Review: [untitled]
Author(s): Jonathan Fox
Reviewed work(s): The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy by Arturo Escobar; Sonia E. Alvarez
Published by: American Political Science Association
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2939100
Accessed: 06/08/2008 13:44

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=apsa.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1995 to build trusted digital archives for scholarship. We work with the scholarly community to preserve their work and the materials they rely upon, and to build a common research platform that promotes the discovery and use of these resources. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.
information asymmetry. The central bank has a variety of informational advantages, either in knowledge about the economy or, more interestingly, in knowledge of its own objectives. Private economic actors learn about the central bank, but this learning is both imperfect and time-consuming. These models all lead to excess inflation, because the central bank cannot simply announce that it has followed an optimal policy and have all agents believe it is truly following that policy.

As noted, while some of these models are newly presented here, the basic modeling approach in the book is well known to readers of the economics literature. Thus, the main gains from this book will come to those unfamiliar with the approach of the new political economy to the study of monetary policy. Such readers will inevitably face a technical barrier in coming to understand the game-theoretic modeling. Cukierman does an excellent job in lowering those barriers, both providing good nontechnical introductions and following a strategy of moving from simpler to more sophisticated modeling. The book is thus very useful to those interested in applications of modern game theory.

Cukierman's choice of models leaves out a number of models of monetary policy that would be of more interest to political scientists. He has only one short chapter on the role of parties and elections, in which he presents the already well-known work of Alesina and Havrilesky. Cukierman does not consider the more overtly political models of Lohmann, Rogoff, or Waller (among others). This is not to criticize Cukierman, who is, after all, writing primarily for economists; but it does make this book less interesting for most political scientists.

The final chapter of the book is completely different. It is a largely empirical examination of central bank independence (loosely tied to the theoretic models developed earlier). Unlike most empirical studies of central bank independence, which are limited to the developed nations, Cukierman studies 70 nations over the last 40 years. Unlike previous studies, he combines the assessments of experts (gathered via questionnaire) with legal and behavioral assessments of independence. All the data collected is presented in the book, which gives the reader far and away the richest source of information available on central bank independence in an impressive variety of countries.

Cukierman conducts a wide range of econometric analyses. The major question in this literature is whether independence leads to lower inflation. The finding here is mixed, with better results for the developed nations. The range of countries analyzed allows Cukierman to study some political determinants of bank independence. There is some indication that political stability leads to increased independence, although (as Cukierman notes) the results explain only a small portion of the variance in independence.

In summary, political scientists most interested in the material of this book will probably be familiar with it through the professional literature. The book provides an excellent introduction to a variety of modern game-theoretic models and can thus serve as an entry into this difficult field. Political scientists will find the section on bank independence interesting but will find that their appetites have only been whetted by the analyses presented.

University of California, San Diego

NATHANIEL BECK


Study of the recent global wave of transitions to elected civilian rule stressed the role of political parties. Now that the agenda is shifting to the prospects for democratic consolidation, research questions about the process of representation broaden, and the relationships between political institutions and the rest of society become both more important and more problematic. Along with the weakening of political parties in long-standing democracies, the challenge of consolidating fragile democracies has drawn researchers back to Tocqueville's proposition that democratic governance depends on the quality of associational life in civil society. This major collection deepens our understanding of the process through which diverse societal groups in Latin America develop "collective identities" and engage in politics. The 18 essays reflect the editors' interdisciplinary bent, combining Escobar's postmodern anthropological emphasis on the submerged social and cultural networks from which movements emerge with Alvarez' creative political process approach to the interaction among social movements, parties, and governing bureaucrats (see Alvarez' Engendering Democracy in Brazil [1990]). The contributors range from senior scholars to graduate students fresh from cutting-edge field research, balanced between U.S. and Latin American research traditions.

The editors challenge explanations of collective action that rely on either structural conditions or assumed interests, arguing, instead, that "culture mediates the movement from structural conditions to social and political action" (p. 319). They offer a remarkably nuanced portrait of the complex processes through which "collective identities are constructed, contested and continually negotiated" (ibid.). The collection tries to bridge the gap that has divided strategy-oriented and identity-oriented approaches. In the U.S. sociological tradition, the resource mobilization and political process frameworks stress how existing groups deal with political elites and opportunities, while European-influenced post-Marxist approaches stress the process through which social groups become actors and try to define themselves autonomously. While most of the contributors fall clearly into one camp or the other, the editors argue convincingly that the two approaches are, indeed, complementary.

This volume represents an important rethinking of Latin American social movement research, which, in the 1980s, often told us more about the analysts' normative hopes than about the actual politics of the movements themselves. Most of the studies are well grounded empirically and offer fresh new case material that will further future theory building. Most focus on the why or how of social movements. Contributors show how Peruvian peasants build their own local systems for the administration of justice (Starn) and how Colombian indigenous peoples come to define and redefine their rights (Findji). Others challenge conventional assumptions about social movement autonomy from political parties in Mexico, Chile, and Uruguay (Hellman, Bennett, Schneider, and Canel). Cultural innovations enable Venezuelan ecologists to project themselves politically far out of proportion to their numbers (Garcia). The
study of low-income women’s movements in Ecuador shows how the boundary drawn in the literature between “practical” and “strategic” gender interests breaks down in practice (Lind). Brazilian homosexual movements redraw the boundaries between public and private but become just as vulnerable to partisan conflict as are less clearly “new” social movements (MacRae). The rich history of Latin America’s decade of regionwide feminist conferences (“encounters”) offers one of the most evocative analyses of how political identities are socially constructed (Saporta, Sternbach, Navarro, Chucryk, and Alvarez). Perhaps the most surprising findings show that grass-roots Christian base communities in Brazil, widely seen as the associational web underlying the revitalization of civil society since military rule, reproduce many of the broader societal biases that inhibit participation by the most oppressed, such as illiterates, blacks, and low-income women facing domestic violence (Burdick). As local government is opened up to new forms of participation and accountability in many countries of the region, social movements face the challenge of making the transition from contestation to proposition, as in Brazil (Cardoso). At the same time, local civic movements increasingly attempt to form broader networks to increase their bargaining power, as in Colombia (Fals Bordia).

The volume shows that new, more pluralistic forms of interest aggregation are emerging and that while political parties are still able to transform or intervene in social movements, sometimes the parties are transformed by movements, as well. These important trends remained largely unexplored in theory, however. The volume’s focus on the making of social movements is both its strength and its weakness. We learn a great deal about what collective action means to participants but much less about participants’ impact on political systems.

Jonathan Fox


At last, we have solid analyses in English of the Workers’ party—the definitive study by Margaret Keck plus the overview by Emir Sader and Ken Silverstein. Even before its candidate, Luís Ignácio Lula da Silva—known simply as Lula—came within 6% of winning the 1989 presidential elections, the emergence of the Workers’ party was one of the more intriguing developments of the 1980s. Keck’s point of departure is that the Workers’ party was one of the most anomalous things to grow out of the transitions to democracy in Brazil and the rest of Latin America in the 1980s. The Workers’ party was unashamedly socialist in a world where communist and socialist parties were wilting in postindustrial politics or crumbling along with the Berlin Wall; it was founded by popular-sector groups (and some intellectuals) in a country where elites have always taken the initiative in politics; it maintained party discipline and made programmatic electoral appeals in a political system dominated by parties that were loose, fluid groupings of politicians who depended on personalism and clientelism; and it grew and consolidated itself organizationally in the context of a transition that weakened or destroyed other parties. How was this party possible?

Keck is the only political scientist among the authors considered here; and her book is the only one to evaluate the history of the Workers’ party in light of broader concerns, such as Brazil’s transition to democracy and theoretical debates on working-class parties. Her explanation of the party’s development focuses on two sets of variables: contextual (mostly institutional and political) and organizational (internal struggles and decisions). Rather than assess these factors through a simple chronological account, Keck adroitly organizes the core chapters by substantive themes such as relations between the Workers’ party and the unions, state regulation, and elections. The inattentive reader may lose the narrative thread now and again, but the analytic payoff justifies the organization. More than most studies, Keck manages to distinguish the impacts of structure and agency, and the interaction between them. Along the way, she points out the flukes and unintended consequences that generally redounded to the party’s benefit. For example, in 1985 it seemed that the “agents” had really misread the “structure” when the Workers’ party boycotted the electoral college and denied their support to the popular opposition candidate. At the time, it seemed that the party had sacrificed its future for a principle. A few years later, once the new government had thoroughly discredited itself, the principled boycott started bringing positive electoral returns.

Why was the Workers’ party the major political victor of the past decade? Keck offers several answers. Depending on the period, the Workers’ party benefited from its strong ties to labor unions, the ability of party leaders to learn from past mistakes, Lula’s charisma, the heterogeneity of its supporters, the blunders of the elite establishment, and the indefiniteness of the party’s ideology. At times, these factors strengthened the Workers’ party; at other times, some of them weakened it. The paradox of the benefits of ideological indefiniteness is one of Keck’s major insights and one with profound implications for leftists and popular sectors worldwide. Partly by chance, the party’s program has always focused more on means than on ends. The goal of the Workers’ party is radical democracy, rather than some socialist state or utopia. What radical democracy means varies from situation to situation. But it may be this indefiniteness and openness that keeps the Workers’ party buoyant while leftist movements elsewhere flounder.

One wishes, at times, that Keck had expanded the scope of her penetrating analysis and meticulous research. The bulk of the empirical material and interviews date from 1982–83. Keck was there at the creation and her eye-witness accounts capture the intense excitement, frustration, and confusion of the early years. However (as Keck herself notes in the preface), further research needs to be done on subsequent developments, such as the contribution of the Catholic Church, the growth of the party in rural areas, and the party’s appeal to middle sectors. Keck could also have done more to spell out the implications of her study. If her heretofore neglected bottom-up view is necessary for a full understanding of the transition, how must we revise conven-