

tions of the indigenous leaders themselves as equally valid chapters? There are plenty of examples of an emerging literature of ethnic “self-analyses” created by the ever more important and self-aware indigenous intelligentsia, which provide alternative and complementary studies on indigenous struggles. Apart from these minor shortcomings, this collection is excellently suited as a point of departure for an increasing audience of students and scholars interested in the comparative study of those fascinating, innovative and contradictory new social actors who are substantially reshaping the physiognomy of Latin American states and societies.

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SHANNAN L. MATTIACE: *To See with Two Eyes: Peasant Activism & Indian Autonomy in Chiapas, Mexico*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 2003.

The *Zapatista* rebellion commands scholarly attention. The novelty of the rebellion’s tactics combined with the sophistication of its discourse provides rich material for understanding Latin American social movements. We have greatly benefited from both scholarly theoretical approaches and substantive academic analysis and debate regarding the meaning of democracy, citizenship and politics. Shannan Mattiace’s contribution, *To See with Two Eyes*, is a valuable addition to this expanding literature.

Mattiace establishes the “central concern” of the book as “the power of meaning,” especially “how cultural identities shape collective action” (p. ix). Analysis falls within the context of cultural politics. “The principal research question that motivates this book,” Mattiace explains, “centers on the politicization of Indian identity” (p. 3). The author’s goal is to explain “why and how an Indian movement emerged in Chiapas, Mexico” (p. 3). These questions and objectives are successfully explored throughout the book, while research, theory, and design are well selected for this agenda.

To See with Two Eyes contains five chapters, not including an introduction and conclusion. In addition, there are four “vignettes” spaced throughout the book, which provide insight into particular themes through micro-case studies. While rich in material, they might have better been incorporated into the main chapters. The first chapter examines how anthropologists understand indigenous communities. Mattiace provides a solid but standard critique of the “closed corporate community” model, before shifting to consideration of Marxist, class approaches to indigenous peoples. The chapter concludes with an evaluation

of indigenous groups as new social actors. The chapter establishes the author's placing of *Zapatismo* within both peasant and indigenous worlds. The second chapter, entitled "Somos Campesinos," focuses on the peasant line of analysis by providing background regarding land and agrarian politics. Its main accomplishment is to familiarize the reader with state-controlled peasant organizations as a basis for understanding how and why indigenous populations moved to form independent organizations during the 1980s. The author focuses particularly on the experience of the *Tojolabal* Indians, and reveals some of the complexities of the early formation of the *Zapatista* movement. The chapter somewhat indirectly illustrates the process of consciousness formation, which provides an important explanation for how and why an Indian movement emerged in Chiapas. In the third chapter, Mattiace examines the relationship between state and ethnicity. This chapter offers an excellent and much needed exploration of the place of the National Indigenous Institute (INI) within the story of Mexico's indigenous movements. An analysis of *indigenismo*, while not particularly innovative, shows how the transition from INI's assimilation to a "participatory" model provided a space where indigenous groups could organize during the 1980s and 1990s.

An examination of *Zapatista* autonomous practices is the core theme of Chapter Four. Mattiace argues that there are three different autonomous models – regional, communal, and municipal. Through making these distinctions, the author is able to place *Zapatista* autonomy in a comparative context of autonomous practices in other parts of Mexico, especially Oaxaca. Creating this larger framework is an especially valuable contribution, as all too often scholars present autonomy as uniquely *Zapatista*. The San Andreas Accords are the central concern of Chapter Five. The accords articulate the *Zapatista* version of autonomy and served as the basis of an Indigenous Law that was passed by the Mexican Congress in 2001. Mattiace does an excellent job of explaining the negotiations surrounding the Accords. Likewise, the author offers a solid analysis of the ways in which the Indigenous Law was a betrayal of indigenous objectives. Mattiace interestingly contextualizes the Indigenous Law within Mexico's transition to democracy. In a potentially controversial manner, the author maintains that the refusal of *Zapatistas* to participate in formal politics due to their reliance on civil society has rendered the movement irrelevant in the post-transition period. This conclusion, which is also advocated by President Fox, may be premature. The significant concluding chapter describes the position of the *Zapatistas* within Latin American indigenous movements. It presents what has transpired in Mexico by means of a useful comparison with autonomous movements in Panama, Colombia and Nicaragua. From this comparison, Mattiace maintains that the *Zapatistas* failed to accomplish their autonomous objectives due to the strength of the Mexican nation-state.

The author has wisely selected autonomy as the book's central theme, and does a superior job of placing this concept in the framework of current ideas regarding peasant society and ethnicity. There is a keen analysis of autonomy, but it is highly dependent upon previous scholarship, especially relying on the definitive work of Héctor Díaz-Polanco. The book is at its strongest when Mattiace utilizes informants' voices to explain key concepts. However, the reader would have preferred to hear more of these voices throughout the text. The author provides extensive contextual notes, which often contain gems of important information. Although it is a stylistic matter, this reader would have preferred to have such material integrated into the text itself. Mattiace indicates in the preface that Antonio Gramsci, whose work has had a major impact on how scholars understand the *Zapatistas* as well as contemporary Latin American social movements in general, exerted a strong influence on the book's inception. A deeper exploration of Gramscian themes, especially the issues of cultural hegemony and the distinctions between "war of movement" and "war of position," would have enhanced the author's already strong integration of anthropology and political science and afforded us a clearer view of the "power of meaning." Finally, the author largely avoids the important issue of how and why autonomy is not an acceptable proposition for Mexico's neo-liberal state. This is a crucial theme for any understanding of *Zapatismo*, and one that merits more than a passing reference in any discussion of autonomy.

Mattiace's work raises crucial and difficult questions concerning the future of the *Zapatistas*. The author states: "Many complex and difficult questions have emerged: Is electoral democracy incompatible with Indian tradition? Will the recognition of Indian 'traditions and customs' further democracy in Mexico? Can two legal systems coexist?" (p. 129). *To See with Two Eyes* offers a sound foundation upon which scholars can base a discussion of these issues as the *Zapatistas* move into their second decade of open rebellion.

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TEMMA KAPLAN: *Taking Back the Streets: Women, Youth, and Direct Democracy*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2003.

People who dare to stand up against authoritarian regimes make a very exciting topic for research. Their courageous and often creative struggle rarely leaves one indifferent. Very often it is obvious that the investigator himself not only admires his subjects of research, but also sees his own work of recording their