

CONTEMPORARY PERUVIAN POLITICS AND POLICY

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Intersecting Inequalities: Women and Social Policy in Peru, 1990–2000. By Jelke Boesten. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. Pp. xviii + 174. \$60.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780271036700.

Demanding the Land: Urban Popular Movements in Peru and Ecuador, 1990–2005. By Paul Dosh. Photographs by James Lerager. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. Pp. xviii + 262. \$75.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780271037073.

Second-Wave Neoliberalism: Gender, Race, and Health Sector Reform in Peru. By Christina Ewig. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. Pp. xiv + 255. \$67.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780271037110.

Before the Shining Path: Politics in Rural Ayacucho, 1895–1980. By Jaymie Patricia Heilman. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. Pp. xii + 254. \$60.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780804770941.

Toledo's Peru: Vision and Reality. By Ronald Bruce St. John. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Pp. xxiv + 253. \$44.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780813035215.

Former Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori may languish in prison, serving a twenty-five-year term for rights abuses, but the aftershocks of his almost-undisputed rule in the 1990s continue to be felt in many ways. The fundamental restructuring of the political-party landscape and the decline of established parties under his administration have been well documented, as have been the rise of a new brand of populism marked by a deep disdain for political institutions, the concentration of power in the office of the presidency, the savvy use of mass media, and the skillful exploitation of ethnic stereotypes. Fujimori's authoritarian tendencies are also well known, surfacing in his "self-coup" against the Peruvian parliament in 1990 and culminating in serious human rights abuses in the struggle against Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) and the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, as well as in widespread and pernicious corruption during the later years of his regime, aided and abetted by his top aide, Vladimiro Montesinos.

In contrast, the policy reforms enacted under Fujimori—particularly following his abrupt and much-publicized conversion to neoliberalism—have received far less attention, although, arguably, their impact has been no less profound. As is well known, after campaigning against the right-wing economic proposals of his main rival, the writer Mario Vargas Llosa, Fujimori reversed course just months

after his election to implement one of the most radical structural adjustments ever seen in Latin America. Dubbed “Fuji-shock,” these adjustments successfully reined in hyperinflation and relaunched Peru’s moribund economy. Together with the newfound political stability that followed the arrest of Abimaél Guzmán, leader of the Shining Path guerrilla movement, this enabled Fujimori to embark on a series of second-generation neoliberal reforms that amounted to an attempt fundamentally to reorganize the Peruvian state.

The studies reviewed here dissect the legacy of these reforms, revealing enduring impacts that are both deeper and more far-reaching than a simple restructuring of individual sectors of government. Jelke Boesten and Christina Ewig look at social policy making, broadly speaking, and at health policy, more specifically. They show that, far from being technical instruments geared to increase effectiveness and efficiency, reforms in these sectors affected women disproportionately—and usually negatively—especially indigenous women and those of lower-class backgrounds. Paul Dosh’s study of urban settlement policies demonstrates (helpfully drawing in comparable experiences from Ecuador) that neoliberal policies not only increased the likelihood of urban land invasions but also produced incentives for urban squatters, thus opening new avenues for them to organize and to defend their interests. Ronald Bruce St. John focuses on the aftermath of Fujimori’s regime, setting the presidency of Alejandro Toledo against a background of intense social mobilization; heightened public expectations; and the emergence and subsequent demise of various, and often disparate, political coalitions.

Though set in a period before Fujimori’s presidency, Jaymie Patricia Heilman’s analysis of the antecedents of the Shining Path guerrilla movement is a useful bookend to these studies. Heilman attacks a misconception perpetuated, in her view, by much critical literature: that when Shining Path emerged in Ayacucho, a midsize town in the central Peruvian highlands, it benefited from the political inexperience of the local peasantry, who were easy to indoctrinate and provided a fertile recruiting ground. Instead, Heilman contends, Shining Path was merely the latest in a long series of radical political movements in and around Ayacucho, dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century. Far from being naive ingenues, local peasants actually had long experience in adapting to changing political circumstances, often finding themselves on the receiving end of neglect and repression, but also developing a variety of strategies and tactics—including violent ones—to protect and defend their interests.

Heilman pursues this argument by following the changing fortunes of two small rural communities, Carhuanca and Luricocha, from the end of the nineteenth century to the emergence of Shining Path in 1980. She begins with the start of the Aristocratic Republic in 1895, “a national political order premised on the exclusion of indigenous campesinos” (15), and continues with the Tawantinsuyo movement in the 1920s. The latter “proposed a revolutionary overhaul of the Peruvian nation-state, transforming the heretofore-reviled Indian into a Peruvian citizen equal to all others” (42), before it was outlawed by President Augusto Leguía in 1927. The 1930s brought the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, or APRA) and its call for more equitable dis-

tribution of power and resources across the country, and the 1940 and 1950s were marked by struggles over literacy and better education, punctuated by violence toward already better-educated *tintilleros* (scribes). Belaúnde Terry's Acción Popular government in the 1960s gave the campesinos of Ayacucho "their first sense of twentieth-century national political inclusion and attention" (147) yet left their hopes unfulfilled, as did the subsequent and more radical Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces.

All this is of more than just historical interest, although it is certainly of that. Heilman's study is meticulously researched, rich in detail, and full of interesting anecdotes that link past and present, for example, by noting that the parents of many Ayacucho senderistas had been active in APRA during the 1930s. This information is valuable in itself, but Heilman aims for more: juxtaposing the trajectories of the two communities under study, she contends that differences in location, economic prosperity, social coherence, and political connectedness led to different forms of political contestation. Concretely, the geographic remoteness and economic marginalization of Carhuanca produced both a high degree of political strife and a willingness, fueled by a sense of abandonment and neglect, to embrace radical movements, including Shining Path. Peasants in Luricocha, located closer to Ayacucho and economically somewhat better-off, were more likely to opt for moderation and accommodation, in part to escape reprisals by the state but also because stronger community structures made intrusions by challengers such as Shining Path more difficult and less likely to succeed (to the great chagrin of supporters such as Augusta de la Torre, spouse of Shining Path leader Abimaél Guzmán and daughter of a prominent Luricocha hacendado).

Heilman perhaps makes too much of differences between herself and well-known "Senderologists" such as Carlos Iván Degregori, and one can, of course, question whether it is possible to draw broader conclusions from her results, given such a small sample. Nevertheless, her account does have the advantage of contextualizing "a devastating war that might otherwise seem utterly incomprehensible" (8). She documents underlying currents of prejudice and racism toward Peru's indigenous population—noting that these were persistent and as present in Shining Path as in the hacendados (landowners) and *gamonales* (political bosses) against whom the guerillas fought—and she convincingly traces continuities and changes in political contestation in the Peruvian Andes. In this way, Heilman depicts Shining Path as an extreme aberration but not complete departure from tradition, and certainly not as a millenarian movement from out of nowhere. This raises the possibility of similar movements in the future—given the right conditions and the absence of practical solutions to the political and economic marginalization of the Peruvian highlands, although Heilman does not pursue this avenue.

Racism is also central to the books by Boesten and Ewig, although both are more directly interested in how racism intersects with other forms of discrimination based on class and especially gender. Boesten argues that such "intersecting inequalities" (2) undermined social policies intended to promote development and emancipate poor women under Fujimori. For example, food aid channeled through organizations such as Vaso de Leche (Glass of Milk) committees or moth-

ers' clubs strengthened clientelist links between the regime and Peru's poor, and furthered a concept of women not as citizens but as mothers and providers of care for their families. Policies that aimed to limit birthrates, especially among poorer indigenous women, and that culminated in an aggressive sterilization program reinforced the idea that women's bodies could be controlled for demographic purposes. Programs to rein in domestic violence against women—itsself a worthy objective—were obstructed by the racism and sexism that pervaded both Peruvian society and the bureaucracies that were meant to implement them. As a result, the preservation of existing family structures—even structures that were unequal or violent—often came before the goal of protecting women from abuse.

Much of this will sound familiar to observers of recent events in Peru, and thankfully Boesten does not stop here. Instead of merely deploring the negative aspects of Fujimori's social policies, she is careful to point out that these also produced spaces for greater autonomy and social citizenship for Peruvian women, albeit in contradictory ways. For example, the proliferation of *Vaso de Leche* committees, and their quasi-institutionalization as a major delivery mechanism for social aid to Peru's poor, created avenues for lower-class indigenous women to assume leadership roles, sometimes projecting them well beyond their own associations into local or even national politics. Still, the "clientelism that was increasingly institutionalized during the 1990s, and the undercurrent of stereotyping and discrimination based on gender, race, and class, . . . were a severe constraint on the democratization of the grassroots women's organizations and contributed to internal conflicts and fragmentation" (146). By following the trajectories of some women leaders, Boesten adds nuance, depth, and a healthy dose of political realism to her account, although these personal stories sometimes detract from her book's more general message.

Boesten concludes that "the intersecting inequalities of gender, race, and class are fluid and real at the same time; they shape social divisions, but they can likewise shape activism and increase socio-political awareness" (152). This is perceptive, admirably balanced, and a welcome counterpoint to much that has been written on the Fujimori years, which has focused—perhaps excessively—on the decline of social movements and of civil society more generally, the demise of established political parties, and the disintegration of the political fabric. It is also a virtue that Boesten branches out from the much-studied capital of Lima to include not one, but two, case studies from the Peruvian highlands. On the flip side, her account does not do much to help the reader understand the underlying dynamics of change or the forces that make one outcome more likely than another. Its principal contribution, then, is empirical—in the form of personal stories—rather than conceptual or theoretical.

In contrast, Ewig starts with a theoretical proposition and then organizes her empirical material around it. Essentially, she combines the same intersecting inequalities that concern Boesten with the notion that interests spawned in the formulation of policies create obstacles to their future reform. Although such roadblocks are often difficult if not impossible to overcome, Ewig shows that they can be tackled with the help of international "epistemic communities" (10), especially in times of crisis that call for new and bold solutions.

The reform of Peru's public health sector in the 1990s fits this model in at least two ways. On the one hand, although the reforms conceived and implemented by Fujimori's technocrats were presented as technical and gender neutral—in that they focused on fees, means testing, basic services, and decentralization (97)—they proved to reinforce intertwined forms of discrimination based on gender, race, and class. In a nutshell, poor indigenous women were less likely to benefit than those of other classes and ethnicities, and, overall, men were more likely to benefit than women. On the other hand, Fujimori's reforms did manage to overcome resistance by entrenched groups, particularly doctors' associations and working- and middle-class labor unions, who rightly feared the loss of privileged access to health care, a legacy of policies dating back several decades. This was possible thanks to the influence of a neoliberal epistemic community spearheaded by international organizations, notably the World Bank, and technocrats embedded in the national bureaucracy. The advice of this epistemic community—presented as modern, nonpolitical, and designed to increase efficiency—sat well with Fujimori's antipolitics and won out over that of a competing rights-based epistemic community led by the United Nations and international nongovernmental organizations.

Fujimori's population policies, in contrast, were not presented in technocratic terms but instead explicitly in the language of reproductive rights, aided by the actions of Fujimori himself. Both Ewig and Boesten describe how he surrounded himself with a record number of female advisers, members of congress, and ministers, and how he took a strong interest in the "woman question," personally traveling to the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing. Peruvian feminists therefore initially supported his policies. Thus, when it became clear that rights-based language in fact masked a regressive, Malthusian program of population control that culminated in the enforced sterilization of mainly rural, indigenous women, those feminists were put in a difficult bind. And because they were heavily invested in Peru's family-control programs, whose implementation they monitored, they also faced a conservative onslaught, led by the Catholic Church, in opposition to any form of reproductive choice. Boesten notes the corrosive effect of these developments on the Peruvian women's movement, which went into relative decline in Fujimori's later years. Ewig, for her part, sees the strong support given to Fujimori's regressive reforms by state technocrats, politicians, and even health-care workers as proof of the durability of prior policies, which did not see women as carriers of rights, but instead conceived of their "bodies . . . as instruments in the service of national economic development strategies" (166).

Though perhaps not as empirically rich as Boesten's book, Ewig's study is more tightly argued and innovative in that it weaves together the notions of intersecting inequalities, policy legacies, and epistemic communities. Ewig makes a useful distinction between first- and second-generation neoliberalism, explaining how the initial emphasis on radical, socially regressive structural adjustments came to be replaced by more targeted reforms, including some (re)investment in the social sector. This shift helps to explain why Peruvian feminists, who rightly opposed first-generation neoliberalism as particularly detrimental to women, mistakenly accepted the premise that second-generation reforms were essentially gender

neutral. Ewig also offers some practical advice for feminists and social activists: successful gender mainstreaming requires not only the ability to influence policy making but also strong financial and discursive support from global allies, and an autonomous base in civil society to watch over how policies are put into practice.

Social activism is also the focus of Dosh's book on land invasions and urban settlement. Urban popular movements steeply declined during Fujimori's administration for two reasons. The waning importance of political parties and of politics based on ideology robbed the movements of potential allies, and neoliberal economic policies and the privatization of public services made it more difficult for them to rally support around demands for such services from the state. Dosh casts a needed spotlight on how a new political opportunity structure affected the makeup and identities of popular movements, their choice of strategies, and their relative success in reaching their goals.

Dosh shows via examples from Peru and Ecuador that the mechanics of recent land invasions may differ little from those of decades ago, yet the strategies used in an effort to secure more permanent land tenure have changed. Unlike the traditional methods of what he dubs "old guard" and "next generation" movements, which range from fostering patron-client relations to radically opposing the state, the "innovator" movements Dosh studies are both flexible and resourceful, particularly in the use of media and modern communications technologies. This has allowed them to succeed and endure by adapting to more democratic local politics, which, though still dominated by autocratic mayors and clientelist political parties, also include a cast of new private-sector actors, as well as agencies of the central government.

What is the significance of all this? Dosh insists that his study confirms the relevance of Doug McAdam's political process model (which he nevertheless refines in certain respects), and he is openly skeptical of later attempts by McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly to break free from the debates on social movements of recent decades.¹ Students of Latin American social movements will find this useful, but the true value of Dosh's book lies elsewhere. Although he does not solve long-standing puzzles, such as why some movements develop a sense of mission whereas others do not, his insightful portrayal of innovator movements will assist others in looking for answers. There is clearly something more at work in these movements than simply a pragmatic and often ingenious way of adapting to a hostile environment.

Although Dosh does not venture to identify any general trends or patterns, he certainly highlights the complex and contradictory environment in which urban popular movements operate in Peru and Ecuador, an environment composed of more or less hostile mayors, more or less transparent political processes, the greater or lesser propensity of politicians to resort to clientelism and to interfere in municipal affairs, neighborhood leaders with better or not-as-good links to important patrons, and so forth. This does not amount to a full-blown analysis of

1. See Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), especially 36–59. See also Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

the structures underlying municipal politics, but it does point to some important questions. For example: Do powerful individuals, be they mayors or neighborhood leaders, still dominate municipalities in Peru, Ecuador, and possibly elsewhere in Latin America today, thus putting a premium on personalities and styles of leadership? Are we witnessing the reemergence of patron-client relationships in a new guise, driven by neopopulist presidents and their local allies? Did the neoliberal agenda of privatizing urban services and frequent interference by the central government hollow out municipalities as venues for political contestation? Or did the democratization of local politics have the opposite effect? Hopefully, Dosh's study will motivate other scholars to explore these and other questions in greater detail.

Like the first book reviewed in this essay, St. John's study of Toledo's presidency can be considered a bookend to the others. Set in the aftermath of Fujimori's regime, its declared goal is to provide "a deeper understanding of the efforts of the Toledo administration to defuse the political crises faced by Peru at the end of the Fujimori era" (11). St. John does an admirable job of taking the reader through the different phases of Toledo's tenure, including his emergence as a politician in the short but tumultuous transition that followed Fujimori's ouster. This role is put into context by Toledo's start as a poor shoeshine boy of *cholo* (indigenous) heritage, a life that he escaped with a scholarship to attend college and later university in the United States.

St. John's book holds most interest for readers wanting to learn more about Toledo's policies, especially in areas such as macroeconomics, democratic governance, social issues, and regional and foreign affairs. There is ample—at times perhaps excessive—detail on how policies unfolded against a context of sky-high popular expectations, intermittent social protest, and a fractious and fragmented political scene in which stable alliances and majorities (so necessary in a period of regime change) were exceedingly hard to come by. Although clearly sympathetic to Toledo and his right-of-center politics, St. John paints a picture of a chief executive in over his head: not above favoring those around him, and all too often looking to blame others for his lack of success. St. John argues, in particular, that the opportunity for fundamental institutional reform arising from the demise of the Fujimori regime "was soon lost" (189) and that only very limited gains were made in reducing poverty, despite the qualified success of Toledo's macroeconomic policies (which in fact differed little from those of his predecessor).

St. John provides much useful detail on the shifting political alignments and alliances that were characteristic of the post-Fujimori era, but the big picture is sometimes hard to see. Drawn to political minutiae, St. John stays close to the day-to-day struggles of his protagonist, without much in the way of deeper analysis of social and political trends. For similar reasons, one does not get a good sense of how Toledo did or did not confront Peru's long-standing developmental challenges or of what was (or might have been) expected of his presidency. St. John is curiously ambiguous on this point, studiously separating what worked from what did not but never quite coming to an objective assessment of Toledo's administration, so as to do justice as a critic, not only to the undeniable challenges

and constraints his subject faced but also to the particular promise of a moment of transition and the opportunities not seized.

Taken together, the five books reviewed here both highlight, and go beyond, the legacies of Fujimori's presidency. The ongoing impact of his macroeconomic policies and the persistence of widespread poverty provide a common backdrop, as do the continuing political fragmentation and absence of stable political and social alignments in Peru. While Boesten and Ewig show how Fujimori's purportedly technical and gender-neutral reforms helped perpetuate discrimination based on gender, class, and race, Dosh documents some unexpected and potentially less damaging consequences of these reforms, specifically a more flexible and dynamic type of social movement in urban shantytowns. That neoliberalism can have such varied effects—a fact often obscured by the interlocking biases of its proponents and its critics—surely deserves more attention from researchers, policy makers, and social activists. In the broader literature on Fujimori's regime, only a few other authors have taken a similar look inside the black box of neoliberal policy making, preferring instead to focus on the neoliberal state itself or on its relations to external actors, particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.² St. John's description of the many obstacles to a successful transition from authoritarian rule should appeal to anyone interested in democratization and the difficulties of rebuilding political institutions and the surrounding social fabric; it is of particular value to those studying these issues in the context of the dissolution and aftermath of Fujimori's rule. St. John makes a useful addition to the already-considerable body of work on this subject. Finally, Heilman's study can serve as a warning that there is still no solution to the deep-seated socioeconomic problems of the Peruvian Andes. Then again, the emergence of a new regionalism and the recent election of Ollanta Humala to the presidency may herald a whole new chapter in Peruvian politics and policy making.

2. For example, Moisés Arce, *Market Reform in Society: Post-Crisis Politics and Economic Change in Authoritarian Peru* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), puts the emphasis squarely on the two-way relationship of state reformers and civil society actors. Because these groups react to the costs and benefits of the reforms being implemented, their interaction is conditioned by key parameters of neoliberal policy making, such as fiscal restraint and the availability—or absence—of institutional points of access to make societal demands heard.