at the end of the ninth century. Mesoamericanists will be especially interested in the Tikal evidence for possible incursions in the late fourth century of elites from Teotihuacan—the great central Mexican highland capital—who may have introduced a new dynasty at Tikal as well as at other Maya centres, including Copan, as further discussed by Sharer. Following the documentary chronology, the chapter by T. Patrick Culbert presents the ceramic sequence based on the Pennsylvania project excavations. Much of the archaeological evidence from Tikal continues to be cross-dated using associated ceramics and Culbert notes that absolute dates have yet to be firmly established for all of the ceramic complexes. Hattula Moholy-Nagy reports on all of the other categories of Tikal artifacts and ecofacts, including what they may tell us regarding sociopolitical organisation and economy and how their changes over time give a slightly different perspective on Tikal's history. Neither of the two artifact chapters has a single illustration. Settlement patterns are the subject of chapters by William Haviland on settlement and demography at Tikal itself and by Robert Fry on the Tikal periphery, which entails a discussion of the city's boundaries and likely relationships to outlying minor centres.

The next four chapters focus on Tikal's architecture. Peter Harrison reports on the Central Acropolis (likely the palace or royal court), Christopher Jones on the role of the East Plaza Ball Court in the Late Classic rebirth of Tikal's political prominence and H. Stanley Loten on the North Acropolis (the necropolis for Tikal's early rulers). Marshall Becker interprets the functions and meanings of the different plaza group types, many of which are residential. Finally, Juan Pedro Laporte updates Tikal archaeology with a summary of major excavation and restoration projects undertaken by Guatemalan archaeologists since the end of the Pennsylvania project, with primary emphasis on the Lost World complex. One of the goals of this book was to coordinate

the information drawn from these various projects and a number of the contributors identified questions requiring future research at Tikal.

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Kleinpenning, Jan M. G. (2003) *Paraguay 1515–1870; a Thematic Geography of its Development. Two volumes.* Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana (Madrid), Vervuert (Frankfurt am Main) Volume 1, pp. 1–882; Volume 2, pp. 883–1819.

It is always striking to be reminded of the extraordinary history of Paraguay and in particular its isolation from the rest of the world in cultural and economic matters, right up to 1870, which is where this encyclopaedic account of the country's economic development ends. Through the 1800s, three dictators controlled or owned outright, nearly all the land and its resources and directed foreign trade. But the exceptional evolution is also due to the country's isolation from the main currents of colonial interest of the mother country, Spain and to its internal geographic position, which has plagued its geopolitics up till the present day. But these matters are not the focus of the present work, which concentrates largely on the evolution of internal settlement and economy. Professor Kleinpenning has contributed by far the most in the English language in modern times on Paraguay, for geographers and indeed for social scientists in general; he has also completed a earlier book *Rural Paraguay 1870–1932*, (published in 1992), which complements the present offering and takes the story up to the time of the Chaco war, so that the historical reach is quite comprehensive.

This comprehensive character is in fact a principal feature of the two volumes reviewed here, which serve as much as review and research source for students, as for a presentation of original research views and conclusions. The bibliography is huge and multi-lingual and brings to light especially the large volume of work done in various parts of Europe, most of which has been unused and indeed unknown to English language writers. In particular, he has read and used the large Latin American collection in Berlin, at the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, which covers both the substantial number of German language publications and the Spanish materials coming from Paraguay and elsewhere. This collection is acknowledged by the author as the main source for much of his writing, along with libraries in Asunción and the Latin American collection at Austin, Texas.

As is freely admitted by the author, the basis of the work is not field research in Paraguay but the intensive study of the written documents in the north European libraries. A large glossary of words is appended, some of them standard Spanish, but also many in Guaraní and words in local Spanish dialect or ones which are only encountered in historical sources. Separate complete indexes for subjects, personal and geographical names are provided. The overall treatment is identifiably that of a geographer and is illustrated by many maps, prepared specifically for this publication.

Kleinpenning's structure for the opus is to take first a general review of history from the standpoint of settlement or occupation of territory by the Spanish colonists. Focus on the settlement or occupation of land is a long-standing interest of the author, having written monographs in the 1970s and 1980s on the colonisation of the Paraguayan Chaco and of the Brazilian Amazon. This of course includes detailed consideration of the role of the Jesuits as well as the other missionary orders and carries the story forward as far as the first foreign colonies of the nineteenth century. This part occupies most of the first book, the remainder being taken up by the consideration of the main factors of the economy, land and labour. The portrayal of colonial and neo-colonial history shows it to be similar to the rest of Latin America, with a major difference, in the almost total control or ownership of land by the state, right up till the late nineteenth century.

For this reviewer, there was felt a lack of use of any comparisons with, for example, other South American colonies, which would have highlighted some of his points. In the second volume, the subdivision is into the main areas of economic areas, arable farming, livestock raising, yerba tea gathering and timber extraction in the forests, industries and trade and communication. A separate major section comprises a detailed investigation of population at the various periods, querying the often misleading earlier estimates of population size and structure and producing some well-balanced conclusions, especially for the nineteenth century.

For the first volume, one of the main themes is the way that Spanish methods for subjugating and settling the territory actually failed in this land, because it was neither the ordered landscape of the Central Andes (or for matter of Africa and India) with a network of towns already in place, nor the wild forests and lowland plains whose occupants could be simply replaced; instead it was occupied by Indian farmers and fishers whose work was required but who resisted domination. Thus, the Spanish, who founded towns everywhere as the basis for settlement, could not induce settlement around them and were forced to abandon many of their early centres. Urban development depended on an organised production of surpluses from the countryside and this was not easily induced in a land where there were no precedents and there was uncertain control over the rural population. This was especially so for the secular sites but also applied even to the missionary-led villages, which always had a more sensitive approach to bringing Indians into cooperation with their organisation.

This theme, of unsuccessful and incomplete occupation of the land, is crucial to the understanding of all Paraguay's later history, linking to the state control of resources in the nineteenth century (in 1870, over 90% of the land was in state hands) and to the losses of territory to neighbour countries up till the twentieth century. It still represents a threat to the integrity of Paraguay as an independent state.

As for the missionaries and the settlements they created, a second major theme in the first volume, there is a well-balanced account, giving credit for their relative success and humane treatment as compared with the secular settlements. The economic prosperity fostered by the Jesuits is recognised, but even in the cultural field, it is pointed out that the Guaraní language was preserved partly by the Jesuits' insistence on mastery of the language by their field missionaries.

In the second volume, one of the most interesting sections, to which three chapters are devoted, is the yerba mate industry, described in considerable detail. Again, the Jesuits feature largely in this account, where the allegation of unfair competition with the secular producers is rehearsed and shown to be false. The detailed discussion also includes what is known to be true, the horrific working condition of the native people forced to work in this industry, especially those outside the mission villages. It is of course right that great attention should be paid to this industry, as it was central to the economy in the late colonial period. In 1816, it contributed three quarters of all Paraguayan exports by value, much of which accruing to the state.

A final section of the second volume covers population in considerable detail, at various times and with published estimates as tables included in the text. This is the most complete and balanced discussion of historical population for the country and it needed careful sifting of the mostly unreliable statistics published in the country. The story includes the time of the remarkable decline caused by the War of the Triple Alliance in the 1860s, for which the best estimate of the tragic loss is allowed to be 50% of the whole population. Paraguay, which always had a small total population, enters the 1870s with only a little more than 200,000 people.

As the fruit of many years of research on this country, the two volumes provide an exceptional and authoritative collection which will stand as reference work of use to scholars for many years.

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Gaspar de Alba, Alicia (ed.) (2003) *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture & Chicana/o Subjectivities*. Palgrave Macmillan (New York), xv + 325 pp. \$85.00 hbk. \$26.95 pbk.

The title of this interdisciplinary anthology evokes images of black velvet art and related Chicana/o art forms, flamboyantly emotive and often beautiful barrio art pieces sold daily in Mexican American tourist havens such as Los Angeles' Olvera Street. Not coincidentally, the images depicted in such art work often rely heavily on popular and mediated notions of gender and sexuality and reveal both sources of energy and fault lines of Chicana/o popular culture. As anthology editor Alicia Gaspar de Alba notes on her choice of title, 'What is more evocative of sexed and gendered barrio representations than those images of voluptuous *soldaderas*, feathered warriors, airbrushed Chevys, tattooed *cholos* and sacred virgins?' (p. xxiv).

Similarly, the widely diverse essays that comprise *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture and Chicana/o Sexualities* explore questions that reveal the rich complexity of gender, sexuality and identity inherent in Chicana/o cultural rituals and cultural forms. As such, the collection builds on Gaspar de Alba's groundbreaking work in Chicana/o popular culture studies, most notably *Chicano Art Inside/Outside the Master's House: Cultural Politics and the CARA Exhibition* (University of Texas Press, 1998). This work has profound implications that reach far beyond the term 'popular'. As Tomás Ybarra Frausto reminds in a foreword to the anthology, popular culture serves as a way

in which 'we carry in ourselves the meanings of the past, our encounters with the present and our aspirations of the future' (p. xvii). As a neglected 'alter-Native culture' (Gaspar de Alba, xxi) within popular culture and American studies, Chicana/o popular culture continues to be a vitally important area of critical study. The contributors of *Velvet Barrios* move this scholarship decisively forward, underscoring the richness and vitality of both the cultural forms under scrutiny and this nascent area of study.

The collection is divided into five cohesive groupings of essays. Four of these sections correspond with aspects of popular culture as delineated by Gaspar de Alba – cultural icons, cultural myths, rituals and stereotypes – while a fifth section deals specifically with the topic of figurative and literal border crossing in relation to Chicanas and Chicanos. As such, the anthology is well organised and lends itself easily to comparative analysis on the part of both scholars and students.

The three essays in the first section, 'A Barrio Altar: Heroes & Icons', explore popular culture forms in relation to traditional and non-traditional cultural icons. In 'A Chicana Hagiography for the Twenty-first Century: Ana Castillo's *Locas Santas* (Crazy Saints)', Rita Cano Alcalá examines how the female protagonists in Castillo's novel are constructed as everyday saints in relation to the hagiography of Chicana icons La Llorona, La Malinche and La Virgen de Guadalupe. Similarly, Arturo Madrid analyses the appearance and implications of the 'authentic' Pachuco figure in U.S. literature in 'In Search of the Authentic Pachuco: An Interpretive Essay'. Finally, Gabriel S. Estrada addresses changing norms of Chicano cultural nationalism and masculinity in relation to the male body in 'The 'Macho' Body as Social Malinche'.

The next section, 'Mythic Barrios: Cultural Myths', includes essays that plumb the shifting meanings of central Chicana/o cultural myths. Laura Gutiérrez interrogates the meaning of Mexico in stage performance in 'Deconstructing the Mythical Homeland: Mexico in Contemporary Chicana Performance'. Ralf Rodríguez argues for a rethinking of notions of *familia* (family) in response to queer realities in 'A Poverty of Relations: On Not 'Making *Familia* from Scratch,' but Scratching *Familia*'. Dionne Espinosa lays the groundwork for a consideration of Chicano and particularly Chicana teen agency in the reception and production of popular music in "'*Tanto Tiempo Disfrutamos* (So much time we enjoyed)...': Revisiting the Gender and Sexual Politics of Chicana/o Youth Culture in East Los Angeles in the 1960s." In the last essay of this section, Richard T. Rodríguez explores intertwining discourses (racially empowering, heterosexist and homophobic) in Chicano rap music in 'The Verse of the Godfather: Signifying Family and Nationalism in Chicano Rap and Hip-Hop Culture'.

The third section, 'Barrio Rites: Popular Rituals', delves into such Chicana/o cultural traditions and rituals as baseball, *quinceñeras* (celebrations marking girls' fifteenth birthday), cooking and low riders, questioning how norms of gender and sexuality shape and are shaped by these rituals. The essays include Eric Avila's 'Revisiting the Chavez Ravine: Baseball, Urban Renewal and the Gendered Civic Culture of Postwar Los Angeles,' 'La *Quinceñera*: Making Gender and Ethnic Identities,' by Karen Mary Dávalos; "Only Cauldrons Know the Secrets of Their Soups: Queer Romance and *Like Water for Chocolate*,' by Miguel A. Segovia and Denise Michelle Sandoval's 'Cruising Through Low Rider Culture: Chicana/o Identity in the Marketing of *Low Rider* Magazine'. This is followed by a section titled "Border

Barriers: 'A Tradition of Long Walks'", which centres on the topic of literal and figurative border crossing. The essays in this section, 'Rights of Passage: From Cultural Schizophrenia to Border Consciousness in Cheech Marin's *Born in East L.A.*', by Alicia Gaspar de Alba, 'Gendered Bodies and Borders in Contemporary Chicana@ Performance and Literature', by Suzanne Chávez-Silverman, and 'Lost in the Cinematic Landscape: Chicanas as Lloronas in Contemporary Film', by Domino Renee Pérez test and illuminate border theory as lived by Chicano and Chicana performers and film characters.

Finally, the last section, 'Velvet Barrios: *Este-reo-tipos/Stereotypes*', includes essays that focus squarely on how mediated images and stereotypes of Chicanas have played out in various aspects of Anglo and Chicano popular culture in the U.S. In 'Lupe's Song: On the Origins of Mexican-Woman-Hating', Deena J. González explores anti-Mexicana (Mexican female) sentiment in fraternity songs and rituals. In 'Resisting "Beauty" and *Real Women Have Curves*', María P. Figueroa analyses Latina resistance to Anglo-dominant beauty norms. M. Teresa Marrero takes on the topic of Chicana reinvention in 'Out of the Fringe: Desire and Homosexuality in the 1990s Latino Theater'. In the concluding essay, Catrióna Rueda Esquibél explores the limitations of the Malinche image as seen in velvet and calendar art in 'Velvet Malinche: Fantasies of "the" Aztec Princess in the Chicana/o Sexual Imagination.' The collection also is capped by the Oscar 'The Oz' Madrigal's inspired comic narrative, '*Los Borrados: A Chicano Quest for Identity in a Post-Apocalyptic, Culturally Defunct Hispanic Utopia (A Reinterpretive Chicano Comic)*', which opens on a Hispanic-dominant U.S., renamed 'Hispanica,' in the year 2039.

The provocative essays that comprise *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture and Chicana/o Sexualities* make key advances to the fields of popular culture studies and Chicana/o studies, laying the groundwork for a greater understanding of the complex realities of gender and sexuality as lived in Chicana/o cultural forms and practices.

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Branford, Sue and Kucinski, Bernardo (2003) *Politics Transformed: Lula and the Workers' Party*. Latin American Bureau. 144 pp. £6.99 pbk.

For those interested in understanding the victory of Lula in the Brazilian presidential elections and the limits and possibilities that his government faces, *Politics Transformed; Lula and the Workers' Party*, is a concise and useful introduction. Its utility comes from its ability to connect Lula to his political party, the Workers' Party (PT), and in contextualising the Lula victory within the legacies of the Cardoso governments.

Sue Branford's first chapter deals with the pre-history of Lula the politician by looking at Lula the trade unionist and Lula the individual. Her excellent narrative skills help the reader understand the context of social and political change that created the conditions for 'Lula the politician' to emerge and for the Workers' Party to form.

Limits of space mean that there is little insight into the trajectory of Lula the politician after 1980. Her second chapter contextualises the limits and possibilities that the PT government is confronting. It deals with the economic and social consequences of Cardoso's neoliberal reform, via a well-supported critique of its inability to develop and democratise Brazil. She shows the difficulties that the government will have in satisfying the demands of both IFIs and Brazilian voters. Missing is an analysis of the political and ideological consequences of this process. Cardoso's reform relied on a political coalition that strengthened the power of traditional political elites and their mechanisms of domination. Cardoso's project was premised on the continuation of tradition and conservatism, whilst ideologically justified as the incarnation of modernity and development. Herein lay its ability to politically disorientate and to a great extent ideologically disarm the PT.

Bernardo Kucinski and Hilary Wainwright's chapters place Lula in institutional context. Kucinski's chapter gives an account of the development of the Workers' Party in the 1980s and 1990s, stressing its rupture with the practises of traditional political elites. He brings to the fore the ideological differences within the party and the difficulties that the PT has faced in winning elections. His analysis of the causes of electoral defeat in the 1990s suggests that it was the result of internal infighting between different tendencies, and subsequent divergences in regional and local electoral strategies. This analysis captures an important dynamic of the PT's electoral performance, but almost to the detriment of emphasising the positive contribution to the party's pluralism that ideological differences have brought. Kucinski highlights the recent problems that the moderation of PT electoral discourse and the widening of electoral alliances have caused between the PT membership and left tendencies and its leadership. Perhaps, a way to understand this would be to look at the changes in the party that have occurred since its inception. An analysis of the development of the party shows that it has failed to create the conditions for a mass-based participatory political party. This problem has been accentuated as the party has gained more elected offices and its decision making power and resources have become internally lopsided, moving away from the construction of the party and its relationship with mass movements towards the construction of a party of government.

This change is perhaps best illustrated by the work of Wainwright who gives an analysis and description of the workings of the participatory budget in the city of Porto Alegre. Here, we see how much of the creative effort of the party has gone into local administration and how this has resulted in a re-articulation of a participatory social democracy on the local level. The irony is that a party which began with a deep mistrust of the state and sought to strengthen the independent political power of the popular classes via the development of a popular political party, has consolidated its relationship with the popular classes as representatives of local government. Whilst this relationship, in the form of the participatory budget, challenges traditional political mechanisms of control and co-optation, it has been accompanied by the erosion of the development of an independent popular class political party able to offer an alternative to neoliberalism.

This book is an insightful and at times provocative contribution to a debate that is necessary if we are to understand the future prospects of the left in Brazil and Latin America.

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Auyero, Javier (2003) *Contentious Lives. Two Argentine Women, Two Protests and the Quest for Recognition*. Duke University Press (Durham and London), xv +228 pp. £14.95.

Levitsky, Steven (2003) *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America. Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, UK), xii +290 pp. £18.99 pbk, £50 hbk.

The social context of Peronism remains a contested research question. The long-standing debates on the politics of Peronism- and the role of trade unions therein are now being matched by in-depth studies of how Peronism is socially rooted which explains, in part, how it might continue to thrive as a social movement even after the politically disastrous Menemista decade.

Javier Auyero previously wrote *Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita* (Duke University Press, 2000) dealing more explicitly with Peronism, but the book reviewed here, in its more personalised story of two young women, engages also with Peronism as a social movement. The focus is around two intense episodes of social protest in Santiago del Estero (1993) and the southern oil towns of Cutral-co and Plaza Huincul (1996). The story is told through a reconstruction of two women activists' lives but also through intensive newspaper, video and documentary research. The life histories of the two women (Nana and Laura) reveal overwhelming gender oppression and the oppressive weight of unemployment in contemporary Argentina. But, they tell us also of how collective action is generated and sustained along with its consequences both at an individual and at a social level. Political corruption looms as large as structural adjustment policies in setting the context for the episodes of collective action studies by Auyero.

The Santiago del Estero *estallido* (explosion) occurred under the notable Peronist *caudillo* 'El Tata' Juarez who first became the governor of the impoverished northern province in 1989. Re-elected in 1995 and 1999, Juarez and his wife Nina Aragonés (head of the powerful Peronist Women's Branch) led a successful political patronage machine distributing jobs, housing and goods and services generally to the population. The *pueblada* in the southern region of Cutral-Co culminated in an agreement with another Peronist politician Governor Sapag. When he signed an agreement with Laura as representative of the *piqueteros*, he recognised that the protest was 'a clear demonstration of the hunger suffered by the population' (p. 21). Sapag promised, as a good Peronist politician, that there would be jobs and be food and that electricity and gas would be reconnected for those families that had fallen into arrears. In both cases, from

above and from below, Peronism was ever present as the inescapable social and political context for contestation.

Steven Levitsky's book comes from a very different epistemological tradition: US political science rather than Charles Tilly inspired ethnography. Nevertheless, it joins the debate on how Peronism was (and is) more of a social movement than a political party, in practice. This labour-based party had in fact a very weakly institutionalised or routinised structure. Peronism could thus make pragmatic leaps, as most notably under Menem, which allowed it to survive (and prosper) even in the era of neo-liberal globalisation. There is an interesting emphasis on the 'chaos and flexibility' (p. 84) which resulted from the low-level routinisation of Peronism. That meant that under Menem, much of Peronism as a social or grass-root movement could continue in its popular-national tradition, while the party machine implemented the neo-liberal agenda over society. Levitsky argues with considerable evidence that contrary to the conventional account 'traditional Peronism remained intact at the local and provincial levels at the end of the 1990s' (p. 181).

We can thus begin to distinguish between a political or macro-level Peronism and a social or micro-level *Justicialismo*. The tradition of 'social justice' lived on in the *barrios* and small towns. Activists could thus 'retreat' to the social world of Peronism/*Justicialismo* when Menem closed off all possibilities of social transformation at the official level. Of course, this 1990s style 'social dimension' was not the hardy labourist nationalism of the 1950s or 1960s, rather a watered down version described by one activist as a 'party based on social work' (p. 143) rather than a worker-based party. Nevertheless, this was still a social movement and, through its access to political office, one that was able to dispense considerable material benefits to its constituents. This last issue, not really explained by a simple 'patronage' theory, goes a long way to explaining the success of Peronism and the failure of leftist alternatives such as FREPASO that were simply unable to deliver.

Auyero and Levitsky between them provide considerable insights into Peronism as a complex social phenomenon. They have much to offer over and beyond what is only skimmed over here. They are both, in their different but complementary ways, welcome additions to the literature.

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