

might have been clarified had she consulted the work of sociologists Anselm Strauss and Allen Grimshaw on negotiated identities and linguistic dimensions of social control, respectively.¹

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NOTE

- 1 See A. L. Strauss, *Negotiations: Varieties, Contexts, Processes, and Social Order*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978 and A. D. Grimshaw, "Talk and Social Control," in M. Rosenberg and R. H. Turner (eds.), *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*. New York: Basic Books, 1981, pp. 200-232.

David R. Mares, *Penetrating the International Market: Theoretical Considerations and a Mexican Case Study*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987. Pp. xvi + 294. \$35.00.

Can entrepreneurial classes from developing countries defeat their competitors from developed countries in penetrating their own markets in a dynamic economic sector? Can they even control significant portions of the relevant distribution and marketing structures in the North? According to David Mares, neither dependency or free trade theories are able to provide satisfactory answers to these questions. For dependency theory, Northern entrepreneurs would be better endowed with capital and technology to dominate the trade scene in nearly every industry around the globe. Therefore, capitalists from Southern countries would be relegated to operate in non-dynamic sectors or in those ignored by Northern foreign direct investment. Mares critiques dependency theory on the basis that a major change took place in the export vegetable industry in Mexico. Having originated with U.S. capital and entrepreneurship, it later became controlled by Mexican capital in production and a significant portion of distribution and marketing in the United States. Also, Mexican growers achieved substantial influence in Mexican national policy making.

On the other hand, free trade liberalism would have it that market forces would decide which entrepreneurs would succeed, but they do not have much to say in the face of protected markets such as those in agriculture. Free trade theory would see political intervention to alter trade patterns as inconsistent with the requirements of growth. In contrast, Mares argues that there is a political basis for successful market penetration, and also that the conventional view of free trade cannot explain the coexistence of protection and a liberal trade regime. He presents an approach for linking international, national and local politics in order to explain trade policy outcomes.

Mares begins by arguing that the post WWII trade regime has implicitly recognized both market and political allocation of resources. He describes this mixture as a trade regime based on "segmented liberalism," with both free trade and "illiberal" or protected trade. Although protectionism in some sectors is considered as an exception to the free trade regime, Mares argues that, by studying them we can learn about the political nature of the international liberalization process. He sees agriculture as particularly well suited for this task, since the United States initially excluded it from the push for liberalization. For Mares, the theoretical challenge in analyzing contemporary trade

consists of explaining why protectionist outcomes emerge systematically from a liberal trade regime.

His book addresses this challenge with his concept of "segmented liberalism." The main variables which determine successful penetration of international markets by Southern producers are: the characteristics of the product, the structure of its international market and the process by which productive resources are allocated. Complementary to this theory, Mares proposes a tri-level methodological analysis, focusing on the international, the national, and the local levels. He then sets out to explain the interrelations among the three for the case of fresh vegetable exports from Mexico to the United States.

In chapters 2 & 3, Mares establishes the international economic and political context for the analysis of winter vegetable trade and describes the convergent and divergent interests in the Mexican state-grower alliance. While the state is interested in growers' success, for they produce highly needed foreign exchange and employment, it also needs to maintain its alliance with organized labor. The latter is often at odds with growers' interest to maximize profits on the basis of maintaining wages and working conditions at the lowest levels. In any case, growers have succeeded to advance their interests, mostly at the expense of workers, but also, at times, at the expense of the state. One puzzling outcome which Mares finds in this process is that growers managed to develop organizations autonomous from the corporatist network of the Mexican state. The following chapters analyze how this came about, why the corporatist state tolerates it, and what are the implications for the state-grower alliance. This becomes a quite interesting study of the political formation of an entrepreneurial class in the state of Sinaloa of Northwestern Mexico.

David Mares provides a comparison of the agrarian unrest during the last two years of Luis Echeverria's presidential regime (1975-76) in the states of Sonora and Sinaloa. Although agrarian protest was similar in both states, confronting similarly powerful agrarian bourgeoisies, it was only in Sonora where the state sided with rural workers and applied the agrarian reform legislation.

Mares explains this difference on the basis of the relative strengths of the two agrarian bourgeoisies involved and the state's interests: Sonora's produced mostly wheat, which generates few jobs and can be produced by *ejidatarios* (beneficiaries of agrarian reform), while with vegetables Sinaloa growers employ thousands, bring large amounts of foreign exchange, and require heavy and risky capital investments, beyond the reach of *ejidatario* peasants.

Although this interpretation is sound, it is incomplete. It is a good assessment of the relative strengths of the rural capitalist classes involved and the state's interests, but not of the rural direct producers. One supplement to this interpretation may be that the organized struggle of direct producers in Sonora was much stronger and harder to elude by the state. In fact, what resulted in Sonora has been the constitution of a similarly autonomous class of what I have called "postcapitalist" direct producers, who have developed a self-management arrangement and democratic production mechanisms (Otero. 1989. "The New Agrarian Movement: Self-Managed, Democratic Production," *Latin American Perspectives*, 16(4):28-59). Without this supplement to Mares' interpretation, we end up with the impression that the state and the ruling class are the only real actors in Mexican politics. While they are clearly the dominant ones, subordinate classes have also managed to impose certain policies on the corporatist state.

The third section of this book looks at the failed attempts by Florida growers to impose increasingly protectionist restrictions to Mexican vegetables. It analyses the

process by which Mexican growers gained control, little by little, of the financial aspects of production, freeing themselves from U.S. distributor-financiers.

In the conclusion, Mares applies his theoretical framework to comparative evidence on the textile and apparel trade from South Korea and Colombia. While Mares agrees with theories that argue for the relative weights of state and society in setting economic policy, he believes that the empirical question of societal pressure on the state has not been researched nearly as much as state policy as such.

Penetrating the International Market presents an interesting theory, backed up with a thorough and informative empirical research. The latter is based on an extensive review of existing published and unpublished material, as well as interviews with the actors and some observers of the processes under study. This is perhaps the book's best contribution to the literature, for there are few studies which describe the political formation of a fraction of the ruling class in a dependent country. Other studies on this issue have emphasized how the capitalist class in such countries are associated and dependent to Northern bourgeoisies, or how their strength is due mostly to their alliance with a state bourgeoisie. Mares has demonstrated that a well endowed, self-conscious, and self-organized agrarian bourgeoisie emerged in Mexico, freeing itself both from its corporatist ties with the state and its financial dependence from U.S. capital. At a time when processes of continentalization are taking place in North America (including Mexico), this outcome is crucial, for it indicates that at least some sectors of the Mexican capitalist class might have some autonomous future in competing in a globalized political economy.

One problem with this book is that Mares tried too hard to make it a strong theoretical statement. Thus, he introduces lengthy theoretical discussion in the middle of involved empirical description. This makes it rather distracting and harder to understand what the author is trying to get at. A tighter empirical presentation would have made for a shorter book, and easier to read. Nevertheless, it is definitely worthwhile for social scientists interested in the political economy of international trade and the process of the political class formation of a dependent bourgeoisie.

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Kathryn Ward (ed.), *Women Workers and Global Restructuring*. Ithaca, New York: ILR Press, 1990. Pp. 258.

Women Workers and Global Restructuring is a recent report (International Series Number 17) from Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations. This collection of research papers is a useful addition to the growing body of scholarship on gender and the global economy.

The editor and contributors focus on the consequences of global restructuring for women workers. Global restructuring is defined as "the emergence of the global assembly line in which research and management are controlled by the core or developed countries while assembly line work is relegated to semiperiphery or periphery nations that occupy less privileged positions in the global economy..... Within developing countries, restructuring is marked by growth of the service sector and specialization in

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