

Faculty Scholarship Collection

The faculty at Allegheny College has made this scholarly article openly available through the Faculty Scholarship Collection (FSC).

Article Title	Mexico
Author(s)	Shannan Mattiace
Journal Title	*Handbook Of Latin American Studies*
Citation	Mattiace, S. (2015). Government and Politics: Mexico. Handbook of Latin American Studies, 69(1): 214-228.
Link to article on publisher's website	
Version of article in FSC	Published version
Link to this article through FSC	https://dspace.allegheny.edu/handle/10456/42565
Date article added to FSC	March 7, 2017
Terms of Use	Copyright©2015 Taylor & Francis. Please contact author or publisher for access.

Information about Allegheny's Open Access Policy is available at http://sites.allegheny.edu/scholarlycommunication/
For additional articles from this collection, visit https://dspace.allegheny.edu/handle/10456/34250

see much of the contemporary social upsurge as being more about exit than voice, not overloading the political system but rather working outside it (independent action in marginal social spaces, albeit even violently, or through emigration, rather than pressing demands). While recognizing the decay of earlier systems of preference aggregation, the authors characterize this scenario primarily as hierarchy and clientelism, and thus as not much of a loss in democratic terms. Volume takes some polemical positions, particularly on violence and emigration. For instance, suggests that despite the apparent climate of violence in parts of Latin America, individuals are working to provide for their own security (and thus building social ties); the state is complicit in criminal violence so a state victory would not necessarily be better for democracy than the present situation; and although corruption is endemic, there are massive demonstrations and public opinion is showing frustration, which might put corruption in check. Explains that emigration is about personal autonomy, but also about social ties to the home community, so even though migration, urbanization, and technology are altering the social fabric, they are also creating spaces for reforging horizontal social ties, which is a net positive. Although such bold assertions are regularly coupled with declarations of nuance, variation, and calls for future study, scholars might want to see hypotheses framed more testably, and tested. For instance, if even violence, corruption, protest, and emigration indicate social cohesion, it is hard to falsify a thesis that social ties remain strong, and thus hard to verify claims about democratic resilience.

978 **Weyland, Kurt Gerhard.** The rise of Latin America's two Lefts: insights from rentier state theory. (*Comp. Polit./New York*, 41:2, Jan. 2009, p. 145–164)

Sees the radical left not as emerging from a crisis of neoliberalism (Venezuelan and Ecuadorian neoliberal reforms were limited, yet there were massive protests; Bolivia had neoliberalism and policy failure, but the political backlash came after things had improved and some social reforms had already occurred) or a breakdown of political and party institutions (radicalism can cause such a breakdown, rather than vice versa, and it is difficult to measure the weakness of institutions or party systems independently from the rise of outsider candidates or the damage done by populist leaders). Instead, argues that radicalism is driven by irresponsible and unsustainable use of massive energy resources: the historical parallel is the rentier states of the 20th century, not the populism of Juan Perón but rather Venezuela in the 1970s under Carlos Andrés Pérez). The radical left, consistent with Weyland's earlier work on populism, refuses to accept constraints either of procedural democracy or of capitalism, while the moderate left pushes social reform but within some political and economic constraints; booms encourage risk-taking, the dismissal of scarcity or constraint, and thus vulnerability to bust. Empirically, the argument hinges on timing in the Bolivian case, with the discovery of gas reserves shortly preceding the rise of the radical left. Future research might assess the Brazilian case, where oil discoveries appear not to have generated radicalism, although Brazil's size could make it an outlier.

MEXICO

SHANNAN L. MATTIACE, *Professor of Political Science, Allegheny College*

THE MEXICAN TRANSITION to democracy (1977–2000) was long and protracted, and conventional wisdom in political science holds that it was largely the result of a pact among the country's political elites. Given the importance of democratization in comparative politics, it is not surprising that scholars continue to dedicate their efforts to understanding the myriad processes and actors involved. Departing from this focus on the political elite, two recent books highlight the importance

of nonelite actors and their role in Mexico's democratization process. In *Popular Movements in Autocracies*, Guillermo Trejo argues that religion contributed to the organizational bases for powerful indigenous dissident movements during Mexico's transition, pushing political elites toward reform (item **1042**). In her book, *Rural Protest and the Making of Democracy in Mexico, 1968–2000*, Dolores Trevizo focuses on the role of rural actors, namely students, peasants, and businessmen, in Mexico's transition. She argues that rural protest and resistance to that protest significantly contributed to electorally competitive political parties in Mexico by forcing parties to respond to cycles of protest and counter-protest (item **1043**).

One reoccurring theme in works published on Mexican politics over the last decade has been the focus on elections and voting. This pattern continues in the works under review in this volume. The 2006 presidential election continues to be of interest to scholars. One of the best works on this topic is the edited volume, *Democracia reprobada: la elección presidencial de 2006* (item **991**), whose authors draw on José Antonio Crespo's careful analysis of election results (see *HLAS 67:1058*) to examine the role of specific actors, such as businesspeople and the teachers' union, in the campaign. Mexican scholars have also written extensively on the 2009 midterm elections. *Los estados en el 2009* (item **996**) is a noteworthy treatment of these elections at the state and local level. Over the course of Mexico's democratization period, state and local elections and governance have become more competitive and of growing interest to scholars, as has the topic of electoral reform; four notable studies are included in this section. First, in an article on state-level electoral reform, Alejandro Monsiváis Carrillo (item **1025**) examines the effects of reform across several states on the quality of electoral fairness and finds that subnational rule-making matters. Second, in *El centro dividido*, Rogelio Hernández Rodríguez (item **1004**), examines the role of governors under PRI dominance and during the post-transition period, and argues that subnational power has increased at the expense of the federal government. Third, in an article on political recruitment, Joy Langston and Gonzálo Celorio Morayta find that state-level politics hold a powerful appeal for federal deputies after they complete their term in office (item **1013**). Finally, in *Cambio político y gobernabilidad en elecciones locales de Sinaloa, 1983–2000* (item **1046**), Verdugo López argues against the grain of conventional wisdom about electoral competition and multiparty democracy, suggesting that electoral competition and multiparty democracy in Sinaloa have weakened parties' capacity to be representative and have crowded out social movement organizations.

The tension between democracy measured more procedurally (i.e., elections) versus more substantively (i.e., socioeconomic equality), has long been apparent in scholarship on Mexican politics and is displayed in the works under review here. In general, scholars who tend to focus on elections and political institutions tend to rate Mexico's democracy higher than those who define democracy more substantively. Interestingly, David Crow makes the argument that this pattern is true for citizens as well (item **986**). Trying to get a bead on the quality of Mexico's democracy has been a related issue of growing concern to scholars. In general, scholars seem to agree that Mexico scores better on procedural measures of democracy than on questions of representation, social trust, and participation.[1]

In the works under review in this volume, three major areas of concern regarding the quality of democracy in Mexico can be identified: the continuing

[1] Jon Shefner makes this point in a review essay that appeared in *Latin American Research Review* (Vol. 47, No. 1, 2012).

influence of clientelism; public security and the influence of drug trafficking organizations; and low levels of citizen participation in a system dominated by political parties. The result, scholars suggest, are high levels of citizen dissatisfaction with democracy, creating a vicious cycle in which citizens are loathe to participate more fulsomely in the political process and feel increasingly alienated from it. Several notable works on these issues are highlighted below.

In *La democracia en Mexico: un análisis a 10 años de la alternancia* (item **990**), the authors present a rather sobering analysis of Mexican democracy 10 years into the transition. Using an original index of state-level democracy, the authors note that the PRD and PAN look increasingly like the PRI in terms of their clientelistic practices, and that across Mexico's states, citizen dissatisfaction with democracy is high. A particularly noteworthy example of scholarship on drug trafficking is John Bailey's chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics*, edited by Roderic Camp, in which Bailey examines the growing penetration of transnational criminal organizations into Mexican politics (item **1029**). In his book on police reform, Daniel Sabet (item **1032**) also highlights the continuing influence of clientelism and patronage politics within the police promotion process. Based on an original study of over 5,000 police agents and administrators in Guadalajara, *Justiciabarómetro* (item **1010**) is a must-read for students of police reform. Finally, several works address political participation. One of the most compelling is Claudio Holzner's *The Poverty of Democracy* (item **1007**). Departing from conventional analyses of why the poor do not participate in politics, Holzner underscores the influence that political institutions and state activities have on patterns of political behavior, downplaying more individualist explanations, such as human capital levels.

Scholars offer mixed reviews of Mexican social movement and civil society mobilization. Diana Guillén, in her account of the post-presidential election protests of 2006 (item **1003**), provides a positive assessment of Mexican civil society, ultimately concluding that it showed increasing maturity over the course of the protest cycle. Issa Luna Pla is similarly upbeat in her book, *Movimiento social del derecho de acceso a la información en México* (item **1015**), in which she argues that a robust social network of academicians, journalists, and civil society activists was instrumental in pushing forward the legislation. Offering a more sobering analysis on the state of Mexican civil society, Alberto Olvera argues that citizens have been crowded out by the dominance of political parties in Mexican society and that existing social movements have not engaged citizens in what he calls a "democratic participatory project" (item **1027**). In their book, *Filantropía y sociedad civil en México*, Michael Layton and Alejandro Moreno also see the glass half empty regarding the state of Mexican civil society (item **1014**). Based on findings from the National Survey of Philanthropy and Civil Society in Mexico, the authors argue that Mexico's civil society is comparatively unorganized and its reach limited. Similar to several other authors under review here, they argue that citizen perceptions of corruption and insecurity are obstacles to increased civil society activity.

The crucial issues of political and policy reform are addressed by many of the authors reviewed for this volume and will be of interest to scholars in the coming years as the Mexican Congress has passed significant reforms in the area of education, energy, and labor, and has also mandated the implementation of a package of judicial reforms passed in 2008. To this end, the edited volume *Debatiendo la reform política* (item **987**) is a valuable contribution in that it provides readers

with tools to analyze recent and upcoming political reforms in Mexico, including balance of powers, candidate selection, and judicial reform. Going forward, more work will be needed on Mexico's ambitious judicial reform of 2008 as it begins to be implemented slowly at the state level. Also understudied are the Mexican Congress and women in politics, duly noted by Camp in previous *HLAS* essays. A study on Yucatecan women in the state congress by Leticia Janet Paredes Guerrero, *Mujer y congreso local* (item **1030**), is a notable exception to this trend. More scholarship by political scientists is also needed on return migration. As thousands of Mexican migrants begin to return home after living and working in the US, often for years, they confront significant challenges of reintegration into Mexican society and politics. The national and subnational governments are beginning to take note of this trend and develop programs and policies to facilitate reintegration.

Finally, as the authors of *Mexico's Democratic Challenges* (see *HLAS 67:1092*) point out, many questions remain about the outcomes of Mexico's democratization. While experts, in general, concur that elections are free, freedom of the press and association are widely respected, and citizens have much greater access to public documents that were once hidden from public view, serious deficiencies remain, particularly in areas of social trust and public security. In recent years, scholars of Mexican politics have paid a great deal of attention to the procedural aspects of Mexico's democracy, particularly to elections. Yet, the continued power of nonelected power brokers (*poderes fácticos*) within the Mexican political system is troubling. The time is ripe for more attention to these more difficult-to-measure aspects of democracy and nondemocracy.

979 Aguayo, Sergio. Vuelta en U: guía para entender y reactivar la democracia estancada. México: Taurus, 2010. 400 p.: bibl., ill., index. (Pensamiento)

Aguayo is one of Mexico's most astute scholars of Mexican politics. In this book, intended as a guidebook for improving Mexico's democracy, he argues that the democratic transition is regressing because fundamental aspects of Mexico's authoritarian past have not been eliminated and that the current democracy functions largely for the benefit of the few. Aguayo provides a way forward in this book, which he sees as rooted in society's organized grassroots in alliances made with intellectuals, journalists, reformist politicians, and international actors.

980 La APPO: ¿rebelión o movimiento social?: nuevas formas de expresión ante la crisis. Edición de Víctor Raúl Martínez Vásquez. Oaxaca, Mexico: IISUABJO, Cuerpo Académico de Estudios Políticos, 2009. 353 p.: bibl., ill.

This solid, edited volume builds on previous work by the editor (see, for example, *HLAS 67:1089*) and consists of a selection of papers written by respected journalists, academics, and activists from a 2008 conference on the Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca (APPO). Several chapters examine themes that have been understudied in the now extensive literature on this topic. Kristin Norget has written an interesting article on the role of the Catholic Church and popular religiosity, Jorge Hernández Díaz contributes a paper on indigenous demands within the movement, and Margarita Zires looks at strategies of communication.

981 Arellano Gault, David; Alejandra Medina; and **Roberto Rodríguez.** Instrumentar una política de informantes internos (*whistleblowers*): ¿mecanismo viable en México para atacar la corrupción? (*Foro Int./México*, 52:1, enero/marzo 2012, p. 38–91, bibl., tables)

This article provides a descriptive treatment on the mechanisms of establishing policy norms to incentivize and protect whistleblowers in Mexico. The article is based on 10 case studies of countries that have established policies in this area. The US case gets the most attention, but Austra-

lia, Chile, South Korea, Indian, Japan, New Zealand, Peru, the UK, and South Africa are also examined.

982 **Brickner, Rachel K.** Feminist activism, union democracy and gender equity rights in Mexico. (*J. Lat. Am. Stud.*, 42:4, Nov. 2010, p. 749–777, tables)

Based on in-depth interviews with female activists in five labor unions, Brickner argues that democracy is not enough to transform labor unions into spaces where women can participate actively. Brickner argues that in addition to democratic government, strong women's movements and the presence of advocates within governmental structures are key factors in creating a culture of citizenship within labor unions.

983 **Burgess, Katrina.** Collective remittances and migrant-state collaboration in Mexico and El Salvador. (*Lat. Am. Polit. Soc.*, 54:4, Winter 2012, p. 119–146, bibl., table)

Study of migrant remittances is a relatively new area for political scientists, but an increasingly important one as migrants are engaging the state in transnational public-private partnerships (TPPs) to cofinance and comanage development projects. In this article comparing TPPs in Mexico and El Salvador, Burgess argues that Mexican TPPs are more robust than El Salvador's given the history of state-society relations in Mexico and the unique opportunity structures that Mexican federalism allows.

984 **Cadena-Roa, Jorge** and **Miguel Armando López Leyva.** La consolidación de la democracia en México: avances y desafíos, 2000–2006. (*Estud. Sociol./México*, 29:86, mayo/agosto 2011, p. 415–462, bibl., tables)

This article offers a solid synthesis of the literature on democratic consolidation in Mexico. The authors take the measure of Mexico's consolidation by examining four specific characteristics and argue that while Mexico is on a positive track, the country faces significant challenges.

Calderón Chelius, Leticia. "Los superhéroes no existen": los migrantes mexicanos ante las primeras elecciones en el exterior. See item **1983**.

985 **Comunicación política en México: retos y desafíos ante el proceso democratizador global.** Edición de Norma Pareja Sánchez y Silvia Molina y Vedia. Sevilla, Spain: Comunicación Social Ediciones y Publicaciones, 2011. 343 p.: bibl., ill. (Espacio Iberoamericano; 2)

This edited volume is a unique contribution in the field of political communication. Of note are two particularly interesting chapters: the contribution by Silvia Molina y Vedia analyzes speeches given by President Obama and then US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton during a brief visit to Mexico in 2009 and the paper by Esteinou Madrid examines the 2007 Electoral Reform and political speech.

986 **Crow, David.** The party's over: citizen conceptions of democracy and political dissatisfaction in Mexico. (*Comp. Polit./New York*, 43:1, Oct. 2010, p. 41–61, graphs, tables)

Crow argues that how Mexicans define democracy exercises an important, independent effect on how satisfied they are with it. Citizens who view democracy as either political rights or elections are more satisfied than citizens who define democracy more substantively (i.e., socioeconomically). Given the relatively high number of Mexicans who define democracy substantively, citizen dissatisfaction with democracy is high, which, Crow argues, does not bode well for democratic consolidation.

987 **Debatiendo la reforma política: claves del cambio institucional en México.** Edición de Gabriel L. Negretto. México: CIDE, 2010. 315 p.: bibl. (Coyuntura y ensayo)

This excellent collection of essays covers several areas of institutional reform proposed in Congress in 2009, including electoral reform, balance of powers, candidate selection, judicial reform, and political participation. The volume will be critical for students of Mexican political institutions long after 2009 as the authors do not simply describe the content of the reforms but also provide tools for analyzing them.

988 **Delano, Alexandra.** Mexico and its diaspora in the United States: policies of emigration since 1848. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011. 288 p.: bibl., ill., index, maps.

The study of migration from the perspective of political science is a relatively recent phenomenon. In this book, Délano provides a historical view of the evolution of Mexico's emigration policies, focused on changes in domestic politics, foreign policy, and the Mexico/US binational relationship. Of special interest to scholars of Mexican politics is Délano's argument that democratization gave way to new domestic pressures regarding the need to address the causes and consequences of migration.

989 **Democracia en el estado de México: fortalezas y debilidades.** Coordinación de Francisco Lizcano Fernández. Toluca de Lerdo, Mexico: Univ. Autónoma del Estado de México: LVII Legislatura, Estado de México; México: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2011. 435 p.: bibl., ill. (Las ciencias sociales)

The state of Mexico is the country's most important state. The chapters in this book cover a wide range of political phenomena. Of special interest are chapters on violence against women, the press and violence, and Mexico's Freedom of Information Law, all focused at the state level.

990 **La democracia en México: un análisis a 10 años de la alternancia.** Coordinación de Salvador Martí i Puig, Reynaldo Yunuen Ortega Ortiz y María Fernanda Somuano Ventura. Barcelona, Spain: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011. 265 p.: bibl., ill. (Serie general universitaria; 110)

This volume is the result of a joint project between the Univ. de Salamanca (Spain) and the Colegio de México, examining the degree of democracy in Mexico's states. The authors use an original survey and index of state-level democracy to analyze electoral and nonelectoral participation, party identification, clientelism, citizen satisfaction with democracy, human rights, and security. Similar to other authors, they find that clientelistic practices continue to be widespread in Mexico and that citizen dissatisfaction with democracy is high.

991 **Democracia reprobada: la elección presidencial de 2006.** Coordinación de Juan Luis Hernández Avendaño y Aldo Muñoz Armenta. Participación de Magdalena Aguilar *et al.* Puebla, Mexico: Benemérita Univ. Autónoma de Puebla: Univ. Iberoamericana Puebla; México: Univ. Iberoamericana Ciudad de México, 2010. 326 p.: bibl.

While many books have been written about the 2006 presidential elections, this one merits examination. The authors base their analysis on José Antonio Crespo's minuscule analysis of election results (see *HLAS 67:1058*). Important themes covered include the role of businesspeople during the campaign, negative campaigning, and the use of public funds by Mexico's dominant teacher's union (SNTE) before and during the electoral process. The purpose of the book is to show how diverse actors, including President Vicente Fox, intervened in the electoral process of 2006 in favor of Calderón. Authors also explore the myriad strategic errors of PRD candidate López Obrador.

992 **Díez, Jordi.** The importance of policy frames in contentious politics: Mexico's national antihomophobia campaign. (*LARR*, 45:1, 2010, p. 33–54, bibl.)

Díez has done important work on policy frames and policy entrepreneurs in his work on Mexican social movements. In this article, he examines the use of two specific policy frames in the successful launching of the country's first nationwide antihomophobia campaign in 2005.

993 **Echeverría Victoria, Martín.** Debates presidenciales y democracia en México: desempeño de los candidatos en los debates presidenciales de 2006. (*Rev. Mex. Cienc. Polit. Soc.*, 50:202, enero/abril 2008, p. 33–49, bibl.)

Mexico does not have a long tradition of presidential debates. The first took place in 1994 and over the course of two presidential campaign cycles only six were held. Echeverría Victoria does a content analysis of the 2006 debates to determine whether or not they were helpful to democracy. He finds that the debates had a positive democratic effect in that the candidates tended to talk about proposals rather than simply project an image. On the down side, the substance of the proposals tended to be vague. Taking the balance, the author concludes that the debates did fulfill a democratic objective.

994 Eisenstadt, Todd A. Politics, identity, and Mexico's indigenous rights movements. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011. 208 p.: bibl., ill., index, maps. (Cambridge studies in contentious politics)

Based on an original survey of over 5,000 indigenous peoples in Oaxaca and Chiapas, Eisenstadt covers a lot of ground in this book, ranging from an examination of larger philosophical questions on the relationship between individual and communitarian conceptions of rights to concrete empirical questions about the difference land tenure makes in shaping indigenous attitudes and mobilizational strategies. Eisenstadt argues that it is land tenure, and not ethnicity, that has shaped communitarian attitudes in southern Mexico.

995 Elecciones en tiempos de guerra: Baja California, Chihuahua, Durango, Nuevo León, Sinaloa, Tamaulipas, Veracruz. Coordinación de Ernesto Hernández Norzagaray. Culiacán, Mexico: Univ. Autónoma de Sinaloa, 2010. 264 p.: bibl., ill., maps.

The authors in this edited volume all work in states that are among the most violent in Mexico: Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, and Baja California; in this volume they seek to discover common patterns in elections in states with the highest national indices of violence. While the authors adopt different methodological approaches, they seem to agree that high levels of electoral abstentionism and a disaffected citizenry are both hallmarks of these states.

996 Los estados en el 2009: lucha política y competencia electoral. Coordinación de Gustavo López Montiel, Rosa María Mirón Lince y Francisco Reveles Vázquez. Toluca, Mexico: Instituto Electoral del Estado de México, 2009. 467 p.: bibl., ill. (Serie Investigaciones políticas y electorales)

A solid contribution to the literature on the 2009 elections, focused on state and local politics. Esperanza Palma's chapter on abstentionism is particularly useful. The volume includes a section on state governorships in dispute, including Sonora and Nuevo León, as well as a section on local elections in several states.

997 Fitzgerald, David. A nation of emigrants: how Mexico manages its migration. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2009. 243 p.: bibl., ill., index, map.

This important book examines the Mexican government's policies on migration since the Revolution. Chapters on the Catholic Church's role in managing the migration of its congregants are especially fascinating. Fitzgerald also traces the creation of domestic home-town associations (HTAs) beginning in the 1940s, a predecessor to transnational HTAs.

998 Garavito Elías, Rosa Albina. Apuntes para el camino: memorias sobre el PRD. México: Ediciones Eón: Univ. Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco, 2010. 652 p.: bibl., index. (Eón sociales)

Readers interested in a first-hand account of the founding of the PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática) and its subsequent history will need to consult this critical and compelling account from one of the party's founders. Garavito left the party in 2008, discouraged with what she describes as the party's clientelistic and undemocratic practices. She attributes the decline of the party, in significant measure, to the "centralizing and hegemonic" vision of party leader and presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

999 Garrido Rubia, Antonio; María Antonia Martínez; and Francisco Parra. Accountability, democracia y reforma política en México. México: Siglo Veintiuno, 2011. 296 p.: bibl., ill. (Sociología y política)

The Spanish authors of this book offer a unique perspective on reforms they believe are necessary to improve the functioning of the Mexican political system. Among reforms suggested are those to increase citizen participation in political parties, to lessen candidate dependence on parties, to eliminate the no re-election clause, to change the federalist structure, and to increase the presence of indigenous peoples and migrants in the political process.

1000 Gobierno, derecha moderna y democracia en México. Edición de Roger Bartra. Con textos de Carlos Abascal *et al.* México: Herder, 2009. 252 p.: bibl.

In 2008 during President Calderón's first term, a distinguished group of Mexican intellectuals and public figures convened to analyze the state of the political right in Mexico. In addition to its editor, the book boasts a distinguished set of authors, among them Jorge Alcocer, Jorge Castañeda, Enrique Krauze, Soledad Loaeza, Juan Molinar, and Francisco Valdés. A wide range of methodological approaches is on display in this book: some chapters are based on survey research; some are philosophical think pieces; and some are more legalistic in content. Several chapters examine Catholic political and social thought and its relationship with the political right/PAN party in Mexico.

Gómez-Vilchis, Ricardo R. Democratic transition and presidential approval in Mexico. See *HLAS 68:949*.

1001 González, Francisco E. El ciclo de dominación de un solo partido: México, India y Japón en perspectiva comparada. (*Foro Int./México*, 49:1, enero/marzo 2009, p. 47–68, bibl., graphs)

There is surprisingly little scholarship comparing Mexico's single-party regime under the PRI to similar parties, making this article on Mexico, India, and Japan especially welcome. The author divides the article into three periods: the establishment of a dominant party in each country; challenge to party dominance; and fall or recovery of the dominant party. The author argues that similar to Japan, elite division in Mexico was an important factor accounting for decline of the PRI party.

1002 Los grandes problemas de México. v. 13, Políticas públicas. Coordinación del volumen por José Luis Méndez. Coordinación general de Manuel Ordorica y Jean-François Prud'homme. México: Colegio de México, 2010. 523 p.: bibl., ill.

This is the 13th volume in an excellent series published by the Colegio de México. This book includes substantive chapters on the accomplishments and limitations of policy-making in contemporary Mexico, examining several areas of policy-making: anticorruption, transparency, Pemex, health, electoral reform, and the relationship between civil society organizations and the state. Benito Nacif's chapter on executive-legislative relations is useful in setting the context. The volume editor's thorough and informative introductory chapter ties the individual chapters together nicely. The authors agree that the Mexican state, in general terms, is weak and not capable of providing public goods and confronting diverse nonelected power brokers. For sociologist's comment on vol. 1, see item **2015**. For historian's comment on vol. 3, see *HLAS 68:674*. For geographer's comment on vol. 4, see item **715**. For sociologist's comment on vol. 5, see item **2016**. For sociologist's comment on vol. 6, see item **2017**. For sociologist's comment on vol. 8, see item **2018**. For political economist's comment on vol. 11, see item **1695**. For international relations specialist's comment on vol. 12, see item **1538**. For sociologist's comment on vol. 16, see item **2019**.

1003 Guillén, Diana. Voto x voto . . . casilla x casilla . . . : de la consigna postelectoral a la movilización ciudadana. (*Am. Lat. Hoy/Salamanca*, 57, abril 2011, p. 147–176, bibl.)

Guillén presents a balanced analysis of the 2006 postpresidential election protests, usefully dividing up the protest movement into specific periods, examining each in turn. She argues that while the protests became radicalized over time, they demonstrated the growing maturity of Mexico's civil society.

1004 Hernández Rodríguez, Rogelio. El centro dividido: la nueva autonomía de los gobernadores. México: Colegio de México, 2008. 335 p.: bibl.

Hernández Rodríguez has provided extensive and solid analyses of Mexican leadership and the role of governors for decades. In this work, he examines the role of governors under PRI dominance and during the post-transition period. The work is based, in part, on extensive interviews with nine PRIista governors in power from 1983–2006. The author argues that local power has increased in the post-transition period at the expense of the federal government.

1005 Hernández Vicencio, Tania. Entrevistas con Ernesto Ruffo Appel: primer gobernador de oposición en México durante la hegemonía prísta. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2010. 139 p.: bibl. (Divulgación)

This slim volume presents a valu-

able, firsthand account of interviews with Ernesto Ruffo, the first opposition politician (i.e., non-PRI) to serve as governor in Mexico (Baja California, 1989–95). In the first few pages, Hernández Vicencio provides a context for understanding Ruffo's rise to power and a short biography of the man. The rest of the book is in interview format. As the last interviews were conducted in 2009, Ruffo looks retrospectively at his governorship 15 years after it ended.

1006 Hernández Vicencio, Tania. El Partido Acción Nacional y la democracia cristiana. (*Perf. Latinoam.*, 19:37, enero/junio 2011, p. 113–138, bibl.)

For decades the leadership of the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) rejected a formal affiliation with the international Democratic Christian movement (DC), joining only in 1998. Hernández argues that, in part, the distance between the PAN and the DC movement can be traced back to the founders' commitment to religious pluralism. Hernández Vicencio argues that the PAN's decision to affiliate with the DC does not represent an ideological shift within the party, but should be understood as a strategic decision.

1007 Holzner, Claudio A. Poverty of democracy: the institutional roots of political participation in Mexico. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2010. 281 p.: bibl., index. (Pitt Latin American series)

Holzner has made important contributions to the literature on citizen participation and democracy in Mexico. In this book, he rejects conventional analyses of why the poor do not participate in politics—that they are uneducated or that they prefer to engage in resistance politics, such as protests and social movements—arguing instead that these studies ignore the powerful influence that political institutions and the activities of the state have on patterns of political behavior. His conclusions are based, in part, on fieldwork in four communities in Oaxaca state.

1008 Inter-American Dialogue. Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, 2007. <http://www.thedialogue.org>

The Inter-American Dialogue's web site offers valuable resources and timely reports on the security situation in Mexico and in the region, including drug-related violence.

1009 Izcara Palacios, Simón Pedro. La adicción a la mano de obra ilegal: jornaleros tamaulipecos en Estados Unidos. (*LARR*, 45:1, 2010, p. 55–75, bibl., ill., table)

This important article focuses on the demand side of undocumented migration from Mexico. Izcara Palacios interviews scores of undocumented migrants from Taumaulipas state working as agricultural workers in the US and argues that, to lower costs, US employers frequently hire coyotes to recruit undocumented migrants to work in their fields, often displacing current undocumented workers with even less experienced migrants. Izcara argues that lax enforcement of US immigration law permits this type of action and that employer sanction laws are currently insufficient to change employer incentives to reduce costs and disregard safety and human rights of laborers.

1010 Justiciabarómetro: estudio de la policía municipal preventiva de la zona metropolitana de Guadalajara: cultura, organización y vida cotidiana. Coordinación de María Eugenia Suárez de Garay, Marcos Pablo Moloeznik y David A. Shirk. Guadalajara: Editorial Universitaria, Univ. de Guadalajara: Instituto de Investigaciones en Innovación y Gobernanza, 2010. 293 p.: bibl., ill. (Col. Monografías de la Academia)

This important book, based on an original study of 5,308 police agents and administrative officials (of 6,924) in Guadalajara, is the most extensive independent study of the municipal police ever done in Mexico. The survey contains information about work conditions, education levels, pay and promotion, as well as on police attitudes regarding proposed reforms to centralize forces at the state level. The book provides a look at the municipal police in Guadalajara from the police's point of view. The authors conclude that any proposed reforms to the justice system in Mexico must include the police as key actors.

1011 Klesner, Joseph L. Who participates?: determinants of political action in Mexico. (*Lat. Am. Polit. Soc.*, 51:2, Summer 2009, p. 59–90, bibl., tables)

Klesner, who has done important work on political participation in Mexico, argues in this article that social capital endowments are the single most powerful variable explaining differing levels of political participation in Mexico. Because social capital is weighted to the benefit of the more privileged citizens, he urges policymakers to promote social capital among the less educated, the poor, and the underemployed.

1012 Langston, Joy and **Bernardo Pérez.** México 2008: el año en que se vivió en peligro. (*Rev. Cienc. Polit./Santiago*, 29:2, 2009, p. 491–513, bibl., graphs, tables)

Langston and Pérez focus singly on 2008, providing readers with a snapshot of the most important political issues and debates that year, including treatment of political parties and mid-term elections, Congress and legislative committees, judicial reform, and anti-drug policy. The article has stood the test of time; the authors' examination of the 2008 mid-term elections helps to explain the return of the PRI in 2012.

1013 Langston, Joy and **Gonzálo Celorio Morayta.** Instituciones políticas y reclutamiento político en México. (*Foro Int./México*, 49:2, abril/junio 2009, p. 237–270, bibl., tables)

Building on prior work on political recruitment, these authors use an original database of 1,416 federal deputies from the three main political parties from 1997–2006, examining positions held before and after serving in Mexico's lower house. They find that state-level politics holds a powerful appeal for politicians, both before and after their congressional term.

1014 Layton, Michael and **Alejandro Olmedo Moreno.** Filantropía y sociedad civil en México: análisis de la ENAFI 2005–2008. México: ITAM: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2010. 231 p.: bibl., ill. (Serie Las ciencias sociales)

Given the paucity of work published on philanthropy in Mexico, this volume is a particularly welcome contribution. Based on findings from the Encuesta Nacional sobre Filantropía y Sociedad Civil (ENAFI, National Survey of Philanthropy and Civil Society) in Mexico conducted in 2005 and 2008, the authors argue that philanthropic giving in Mexico is low compared to other Latin American countries. On the civil society side, they argue that Mexican society is comparatively unorganized and the reach of civil society limited. The authors conclude by arguing that citizen perceptions of corruption and insecurity are obstacles to increased philanthropic giving and civil society mobilization.

1015 Luna Pla, Issa. Movimiento social del derecho de acceso a la información en México. México: UNAM, 2009. 199 p.: bibl. (Serie Doctrina jurídica; 471)

This fascinating book tells the story of how Mexico's 2002 Freedom of Information law came into being. Luna Pla is part of the Grupo Oaxaca, a team of academicians, journalists, and civil society organization activists who were instrumental in pushing forward the legislation.

1016 Luque Rojas, José Manuel and **Rolando Luque Rojas.** Preferencias divididas: el voto cruzado en Ahome, 1994–2010. Culiacán, Mexico: Univ. Autónoma de Nuevo León: Red de Investigación sobre la Calidad de la Democracia en México: Univ. Autónoma de Sinaloa, 2011. 187 p.: bibl.

In this readable and well-documented book, the authors apply voting behavior theories to election results in one municipality in Sinaloa.

1017 Máiz, Ramón. The Indian heart of the nation: the evolution of the political discourse of the EZLN in Mexico, 1993–2009. (*Lat. Am. Caribb. Ethn. Stud.*, 5:3, Nov. 2010, p. 245–272, bibl., tables)

Máiz, an astute observer of ethnic politics in the Americas, divides EZLN discourse into three main periods with distinct framing strategies: armed rebellion (1993–94), Indianism (1995–2004), and anti-capitalist leftism (2005–2008). Some particularly interesting insights emerge: that the nationalist strain in EZLN discourse was present in all three periods and that, over time, the only form of democracy acceptable to the EZLN became direct, nonelectoral democracy.

1018 Mariñez Navarro, Freddy. Hagamos entre todos la política pública: una reflexión sobre la visión relacional de la política pública. Monterrey, Mexico: Tecnológico de Monterrey; México: Miguel Ángel

Porrúa, 2011. 207 p.: bibl. (Políticas públicas serie)

This unique book introduces a new "relational" approach to public policy that involves getting citizens more directly involved in the making of public policy and in governance processes. The last section of the book consists of four interesting case studies from Nuevo León state.

1019 Mattiace, Shannan L. Ethnic mobilization among the Maya of Yucatán. (*Lat. Am. Caribb. Ethn. Stud.*, 4:2, July 2009, p. 137–169, bibl., table)

Yucatán is one of Mexico's most indigenous states, defined by indigenous language speakers. In this article, Mattiace compares indigenous ethnic mobilization in Chiapas and Yucatán. While in Chiapas indigenous peoples organized around Indian identity beginning in the 1990s, in Yucatán no significant indigenous mobilization occurred. Mattiace argues that ethnic mobilization in Yucatán is significantly limited due to the relative weakness of peasant leagues in the state and the conservative nature of the Catholic Church.

1020 México 2009: elecciones y partidos: estudios de caso. Coordinación de René Valdiviezo Sandoval y Jorge David Cortés Moreno. Puebla de Zaragoza, Mexico: Benemérita Univ. Autónoma de Puebla; Mexico City: SOMEE, Sociedad Mexicana de Estudios Electorales, 2010. 198 p.: bibl., ill., maps.

The Sociedad Mexicana de Estudios Electorales convened a panel of scholars to examine mid-term congressional elections from the perspective of the states. The result is this useful collection, which, in retrospect, helps explain the PRI's success in 2012. Common themes addressed are abstentionism and the increase in null votes (*voto nulo*). States included in the study are Aguascalientes, Baja California Sur and Norte, Jalisco, Puebla, Quéretero, San Luís Potosí, and Tlaxcala.

1021 México en el espejo latinoamericano: ¿democracia o crisis? Coordinación de Ilán Bizberg. México: Colegio de México, 2010. 536 p.: bibl., ill., maps.

This solid collection of chapters addresses various aspects of Mexico's political system, placing Mexico in comparative context. Of special interest is a chapter comparing intergovernmental relations in Argentina and Mexico and another juxtaposing Mexico's labor reforms to European and Latin American alternatives.

1022 México: los años de la alternancia. Prólogo de Federico Reyes Heroles. Edición del Seminario México con textos de Víctor Alarcón Olguín *et al.* México: Editorial Porrúa, 2009. 319 p.: bibl.

Since 2002, a distinguished group of Mexican political scientists—called Seminario México—has been convening to talk collectively about Mexico's current political context. This book covers four years of the seminars; each year has 12 entries, corresponding to monthly seminar meetings. Each entry is followed by commentary and the book is arranged chronologically. Although the chapters have been published elsewhere (since 2003 in the newsmagazine *Este País*), it is useful to have them brought together in a single volume.

1023 El México narco. Coordinación de Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda con el cuerpo de reporteros de la revista *Proceso*, Luciano Campos Garza *et al.* México: Planeta, 2010. 203 p. (Temas de hoy)

This book presents a compilation of essays published in Mexico's leading newsmagazine, *Proceso*, on drug-trafficking in Mexico. The articles are short, but informative. The book is extensive, covering all of Mexico's states as well as some cities, such as Mexico City and Tijuana.

Mexico since 1980. See *HLAS 68:973*.

1024 The Migration Policy Institute. Washington, D.C.: The Migration Policy Institute. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org>

The Migration Policy Institute publishes timely and well-researched reports and issue briefs on nearly all migration-related issues. Users can search the web site by country and by topic.

1025 Monsiváis Carrillo, Alejandro. La equidad electoral formal en las entidades federativas: México, 1996–2007. (*Perf. Latinoam.*, 17:33, enero/junio 2009, p. 7–37, bibl., graphs, tables)

There is an abundant literature on Mexico's national electoral reforms, but much less scholarship on the subnational level. In this article, Monsiváis Carrillo examines subnational electoral laws from 1996–2007. Based on statistical analysis, the author argues that differences in these electoral laws influenced the quality of legal electoral fairness. In other words, subnational rule-making matters.

1026 Müller, Markus-Michael. Community policing in Latin America: lessons from Mexico City. (*Rev. Eur. Estud. Latinoam. Caribe*, 88, April 2010, p. 21–37, bibl.)

In recent years, democratic governments have looked to community policing to deal with rising crime. Drawing on interviews with community leaders, local NGO leaders, and some police, the author examines the Policía de Barrio program in Mexico City. The conclusions are sobering. The author argues that local community policing efforts in Mexico City are overly determined by established structures of clientelism and police corruption and that community policing resources are often used for private purposes.

Navarro, Aaron W. Political intelligence and the creation of modern Mexico, 1938–1954. See *HLAS 68:982*.

1027 Olvera, Alberto J. The elusive democracy: political parties, democratic institutions, and civil society in Mexico. (*LARR*, 45, special issue, 2010, p. 79–107, bibl.)

Olvera presents a sobering picture of Mexico's democracy in this contribution to *LARR's* special issue on democracy. He argues that scholars have focused too much on political institutions and not enough on social actors and the promotion of democratic practices at all levels of society. Examining Mexico's new democracy, Olvera argues that the PAN and the PRD have simply reproduced the antidemocratic political practices promoted by the PRI, which has weakened political institutions and civil society alike.

1028 Overmyer-Velázquez, Rebecca. Folkloric poverty: neoliberal multiculturalism in Mexico. University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2010. 209 p.: bibl., ill., index, maps.

Based on extensive fieldwork in Guerrero state, this book presents a case study of a nationally visible (and understudied) indigenous organization, the Consejo Guerrerense. Overmyer-Velázquez argues that both the Consejo and the Mexican state based their policies and strategies for development on a populist myth that she calls the "folkloric Indian": that indigenous peoples coming from small, local communities are the "authentic" Indians, while more cosmopolitan, educated Indians are tainted and corrupt.

1029 The Oxford handbook of Mexican politics. Edited by Roderic Ai Camp. Oxford, England; New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2012. 824 p.: bibl., ill., index, maps.

Camp convened 33 Mexicanists, among them long-time Mexico-watchers John Bailey, Peter H. Smith, William Glade, and Miguel Basáñez, to write chapters on various aspects of Mexican politics. After a synthetic introduction by Camp, the book consists of sections on Political Development, Institutions as Transformational Actors, Changing Roles, New Actors, Electoral Politics, Demographics and Political Attitudes, and Policy Issues. This work is an indispensable reference book for students of Mexican politics at all levels.

1030 Paredes Guerrero, Leticia Janet. Mujer y Congreso local: el camino hacia el poder legislativo: estudios de la mujer y relaciones de género. Mérida, Mexico: Univ. Autónoma de Yucatán: Programa Integral de Fortalecimiento Institucional, 2009. 125 p.: bibl., ill. (Col. Estudios de la mujer y relaciones de género)

Given the relative paucity of books written about women in Mexican politics and the historical importance of Yucatán as the site of early feminism, this book makes an important contribution. Paredes Guerrero created a survey and conducted interviews with 23 women who ran for local congressional seats in 2004 in Yucatán state.

Rodríguez Araujo, Octavio. The emergence and entrenchment of a new political regime in Mexico. See *HLAS 68:1004*.

1031 Rodríguez Wallenius, Carlos Andrés. Luchas municipalistas en México: acciones ciudadanas por la democracia y el

desarrollo local. México: Univ. Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Xochimilco, División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2009. 211 p.: bibl., ill. (Col. Teoría y análisis)

Rodríguez Wallenius argues that citizens' efforts to wrest control of their municipalities from the PRI was a crucial element in Mexico's democratization process. In this book, he describes several types of municipal struggles during the democratization process, including more radical demands for autonomy to increase business-friendly decentralization.

1032 Sabet, Daniel M. Police reform in Mexico: informal politics and the challenge of institutional change. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Politics and Policy, Stanford Univ. Press, 2012. 278 p.: bibl., index, tables.

This important book is a must-read for students of police reform in Mexico. Sabet uses both qualitative and quantitative measures to specifically examine four municipal police agencies in Chihuahua City, Hermosillo, Mexicali, and Tijuana, although he draws on additional cases from around the country. Sabet concludes that two areas of policing remain largely unaffected by current reform efforts: patronage politics within the police promotion process, and the absence of effective accountability mechanisms combined with continued tolerance of police corruption.

1033 Sánchez Ramos, Miguel Ángel de Guadalupe. La democratización en el ámbito municipal en México: el caso de los estados de México y Morelos. Toluca, Mexico: Instituto Electoral del Estado de México, 2008. 166 p.: bibl., ill. (Serie Investigaciones políticas y electorales)

This serious and interesting book compares levels of political and social democratization in Morelos and Mexico state. While there have been advances in political democratization in both states, Sánchez Ramos notes that Morelos has made greater strides, both in political and in social democratization. He credits these advances, in part, to institutional design (proportional representation in Morelos to majoritarian in Mexico state). The author relies on multiple methods—secondary sources, statistical analysis, survey research, and qualitative comparative examination—to make his central point that the gap between political and social democratization continues to be significant in Mexico.

1034 Santillán Buelna, José Ramón. La prensa mexicana frente al cambio político: del fraude electoral al gobierno de la alternancia. Madrid: Dykinson, 2009. 143 p.: bibl., tables. Ciencias de la comunicación; 25)

This fascinating book examines support for democracy among Mexico's top three national newspapers during Mexico's transition (1988–2000). The author's findings are based on content analysis of editorials and opinion pieces in *Excelsior, La Jornada,* and *Reforma,* and he argues that all three papers contributed to a positive climate for democratic change and encouraged change through electoral means.

Santos Méndez, Herard von. Soldados de elite en Centroamérica y México. See item **1062**.

1035 Seffer, Kristin. Política social en México después del "cambio": el mantenimiento de estructuras no-democráticas. (*in* México, el nuevo escenario político ante el bicentenario. Edición de Manuel Alcántara Sáez y Ernesto Hernández. Salamanca, Spain: Univ. de Salamanca, 2009, p. 155–180)

Seffer's argument that the PAN party has created its own networks of clientelism, different from those of the PRI but similar in function, is not a new one. However, she provides some useful detail of PAN's use of two social programs: Oportunidades and Procampo.

1036 Seminario Democracia y Reformas Políticas en México y América Latina, *Instituto Electoral del Estado de México,* 2007. Democracia y reformas políticas en México y América Latina. Coordinación de Igor Vivero Ávila con textos de Jimena Valdés *et al.* México: Univ. Autónoma del Estado de México, Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales: Instituto Electoral del Estado de México: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2010. 447 p.: bibl. (Serie Las ciencias sociales)

In this volume, the Mexican political system is examined within the Latin American context. The editors raise an important debate in the field as to whether institutional design or political actors are most important in democratic consolidation. Particularly notable is a chapter by Héctor Tejera on participation and citizenship in Mexico City in which he suggests that the PRD and PAN, in their governance of Mexico City, are increasingly mirroring the PRI in terms of clientelistic practices.

1037 Snyder, Richard and Angélica Durán Martínez. Drugs, violence and state-sponsored protection rackets in Mexico and Colombia. (*Colomb. Int.*, 70, julio/dic. 2009, p. 61–91, bibl., ill., map, tables)

This excellent article examines the rise in the violence of Mexican and Colombian criminal organizations, using a qualitative model of strategic equilibrium. In Mexico, due to increased political competition, anticorruption reforms within the Attorney General's Office, and a dramatic influx in cocaine trafficking that led to a proliferation of criminal organizations, the equilibrium that existed between Mexican state officials and criminal organizations broke down. The authors argue that democratization and anticorruption reforms made it difficult to replace the old centralized system with a new one. The result has been increasing violence in Mexico.

1038 Sola Ayape, Carlos. El significado de los Pactos de la Moncloa en el ideario político de la transición democrática mexicana. (*Foro Int./México,* 48:3, julio/sept. 2008, p. 631–659)

In this article, Sola Ayape compares Spain's *Pactos de la Moncloa,* which ushered in the Spanish transition to democracy in 1977, to Mexico's *Pacto de Chapultepec* of October 2001. The author argues that unlike the *Pactos de la Moncloa,* Mexico's pact was mostly symbolic and did not advance the transition, but was similar in that both were elite affairs that excluded the citizenry.

Sonnleitner, Willibald. Participación electoral y desarrollo humano: apuntes metodológicos para el análisis territorial y multidimensional del voto en México y Centroamérica. See item **1063**.

1039 Temkin Yedwab, Benjamín; Sandra Solano; and José del Tronco. Explorando el "apartidismo" en México: ¿apartidistas o apolíticos? (*Am. Lat. Hoy/Salamanca,* 50, dic. 2008, p. 119–145, bibl., tables)

The authors apply Russell Dalton's model of party loyalty to Mexico. They note that compared to developed countries, a disproportionate number of Mexicans identify as "apolitical," in addition to an increasing number who do not identify with any political party. The authors suggest several reasons for the growth of independent voters in the Mexican context.

1040 ¿Todos contra el PRI?: la construcción de las alianzas en 2010. Entrevistas conducidas por Tere Vale y Jaime Guerrero Vázquez. México: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2010. 242 p. (Comunicación serie)

This accessible and compact book consists of a series of interviews and short biographies of important political figures who opine about the motivation and significance of state-level alliances between the PAN and the PRD in 2010. Some of those interviewed are in favor of these alliances, such as José Paoli Bolio and Jorge Castañeda, and others are against, like Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Rosario Robles.

1041 Towards more effective and dynamic public management in Mexico. Paris: OECD, 2011. 285 p.: bibl., col. ill. (OECD public governance reviews)

Students of Mexico need information on how well Mexico compares to other OECD countries in terms of public management and administration. This book is a good start. Particularly helpful is a chapter analysis of the main strengths and challenges of Mexico's Professional Career Service System implemented by the Mexican government to install merit-based personnel policies and practices in the federal central public administration.

1042 Trejo, Guillermo. Popular movements in autocracies: religion, repression, and indigenous collective action in Mexico. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012. 307 p.: bibl., ill., index. (Cambridge studies in comparative politics)

This nuanced and carefully researched book is a must-read for students of religion and politics in Mexico. Based on an original database, Trejo examines indigenous protests in Mexico from the 1970s. Chapters on the role of the Catholic

clergy in mobilizing indigenous peoples are especially good. Trejo concludes that the clergy did not adopt progressive positions on social issues based solely on ideological convictions but rather to avoid the emptying of their pews. Additionally, Trejo contends that religion contributes to the creation of the organizational bases for powerful dissident movements in Mexico under two conditions: when religious authorities developed decentralized regional networks of powerful local leaders and when dense local associational groups were present. For sociologist's comment, see item **2083**.

1043 Trevizo, Dolores. Rural protest and the making of democracy in Mexico, 1968–2000. University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2011. 245 p.: bibl., index.

Much of the literature on Mexico's democratization focuses on state elites. In this compelling book, Trevizo examines the role of significant rural actors outside state elites—specifically students, peasants, and businessmen. Trevizo links social movements, political parties, and institutional change by suggesting that rural protest and resistance to that protest significantly contributed to electorally competitive political parties in Mexico by forcing parties to respond and to change as a result.

1044 Valdiviezo Sandoval, René. Poder y región en Tlaxcala, 1975–1987. Puebla de Zaragoza, Mexico: Benemérita Univ. Autónoma de Puebla; México: M.Á. Porrúa, 2011. 187 p.: bibl., ill., maps. (Serie Las ciencias sociales. Tercera década)

Very little has been written about Tlaxcala state and this book makes a solid contribution to the long history of very good regional studies by Mexican political sociologists. After identifying 1975 as a key year in the state's politico-economic model, Valdiviezo Sandoval establishes the historical development and political influence of key groups and political actors in Tlaxcala, including, significantly, the electoral aspect.

1045 Vargas Paredes, Martín Saúl. Entre bosques y reformas de gobierno. México: Univ. de Quintana Roo: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2010. 185 p.: bibl., ill. (Políticas públicas serie)

This book is a welcome addition to an understudied area of research: environmental and forestry policy. The author challenges the idea that social participation is key to policy success, emphasizing instead the importance of policy networks. He bases his conclusions on interviews with governmental officials at national and state levels.

1046 Verdugo López, Mercedes. Cambio político y gobernabilidad en elecciones locales de Sinaloa, 1983–2007. Culiacán, Mexico: Univ. Autónoma de Sinaloa, Dirección de Editorial, 2009. 186 p.: bibl., ill., maps.

Verdugo has written extensively on political parties and elections in the important state of Sinaloa, where the PRI has not lost a single gubernatorial election. This book covers much more ground than previous work (see *HLAS 67:1127*), examining state and local elections over a 25-year period. The author argues that electoral competition and the multiparty system in Sinaloa have, paradoxically, weakened political parties' capacity to be representative and that parties have crowded out social movement organizations in the state, such as the debtors' movement, El Barzón.

1047 Violence, coercion, and state-making in twentieth-century Mexico: the other half of the centaur. Edited by Wil G. Pansters. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 2012. 378 p.: bibl., index.

Pansters has brought together a distinguished group of seasoned Mexicanists in this excellent collection of articles on the interconnections and historical roots of violence, coercion, and insecurity in relation to broader processes of state-making in Mexico. In a synthetic and useful introductory essay, Pansters suggests that we might need to consider shifting our view from a framework of nonviolence when characterizing the postrevolutionary Mexican state to one more focused on the role of violence and coercion.