

Book Reviews

Moore, Jerry D. (2014) *A Prehistory of South America: Ancient Cultural Diversity on the Least Known Continent*, University Press of Colorado (Boulder), xix + 529 pp. \$39.95 pbk.

Jerry Moore’s hefty new textbook presents a veritable *tour-de-force* of data exposition, artfully crafted into distillations of prehistoric cultural sequences in what he evocatively styles as Earth’s ‘least known continent’. His book is exceptionally good at what it does, but ultimately disappointing for what it does not do.

Clearly designed for undergraduate courses in South American prehistory, the text is replete with crisp graphics, striking full-colour photographs and several eye-arresting satellite images that enliven what is, on the whole, a conventional, chronologically ordered depiction of archaeological sites, material objects, sociocultural life-ways and ecological adaptations of the continent’s indigenous populations. The production values of the book are handsome (although a few typographical errors do appear, such as ‘progress’ (p. 183) when ‘progressive’ was intended, or an inaccurate attribution of figure 7.9 (p. 231) which appears not to exist, but such minor flaws are not surprising in a book of this magnitude). Moore’s prose is serviceable and mercifully jargon-free.

The book opens with a compressed, but well-articulated history of South American archaeology followed by a continent-wide *précis* of the changing landscapes and environmental conditions to which human communities adapted over the course of several millennia. This introductory material is followed by a series of chapters, arranged mostly in chronological order, dealing with the initial peopling of the Americas, the development of sedentary communities based on intensive exploitation of maritime, riverine and terrestrial resources, the coalescence of socially complex societies, and the emergence of states and empires, with one chapter reserved for extended treatment of the Inca Empire for which exists some (mostly) non-indigenous historical documentation derived from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish invasion and occupation of Peru. In a brief concluding chapter, Moore describes the methods and some results of historical archaeology, treating selected case studies from Peru, Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

The principal virtue of the book resides in its well-chosen treatment of archaeological research from regions that rarely receive significant coverage. Most textbooks on South America prehistory concentrate almost exclusively on cultural developments along the western edge of the continent, in the mountainous highlands, Pacific coast and *altiplano* of the Andean republics. In contrast, *A Prehistory of South America* also adroitly encapsulates cultural developments over several millennia in the various sub-regions of the vast Amazon basin, along the Southern Atlantic coasts of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay and on the far southern *pampas* of Patagonia. Moore’s impressive scholarship in reviewing, appraising and skilfully synthesising the extensive, multilingual and ever-burgeoning literature on South American archaeology, ethnohistory and ethnography is estimable. One rarely has the opportunity in a single text to make direct comparisons across the

1 material culture, economic adaptations, social structure and political organisation of
2 coeval Andean and Amazonian societies that this book affords.

3 The case studies of the diverse cultural trajectories and socio-ecological adaptations
4 that Moore selects for exposition serve as valuable points of reference for any reader
5 seeking a data-rich overview of continental prehistory. As a discriminating synopsis of
6 South American prehistory grounded in detailed descriptions of settlements, buildings,
7 objects, subsistence strategies, and the diverse adaptive pathways of human communi-
8 ties, Moore's textbook succeeds admirably.

9 Yet, the descriptive richness of the book is not matched by an equivalent attention to
10 theoretical frameworks that would serve to organise explanatory narratives of prehis-
11 toric cultural evolution and social change. Throughout the book, Moore refers only in
12 passing to conceptual models critical for understanding, for example, the processes that
13 led to inequalities, the emergence of political hierarchies and increasing social complex-
14 ity; the foundational principles that structured distinct social orders, such as patterns of
15 kin-relatedness, reciprocity, redistribution, obligation, esoteric knowledge, charismatic
16 and bureaucratic authority; the indigenous concepts and categories of social power and
17 how these were legitimised and exercised in distinct cultural contexts; or the nature
18 of social ontologies among indigenous populations. That is to say, the fundamentally
19 descriptive book written by Moore provides us with the basic data of prehistory, but
20 does not consistently frame these data in coherent narratives that propose causal and
21 comparative explanations of the cultural dispositions, processes and mechanisms that
22 brought structure and meaning to the social worlds of South America's indigenous popu-
23 lations. Absent an explicit body of theoretical concepts and interpretive models to guide
24 their reading, the intended audience will become quickly mired in a descriptive litany
25 of settlements, mounds, dwellings, habitation floors, artefacts and landscapes that con-
26 stitutes the bulk of the book. However valuable Moore's substantive description and
27 graphic illustration of the material culture of these South American indigenous soci-
28 eties, I suspect that, in the end, most readers will pose the question: 'but what does it all
29 mean?'

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31 Alan L. Kolata
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34 Masson, Marilyn and Peraza Lope, Carlos (2000) *Kukulcan's Realm: Urban Life at*
35 *Ancient Mayapán*, University Press of Colorado (Boulder), xxx + 624 pp. \$85.00 hbk.
36 \$39.95 pbk.

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39 In *Kukulcan's Realm: Urban Life at Ancient Mayapán*, Marilyn Masson and Carlos
40 Peraza Lope present the rich details of their archaeological research to construct a com-
41 pelling argument for the importance of Mayapan in the pre-Columbian Mesoamerican
42 world. Although largely abandoned by the 1440s, Mayapan is located only 40 km south
43 of Yucatan's modern capital of Merida, and was never a lost or forgotten ruin. Settled
44 as early as 350 BC, Mayapan thrived in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries AD. This
45 was the Late Postclassic period that also witnessed the flowering of the Aztec Empire
46 in Central Mexico and the K'iche and Kaqchikel Maya kingdoms in the highlands of
47 Guatemala to the south. Mayapan's rulers governed an extensive territory and the city
48 functioned as a major hub in an expansive trade network. The authors paint a picture
49 of networks of commoner vendors and merchants operating over shorter distances tied

into far-flung trade ventures controlled by nobles that reached from northern Mexico south to Panama. Indeed, Mayapan was so important that the very word 'Maya', which conjures up images of glorious ancient American cities and thriving, modern indigenous peoples, may have its origins in Mayapan.

Yet, Mayapan has long endured a scholarly and public image that suffered in the shadow of earlier 'Classic period' centres such as Tikal and Palenque with their soaring pyramids and dynastic histories inscribed in stone. No less a scholar than Tatiana Proskouriakoff, who conducted research at Mayapan in the mid-twentieth century, described the Postclassic Maya culture as 'degenerate' and 'the dramatic culmination of a long process of cultural decay' (p. 24). So, too, Mayapan is dwarfed by its neighbour 100 km to the east, Chichen Itza, an earlier metropolis that dominates the modern imagination of the Maya in Yucatan. The public has been groomed to see Chichen as the glorious model that the later Mayapan sought vainly to emulate, yielding only a lesser copy. There is no doubt that the architecture at Mayapan suffers by comparison with the larger, and heavily reconstructed, architecture at Chichen Itza. But as Marilyn Masson and Carlos Peraza Lope note, 'Poorer ruins do not a poorer civilization make' (p. 25), and the authors' desire to overcome the unfavourable comparison to earlier cities and substantiate the significance of Mayapan and Postclassic Maya civilisation more generally pervades this book.

As Masson and Peraza Lope highlight, Mayapan was a truly urban centre, with a population of at least 20,000 people with densities approaching 77–126 people per hectare, approaching that of modern cities. The authors take the opportunity to apply a direct historical approach to their research, working back and forth from the historical to the archaeological data and assuming cultural continuity into the relatively shallow past of Mayapan. Presented here in great detail are syntheses of historical and archaeological data covering all aspects of Mayapan's urban, and suburban, life and its political and economic world in the Postclassic world of Yucatan and wider Mesoamerica. The focus of this work is squarely on issues of political economy, and particularly the economic integration of the household into the broader life of city and state. The authors conclude that to understand these topics it is necessary to conduct research that approaches the hierarchical society not from the top down or bottom up, but from both directions at the same time, one informing the other.

This book is timely, appearing at a moment when research on the Postclassic Maya has burgeoned in other regions. Indeed, as Masson and Peraza Lope point out, we now have a growing number of books and articles that richly detail Maya politics, economy and cultural in the periphery of the Mayapan world-system (e.g. Masson, 2001; Rice and Rice, 2012). Yet, it is only with *Kukulkan's Realm* that we can fully understand life in the core. As the authors effectively argue, we must see Mayapan for what it was: a cosmopolitan metropolis that dominated political and economic life in Yucatan and surrounding regions for two centuries. It is not, and was never, merely a poor copy of Chichen Itza and a last grasp at urban glory for a waning Maya civilisation. It was instead a unique and important city in its own right, its dynamism reflecting the enduring creativity of a Maya culture that continues to shape life in Mexico and Guatemala to this day.

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References

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Schuessler, Michael K. (2013) *Foundational Arts: Mural Painting and Missionary Theater in New Spain*, The University of Arizona Press (Tucson), 240 pp. \$50.

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The thesis of Schuessler's book is that sixteenth-century Mexican missions and their murals should be understood in conjunction with the development of missionary theatre. He focuses here on two Augustinian missions, at Itzmiquilpan and Actopan, suggesting that their murals were created in dialogue with early dramatic works. By focusing on these two Augustinian sites, this interdisciplinary study treads a well-worn path. Still, Schuessler makes some new contributions, highlighted below.

One of the strengths of this study is its attention to the historiography of both Mexican literature and art history. The author re-evaluates early writings produced in New Spain, such as the ethnographic texts of Motolinía or Sahagún, as 'Indo-Christian literature' (chapter 1). He weighs in on long-standing debates about Mexican theatre, suggesting that missionary drama should be incorporated into the literary canon. He invents new analytical categories, the most memorable being 'bookish architecture' (p. 6), to describe early mission buildings based on prints or textual sources. Schuessler's inclusion of so much historiography, though, does make his text's weaknesses more obvious. For example, much of the material he presents has been presented before by others; the original contributions here are few in number. Secondly, a number of major voices are left out of his reviews, mostly US scholars. Louise Burkhart, a major authority on Nahuatl theatre, is hardly mentioned. Donna Pierce's early work on Itzmiquilpan is disregarded. The scholarship of Jaime Lara on Mexican missions, the most thorough and original work on the subject in either English or Spanish, deserves more consideration, especially given Lara's original contributions to the topic of missions and theatre.

Nonetheless, Schuessler does offer some new finds that nuance our understanding of these two major Augustinian monuments. He offers new ideas about Itzmiquilpan, the site of the most remarkable Indo-Christian murals in Mexico, which depict life-size indigenous warriors in battle. Previous scholars linked the murals to the Chichimec War in the 1560s, fought between converted Otomí natives and 'Chichimecs' resisting Spanish incursion. Additionally, scholars suggested that the murals were created in anticipation of the Augustinian chapter meeting held at the site in 1572. Schuessler rejects this idea, instead suggesting that the murals document the local clerics' view of the recent Chichimec War, an observation not significantly different from previous interpretations put forth by Elena Estrada de Gerlero and Donna Pierce. More importantly, Schuessler links particular details in the murals to a specific chronicle, by Gonzalo de Las Casas, *Guerra de los chichimecas* (*Chichimec War*), of circa 1571. Thus, he rejects Olivier Debrouse's previous suggestion of a different, later text as the source, *Relación de méritos de D. Pedro Martín de Toro* (pp. 109–10). Schuessler's identification of an earlier textual source is significant.

The rest of the study focuses on Actopan, the importance of Last Judgement paintings in early colonial Mexico, and their links to theatrical works on the subject. He

considers an important text here, attributed to friar Andrés de Olmos, *El auto del juicio final* (*The Last Judgement*), presented in a final appendix. Through close analysis, Schuessler suggests that certain details in Actopan's frightening Last Judgement murals were inspired by Olmos's text. He links, for example, certain tortures represented here to Nahuatl precedents; in another case, he singles out the depiction of a sinful female figure as inspired by Olmos. Schuessler is right to draw attention to the importance of the Last Judgement in the minds of missionising friars and to link pictures of the theme to concurrent theatrical works.

In closing, there are new contributions to consider in this book, although this new data does not significantly change our understanding of these two monuments. The book's strength as an interdisciplinary study – one that combines literature with art history – is also, at times, a weakness. While art historians will benefit from the author's deep knowledge of Mexican literature, they will find the methodology for interpreting art works old-fashioned.

The author's approach closely replicates Erwin Panofsky's iconology. Art historians will wish for a more nuanced understanding of the strengths and weakness of iconographic readings, particularly in the context of the colonial Americas. The other issue that merits consideration is his use of the term 'mestizo art', a racialized label that has been considered problematic by some art historians, dating back to George Kubler in the early 1960s. Some recognition of the controversy would be welcome. Criticisms aside, though, the strength of this text is its knowledge of literature and its close reading of murals at two Augustinian sites in conjunction with period texts. Schuessler's additions to our knowledge of these monuments deepen our understanding of the dramatic events that transpired in Mexico in the sixteenth century.

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Kirk, Stephanie and Rivett, Sarah (eds.) (2014) *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas*, University of Pennsylvania Press (Philadelphia), vi + 352 pp.

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The literature on how Christianity took root in the Western Hemisphere is extensive (e.g. Dussel, 1982, 1992; Hall, 1990; 2011; Gardina Pestana, 2010; Schwaller, 2011; Bremer, 2012). Nevertheless, Stephanie Kirk's and Sarah Rivett's *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas* makes a novel and exciting contribution to this congested field. Simultaneous scrutiny of the two Americas instead of a traditional either-or approach is challenging but conducive to better understanding of the early Christianity in North and Latin America. The idea for this book, as the editors admit (p. 351), stemmed from the identification of provocative points of contact and divergence in their individual research topics – on New England Puritanism and colonial Mexican Catholicism, respectively. Religion, as the future editors of this book quickly realised, offers an underexplored but exciting rubric of comparative analysis between the two Americas.

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The result is a fascinating, carefully written, and beautifully illustrated collection of ten essays that brings together scholars of English, History, Divinity, Art History and Anthropology, and has a fourfold aim. First, the book critically examines the various paths of the transatlantic crossing of early modern Christianity, its adaptation to and transformation in the Americas. Second, it scrutinises the impact of this process

on the spiritual and social lives of local indigenous populations. Third, it looks at the idiosyncrasies of the colonial societies that emerged through such cultural and religious contacts. And, perhaps most importantly, *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas* examines the effect that all this had on Christianity back in Europe.

At the core of the book lies a fairly simple but often overlooked fact. As Kirk and Rivett put it in the introduction, 'upon arriving in the Americas, religious individuals necessarily traded a portion of their Old World identity for colonial American selves' (pp. 5–6). All contributors to the volume take this historical reality seriously and diverge from the relatively conventional approach to Christianisation. Just as we now talk about the 'Latin Americanisation of (American) religion' (e.g. Martin, 1990) – or 'Africanisation of Christianity' to bring an example from another cultural context (e.g. Droogers, 1977; Kaplan, 1986) –, it is essential to understand the spread of early modern Christianity in the colonial Americas in terms of reciprocal religious exchanges, not unidirectional patron–client or donor–recipient dynamics. In other words, the contributors to this volume seek to understand how Christianity not only transformed the New World but was itself transformed by it.

The essays highlight trans-hemispheric continuities in the formation of Anglo-Protestant settlements in North America and the Ibero-Catholic missions in Latin America. This is a fresh look at the Ibero-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant division that has perpetuated familiar cultural stereotypes such as the association of Anglo-Protestantism with the spread of modernity and Ibero-Catholicism with monolithic Christian conversion and repressive Catholic regimes. As the authors maintain, the trajectories of Iberian Catholicism and English Protestantism in the two Americas were not identical but neither were they opposed to each other. There exist fruitful inter-American points of contact concerning, for example, the tensions between liturgical practices and popular religious manifestations. Obviously, the differences of timing and environment of religious encounters in North and Latin America make the task of drawing comparisons complicated, and one should proceed with such a comparative methodological approach with great caution. Laudably, however, the individual essays – discussing topics as diverse as the demonological interpretation of Native religions, martyrdom, piety, and missionisation, to name a few – carefully attend to specific dimensions of conversion, communal structure and religious authority unique to the experiences of the Ibero-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant regions. The authors are well aware that the differences in the political, economic and religious climates of the Old World countries should not be ignored in order to make general claims about New World settlements and colonisation.

The individual essays of the compilation remain perhaps too freestanding and the book would have gained from a concluding chapter tying these separate case studies together, possibly also building a bridge between the religious patterning of the early Americas and its legacies for the contemporary religious exchanges between the North and the South, manifested, most notably, in the rapid spread of Evangelical Protestantism to most of Latin America. Despite this, the volume is a highly recommendable read for anyone interested in the institutionalisation of Christianity in the New World, North–South comparisons, and the relationship between religion and modernity in the early Americas.

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Candiani, Vera (2014) *Dreaming of Dry Land: Environmental Transformation in Colonial Mexico City*, Stanford University Press (Stanford), xxv + 408 pp. £42.00 hbk.

Major public works reveal a great deal about an era and the dreams and ambitions of the times. In Vera Candiani's study on the history of the drainage system in Mexico City we grasp the evolving complexity of urban problems as we witness a city blossoming into the capital of America's Spanish empire. The long-lasting tale of modernity and cultural colonisation through science and technology emerges systematically over the centuries in Latin America.

Candiani suggests that modern innovations can be analysed in terms of transcontinental cultural transfers. These innovations include various engineering traditions that merged European experiences with prehispanic hydraulic achievements and that laid the foundations for later drainage systems. In the earliest decades of the colonial period, learned scholars from religious orders such as the Carmelites, Augustinians and Franciscans directed major public infrastructure projects all over the country. Because of their understanding of statics, geometry and construction techniques they were able to undertake projects such as the 'Desagüe'. Candiani recounts how experts from all over Europe crossed the Atlantic to collaborate on the project, creating a multinational task-force to design new infrastructure and solve technical challenges encountered during the construction period.

The environmental transformation of Mexico City was directly related to the capacity for securing dry land so that the city could continue to expand. However, as technical endeavours sought to build an actual project, a display of power unfolded just beneath the surface, where certain social classes 'participated in the formation of early capitalism, therefore forming a continuum of early modernity across the Atlantic where experts and actors would circulate smoothly to collaborate and accomplish major public works such as the *Desagüe de Huehuetoca*'. In short, public works were about providing a service just as much as they were about capitalist development and launching a cultural statement about the value of technology.

Candiani describes in eight well-documented chapters the construction details of a major project as well as the continuing struggles faced in its completion. Interests, values and viewpoints played a central role in the development of the project and even though the drainage system was never entirely completed, it did have an enormous influence on later enterprises, notably during the late nineteenth century when the Gran Canal del Desagüe was the crowning project of the Porfiriato.

The Desagüe project can be considered the 'vastest and most complex desiccation effort in the Americas during the period, commanding considerable resources for construction, administration, finance, operation and maintenance'. Candiani, however, notes that the persistent floods that these projects sought to counteract, were a nuisance only to certain sectors of the population. The floods affected urban areas primarily, which housed the wealthier residents of the city, who did not hesitate to demand major public investments to secure their estates. Meanwhile, the indigenous dwellers whose agricultural activities actually benefited from those overflows and established the foundations of the major hydraulic enterprise in central Mexico over three centuries, beginning with the productive *chinampas* (floating agricultural plots) as well as the complex system of canals, dykes and causeways, developed in the days of the ancient Aztec capital.

Instead of continually having to rebuild the capital of the New Spain on top of marshes, islands and, indeed, a lake, the authorities of Mexico City decided to prevent

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further floods by draining the basin, resulting in conflicts of power among different stakeholders, trade interests and native dwellers. The drainage project accounted for constant negotiations with the local community, whose lifestyle and economy were greatly affected by the results of the drainage efforts of the 'Desagüe'.

The thriving development of the capital city was seen to be compromised by the surrounding lakes and the constant risk of overflow that threatened urban elites, who relied on the scientific development of hydraulic techniques to help conceive the most spectacular drainage project in colonial America.

Dreaming of Dry Land interweaves a narrative that describes the physical development of public works with the development of power relationships among groups of interest that sought to shape the environment and landscape towards specific goals. Candiani suggests that colonisation in Mexico was a matter of class and power and that these civilising projects were at the core of the creation of a new world.

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Twinam, Ann (2015) *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies*, Stanford University Press (Stanford), xv + 534 pp. \$100.00 hbk. \$34.95 pbk.

Thoroughly investigating the movement and mobility of Spanish pardos and mulattos in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ann Twinam offers an incredibly detailed and careful analysis of the whitening *gracias al sacar* – a set of purchases that granted various legal statuses authorised by the Spanish Crown – in the Spanish Indies. The whitening *gracias al sacar* allowed those of mixed descent to purchase legal status as a white person for either themselves or their progeny. *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies* explores the lives of a number of pardos and mulattos who attempted to improve their social status by the purchase of whitening, to mixed results. Twinam's ultimate argument is that the whitening *gracias al sacar* was but one option available to pardos and mulattos in their attempt to escape institutionalised discrimination and stratification, but it was an option that gives greater understanding and clarity of the ways in which oppressed groups manoeuvred within these social structures in hopes of a more equitable life for themselves and future generations. In so doing, Twinam provides invaluable insight into the history of racial oppression.

Twinam skilfully navigates the broad history of the whitening *gracias al sacar* in two ways. She first advances chronologically, charting the progress of the whitening law through its unofficial and disorganised iterations through most of the eighteenth century until its official institutionalisation and its aftermath as law in the early nineteenth century. Twinam shows that the whitening *gracias al sacar* resulted not from any sort of organised legislation, but rather from precedents established by the whims of the crown attorneys and the final decisions of the Council of the Indies. These cases then led to whitening being available for purchase by applicants in 1795. From there, the reader follows the law up until the dwindling moments of the Spanish empire.

Second, Twinam introduces the reader to a number of historical actors, pardos and mulattos who attempted to obtain whitening of various degrees and for various purposes, including occupational, educational, or even personal purposes. Each of these

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involved the removal of the supposed defect of pardo-ness or mulatto-ness in order to work at a job (such as surgeon or notary) or go to a university usually reserved for whites, or even just to make the lives of future offspring better. Some simply asked for the removal of the 'defect' while others asked for full whiteness. The reader becomes familiar with applicants who repeatedly attempt to achieve their goals in spite of official refusal. With each attempt, Twinam shows how the applicants adjusted their petitions in hopes of a better result. The reader thus becomes enthralled with the individuals who attempted to gain whiteness so that they could remove themselves from an oppressive racial hierarchy.

The depth of Twinam's study is immense. The study provides substantial historical information on this fascinating subject, and it is a necessary book for scholars in the field. The effort of Twinam's research is apparent, as she shares wonderful information about documents and original copies in the archives. Furthermore, in the midst of the sheer volume of historical information presented, the reader is never once unclear as to which historical actor is being referenced or where that actor sits in the larger chronological scheme. This is a testament to the lucid and pointed prose of Twinam. The study's organisation is sound and the breadth of the scholarship included is astounding. Her hard work is rewarded with a masterfully crafted and highly informative book that should be read by scholars and students in Latin American studies and whiteness studies alike.

If there is any shortcoming, it is that Twinam does not often enough engage with other sources on the histories of the historical actors and laws. The book is certainly well-documented, but Twinam leaves most of what other scholars have written about these subjects to the beginning and concluding chapters. It would be interesting to see where exactly she differs from other scholars in terms of considerations on the whitening *gracias al sacar* and the individuals who pursued it.

However, the lack of interaction with other sources is a minor complaint about an otherwise thorough and fulfilling study of a complex historical moment and law. *Purchasing Whiteness* is a worthwhile investment for scholars of history, race and empire of this historical location and moment, and they will highly benefit from having read it.

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Stein, Barbara H. and Stein, Stanley J. (2014) *Crisis in an Atlantic Empire: Spain and New Spain, 1808-1810*, John Hopkins University Press (Baltimore), ix + 795 pp. £58.00 hbk.

The French invasion of Spain in 1808 undermined royal authority and fostered a move towards independence in most of Spanish America. To explore this crisis of authority, the authors focus our attention on three crucial years framed by the French invasion of 1808 and the decision to form a Cortes at Cadiz in 1810. They divide their study into four sections that describe and analyse the events in two turns, first in Spain, then in New Spain. Relying on decades of work in the archives of Spain, Mexico, England and France, the sections focus exclusively on the powerful men in command of the Crown or the Consulado, the merchant council that controlled colonial trade in Spain and its colonies.

The Spanish merchants, based in Cadiz, Sevilla, Veracruz and Mexico City and linked by corporate allegiance, family ties and regional loyalties, are the authors' protagonists. While the book title promises an examination of just three years, the authors' explorations and explanations of the background, ambitions and concerns of the elite few in a position to make and resist decisions often requires extended reviews of eighteenth-century politics, diplomacy and policy. The story that dominates the text is the merchants' efforts, as an interest group, to protect their privileges and resist threats posed by French invaders, *criollo* rivals, competing colonial ports and foreign traders' desires for access to New Spain's markets and resources. Beginning with Napoleon's push to bring Spain into the Continental System, the merchants through the Consulado resisted efforts that threatened the primacy of the Spanish-born elite in respect to colonial trade. The collapse of the Bourbon Crown and the splintering of Spain into regional focal points of resistance intensified the desire and effort of *consulado* leaders to maintain their position.

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The extended examinations of events from first a European and then an American perspective reveal how these desires and efforts alienated and angered *criollo* interest groups: lesser merchants, competing port cities in the Caribbean, and ambitious elite families in New Spain's interior. As the crisis deepened, the privileged asserted more authority. Their successful resistance proved counterproductive. By 1810, their efforts to block any and all change encouraged rebellion.

This volume stands as an extension of decades of research and writing on Spain and its empire after 1750. The narrative focus and detail demonstrate an uncommon command of archival sources relating to the policies and ambitions of English, French, Spanish and Spanish American monarchs, bureaucrats, merchants and military officers. It is important to accept this study for what it is: This is a study of elite resistance. Popular forces make their appearance only as an anonymous collective spectre of concern to those who aim to keep the common people in their place and to limit their rivals' access to markets and commodities. The authors help us better appreciate what motivated those who rejected even pragmatic reforms and how their actions ultimately made colonial authority in New Spain more tenuous and fragile in its final year.

The authors have chosen not to translate the sections and statements that they have pulled from their sources. With skill, they have woven fragments into their narrative that blend the original English, Spanish or French with their prose. This decision will trouble those unable readily to translate foreign phrases. The secondary works that inform their argument tend to be older, standard works. This does not detract from an argument built mainly from direct archival foundations. In one area, however, engagement with more recent historiography might have added value. Inclusion of recent works that explore the actions of Anglo-American traders and trading houses in the greater Caribbean would have extended and deepened the examination of how groups favouring more open trade challenged the established merchants in Veracruz and Mexico City. This would have added another layer but not altered the focus of the argument or its conclusions, however.

The authors set out to explain how an elite interest group, in a successful effort to preserve its privileged status and position, contributed to the shattering of Spain's empire at the core and in its most valuable colony. The result is a limited but convincing argument of how a powerful few briefly resisted fundamental challenges.

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Albuquerque Jr., Durval Muniz de (2014) *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*. (Trans. Jerry Dennis Metz), Duke University Press (Durham, NC), xv + 277 pp.

Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Jr.'s ground-breaking work on regional identity in Brazil (*A invenção do Nordeste, e outras artes*) first appeared in print in 1999 and has enjoyed four subsequent Portuguese-language editions. While the reach of Albuquerque Jr.'s work within Brazilian studies has been vast, language barriers have kept *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast* from a broader, international audience. That is until recently, when Duke University Press published Dennis Metz's translation of Albuquerque Jr.'s book, making it available to a broader audience interested in the complicated relationship between regionalism and nationalism.

In *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*, Albuquerque Jr. confronts the creation of the region known as the Brazilian Northeast, stereotyped as a space of poverty, oppression, tradition, revolt, history and cultural authenticity (among many others). As James Green points out in the Foreword to the translated edition, the strength of Albuquerque Jr.'s argument rests in its simplicity: while the Northeast connotes a deep history, it is a socio-historical construct of fairly recent invention. The discourse of drought put forth by state agencies drew the contours of the region in the 1920s. Subsequently, intellectuals, artists and screenwriters consolidated the 'spatiality' of the Northeast through language and images. Through this discourse, the region became visible and speakable, concretised through the frequent repetition of common tropes. The gaunt migrant, the religious zealot, the rebellious bandit and the oppressive *coronel* (land boss) gave the region its contours etched in pages, on canvas and in film. Scholars, Albuquerque Jr. argues, must consider the region as historical object within this context when approaching the history of the Northeast.

Albuquerque Jr. divides the book into three chapters. The first chapter focuses on how newspapers, politicians and writers in both the North and South wrote the region into existence through a focus on environment, race and drought. Euclides da Cunha's *Rebellion in the Backlands*, describing the geography and people of the hinterlands and recounting the military expeditions against the Canudos uprising, was an important text from this early moment. The second chapter analyses the appearance of the Northeast as a space of nostalgia, tradition and history. While the social and economic decline of the traditional elite influenced a feeling of loss, it was intellectuals, writers and artists who made the Northeast a visible and speakable space of nostalgia. In this chapter, Albuquerque Jr. analyses the work and historical place of sociologists (including Gilberto Freyre), novelists, painters and a musician (Luiz Gonzaga). In the final chapter, Albuquerque Jr. presents an analysis of literature, painting, and film that takes the Northeast as its subject, examining the invention of the Northeast as a 'territory of revolt'. Albuquerque Jr. scrutinises an impressive amount of essays, monographs, literature and visual art to support his argument that the Brazilian Northeast is a region created in the twentieth century through discourse.

Jerry Dennis Metz's translation is smooth and easy to read. Those who have already read the Portuguese version will enjoy the inclusion of an index in the English-language edition, making it easier to use the book as a reference.

That Albuquerque Jr. often provides a broad historical narrative without always citing primary or secondary historical literature can be frustrating. In addition, some of the analytical jargon now seems outdated. Nonetheless, *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast* opened a door to new studies of the region. Several scholars have both adopted and pushed beyond Albuquerque Jr.'s basic arguments, incorporating

1 components of public health campaigns (Stanley Blake), rural social movements (Sarah
2 Sarzinski), and the relationship between the Northeast and the world (Courtney
3 J. Campbell). There is still room for further study of how the Northeast came to be a
4 relevant category in everyday lived experience (beyond print, canvas, or celluloid) and
5 of how the invention of the Northeast fits into a greater narrative of global history.

6 The value of this work lies in its influence on the study of regionalism in Brazil, its
7 sage argument, and the detailed analyses of the oeuvres of specific authors or artists
8 included towards the end of each chapter. Albuquerque Jr.'s book is still a relevant and
9 necessary read for anyone who wants to understand Brazil. Indeed, that we continue to
10 refer to histories of São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro as 'national history' and books on the
11 Northeast as 'regional studies' emphasises that more scholars need to read *The Invention*
12 *of the Brazilian Northeast*. Appearing in translation, this work should also inspire Latin
13 Americanists to reflect on the invention of region, folklore and popular culture in other
14 Latin American countries.

15
16 Courtney J. Campbell
17 Tougaloo College

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19
20 Darnton, Christopher (2014) *Rivalry and Alliance Politics in Cold War Latin America*,
21 Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore), ix + 285 pp. \$44.95 pbk.

22
23 An expanding literature on the international relations of Latin America has begun to
24 give some agency to the countries themselves. *Rivalry and Alliance Politics in Cold War*
25 *Latin America* makes a modest contribution to this new literature by focusing on the
26 way parochial interests within a country can shape its foreign policy towards neighbours.
27 Based on case studies in the region from the 1950s to the end of the Cold War, the study
28 argues that mistrust between countries – a traditional explanation for rivalry – was less
29 important than the influence of 'government agencies with vested interests in the policies
30 associated with rivalry' (p. 26). The narrow objectives of an agency such as the military
31 can lead a country to eschew alliances, even when teaming up with a rival would best
32 serve its security interests. However, an agency's resistance can be overcome, the author
33 contends, if a new mission – such as defence against a common enemy – can substitute
34 for one based on rivalry with a neighbour and budget constraints force an agency to
35 abandon a mission.

36 While the bureaucratic interpretation of a country's behaviour is not novel, the detail
37 of the case studies in the book does tend to confirm that this explanatory factor can
38 be important in particular circumstances. However, *Rivalry and Alliance Politics* sets a
39 more ambitious goal for itself in claiming that the study also demonstrates fundamental
40 weaknesses in the three main international relations frameworks: realism, constructivism
41 and liberalism (by which the author means democratic peace theory). Unfortunately the
42 evidence is insufficient to provide a meaningful general challenge to the three IR frame-
43 works. Moreover, the author's fixation on presenting an alternate paradigm depletes the
44 study of some of its usefulness to scholars of Latin American politics.

45 Consider that only half of the text is devoted to the Latin American case studies. Two
46 other chapters develop his theoretical approach. A third chapter applies his bureaucratic
47 model to terrorist threats in North Africa in this century. A concluding chapter reviews
48 the evidence from the case studies to assess the validity of the model. (It also includes
49 brief but well-reasoned recommendations for US policymakers (p. 207): they should

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1 appreciate the limits of intervention and focus on a 'roadmap to cooperation based on
2 parochial interest, one that [...] exploits internal opposition rather than ignoring or
3 surrendering to it'.)

4 In addition, in order to develop generalisations, the author looks for a 'common'
5 threat from that he supposes should have engendered cooperation between rival coun-
6 tries in order to enhance their defences. But he finds such threats only by imposing
7 ideological straightjackets on his evidence: communism during the Cold War and ter-
8 rorism since 11 September 2001. For example, he argues (p. 133) that Honduras and
9 Nicaragua were able to overcome a rivalry to form an alliance in 1960 because 'the
10 common threat of Communist insurgency' pushed their militaries 'to set aside the old
11 mission of rivalry'. The alleged communist threat is tied to Cuba, which the book claims
12 was a source of both inspiration and arms for 'leftists' and 'communists'. The evidence
13 for the allegations is provided by State Department memos and statements by Honduran
14 and Nicaraguan dictators.

15 The author should have been more sceptical about these sources, which had their own
16 parochial motives for using anti-communist rhetoric to describe insurgencies. Notably,
17 Cuba itself was not ruled by a Communist Party until 1965, the Cuban leadership in
18 this period had tense relations with communist parties throughout the hemisphere, and
19 Moscow had ordered communist parties in Latin America not to engage in or support
20 armed struggle.

21 Similarly, the book argues that many countries currently face 'a common threat from
22 local insurgencies linked to the networks and ideology of transnational jihad' (p. 168).
23 The circumstance of having a single foe then provides the basis for Darnton's examina-
24 tion of why two North African rivals have not formed an alliance to defend themselves.
25 His explanation is that agencies within Algeria and Morocco fighting against insurgen-
26 cies allegedly affiliated with al-Qaeda have more to gain from waging their wars alone
27 than cooperatively with their counterparts in the rival country. This interpretation makes
28 sense if cooperation actually would enhance each country's security, and that probably
29 would depend on the extent to which the separate insurgencies are coordinated by a
30 larger entity. The book provides scant evidence for these assumptions.

31 In acknowledging several limitations of the study, the author offers the hope that it
32 will stimulate further research to develop the model. Such efforts are likely to be worth-
33 while if they examine more closely than this book does how countries actually perceive
34 their external threats.

35
36 Philip Brenner

37 American University

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39
40 García, Jerry (2014) *Looking like the Enemy: Japanese Mexicans, the Mexican State,*
41 *and US Hegemony, 1897-1945*, The University of Arizona Press (Tucson), xiii + 249
42 pp. \$50.00 hbk.

43
44 Most scholarship of the Japanese experience in the Americas has focused on the USA,
45 Peru and Brazil. But the Japanese also immigrated to other countries, and a rich and
46 varied bibliography has treated that history. The best overarching study is *The Japanese*
47 *in Latin America* by Masterson and Funada-Classen (2004). The most comprehensive
48 anthology is *New Worlds, New Lives: Globalization and the People of Japanese Descent*
49 *in the Americas and from Latin America to Japan* by Hirabayasi, Kikumura-Yano, and

Hirabayasi (2002). The Japanese experience in individual countries has been studied in, for instance, *Los japoneses en Bolivia* by Kunimoto (2013), *The Affinity of the Eye: Writing Nikkei in Peru* by López-Calvo (2013) and *Os imigrantes japoneses na Segunda Guerra Mundial: Bandeirantes do oriente ou perigo amarelo no Brasil* by Camargo Shizuno (2010). Even the small Japanese presence in Colombia has received attention in Juan Gabriel Vásquez's novel *Los informantes* (2009) and in the film *El sueño del paraíso* (2007), directed by Carlos Palau.

For Mexico, Jerry García builds on the foundational work of María Elena Ota Mishima (*Siete migraciones japonesas en México*, 1982; *México y Japón en el siglo XIX*, 1976) and Enrique Cortés (*Relaciones entre México y Japón durante el Porfiriato*, 1990). García's book, the first extended English-language treatment, adds interesting and sometimes disturbing detail about the Japanese experience and how the United States shaped Mexican policy and actions.

The book consists of an introduction, a conclusion and six lucidly presented, well-researched but somewhat repetitive chapters. The introduction and first chapter deal with the origins of Japanese migration, the impact that Mexican history had on the new immigrants and the complex, evolving relationship between the United States, Mexico and Japan. Mindful of the Mexican American War (1846–1848), twentieth-century Mexico distrusted the American colossus, even as it had to accede to a number of its policies, some of them rooted in the racial fear of the 'yellow peril'. Fearing an eventual Japanese invasion from the south, America even tried to limit Japanese immigration to Mexico. After the Enomoto Colony was established in Chiapas in 1897, Mexico yielded somewhat to American pressure, though with resentment. Always more racially tolerant towards the Japanese than its northern neighbour, Mexico would demonstrate that tolerance during the Second World War.

The second chapter treats the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) and what García calls, using Edward Said's terminology, 'Japanese Orientalism', that is, the othering of the Japanese 'Asian' by the West. Japanese Mexicans participated in the revolution, on both sides. The US Military Intelligence Service even hired three Japanese Mexicans to infiltrate Pancho Villa's headquarters and poison him. Other Japanese Mexicans participated as combatants, in demand because of the Japanese reputation for being fierce fighters, even though most Japanese Mexicans were agricultural labourers, mine workers, shopkeepers or fishermen.

The third chapter discusses post-revolutionary Mexican politics in which regional power and autonomy became important. Consequently, the collective acts by the state against Japanese that were successful in California and Peru were less effective in Mexico. To the growing alarm of the US, Japan and Mexico remained on friendly diplomatic terms until after 1941. Between 1920 and 1941, American racism toward both the Japanese and Mexicans themselves increased.

The fourth chapter treats the post-Pearl Harbor phase of the Second World War, which intensified the demonisation of Japanese Mexicans. Propaganda in the United States identified the Japanese – and Mexicans who looked like 'the enemy' – as dangerous and racially inferior. Despite the decades of assimilation and intermarriage, despite favouring the Japanese over the Chinese for many reasons, Mexico came to participate in some anti-Japanese stereotyping. In this, the country was influenced by questionable American military intelligence and by writers like Betty Kirk, whose racist diatribes in *Covering the Mexican Front: The Battle of Europe versus America* (1942) were widely distributed and quoted.

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss how the position of the Japanese in Mexico became unstable as, yielding to US pressure, Mexico sent some Japanese to detention camps both inside the country and in the United States. Most, however, were relocated to Mexico City and Guadalajara. In addition, some Japanese were allowed to intern themselves in *haciendas*, 'sanctuaries' where they awaited the end of the war. Particularly effective in mediating between the government and Japanese Mexicans was the Comité Japonés de Ayuda Mutua, which assisted in the relocation of Japanese Mexicans and in the acquisition of *haciendas* for voluntary self-internment. Despite its proximity to the United States, Mexico was better able to resist American pressure than was the case in other less tolerant and more fearful parts of Latin America. Consequently, Japanese Mexicans came through the war proud to be both Mexican and Japanese. This book should be required reading in the fields of Asian immigration and of borderland studies.

Michael Palencia-Roth
The University of Illinois

Ossa Santa Cruz, Juan L. (2014) *Armies, politics and Revolution: Chile, 1808–1826*, Liverpool University Press (Liverpool), xiii + 247 pp. £75.00 hbk.

This book is an important contribution to the emerging historiography of Spanish American Independence, which aims to move away from the narrow parameters of national history and present the birth of nations as part of a larger set of global events. Initially conceived as a doctoral project supervised in Oxford by Alan Knight, the study has evolved into a political history of the creation of the Chilean nation set against the backdrop of regional movements for independence. Another contribution this book makes is in its analysis not just of those who sought independence and have been studied by national historiography, but also those who have often been overlooked, who attempted to maintain the links with the wider Hispanic monarchy.

Ossa weaves three main themes into the book's narrative: armies, politics and revolution. By combining these he manages to dissect the process by which the Chilean nation was created. The first area is in large part inspired by the work of John Lynch, Anthony McFarlane, Christon Archer, Leon Campell and Juan Marchena, and presents a detailed analysis of how the army was created in Chile. The period studied goes from the first Junta all the way to the first years of the republic. War is seen as a crucial element that changed the dynamics and realities of the people living in the territories that are now Chile. The second topic, that of politics, is central to the argument developed by Ossa as he sees the birth of the Chilean Republic as an important and conscious act on the part of the ruling elites. Finally, Ossa tackles head on the question of revolution by stressing 'the revolutionary characteristics of the repercussions of the fall of the Spanish Monarchy in Chile' (p. 12).

The book is organised in six chapters, each of them focusing on a particular time period between 1808 and 1826. The first section looks at the way in which Chilean elites reacted to the monarchical crisis in Spain, and one of the aspects that is very clearly delineated is how this political conflict became a confrontation between provinces. This is particularly relevant considering that provincial strife was one of the most common reactions to the crisis in the peninsula. One of the things that emerge from this book is that this was the case even in a small and not very populated region such as Chile.

The second chapter is particularly innovative as it studies the success of counterrevolution between 1814 and 1817. One of the main points made, and the one that departs most from traditional historiography, is that even if the Battle of Rancagua was a disaster for the revolutionaries, this was not the case with all the people in Chile. Many supported the counterrevolution and made it possible for the troops that came from the Viceroyalty of Peru with Mariano Osorio to succeed. Chapter 3 examines the Army of the Andes and how Chileans and the men from the Rio de la Plata interacted between 1814 and 1817. This presents a counter-point to the previous chapter and shows the differences and rifts between different factions with great detail. It also shows how ultimately these disagreements were overcome to enable José de San Martín to cross the Andes.

Success in the battles of Chacabuco (12 February 1817) and Maipú (5 April 1818) has often signalled the end of the process of independence in Chile. One of the merits of this book is that it does not do that, but instead takes this period between 1817 and 1823 as one of the most crucial ones in establishing the new Republic of Chile, while conflict continued outside of the central valley of Santiago. Politics is the main topic of this chapter and the way it interacts with the military campaigns in the period that are still ongoing.

The final two chapters explore in detail the often-overlooked role of the army in the creation of the Chilean state. Chapter 5 concentrates on the campaigns in Peru and how they were crucial for the creation of identity, while the final chapter reflects on the political role of the army in the making of the republic. The contribution these chapters make is very important as it presents the process through which nationalities were constructed after independence itself. How the hope that larger unions could prevail crumbled as the expediencies of war reminded those participating that they came from a 'patria chica' or smaller homeland that would with time emerge as the most powerful and mobilizing in the new nations. This book shows how the army of Chile, like most of the armies in the new independent nations, would become the most important agent of politics.

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Centeno, Miguel A., and Ferraro, Agustín E. (eds.) (2013) *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible*, Cambridge University Press (Cambridge), xiii + 469 pp. £60.00 hbk.

The project of state- and nation-making remains a subject of continuing interest to historians and social scientists alike, as demonstrated by this volume, which explores aspects of the politics, economics, ideology and culture of the process. Centeno and Ferraro, who have made perceptive contributions to the field, have assembled a distinguished group of colleagues to shed further light on the subject. *State and Nation Making* re-emphasises the importance of industrialising Britain, an expansionist United States of America and revolutionary France as models of state-building, while also offering insights from such cases as the Dutch Republic, unification in Germany and Italy, and the formation 'new nations' like Belgium. The book recognises that challenges of state-building were not confined to Latin America, though this particular theme has generated much recent scholarship about the nineteenth century focused on the continent.

1 The book contains a mix of general, comparative and country chapters. Jeffrey Needell and Joseph Love provide items on Brazil; Iván Jaksí on Chile; Nancy Appelbaum on Colombia; Alan Knight on Mexico; Salvador Martí Puig on Nicaragua; Hillel Soifer on Peru; Ricardo Salvatore on the Argentine; Roberto Breña, José Álvarez Junco and Centeno and Ferraro on Spain; James Mahoney on Central America. In addition to the editors, wide-ranging general and thematic chapters are contributed by Wolfgang Knöbl (state-building in western Europe and Latin America), Frank Safford (national state construction in Latin America), Claudia Herrera and Ferraro (fiscality and state-building), Fernando López Alves (definitional characteristics of the nation), Mara Loveman (census taking and making the nation) and Sarah Chambers (law and legal systems). Echoing the subtitle, and addressing the correspondence (or otherwise) between the 'true' and the 'possible', across the book there is an examination of constitutions, national identity, liberalism and nationalism, the role of the military, forms of colonialism and neocolonialism, and economic and financial sovereignty. Shadows cast by Max Weber, Barrington Moore and Charles Tilly loom large – and by Oscar Oszlak. State sustainability is enhanced when conflict is contained and configured within the state apparatus. Arguably, contributions that focus on the emergence of the statistical state (for example, taxation and data-gathering, and not least map-making), ideology and the rule of law (what matters occupied the court and who had access to them) are amongst the most innovative. Various chapters argue persuasively that the availability of economic and social goods like railways and education, the development of a national press and fiscal capacity could generate public acceptance of the political system. Such forces might also forge national identity and national pride, which in turn became instruments of national consolidation.

25 Unsurprisingly, the endowments-versus-institutions debate features prominently. Geography (natural resources) influenced state construction and nation-building, yet was not immutable. Population growth might depend on luck – a seemingly inexhaustible supply of fertile land, or project – *gobernar es poblar*, or a combination of both. Product booms, dependent on global market trends, valorised some resources, while reducing the significance of others. Politics (or military action) similarly reshaped the distribution of endowments, as most dramatically illustrated by the War of the Pacific. Whether commodities were a constraint on – or complement to – to institutional effectiveness might depend on existing state embeddedness.

34 On production and price, although this is an expensive book, CUP parsimony reigns. There is some fine artwork – maps and nineteenth-century equivalents of colonial *casta* paintings (envisaging the nation and society). These are rendered in monochrome, limiting impact and appeal. The index is neither complete nor consistent: thorough indexing always helps the reader and is particularly useful in a compilation volume.

39 Safford provides a telling checklist of interconnected factors that mattered, while acknowledging that each case entailed sets of unique combinations. He identifies the importance of economic and political geography, success (or lack of it) in foreign trade – and hence revenue generation, the quality of political leadership, ability to generate elite consensus about project, and territorial integrity. The collection also demonstrates that, notwithstanding several notable achievements in the decades following Independence (or after the mid-nineteenth century), institutional fragility remained (and remains): a virtuous, mutually reinforcing relationship involving competent bureaucracies, positive economic performance, the rule of law and an inclusive perception of state and national identity eludes much of Latin America. To give the editors the last word: the histories explored here show that nations are impossible without states,

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but effective an state may also be impossible without the bonds of human solidarity implied by a strong national identity; contemporary political violence in Latin America does not consist of conflicts amongst states but struggles within them. *State and Nation Making* confirms that public institutions determine growth: there is a direct correlation between the quality of governance and the quantity of growth.

Colin M. Lewis

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Field, Thomas C. (2014) *From Development to Dictatorship: Bolivia and the Alliance for Progress in the Kennedy Era*, Cornell University Press (Ithaca, NY and London) xix + 272 pp. \$45.00 hbk.

In 1952, seven years before the Cuban Revolution, the Bolivian Revolution initiated one of the most far-reaching social transformations in Latin America in the twentieth century. More nationalist than socialist, the revolution did not undo the system of private property, but it did redistribute land, nationalise the precious tin mines and deal the landed oligarchy a devastating blow. Over the next decade, the fate of the revolution would be contested as radical miners, teachers and students continued to mobilise for better conditions and the revolutionary state veered sharply to the right. By the early 1960s, President Victor Paz Estenssoro from the conservative wing of the ruling revolutionary-nationalist party (MNR) decided it was time to crush the backbone of the radical left in Bolivia, particularly in the tin mines, with the support of the military and indigenous militias. But his heavy hand and brutal repression did little to quell the growing conflict, and by the autumn of 1965, a confused combination of left-wing and right-wing social forces were in open revolt. As the situation deteriorated, a military coup initiated by Paz's Vice President, General René Barrientos, and the head of the Armed Forces, General Alfredo Ovando, drove the last stake in the coffin of the Revolution.

Thomas Field's *From Development to Dictatorship* looks at the role the United States played during this tumultuous period in Bolivian politics. Field focuses on the support the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations provided to Paz Estenssoro as he prepared to destroy the left through massive lay-offs in the mines, political repression and paramilitary violence, and the strategic shift US policy took towards backing the Generals after the coup had already occurred (Field rejects claims that the United States played a role in the coup itself). He shows in detail how Bolivia became a testing ground for the newly minted Alliance for Progress with its goal of countering the spread of socialism, and millions of dollars in aid were provided to the Bolivian government in exchange for ruthless action against the miners, led by militant and experienced members of communist and Trotskyist parties. Aid, Field argues, became an extension of military strategy.

Field is particularly concerned with how US officials saw themselves, and he takes pains to show that most actors were sincere modernisers attached to a vision of 'middle-class modernity' as a counterweight to communism. Paz Estenssoro was seen as an ally in this struggle since his own authoritarian-nationalist politics were more closely aligned with the Third Worldism of the time than Russian or Cuban-style socialism. 'Technocrats who sincerely believed their development theories,' Field says of US Ambassador Ben Stephansky and the modernisation theorists who called for harsh lay-offs to tame the radical miners, 'they served as ideologically motivated foot soldiers in the Kennedy administration's anti-communist crusade' (p. 33). Field's meticulous

recreation of the inner world of American foreign policy and Bolivian politics during this period based on extensive archival research and interviewing provides ample evidence of the ideological fervour and ruthlessness that guided the actions of state officials.

But Field's analysis falls flat in one fatal respect, and the argument that 'ideology served as strategy' falls short of its mark. While Kennedy's modernisers may have seen themselves as Cold Warriors fighting an ideological battle, they were only the latest US state agents to be fashioning a US imperial policy in the Americas – Field seems to forget that US imperialism predates the Cold War. There is virtually no consideration of long-standing US economic interests in the region, for example, where the United States was certainly concerned with maintaining access to resources and controlling mining operations, even if these were relatively modest in Bolivia itself. The ideological battle in Bolivia and the rest of the Americas was not merely about opposing communist ideology for military advantage; it was about maintaining a regional pattern of accumulation based in capitalist relations that benefited the United States and its local ruling-class allies, and that was being threatened by socialist movements. Field himself repeatedly demonstrates that US officials were singularly concerned with restoring control over the labour process in the mines. In ignoring this broader historical background, Field abstracts strategy from political economy and misses the larger historical significance of US action in Bolivia. For Bolivia in the era of the Alliance for Progress did not merely represent a hardening of US Cold War ideology. It reflected, just as importantly, an extension of US geopolitical power into the Andean region and South America, and an expansion of aggressive military might that would presage the coups and military dictatorships of the 1970s. This was the larger sweep of US imperial history and the particular significance of US intervention in Bolivia during this period.

Neil Burron

AQ16

Abreu, Christina D. (2015) *Rhythms of Race: Cuban Musicians and the Making of New York City and Miami, 1940–1960*, University of North Carolina Press (Chapel Hill), xi + 336 pp. \$29.95 pbk.

Rhythms of Race examines the period from 1940 to 1960 when close to 90,000 immigrants arrived and settled in New York City and Miami. Some were musicians, writers, artists, dancers, intellectuals and political exiles. This migration began almost two decades before the Cuban Revolution of 1959 and these new arrivals would have a major impact on shaping national identity, cultural patterns, musical practices and racial ideologies in the United States. The new arrivals included the legendary bandleader Francisco Raúl Gutiérrez Grillo, better known as 'Machito'; composer and bandleader Xavier Cugat (born in Spain but raised in Cuba); *tresero*, percussionist and bandleader Arsenio Rodríguez (*tres* is a three string instrument similar to a guitar and the person who plays it is a *tresero*); trumpeter Mario Bauzá; pianist Marco Rizo; the queen of Afro Latin Jazz Graciela Pérez; percussionist Generoso Montesino; bandleader and television star Desi Arnaz; and flutist Alberto Socarrás, to name only a few. From *son*, *rumba*, *conga*, *mamba*, *salsa*, to Afro Latin Jazz, many of these men and women were first-class musical innovators and icons who left a huge cultural footprint on American national identity.

The premise of this book is that the period of Cuban immigration from the 1940s to 1960 is largely overlooked and deserves to be included in the larger trajectory of how

Cuban American and Latino/a history is understood. The post-1959 or 'exile model' is usually privileged as this period saw an unprecedented wave of Cubans fleeing from the new Castro government. By exploring this overlooked period Abreu is uncovering new ways to understand the impact of Cuban immigrants on Latino/a culture and identity in the United States. Her studies seek to fill a major gap in Cuban American history by evidencing how Cuban musicians navigated and challenged racial and class hierarchies while creating a new musical language. Like Susan Greenbaum's important study, 'More than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa', which examined the role of black Cubans in Ybor city, Abreu aims to recover the role and place of Cubans of colour in New York and Miami.

Abreu critically explores the social spaces of black and white Cuban musicians (social clubs, theatres, nightclubs, performance venues, television and movies), racial ideologies, racism, racial discrimination, as well as the uneven treatment of musicians of colour and the question of how Afro-Cuban cultural formations were exploited by the music and entertainment industry. In doing so she sheds new light on how Cuban, Latin and Afro-Latin culture was introduced to a wider mainly white audience and how it was simultaneously appropriated for crass commercial purposes and exploited. Equally important is her in-depth examination of popular music and racial ideologies, which demonstrates how 'Cubanness' and Afro-Cubans played key roles in the social construction of Cubanidad, Hispanidad and Latinidad. She examines how black and white Cuban musicians negotiated terms like 'Cuban', 'Afro-Cuban', 'Latin', 'Negro', 'Black', 'Hispano', and how they accepted, rejected and contested such categories while at the same time changing the social landscape of New York City and Miami.

Abreu provides a deep contextual and cultural lens to better understand how Latin and Afro Latin cultural productions, i.e. songs, dance, television and TV screens, dance and talent shows, profoundly impacted American and Latino/a culture. Her study illustrates how Cubanness, Afro-Cuban and blackness via nightclubs, ballrooms and ethnic social clubs established a platform for cultural representation and the ways these representations set the racial, ethnic and political terms allowing for Cuban immigrants to define themselves. Additionally she provides a detailed biographical and musical history of some of the most innovative Cuban musicians of the twentieth century which serves to narrate a brilliant story and to enrich her study.

Rhythms of Race is an important study in several respects: first, it deals with and narrates a little-known but culturally rich era of Cuban American and Latino/a history in the United States; second, it places Cuban musicians at the centre of their own social history as men and women with agency; third, it is meticulously researched as it uses extremely impressive materials including oral histories, interviews and articles from Spanish-language US and African American newspapers, as well as documents housed at the Schomburg Center for Black Culture, the David Harp Collection of Latin Jazz at the Bronx County Historical Society and the Carlos Ortiz Collection at Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños; fourth, as a comparative study it examines two important cities with significant Cuban populations. Finally, the reader is reminded of the important cultural contributions Cubans have made to the United States. It is an impressive piece of scholarship and is strongly recommended for both undergraduate and graduate students.

Kwame Dixon
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1 Libby, Gary R. (2015) *Cuba: A History in Art, Revised Edition*, University Press of
2 Florida (Gainesville), 103 pp. \$34.95 hbk.

3
4 *Cuba: A History in Art* is too grand a title for this attractive but modest volume; it
5 might have been called *Selections from the Daytona Beach Museum of Arts and Science's*
6 *Cuban Foundation Collection*. In 1957 Cuban president Fulgencio Batista donated his
7 two Daytona Beach homes and much of his art collection to the North Florida city,
8 founding The Cuban Museum. Designed to cover 300 years of Cuban art and material
9 culture, the museum's first exhibition in 1958 showcased a few dozen paintings, sculp-
10 tures and objects of material culture. Batista's flight from Cuba in 1959 stranded works
11 on loan to the museum, which contributed to a collection that now consists of more
12 than 200 objects of colonial and pre-Revolutionary art, housed since 1971 in Daytona
13 Beach's Museum of Arts and Sciences. With the re-establishment of diplomatic relations
14 between Cuba and the United States, the fate of some of the collection's artworks – a
15 few of which may have been stolen from Cuba's National Museum of Fine Arts – is
16 newly debatable, so Libby's (almost unaltered) second edition of this catalogue is timely.

17 *Cuba: A History in Art* provides a valuable sketch of the evolution of Cuban art
18 (mainly painting and photography) from the first known painters to mid-century
19 abstraction, documenting major currents and traditions. The book includes two essays,
20 a chronological history of photography in Cuba, and nearly 50 colour reproductions of
21 works from the 1700s to the 1950s. Each plate is accompanied by a short biographical
22 and historical essay. But it is more a coffee table book than a scholarly volume, and
23 the two essays – one by former director of the museum Gary Libby, and the other by
24 Juan Martínez, author of an important study of Cuba's 1920s and '30s *vanguardia*
25 painters – offer only the broadest of overviews of Cuban art history; the 103-page
26 volume features roughly one quarter of the collection.

27 Libby's essay, 'The Rise of Cuban Style', situates Cuba in a history of transatlantic
28 imperial ventures, and emphasises the emergence of colonial painting. Of particular
29 interest is his discussion of works by Nicolás de la Escalera, the island's earliest known
30 painter, and Vicente Escobar, a notable free black portrait painter. Libby moves skill-
31 fully through the history of colonial academies and studios, illuminating little-seen early
32 works. The centrality to the colonial economy of slavery and racialised hierarchies,
33 however – here represented in a series of four anonymous quasi-*casta* paintings – feels
34 alternately downplayed, or celebrated as part of a multicultural mix. Here and there
35 Cuba's 'Hispanic' culture is celebrated, while Eduardo Laplante's famous lithograph
36 series *Los Ingenios de Cuba* is addressed first as a romantic vision of plantations, then
37 as an important document of slavery, whose abolition is dated some 30 years too early.

38 Juan Martínez's essay, 'Cuban Painting in the Republican Period, 1902–1959', offers
39 a helpful overview of modernist painting in Cuba in the 1920s–1950s. It outlines crucial
40 concerns and styles from the period, often framing them in terms of national identity.
41 Martínez provides information on major artists and themes, and on lesser-known his-
42 tories of the organisations that supported a flourishing painting scene, including the
43 National Institute of Fine Arts, the Lyceum, the Directory of Culture within the Ministry
44 of Education and the Sociedad Cultural Nuestro Tiempo. Martínez traces the develop-
45 ment of 1950s formalism and ultimately abstraction out of earlier, more social con-
46 cerns, though the book contains fewer examples of the latter (no works by Marcelo
47 Pogolotti, for example). Martínez concludes by analysing abstract expressionist and
48 concrete painters, currently being rediscovered by critics and curators.

Martínez's essay is followed by a chronology of photography in Cuba largely adapted from the catalogue for a 1983 retrospective mounted at Cuba's National Museum of Fine Arts, and illustrated with intriguing images by known and unknown photographers from the Daytona Beach collection, including striking street scenes of Havana and Vedado and images from the war of 1895.

The subsequent catalogue of the Cuban Foundation collection contains some three-dozen colour plates and contextual essays (I wished the original Spanish titles had been included for consultation along with translations). Highlights include Escalera's *Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity* from the late eighteenth century; José Bencomo Mena's *Keeper of the Roosters* (1934); Leopoldo Romañach's *Italian Peasant* (c. 1930), and works by Victor Manuel, Lorenzo Romero Arciaga, Amelia Peláez, René Portocarrero, Mario Carreño and Guido Llinás. Less a history of Cuba through art, or a comprehensive survey, *Cuba: A History in Art* offers a tantalising selection of works from a quite comprehensive collection of Cuban art in the United States.

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Adams, Jacqueline (2013) *Art against Dictatorship: Making and Exporting Arpilleras under Pinochet*, University of Texas Press (Austin), xii + 297 pp. £40.00 hbk.

In *Art against Dictatorship*, Jacqueline Adams explores the dissident art of making *arpilleras* (pictures in cloth) depicting unemployment, poverty, repression, economic strategies and protests' (p. 1). Initially created by women whose families were suffering through unemployment and political repression during the Pinochet regime, the *arpilleras* came to be distributed internationally and have become a major testimonial source for the lived experience of the dictatorship. This book provides a detailed historical account of the emergence and development of the craft, delving into the complexities of the organisation of the workshops where they were made, the difficult conditions endured and overcome by the *arpilleristas* and the creation of an international market, managed from within Chile through the key distribution centre of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad.

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Adams's analysis is framed by the idea of a solidarity art system or community, a concept that seeks to evoke a series of coordinated activities that ensure the reception and distribution of the work (pp. 13–14). The richness of the book lies in the detailed way that the author has gathered information about the socio-economic, political and artistic environment in which the *arpilleras* were created, offering the first full account

in English of the art. In the chapter on the early period, we get a good account of the first workshops or *talleres*, about 1975, based around unemployed workers' centres and intended as a means to contribute financially to families devastated by unemployment. There is a rich narrative of the precarious beginnings of the workshops, in which a sense of politicisation, or even of expression, was less important than the need to find a way of feeding a family, and where gender issues inevitably came to the fore, as the women are effectively expelled from the hidden domesticity of the home into the often prohibited public space of work. It is a place of work that is also dangerous during the years of the dictatorship, leaving the *arpilleristas* exposed to the possibility of persecution as a result of the thematic content of their art. Through the important roles played in the foundation of the movement and then the distribution of the *arpilleras* by the Church-based organisations, the Comité Pro Paz and later the Vicaría, the *arpilleristas* were situated at the heart of opposition to the dictatorship, based on the fight for human rights and freedom of expression. As the market for *arpilleras* grew, the organisation became more complex and the artists had to manage issues of quality control, supply and demand, as well as the marketability of the themes that they depicted. The origins of the art are debated by different practitioners, and there is a perhaps surprising amount of dissent about the art form in the Chilean context and also about how it grew through the workshops; it was both taught and organic, moving from a naïve form to a sophisticated range of responses to the circumstances of the dictatorship. Jacqueline Adams develops a full description of the methods of creation, intrinsically bound up with the increasing awareness of the collective power of this form of expression, which was sending across the world an intimate account of individual, domestic and public life experiences.

Over 100,000 *arpilleras* were made in metropolitan Santiago over the years of the dictatorship (p. 182). They were sold in clandestine ways within Chile, often from under the counter at the Vicaría, but the main market was beyond Chile. The *arpilleras* were sold internationally through solidarity organisations and through the efforts of individuals, often exiles, dedicated to educating about and discussing the realities of Chile and other Latin American countries under the dictatorship. It is a real strength of this book that the author has followed the journey of the *arpillera* from workshop to international marketplace, and along the way has gathered information and testimonials about an art form that is so tactile and tangible, but that holds within it the very real possibility of disappearing because of the form of distribution. *Art in Dictatorship* offers an excellent overview of this important art form, providing a real insight into the force of creation needed to produce the work, the negotiation of tensions between home and public work, the difficulties of accessing material and of responding to the demands of the market, and the impact on the form of changing historical circumstances. This is a key volume for understanding the Chilean *arpilleras*, which, in their turn, act as an introduction to an art form that has taken root among female artists across Latin America.

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Rein, Raanan (2015) *Fútbol, Jews, and the Making of Argentina*, Stanford University Press (Stanford), xii + 226 pp. \$85.00 hbk. \$24.95 pbk.

Although football has long been a national obsession in Argentina, scholars have been slow to explore the critical role it has played in national identity. But in recent years,

1 they have made up for lost time, publishing a number of studies on the role of *fútbol*
2 in the construction of national identity, fan violence and masculinity. *Fútbol, Jews, and*
3 *the Making of Argentina* adds to this impressive body of research by inserting ethnic-
4 ity – a topic rarely addressed by sports scholars in Argentina – into the discussion. The
5 book's focus on civic associations is a natural extension of historian Raanan Rein's pre-
6 vious work on Argentine-Jewish politics and social identity. Its goal is to complicate the
7 narrative of football as a homogenising force in Argentina by presenting Villa Crespo
8 and Club Atlético Atlanta as prime examples of the ways in which immigrants and their
9 children tried to balance social assimilation with cultural preservation.

10 Among the roughly 6,000,000 immigrants that arrived in Argentina between 1840
11 and 1930, Jews comprised the largest non-Catholic group. Argentina's Jewish commu-
12 nity was the largest in Latin America, numbering over 300,000 by 1950. Its members
13 established schools, community centres, businesses and synagogues primarily in Buenos
14 Aires. They also helped establish some of the earliest club associations. Like other ethnic
15 groups, Argentine Jews considered football as an ideal leisure activity to enjoy because
16 of its potential to provide a greater level of social integration.

17 Rein aims to dispel two misconceptions commonly held among academics. The first
18 is that ethnicity played an inconsequential role in the development of Argentine football,
19 while the other challenges the stereotype of Jewish men as intellectuals uninterested in
20 physical pursuits. Accordingly, he places a heavy emphasis on the history and evolution
21 of Atlanta, its supporters and the athletic accomplishments of Jewish-Argentine ath-
22 letes in various sports. To do so, Rein draws upon an impressive collection of research
23 material, including access to a trove of personal documents from the family of León
24 Kolbowski – the first Jewish president of a football club in Argentina. These sources
25 illuminate how Kolbowski wielded enormous influence over the sport's governing body
26 (AFA), and how he transformed Atlanta into a model of success for other mid-sized
27 football clubs.

28 The book's greatest strength is its ability to immerse readers in the daily lives of the
29 residents of Villa Crespo. Like many clubs, Atlanta hosted carnivals, dances, and other
30 social events throughout the year. Tango musicians, politicians, and film stars were fre-
31 quent visitors to the club's headquarters and football stadium. In highlighting the club's
32 mass appeal and civic presence, the book compliments historian Julio Frydenberg's sem-
33 inal exploration of the symbiotic relationship between football, clubs, and daily life in
34 Buenos Aires in the early twentieth century, as well as recent scholarship on football
35 clubs and neighbourhoods by sociologists Mariano Gruschetsky and Rodrigo Daskal.
36 However, by focusing on ethnicity, Rein's work offers a corrective to sports scholar-
37 ship in Argentina, and hews closer to Greg Bocketti's exploration of Italian identity in
38 Brazilian football.

39 Somewhat to the detriment of the book, chapter 5 deviates from Atlanta and Villa
40 Crespo by focusing on the sports policies enacted by Juan Domingo Perón between 1946
41 and 1955. Rein portrays an intimate relationship between Atlanta and Peronism. Yet,
42 this connection is not as exclusive to Atlanta as the author suggests. Many clubs at the
43 time – regardless of size – hoped to receive some form of financial assistance from state
44 officials by tying their initiatives to Perón's *quinquenales* (five-year plans). Atlanta was
45 no different in this regard, despite Rein's assertion of the club's exceptionalism under
46 Perón. However, this slight deviation does not diminish the book's value. In fact, the last
47 two chapters are some of the strongest sections. They trace the maturation and growth
48 of the club under Kolbowski and explore fan culture (and its implication for Semitism
49 and anti-Semitism). Rein presents football as a new secular faith for young Jews, many of

whom abandoned Saturday rituals and embraced football stadiums in Villa Crespo and other 'Jewish' neighbourhoods as *de facto* weekend temples. Alongside earlier chapters, they provide an illuminating study of how a neighbourhood club association influenced a city and became part of its football tradition, while holding on to its increasingly Jewish identity.

Fútbol, Jews, and the Making of Argentina will appeal to anyone interested in migration and popular culture studies. It demonstrates why sports associations like Atlanta are critical for our understanding of immigrant communities and their inclusion within the fabric of a city (Buenos Aires) and a nation (Argentina). Likewise, it makes the case for historians of the Jewish experience in Latin America to further explore sports, leisure and other aspects of cultural history.

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Gideon, Jasmine (2014) *Gender, Globalization, and Health in a Latin American Context*, Palgrave Macmillan (London), xi + 271 pp. £62.50 hbk.

Gideon's book is an exciting and meticulously researched work. The author fruitfully scrutinises the nuances emerging when looking at the impact of globalisation on labour, human well-being and gender justice. Her perspective is particularly compelling because it analyses gender biases embedded in health systems. By focusing on the specific case study of Chile, she also provides examples from other Latin American countries to talk about similarities and differences in social policy. Her findings are anchored within a solid analytical framework based on a gendered political economy of health, unfolding power relations at different levels ('the Global-Macro-Meso-Micro', p. 24). By doing so, she proposes an overview of different structural inequalities with an in-depth analysis of gender, and the link between health and work.

The book is divided into seven chapters; chapter 1 provides a general background on the Latin American context, and whether or not social policies in the region have been able to challenge gender inequalities. Chapter 2 deals with Gideon's analytical framework based on a wide range of literature from feminist economics, gender, development and health, recognising two key elements which are often ignored in social policies: (a) the contribution of female unpaid care to the health and well-being of the household; and (b) the health sector as a gendered structure. While chapter 3 looks at the historical development of gender norms in Latin American health systems, chapter 4 examines gendered governance in health. Chapters 5 and 6 are particularly fascinating, describing the gendered tensions between new forms of work and health that have occurred within the context of economic liberalisation. The case study of migrant Peruvian women working in Chile as informal workers is particularly interesting, as it offers a useful example to shed light on how gender, health and globalisation interlink. It also gives information on racial tensions. The overall structure of the book is well-thought and consistent with the final conclusions in chapter 7.

The findings in this book are based on an extensive period of research in Chile, beginning with the author's fieldwork between 1998 and 1999, and followed by several trips between 2000 and 2010. Qualitative research, mainly participant observation and semi-structured interviews, was skilfully used to capture nuances that show the gap between abstract policy models and everyday life.

Chile, identified as one of the most advanced economies in the region and the only country that has fully implemented a large-scale health reform, is an interesting case study to discuss issues about universalism in health and exacerbated health inequalities that neoliberal health reforms have failed to address. With the structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and the legacy of the military regime, the first democratic government inherited a dual health system: a private well-provisioned network for the wealthy social classes and a drained public one for the majority of the population (Missoni and Solimano, 2010). Gideon powerfully shows how gender inequalities reinforce barriers to health care access. Her work also emphasises a gap between reality and 'pro-gender' rhetoric in health reforms.

For instance, the continuous focus on 'patriarchal maternalism' in social policy interventions, viewing women primarily as mothers rather than workers or citizens, does not help to overcome gender bias. Moreover, men's needs and role in reproductive health are completely neglected as if they were not important in defining social constructed relations. Other gender biases that were also observed include disparities in health entitlements, depending on men's participation in formal labour. Lack of health provision was highlighted as an issue by Chilean home-workers and represents an important concern for informal workers in general.

I think that the most inspiring contribution of this book is the depiction of the household as a site of production and consumption of health care, powerfully showing how health care is in practice fragmented, often constrained between different forms of provision (e.g. public, private and philanthropic) and embedded in gendered political economies of 'resource gaps' and care. Within this context, Gideon skilfully argues that male biases still influence the shaping of health services.

This book provides an invaluable contribution to different fields: gender, health service provision/delivery as well as Latin American and development studies. It helps us to better understand international issues surrounding the privatisation of health care systems, and the interplay between transnational migration, globalisation, health and gender. As well as benefiting students and researchers in the fields mentioned above, it is also recommended for policy-makers and those interested in gaining greater understanding of embedded power relations in health care systems.

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Missoni, E. and Solimano, G. (2010) *Towards Universal Health Coverage: The Chilean Experience*. World Health Report, WHO.

Posocco, Silvia (2014) *Secrecy and Insurgency: Socialities and Knowledge Practices in Guatemala*, University of Alabama (Tuscaloosa), 249 pp. \$49.95 hbk.

As I began this book in late spring 2015, the United Nations' International Commission against Impunity had just revealed that a criminal customs fraud ring, La Linea, led by the Guatemalan Vice President Roxana Baldetti's personal secretary, was bilking the Guatemalan public hundreds of millions annually. A spontaneous outbreak of protest

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against corruption and impunity under the hash tag #RenunciaYa (resign already) has since reverberated across that country, transgressing all the usual class, age, ethnic, educational, and geographic divides that otherwise structure Guatemalan politics. With no foreseeable end in sight, these sparks of democracy have ignited parallel anti-corruption protests in Honduras, signalling perhaps a broader Central American iteration of the Arab Spring.

After its devastating civil war between 1960 and 1996, Guatemala enjoyed another brief democratic spring before the early 2000s when the rise of narco cartels re-escalated violence to homicide rates actually higher than during the armed conflict. Having lived and worked in northern Guatemala for the better part of the 1990s, I observed at first hand the fervent, hopeful opening after 1996. As donors, human rights observers, PhD students, NGO workers and others descended on Guatemala, the late 1990s marked a heyday of projects, workshops, forums, committees, truth commissions and extraordinary grassroots organising often driven by the political acumen of returned refugee communities and ex-combatants.

Silvia Posocco's *Secrecy and Insurgency*, however, presents a more sombre and fearful portrait of Petén, Guatemalan's northernmost department during that truncated time of peace. During eleven months between 1999 and 2000, as a self-described 'itinerant' researcher, Pasco interviewed 61 ex-combatants (half of them men, half women) from the FAR (Rebel Armed Forces), one of Guatemala's revolutionary groups that was active in the north, east and the capital. Their war stories transcribed by Posocco and reproduced at length in the second half of her book give glimpses of everyday guerrilla life, marriage and fictive kin relations, alliances and friendships with base communities and sympathisers, logistical challenges, hierarchies of training and discipline, and the risks and challenges of demobilisation. Albeit not indexed, she includes an interesting vignette on pages 127–128 about insurgents operating in 1982 near the village of Dos Erres, Petén, which may be of interest to those involved in the prosecution of ex-President Ríos Montt for that particular massacre in the second anticipated phase of his trial for genocide.

However, Posocco's experimental 'ethnographically nuanced account' (p. 2) disavows analysis and leaves to the reader the responsibility for interpretation (or what she calls 'out-contextualization') of these long first-person accounts of guerrilla life. For unexplained reasons, she inserts at random into the long quotes parenthetical Spanish phrases that are often not grammatically parallel to the English and distract the reader into questioning the translations. Although she gleans from the secondary literature some intriguing accounts of Q'eqchi' frontier colonisation and land claims, one otherwise learns little about internal ethnic relations and the experiences of Q'eqchi' and other Maya combatants in the FAR, which was regarded as the *least* indigenous of Guatemala's rebel groups. For instance, an ex-combatant's tantalising quote that 'one would feel much safer (*y se sentía mucho más seguro*) with an indigenous person (*indígena*), for they would cover your secrets (*que te cubrieran los secretos*) much more than a ladino' (p. 107) is relatively meaningless without knowing something of his/her origins or ethnic identification.

In classic dissertation style, she attempts to slay the work of anthropological elders like Norman Schwartz (with 55 years and counting of committed research to the region), but clearly depends on his prior ethnohistorical work. She similarly mocks the 'dazzling organizational detail, stern linear periodisation and chilling causal certitude' (p. 10) of the courageous 1999 UN-sponsored Commission for Historical Clarification's multi-volume *Memory of Silence*, but then mines it for her own fragmentary historical narrative.

1 Although the book has been published fifteen years after her fieldwork, the
2 author appears not to have updated the research, nor stayed abreast of the abun-
3 dant ethnographic or applied publications on Petén since 2000. We learn nothing
4 of how land-grabbing patterns and drug cartels may have impacted on communities
5 of ex-combatants in unique ways after purchasing their lands from the government.
6 Rather, Posocco seems to extract experiences of northern insurgents in the Guatemalan
7 civil war merely as fodder for theoretical musings on neologisms like Marilyn Strathern's
8 concept of 'merographic' connection and prosthetics. In the post-interpretative style of
9 the book itself, I therefore conclude with a sample of the author's prose: 'Prosthetics
10 also give a form to post-plural knowledge practices, with constant deferrals, rearticu-
11 lations, reinscription, and resignifications. Through the temporality of their form, the
12 transience of their borrowings, 'thrownness' (*Geworfenheit*) (Heidigger [1962] 2002),
13 and historicity, prosthetics constitute a performative aesthetics. They give a form to
14 ethnography's performativity' (p. 200). Read it, as you will.

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20 Simmons, William P., and Mueller, Carol (eds.) (2014) *Binational Human Rights. The*
21 *US-Mexico Experience*, University of Pennsylvania Press (Philadelphia), 312 pp. \$55.00
22 pbk.
23

24 This book examines the human rights situation in the context of US–Mexico relations,
25 contending that binational trade, security and politics lead to massive human rights
26 abuses that mostly occur in Mexican territory or involve Mexicans on American soil.
27 It focuses on human rights abuses in the context of feminicides in Ciudad Juárez, the
28 drug war in Mexico, and Mexican as well as Central American migration to the United
29 States. Accordingly, it offers an analytical introduction and four sections that address
30 the human rights situation in these three contexts.

31 Part I deals with migration to the United States and opens with Mexican ex-consul
32 Miguel Escobar-Valdez's descriptive and sometimes sentimental piece explaining the
33 ordeal of undocumented Mexican migrants when trying to avoid American border
34 enforcement. William Paul Simmons and Michel Tellez's chapter offers a very sound
35 and rigorous account of sexual violence against women and children trying to cross the
36 border, while Timothy Dunn's chapter, unlike the previous two, builds on a very strong
37 human rights framework to question national sovereignty being used as a pretext for
38 tougher border enforcement since this has resulted in a very high death toll.

39 Part II assesses human rights abuses in the context of the drug war, particularly
40 regarding Central American migrants and US–Mexico arms trafficking. It opens with
41 Julie A. Murphy Erfani's very well-documented chapter analysing the human rights con-
42 sequences of Mexico–US cooperation in the drug war which, from a necropolitical
43 perspective, has led to 'legal civil war in Mexico'. In Luis Alfredo Arriola Vega's article
44 on the securitisation of migration-in-transit across the Mexico–Guatemala border as an
45 externalisation of US security policy, the author focuses on how securitisation has made
46 migrants vulnerable to the abuses of organised crime.

47 Parts III and IV are similar as they mostly address violence and feminicide in Ciudad
48 Juarez in the context of binational security and activism. Carol Mueller's chapter offers
49 a sound critique of the role of the United States in creating the structural conditions

permitting femicide in Juárez, namely exploitation in maquiladoras and impunity for femicide and drug-related violence. Clara Jusidman's article is one of the weakest in the book since it resembles an NGO report for a funding institution. Her chapter offers little more than a detailed list of actions performed by civil society to address femicide.

Kathleen Staudt's chapter, which opens Part IV, goes back to the starting point of femicide and related activism, explaining that these crimes are still committed in spite of the actions of civil society for reasons of impunity, patriarchy and US support for Mexico's war on drugs. Alejandro Anaya's well-argued article examines US–Mexico transnational activism for human rights in the context of femicide in Juárez, political conflict in Oaxaca and drug war violence. Maureen Meyer's chapter, however, is very weak in terms of analysis and like Jusidman's chapter her piece resembles a WOLA report of their lobbying of the US Congress.

As a whole the book is an interesting attempt to address the structural, subjective and political issues surrounding Mexico's current human rights crisis, as well as US security and migration policies influencing the crisis. It also offers a positive example of binational intellectual cooperation since the chapters do reflect an epistemological dialogue between scholars from both countries. This is a contribution in itself since books of this type frequently ignore the contribution of academics in the periphery.

Having said that, some of the chapters are more solid than others. The book has two significant analytical shortcomings that make it an uneven work in terms of rigour and contributions. The first weakness is the mixing of academics, politicians and activists, whose understanding of the same issues are usually different in terms of analytical depth. The non-academic chapters offer redundant data and description, and their analysis is poor.

The second shortcoming concerns the analytical axis presented in the introduction. Here editors claim that while Mexico's international commitments and the institutionalisation of human rights norms could represent the dream of human rights activists throughout the world, human rights abuses in the country are so widespread that they often lead to 'states of exception'. This builds on Giorgio Agamben's biopolitical reinterpretation of Carl Schmitt's state of exception in order to argue that Mexico's compulsion for signing human rights treaties leads to a variety of states of exception. However, while presenting Agamben's state of exception as an analytical axis for all the contributions sounds like an exciting and appealing prospect, this promise is not kept since most contributors barely mention the concept, let alone analyse their data through this lens.

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Sehnbruch, Kirsten, and Siavelis, Peter (eds.) (2014) *Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990–2010*, Lynne Rienner Publishers (Boulder), v + 374 pp. £57.95 hbk.

The editors of this book have addressed the paradox of Chile's current democracy, the Concertación's twenty years' rule and its demise in 2010 with the election of Piñera's right-wing coalition. The authors of the volume analyse the Concertación's governments since the return to democracy, preceded by an excellent foreword by Allan Angel that reminds us of the constraints inherited from the dictatorship while providing a nuanced analysis of the coalition's economic policies. The editors propose that democratic

1 transition was limited by political and economic restraints imposed by the military in the
2 1980s constitution. The transitional enclaves – a concept developed by Siavelis – like
3 the *cuoteo*, the selection of candidate by elites, etc. have limited progress in reforms.
4 These practices have now become the status quo, challenging the coalition to improve
5 and strengthen democracy by abandoning them for a more legitimate, representative
6 and transparent political and economic model.

7 The book is an excellent and overarching view of the Concertación's policies, and
8 is a recommended reading to anyone wanting to understand the current processes in
9 Chile. Siavelis analyses the coalition's success in managing the transition and the fail-
10 ures to ensure the re-election in 2010. To him, the success lies in Concertación's systems
11 of power sharing, based on quotas that allowed power sharing amongst the main politi-
12 cal parties. The problem is that these mechanisms left citizens alienated from power and
13 decision-making, while the economic framework inherited from Pinochet was not fun-
14 damentally challenged. These enclaves are entrenched and difficult to reform. Navia and
15 Godoy analyse the Chilean right's strategies in its quest for power, in some cases trying
16 to detach itself from its own history and links with the authoritarian regime, adopting
17 a more moderate positions and searching for popular support. The right, according to
18 the authors, acting as the opposition to the coalition has stopped reforms and defended
19 the enclaves, making change difficult. Fuentes again uses the idea of the authoritarian
20 enclaves to analyse the democratisation process by studying the political reforms spear-
21 headed by the Concertación. In a similar line, Weeks looks at the changing relations
22 between the military and the civilian government, showing the slow decrease in the
23 power Pinochet and the military held during the transition, and the gradual improvement
24 in relations between the government and the militaries. Haas and Blofield look into the
25 coalition's gender policies. Although recognising that the Concertación, and in particu-
26 lar the government of Bachelet, did advance policies on gender equality, they argue that
27 progress was hindered by the internal influence of conservative forces within the coal-
28 ition, in particular the Cristian Democrats, and by the external influence of the Catholic
29 Church, which resisted progress and stopped progressive policy outcomes. Collins, in
30 her analysis of Human rights issues during the Concertación, uses the concept of tran-
31 sitional enclaves to understand the coalition's management of human rights abuses and
32 the slow pace, and sometimes unwillingness, to address the issue in an effort to avoid
33 conflict. The second section of the book deals with economic and social development.
34 Landerretche analyses the Concertación's economic policies, what he considers the 'third
35 way consensus', which is different from the traditional Washington Consensus model.
36 He argues that the model indeed produced economic growth, some of which was spent
37 in the social protection system. The problems with the model are that it lacks diversifi-
38 cation, the private sector is not innovative, it has out-dated labour legislation, and the
39 tax system does not promote human capital and education. These constraints are hinder-
40 ing progress and might stagnate it. In the section on the Concertación's fiscal policies,
41 López also argues that the model is failing to strengthen human capital-intensive sectors,
42 favouring the extraction of national resources. Inequality has not decreased despite eco-
43 nomic growth, and this is due to tax policies that have not been able to provide the
44 resources needed to improve this situation. Borzutzky et al. analyse the poverty reduc-
45 tion rates during the coalition. By using a relative measure of poverty rates, they show
46 that improvements are not as impressive as expected and a multidimensional analy-
47 sis shows that social vulnerability is still high. The problem, according to the authors,
48 is that the Concertación did not dedicate sufficient resources to social policies. In the
49 same vein, Contreras and Sehnbruch analyse the Concertación's social policies from the

perspective of welfare theory, concluding that although they made significant improvements in social policies, they still have limitations, including a labour market that is undermining social development. The labour markets are analysed in detail in the next chapter by Sehnbruch, and education by Elacqua and González.

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Almeida, Paul (2014) *Mobilizing Democracy: Globalization and Citizen Protest*, Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore), ix + 198 pp. £19.50 pbk.

With their small, export commodity-driven economies, Central American nations have long been vulnerable to the vagaries of global market forces. The state-led development policies of the post-Second World War period helped to mitigate this vulnerability through the development of infrastructure and domestic social welfare systems. However, the heavy borrowing these nations relied upon to finance state modernisation and infrastructural expansion led to economic crisis in the 1980s. When interest rates spiked and world commodity prices dropped, governments were forced to enact drastic cuts in social spending and basic subsidies. For citizens across the region, nearly half of whom live at or below the poverty line, the impact of such cuts was severe. These circumstances provoked the first major outbreaks of protest against neoliberal reforms in Central America.

In *Mobilizing Democracy*, Paul Almeida chronicles these popular efforts to oppose neoliberal reforms across the six nations of the region. Through his analysis of patterns of protest, he attempts to explain why some localities resist while others remain passive. In addition, Almeida examines cross-national differences in the composition of anti-neoliberal coalitions and the capacity of civil society to establish durable alliances among diverse ('multisectoral') actors. Finally, Almeida states as one of his primary objectives furthering 'our collective understanding of the groups "on the ground" mobilising at the subnational level in response to macro-globalisation processes' (p. 9). In doing so, he hopes to 'push scholarship beyond the highly aggregated [...] studies of collective protest to a more fine-grained approach of the contested process of global social change within and between nations'.

Almeida's work moves us in this direction through an impressive body of empirical research that identifies the communities where protest has occurred as well as some of the key characteristics of these communities. For example, he notes that at the subnational level, 'localities transected by a major highway were much more likely to experience collective action than those lacking transportation arteries' (p. 156). In addition, one of Almeida's key insights is the importance of the legacy of state-led development – including public universities, public schools, public teacher associations, public hospitals and social security institutes – in providing the constituencies and the organisational resources necessary to create an effective anti-neoliberal opposition.

While the core of the text is structured around case studies of anti-neoliberal protest in Central America's six countries, a number of cross-national themes stand out in Almeida's analysis. First, and perhaps most crucial, is the central cleavage around which anti-neoliberal protest revolves: free market reform advocated by international financial institutions (IFIs) versus social citizenship rights which vulnerable populations seek to protect. IFIs such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have sought to

leverage debt relief to compel debt-ridden Central American nations to adopt neoliberal policies – trade liberalisation, labour flexibility, price hikes and removal of subsidies, and privatisation of public goods and state-owned resources. Vulnerable populations negatively impacted by such policies have pushed back, pursuing collective protest as a means to compel public officials to preserve their social citizenship rights.

The notion of a shared sense of social citizenship rights as the nexus that binds together protesters and supporters implies not only differences in material interests between advocates and opponents of neoliberal reform. It also suggests fundamental differences regarding the proper nature of social relations (individual utility maximisation versus collective welfare) and the role of the state (market enabling versus social protection). As such, if Almeida and other scholars wish to better understand the ‘groups on the ground’ – what shapes their collective identities and unites them in protest – investigating the perceptions of social citizenship rights seems a highly promising avenue for further research.

Beyond social citizenship rights, Almeida emphasises the importance of democratic transitions across the region as a key factor in facilitating protest. In contrast to some theorists, who anticipated that polyarchic democracy would lead to the pacification of potential protest groups, Almeida elucidates how democratisation has opened space in civil society for groups to develop and engage in protest without the same degree of state repression carried out in the past. Moreover, he demonstrates how democracy has provided opposition parties with the opportunity to form linkages with a broad spectrum of anti-neoliberal groups, thereby building ‘multisectoral coalitions’.

Almeida’s detailed empirical investigation of the individual case studies largely overshadows comparative analysis of these broader themes and their bearing on popular protest. In addition, cases where protests occurred but the conditions Almeida identifies as facilitating protest were absent are not examined. Examination of such cases through ‘on the ground’ qualitative analysis promises to deepen our understanding of what drives anti-neoliberal protest. Despite these limitations, *Mobilizing Democracy* clearly advances our understanding of popular protest against neoliberal reform in Central America.

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Gutiérrez Aguilar, Raquel (2014) *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: Indigenous Uprising and State Power in Bolivia*, Duke University Press (Durham, NC and London), xvii + 284 pp. £60.00 hbk. £15.00 pbk.

An important contribution to Duke University’s series Latin America in Translation, *Rhythms of the Pachakuti* (first published in Bolivia in 2008) provides a highly insightful and engaging account of Bolivia’s revolutionary cycle of indigenous and social movement uprisings between 2000 and 2005. The author, of Mexican nationality and Professor of Sociology at the Autonomous University of Puebla, was a radical activist engaged in that historical process and close to prominent Bolivian intellectuals, political figures, and indigenous and social movement leaders. Notable among these were: Vice President Álvaro García Linera; Oscar Olivera of the Cochabamba Water War fame; Leonilda Zurita of the Chochabamba women’s coca growers’ association; and Felipe Quispe, the legendary Aymara *Mallku* (supreme peasant leader). Thus Gutiérrez Aguilar’s first-hand

witness and intimate associations inform and enliven her narrative and analysis, establishing her book as a significant revolutionary document. Gutiérrez Aguilar challenges Western and leftist theories and concepts of revolution, and persuasively frames Bolivia's indigenous uprising within the distinctive Andean cosmovision of revolution as *Pakakuti* or 'an inversion of the fundamental order of things' (p. 51).

Although theoretical discussion is dense at times and the meaning of abstract concepts and terms vague and elusive in practice (at least for this reader), Gutiérrez Aguilar's research goal is not to develop a theory but to 'outline a theoretical strategy' (p. xx) that clarifies the significant acts of rebellion and their role within the wider struggle for social emancipation. Her ideological orientation is radical and populist, rejecting all hegemonic structures of state and capital, and the pseudo-democratic liberal institutions and structures of partisan and delegated governance. She passionately espouses forms of direct self-governance and communitarian social and economic relations 'beyond the modern state and capital' (p. xxii), and employs this idealistic and utopian yardstick to judge the outcomes of Bolivia's indigenous uprising and to criticise Latin America's 'progressive' governments. She views the modern term of 'social revolution' and its emphasis on taking power and occupying the state apparatus as distortive and restrictive of an understanding of the process of social transformation and the realisation of authentic social and human emancipation. Thus indirectly she rejects a social movement state and is sadly disillusioned by the current Morales-MAS (Movement toward Socialism) government as truly revolutionary and transformative. Electoral control and the seizure of state power, she asserts, can actually block liberating change and limit the 'collective potential to participate in public affairs' (p. xxxvii).

Her extensive research and analysis of the major social mobilisations of the Cochabamba and El Alto Water Wars, the Gas War, and the Coca War focus on four central questions: who were the actors; what did they say and do; and what were their intentions and goals? Although she is influenced by the critical Marxist tradition (as opposed to orthodox Marxism) and the central role of class struggle, her analysis combines class and indigenist perspectives. Revolution as *Pachakuti* turns the dominant political order 'upside down and inside out', and radically inverts the exercise of political control (p. 177), drawing upon the Aymara and Quechua traditions of autonomous self-governance based on deliberative assemblies for decision-making, horizontal organisational structures and rotational leadership. Based on Gutiérrez Aguilar's analysis, Morales's partial reforms in state structure to gain electoral political power compare unfavourably with Quispe's quest of radical social transformation and complete autonomy from the liberal nation-state in a reconstituted Aymara-Quechua Nation. Since emancipatory potential is only possible outside the state-centric perspective, Gutiérrez Aguilar rejects the state-based concept of 'nacional-popular' of René Zavaleta, an influential Bolivian intellectual, for that of 'community-popular' and a more autonomous and decentralised relationship between government and society.

Gutiérrez Aguilar readily admits that the fundamentally an anti-capitalist and anti-state emancipatory struggle for 'new types of political equality' and inclusive identity 'beyond liberal citizenship' (p. 187) is a utopian project. Thus, she anticipates the most obvious criticism of her extensive prescriptions for change as too idealistic and impractical in a modern and globalised world. Despite a few publication errors, such as an incorrect date for the February 2003 revolt (February 2002 in my copy, p. 99) and repetitions in chapter notes, her study is outstanding in its depth, extensive timelines and notes, and comprehensive bibliography. Her sources incorporate original documents, first-person observations, and vital interviews with most of the major actors, leaders

and grassroots participants involved in Bolivia's protracted contestation and upheaval. Her analysis draws upon valuable sources and expert writings that are unavailable to a non-Spanishspeaking audience. Moreover, as the Morales government compromises in the implementation of the refounding constitution and pursues unpopular state-centric and extractivist development, her critique is prescient and timely.

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Powęska, Radosław (2013) *Indigenous Movements and Building the Plurinational State in Bolivia: Organisation and Identity in the Trajectory of the CSUTCB and CONAMAQ*, Centre for Latin American Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw), 333 pp.

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Much has been written about indigeneity and Bolivian indigenous movements lately. Drawing on social movement theory and ethnographic fieldwork among the peasant union Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB, The Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia) and the highland indigenous organisation Consejo Nacional de Ayllus Y Markas del Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ, National Council of Qullasuyu Ayllus and Markas) during the Constituent Assembly (2006–2007), Radosław Powęska's book is a welcome contribution to this body of literature. As a detailed historic account and a compilation of some of the principal intellectual attempts at understanding the diversity of political projects and organisational corpuses in Bolivia, Powęska's book is an example of good scholarship. Nevertheless, I think his theoretical framework, when used as a device for bending reality to fit a specific neat thesis, impedes him from doing ethnographic justice to a reality that is anything but neat.

Powęska takes social movement theory as his point of departure and argues that a homogeneous collective identity within a social movement creates greater political commitment, while heterogeneous identities obstruct the articulation of a coherent political project. While the latter kind of movement – embodied here in the peasant union CSUTCB which supposedly has found no fertile way of combining 'peasant', 'cocalero' and 'indigenous' identities within its lines – will fail in its political projections, the former kind of movement – embodied here in CONAMAQ which supposedly is free from any 'identity and interest conflict' (p. 225) – 'is more effective on the national scale' (p. 186). According to this thesis, CSUTCB seems foredoomed to failure, while CONAMAQ seems to be heading for success. But why then, I ask, does CSUTCB currently have an overwhelming presence in spaces of parliamentary power while CONAMAQ is a defanged organisation, torn in two by inner conflicts and state intervention?

I believe the answer to the question above lies in the fact that the homogeneity within CONAMAQ is exaggerated in Powęska's account. He argues that 'the internal homogeneity of the organisation, with its lack of identity and interest conflict [...] help[s] to avoid frictions over the movement's visions, goals and strategy' (p. 225). Nonetheless, as Powęska's book went to press, CONAMAQ was divided in two, precisely due to 'interest conflict[s]' and 'frictions over the movement's visions, goals and strategy' in which one sector chose to support the government while another chose to enter into a position of radical opposition and seek alliances with, among others, urban environmentalist organisations. Such alliances were manifest at a recent CONAMAQ *mara tantachawi* (yearly assembly) in La Paz in May 2015; among those present were urban youngsters

chanting Hare Krishna mantras and selling vegan burgers as CONAMAQ consecrated their newly elected leaders in the midst of an institutional crisis. I went home from the *tantachawi* that afternoon and I sat down to read Powęska's book and I just couldn't recognise the frictionless, monolithic and homogeneous CONAMAQ described to me there.

As I have argued elsewhere (Burman, 2014), the organisational dynamics of CONAMAQ are characterised by heterogeneous and changing identities, particularly so in its disputes with CSUTCB over legitimacy, representativity and 'indigeneity'. Rather than being 'remarkably coherent' (p. 204) to begin with, a certain degree of rhetoric and symbolic consistency has been created as part of the creation of CONAMAQ, the reconstitution of the *ayllus*, the reinvention of the Aymara nations and the concomitant 're-indigenisation' of the Andes.

Moreover, though appearing in the book as a taken-for-granted concept that needs no further explanation, 'indigeneity' is anything but coherent; it is full of contradictions. Thus, to use 'indigenous' in a seemingly self-explanatory manner with only a meagre analysis of its shifting semantics and semiotics and political implications is problematic, because it can lead to a characterisation of MAS as 'the most successful indigenous political party' (p. 154) without a word about what constitutes its indigeneity, or a seemingly self-evident account of CSUTCB as 'the biggest indigenous movement in Bolivia' (p. 20).

Had Powęska taken people's lifeworlds, identities and everyday political concerns and practices as his point of departure rather than imposing social movement theory on a reality which it was not developed to explain in the first place, I think he would have been better equipped to do justice to the heterogeneities and identity dynamics within CONAMAQ and, likewise, to the ways by which the heterogeneous and seemingly disparate identities of CSUTCB may be fruitfully operative in a pragmatic and strategic approach to power.

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Reference

Burman, A. (2014) 'Now We are Indígenas! Hegemony and Indigeneity in the Bolivian Andes'. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 9(3): 247–271.

Clem, Ralph S. and Anthony P. Maingot (eds.) (2011) *Venezuela's Petro-Diplomacy: Hugo Chávez's Foreign Policy*, University of Florida Press (Gainesville), ix + 162 pp. \$19.95 pbk.

This brief volume brings together ten practitioners and/or academics who analyse the historical roots of Venezuelan foreign policy relation to Hugo Chávez's strategic use of oil towards actualising the Bolivarian Alternative of 21st Century Socialism. The book succeeds in offering perspectives from many well-known Latin Americanists and including less-covered topics, e.g. relations with Europe and Belarus. The volume is less successful in presenting either rigorous scholarship or theoretical insights, and it is particularly lacking in examining the Venezuelan foreign policy process beyond Chávez or the broader context of global oil diplomacy.

The editors' introduction quite concisely sets the backdrop of Bolivarian foreign policy approaches and petro-diplomacy in Venezuelan history. Clem and Maingot give an overview of the evolution of contradictory pro-US relations to promote a strategic oil alliance combined with the 1960s Betancourt Doctrine that revived a hemispheric-wide (i.e. Bolivarian) foreign policy in opposition to US policy in the search for Latin American unity (e.g. using oil wealth to promote hemispheric unity through financial assistance and supporting the reintegration of Cuba to OAS, backing Panama in the Canal Treaty negotiations, opposing Pinochet). They characterise Chávez's shift towards an openly hostile strategic agenda as a 'highly perilous course' (p. 12), and they acknowledge 'the critical slant of most of the essays' (p. 9) in the volume, while noting that some contributors point to the successful Bolivarian initiatives.

Chapters by Harold Trinkunas and Javier Corrales posit that Chávez's foreign policy is revolutionary not for its tactics but rather for its objectives. Trinkunas and Corrales offer realist analyses on Chávez's alliance building and balancing strategies with mostly negative assessments of both its current achievements and future prospects. They also concur that Chávez's foreign policy, even with strong oil revenues, has failed to build strong alliances, undermine US influence or create positive effects within Venezuela. María Teresa Romero's chapter also takes a critical perspective on Chávez's foreign policy highlighting its expansionism, interventionism and increasingly radical manoeuvring, although without clear relevance for petro-diplomacy. Romero cites only three sources (two anti-Chávez newspapers and one academic think tank), casting it as an opinion piece rather than an academic analysis. John Magdaleno explores public opinion in Venezuela presenting primary survey data of domestic responses to Chavez's foreign policy. The poll explores attitudes about Chavez's policies, perceptions of the US and Cuba, and foreign spending and relations with Colombia and the FARC.

The volume includes case studies on Chávez's relations with Colombia (Román Ortiz), Belarus (Ralph Clem), the greater Caribbean (Anthony Maingot) and the European Union (Julia Buxton). The two chapters on intraregional relations, combined with Norman Girvan's chapter on ALBA, Petrocaribe and Caricom, present useful information as well as varying perspectives on both the specific cases and policy initiatives. The other two chapters offer the most original contributions to the volume and the debates as they cover much less commonly explored aspects of Chávez's foreign relations. Buxton's discussion of Venezuelan-European relations is well written, but it fails to address the relevance to petro-diplomacy.

The final chapter in the volume is by Jorge Castañeda, who ponders the multiple ongoing conflicts across a region that has enjoyed sustained economic growth and transitions to democracy that have been 'lasting and profound' (p. 151). His conclusion is that there coexists a polarisation of the region into camps that support the US Washington Consensus model versus those who favour participatory democracy, and reject the US and capitalist models. Acknowledging that the two camps are not always neatly divided, Castañeda laments the fact that the Chávez regime has solidified its support via the legitimising process of the ballot box and constitutional reform, grassroots militias, Russian arms and the 'advantage of convincing discourse' (p. 153). He asserts that Chávez has successfully diverted the attention of the Venezuelan public from domestic troubles by focusing on external successes. Castañeda emphasises the increasingly aggressive rhetoric of Chávez and the vacuum of response from democratic states that 'are timid, introverted, and cautious to an extreme' (p. 152), and he concludes the chapter with the call for the Venezuelans to put an end to the Chávez regime 'by the means they consider most appropriate' (p. 158).

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The volume definitely raises and explores a variety of questions surrounding Chávez's Bolivarian agenda within a concise set of accessible essays, and the collection of renowned scholars and commentators, albeit of known critics of Chávez, will likely draw readers. However, the title seems misleading given the neglect of petro-diplomacy in some chapters, and the lack of connection to a broader Global South agenda, OPEC or China are glaring omissions. It could still be a useful text to Latin American scholars and international relations scholars, especially those focused on comparative foreign policy analysis and petro-diplomacy.

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Dinerstein, Ana Cecilia (2015) *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organizing Hope*, Palgrave Macmillan (New York), xxvi + 282 pp. \$100.00 hbk.

Ana Cecilia Dinerstein's refreshing critique of Latin American autonomy movements shows how some transcend demarcations of capitalist, patriarchal and colonial realities. Through careful framing of autonomy, which she refers to as the art of organising hope, Dinerstein challenges readers to change their thinking of what is possible. She is inspired by Ernst Bloch (1885–1977), a German Marxist Jewish philosopher, who views reality as an open process in which we can use the strong human emotion of hope to educate ourselves to engage with hidden dimensions of present reality that impede our ability to transform 'not yet consciousness' into 'concrete utopias'. Dinerstein focuses extensively on the idea of *preconfiguration* because she describes it as the process of learning hope. Dinerstein examines four case studies: (a) the Zapatistas in Mexico; (b) urban experiments in Argentina, such as QSVT (¡Qué se vayan tod@s!); (c) indigenous-popular movements in Bolivia; and (d) the Landless Workers Movement (MST) in Brazil. She assesses each according to four modes of autonomy: (a) negotiating: the real is process; (b) creating: shaping the concrete utopia; (c) contradiction: translation and disappointment; and (d) excess: the not yet. Dinerstein summarises decades of history and addresses change over time and in different locales as these movements experiment with and promote organic, horizontal approaches. She highlights remarkable advances in education, food sovereignty and employment generation, particularly in the Brazilian and Argentinian movements. Participants achieve empowerment and pride by redefining notions of 'jobless' or 'landless'.

Dinerstein is leery of World Bank-style feel-good terms like 'participation', 'poverty reduction', 'accountability' and 'governance'; she warns that pro-development rhetoric surrounding these terms excludes social justice and redistribution (p. 153). She also critiques multiculturalism as a counter-paradigm aiming ultimately to control indigenous resistance. Dinerstein demonstrates important similarities across the four cases in terms of the state working to destabilise and co-opt the autonomous movements. Challenges come from centralised and decentralised actors alike as they seek to influence groups to enter and acquiesce in state structures. Autonomous movements are seen as a threat to political parties and frequently enter into disagreements with the traditional left and the new left, a 21st century socialism discussed as the Pink Tide, as both promote economic policies that contradict the anti-neoliberal, bottom-up tendencies of autonomous movements. In a helpful summary table, Dinerstein contrasts neoliberal hopelessness with insurgent hope (p. 97).

While she provides a relatively optimistic reading of events, Dinerstein demonstrates how truly difficult it can be to defy dispossession and demand rights. She also shows how processes and movements tend to be full of contradictions. For example, social movements aim for participants to experience self-determination and make decisions for themselves, but to be successful, movements require a degree of collaboration and a unified vision that could be perceived as group-think. In another example, marginalised indigenous peoples seek inclusion (access to state services) and they also want to be left alone (autonomy). Furthermore, even when successful in achieving a high degree of self-determination, autonomous zones remain under state purview. Governmental agencies and private firms seek access to land and natural resources, which means that movements continue to face resource conflicts and ongoing pressure for extraction. Dinerstein demonstrates a frequent split in public opinion as politicians face contradictory demands from different sectors: an example can be found in the union and peasant organisations which want infrastructure and supported the construction of a highway through TIPNIS indigenous reserve, while indigenous communities organised against it.

While Dinerstein shows that change is possible, autonomy is rare and can be temporary as most social movements must stand up to and survive many setbacks. Even to those of us who are well-informed about political repression, the details of the cases presented here still leave a negative impression of Latin American states: marginalisation is enduring and indigenous peoples experience oppression nearly everywhere. As Dinerstein exemplifies, even territories of hope are always in danger of being appropriated.

It is not clear how unique these cases are, although Dinerstein admits that she selected the case of Bolivia due to its distinctiveness. The reader is left wondering how many other movements have reached this same degree of emancipation. Dinerstein does not present advice for other movements as yet unable to establish an alternative reality on what can be done to facilitate transformation. Although I felt hopeful reading the extensive documentation of these visionary cases, I was conscious of limitations in most social movements in comparison to these four models. So while the reader will probably derive hope from the existence of movements seeking to explore what is 'not yet', one may simultaneously feel disheartened because alternative realities are largely still 'not yet'.

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Collins, Cath, Hite, Katherine and Joignant, Alfredo (2013) *The Politics of Memory in Chile*, First Forum Press (Boulder and London), xix + 279 pp. £56.50 hbk.

This collection of essays examines 'the nature of democratisation in the country since 1990, with an emphasis on how the politics of memory about the recent past visibly shapes the country's political community in the present' (p. 1). The authors use the politics of memory as a framework for the study of human rights trajectories and policies, given their 'heavy symbolic load' and the ways in which they become 'vectors for broader political contestation' (p. 1). This approach means that a longer historical period is covered, with essays discussing the 1973–1990 dictatorship and reaching further back into the nineteenth century and the entrenching of structures of violence and silencing. The authors tackle the complexity of the questions of the politics of memory with subtlety and rigour, disrupting mythmaking around the history of democracy in Chile. Across the

collection, there is an accumulation of detail about policies, trials, movements and sites of memory that builds a picture of the continued complexity of memory in democracy.

Wilde's evocative concept of the 'season of memory', from 1990 to 2010, sets the tone, covering a period when memories were shaped by democratic groupings. It is the period of the truth and reconciliation reports, and through the forms of suppression of the Rettig report (1991) and the Valech Commission (2005), Wilde explores the tensions between the role of historical truth and the search for justice. The exploration of the justice system is continued by Collins in 'The Politics of Prosecutions', analysing the role of the courts as a coveted terrain for justice, and considering the context of the Pinochet arrest in London in 1998 and the changes in the judicial processes, as among the relative successes of the period. In 'Torture as Public Policy', Lira and Loveman give an important overview of the historic practices of torture in Chile, revealing inherited systems of abuse from as far back as 1810, thus underlining significant continuities. In 'Memorials, Silences, and Reawakenings' by Collins and Hite, the dilemmas involved in the 'evolving dynamics of a multiactor commemoration field' (p. 133) are studied to investigate the relationship between the individual and the state. The authors note that there have been more than 200 memorials to date, and explore how state responses have been shaped by evolving party politics. Looking at major projects like the Museum of Memory or the former detention centres at Londres 38 or Villa Grimaldi, the chapter explores who has the responsibility for memory, the use of the spaces of memory and the multiplicity of responses to the city as both lived-in space and remembered site of atrocity. The question of the belonging of memory is the theme of Joingnant's 'Pinochet's Funeral: Memory, History, and Immortality', analysing the ways in which symbolic values of the regime and of Pinochet were battled out in a funeral 'inescapably bound to its own particular context' (p. 169), for Pinochet had ceased to belong to the present time and had become a question of memory versus history. This question of the historical shifts of memory is explored in a more empirical way in the following chapter, by Huneus and Ibarra, on 'The Memory of the Pinochet Regime in the Public Opinion', which demonstrates the historicity of memory through a study based on polls carried out by the Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporánea since 1986, which provide revealing insights into public perception of the dictatorship and Chile. The centrality of economic issues is clear. The role of political orientation and the distance from the end of the Pinochet regime, are, unsurprisingly, all prominent in determining the view of the regime. The study suggests that the country remains divided in the views of the past and 'seem irreducibly divided' (p. 232).

The results of these polls underline the need for a study such as this. The role of memory and of memorialisation in Chile is important in terms of the ways in which the country deals with a traumatic and problematic past, located primarily during the years from the coup to the first Concertación government in 1990. There is something incontrovertible in the reality of a seemingly eternally divided country in which the creation of consensus seen as necessary for a stable democracy is deemed to be still elusive. The collection as a whole develops a complex historiographic picture that has to be studied in a continuity that goes far beyond the key dates of 1970 and 1973. The complexity of the memory of the recent past of Chile is the complexity of the country's history and not of a single point focus. This is a major contribution of the book: to set the dictatorship within broader national memory and memorialising.

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1 Valencia, Cristobal (2015) *We Are the State! Barrio Activism in Venezuela's Bolivarian*
 2 *Revolution*, University of Arizona Press (Tucson), vii + 240 pp. \$55.00 hbk.
 3

4 This book is a welcome addition to the small but growing body of ethnographic work
 5 on Venezuela that has emerged in recent years. The book offers a detailed ethnographic
 6 account of political activism in the Chávez and Maduro eras, arguing that the Bolivarian
 7 Revolution constitutes the construction of a 'counterhegemonic state' (p. 14) – that
 8 is, one in which state institutions are no longer under the control of traditional elite
 9 groups, and are instead subjected to the will of civil society. In doing so, Valencia suggests
 10 that grassroots *chavista* activists are effectively attempting to *become* the state, and
 11 critiques theorists who appear to overlook the links between social movements and state
 12 institutions (p. 17).

13 The ethnographic data largely focuses on participants in neighbourhood communal
 14 councils (CCs) and their efforts to obtain resources for infrastructural improvements to
 15 their communities. The strength of the monograph lies in the rich accounts it
 16 presents – particularly in chapters 3 and 4 – but it is also this very richness that brings
 17 to light some of the author's theoretical weaknesses.

18 One key problem is Valencia's struggle to connect the central theory underpinning
 19 the book to the nuances of the ethnographic data he presents. For example, in chapter
 20 3, amid a detailed account of efforts to establish a commune, we learn of the stoning
 21 and immolation of a rape suspect in Barrio Bruzual. Valencia argues that this lynching
 22 'represents the refusal by men and women of the false naturalization of the patriarchal
 23 state as protector' (p. 109). Yet there is nothing in his respondents' words or deeds that
 24 suggests the lynching is a critique of *patriarchal* state power specifically. He goes on to
 25 describe the event as a search for 'social justice', but makes no attempt to connect this
 26 argument to his theory about citizens becoming the state. One of the common definitions
 27 of state sovereignty, pace Weber, is that it rests on the monopolisation of violence. So
 28 what might the lynching and its ramifications tell us about aspirations to become the
 29 state and the potential moral ambiguities this might present for barrio residents? We
 30 cannot tell, because Valencia abruptly finishes this analysis and returns to the commune
 31 story, leaving the reader with a host of answered questions concerning the vignette's
 32 relationship to the book's central thesis.

33 A related problem lies in the author's apparent refusal to critically analyse some of
 34 the ambiguities and contradictions within his interlocutors' own viewpoints. Although
 35 in the introduction he states that the relationships between local organisations and the
 36 state are 'varied, multiple, complex, and at times conflicting' (p. 19), we don't really get
 37 a sense of how such complexity might also be present at the level of subjectivity, which
 38 Valencia claims is one of his chief interests. In another vignette, he accompanies CC
 39 spokespeople to the offices of state funding provider FUNDACOMUNAL to complain
 40 about the non-appearance of promised money for a housing project. After a dispute with
 41 the receptionist, they are asked to leave having failed to obtain the response they wanted
 42 (p. 117). The incident clearly shows that, while barrio activists may aspire to become the
 43 state, for the time being they are excluded from one of its key functions: the provision
 44 of resources. Again a series of questions might be raised: about the uneasy coexistence
 45 between liberal and revolutionary politics in the Bolivarian project, about whether or not
 46 it is possible to have state institutions run by voluntary actors, or about the distinction
 47 between utopian *aspirations* and the often confusing and frustrating impediments to
 48 their realisation in everyday struggles. But again Valencia largely avoids such questions,
 49

instead concluding by knocking down what are largely straw-men theories of the state and social movements (pp. 128–129).

Valencia's brief and largely dismissive engagement with the work of Fernando Coronil (p. 187) is a further weakness, as is the inattention to aspects of barrio life beyond the political. The reader is told much about structural violence, exclusion and poverty, but learns very little of the joys of barrio life, of which there are many! We are also not told about decision-making processes within the CCs, or about relationships between community leaders and non-participants, and so on. For an ethnography that seeks to celebrate and give voice to the Venezuelan *pueblo*, these are frustrating and puzzling omissions.

Given the relative scarcity of ethnographic work on Venezuela, the detail presented in *We Are the State* is to be welcomed, and scholars and students of Venezuelan politics and society will undoubtedly benefit from the richness of its descriptions. But as it stands, the failure to provide a sufficiently clear analysis of this data results in theoretical weaknesses that mean it may struggle to contribute to debates beyond this milieu.

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Durand Ochoa, Ursula (2014) *The Political Empowerment of the Cocaleros of Bolivia and Peru*, Palgrave Macmillan (New York), xiii + 230 pp. £62.50 hbk.

This extensive comparative case study explores the central question why the struggle for political empowerment of the Bolivian and Peruvian *cocalero* movements differed markedly in outcomes. The analysis concludes that important differences in identity formation as well as contextual factors contributed to the political success of the *cocaleros* in Bolivia with one of their own elected president in 2005. In contrast, despite overcoming serious obstacles, the *cocalero* movement in Peru realised a less unified and more limited political impact. Durand Ochoa primarily employs the contentious politics framework of Sidney Tarrow to elucidate the formation of *cocalero*-based social movements in Bolivia and Peru and their transition from social actors to political ones. Although useful as an organising and explanatory device, the systematic application of the contentious politics framework suggests the meticulous exposition of a doctoral dissertation and may be less interesting to the general reader.

A major strength of the research and analysis is the detailed narrative of the sharply different contextual factors in the two cases. These involve the important structural pre-conditions (intervening variables) and critical political opportunities and threats (independent variables) that shape political identity and the formation of strong or weak social movements. A major factor in the Peruvian case is the Shining Path insurgency and the constraints it imposed on the *cocaleros* and the process of social movement formation. The war against Sendero Luminoso disrupted Peruvian society, provoking governmental corruption and violent and repressive counterterrorism and coca eradication policies. Sendero protected coca production and infiltrated narcotrafficking to fund its insurgency. As a result, Duran Ochoa convincingly argues, the Peruvian *cocaleros* were unable to overcome the stigma of criminality and narcoterrorism and to develop a positive political identity that could appeal to and unite diverse sectors and social movements behind a national political programme.

In a majority of important contextual factors, Bolivia's experience differed from that of Peru. The illegal coca growers of the Bolivian Chapare region were primarily migrants from the highland, and many were former miners who brought with them community and syndicalist solidarity and organising skills. They established strong coca growers' federations that unified under the Coordinadora led by Evo Morales and effectively challenged the state and US anti-drug enforcement programmes. Geography favoured Bolivia with its two main coca production areas close to cities and not isolated and dispersed as in Peru. Bolivia had more indigenous peoples, a richer history of indigenous movements and a higher rate of coca consumption. Unlike Peru, Bolivia had one of the strongest militant and autonomous union movements in Latin America. Economically, more Bolivians were employed by coca production, and the coca-cocaine economy contributed more to Bolivia's GDP than some traditional products. Both countries experienced varying high and low degrees of state control of coca production and repression of *cocaleros*. The timing of the criminalisation of coca and the popular response to state eradication policies differed: Peru criminalised coca in 1978; Bolivian coca producers were already well organised against eradication programmes when Law 1008 criminalised coca in 1988.

Duran Ochoa's analysis suggests that an important difference in the two cases was Evo Morales and how his leadership and dual appeal to indigenous and *cocalero* constituencies transformed a local movement into a broad national movement and the Movement toward Socialism (MAS) political party. In contrast, the Peruvian *cocalero* leadership was plagued by illegitimacy, missteps and divisiveness. Morales came to embody the anti-imperialist and anti-neoliberal ideology of the syndicalists, *cocaleros*, peasants, and indigenous communities. And in Bolivia the defence of the coca leaf against the US-imposed 'drug war' not only incorporated this ideology, but also extended and incorporated the struggle for coca into the struggle for indigenous rights and the defence of popular and national sovereignty. Bolivia also experienced unprecedented social mobilisations and uprisings wherein the *cocaleros* played an integral role: the Cochabamba and El Alto Water Wars in 2000 and 2005, respectively, and the Gas War of 2003 that brought down the president.

There is much to recommend and learn from Duran Ochoa's comparative study of political empowerment in Bolivia and Peru: a strong introductory theoretical discussion and review of old versus new social movements; an effective application of Tarrow's contentious politics theoretical framework; and an interesting historical overview of the contrasting attitudes towards the cultural and indigenous practice of coca leaf chewing. The research is solid, clearly presented and well documented by detailed endnotes and bibliography, and several charts that carefully organise key variables and conclusions. Overall, Duran Ochoa presents a thought-provoking argument and a sterling model of how to design and implement comparative research.

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Risley, Amy (2015) *Civil Society Organizations, Advocacy, and Policy Making in Latin American Democracies*, Palgrave Macmillan (New York), xi + 208 pp. £65.00 hbk.

From the 1990s, scholars have extensively analysed Latin American civil society and its interaction with political and economic dynamics, mainly through the lenses of

contentious politics and new social movement theories. From indigenous movements in the Andes, to labour organisations and human rights groups in Argentina, to the youth mobilisations in Mexico, Brazil and Chile, civil society across the region has often been seen as a bastion resisting neoliberalism or as an incubator of innovative forms of participation, local governance and citizenship claims, able to challenge the nation-state positively, without dismantling it. Driven by the excitement that followed paradigmatic social protests (e.g. the Zapatista rebellion in Mexico, the 'Gas War' in Bolivia, the *piquetero* movement in Argentina), this literature has sometimes abused the interpretative frameworks of resistance, emancipation and participation, disregarding both civil society routines (beyond peaks of mobilisation) and those social sectors that were not leading emblematic struggles against the state (often called 'revolutions'), but that were rather engaging in slower and perhaps less exciting reforms. This book contributes to fill this gap and redress those biases by presenting an in-depth analysis of civil society's involvement in 'ordinary' policy-making, in the framework of the relatively consolidated democracies of the Southern Cone.

Through an agency-driven perspective and drawing on classic social movement theories on framing and coalition-building, the author's goal is ambitious: explaining civil society organisations (CSOs)'s variation in policy-making engagement by focusing on their strategies to mobilise ideas and resources. In unpacking discursive frames and collective advocacy strategies, a more nuanced portrait of domestic civil societies emerges, which overcomes monolithic interpretations of social actors as either strong and autonomous or disconnected and co-opted by the state. The book's main strength is the depth of the empirical analysis. Using qualitative data from three countries (Argentina, Chile and Uruguay), Risley proposes a systematic discussion of how public-interest CSOs (defined in contrast to interest groups) engage in policy-making within three domains: freedom of information, children rights and environmental protection. After an introductory chapter, which briefly discusses some background theory and presents the main hypotheses (including figures illustrating explanatory and dependent variables), the core part of the book (chapters 2–4) consists of a detailed account of different policy-making processes and CSOs' participation. The chapters are organised around key hypotheses/arguments, to show variations as well as consistencies across four different cases: (a) freedom of information policies in Argentina; (b) child-protection reforms in Argentina and (c) Chile; and (d) environmental advocacy around the Bío Bío dam project in Chile. Chapter 2 compares the different level of involvement in policy-making across the four cases, while chapters 3 and 4 discuss the way in which CSOs have framed their discourses and built their partnerships, and the effects of these variables on policy-making involvement. Chapter 5 presents the main hypotheses on involvement, framing and partnership-building, focusing exclusively on the case of CSOs' advocacy on child welfare in Uruguay. Before some brief conclusive remarks, the last chapter addresses, although superficially, some key questions on the impact of contextual factors on CSOs' agency. Certainly the chapter contributes to fill a gap that readers – especially those interested in the overlap of social movement studies with international relations and institutionalist approaches – will feel throughout the book. Eventually, Risley broadens out her argument on CSOs' participation, abandoning the agency-driven perspective and discussing the often critical role of contextual factors such as the nature of political environments or the influence of transnational flows of discourses and resources.

From a theoretical perspective, the book's conclusions reaffirm well-known arguments on civil society and participation. Variations in policy-making engagement are

1 explained by the frames selected – whereby more persuasive, positive and construc-
2 tive messages prove to be more successful – and by the ability of CSOs to form effec-
3 tive alliances through, for example, division of labour and balance between diversity
4 and cohesion. While these arguments are not completely novel, they are convincingly
5 illustrated through an admirable analytical depth and rigorous comparative approach.
6 The ability to delimitate the object and variables considered is certainly valuable to
7 avoid out-of-topic digressions; yet, in this context, some issues could have constituted
8 interesting integrations into the analysis. In particular, the divergences in policy out-
9 comes, in addition to policy-making processes, would have been worth specific attention.
10 After all, in most cases CSOs mobilisation is not only performative but substantive and
11 impact-focused. A more systematic integration of exogenous and contextual elements
12 would have also contributed to the explanatory endeavour of the study. Overall, the
13 book constitutes a valuable contribution to explaining civil society's role in domestic
14 policy-making in the Southern Cone, beyond overrated narratives of resistance, con-
15 tention and revolution.

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17 **Lorenza B. Fontana**
18 *Harvard University*

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