environmental concerns have been factored into the country's successive economic development policies since 1972 as well as the content of the various environmental policies and programs introduced between 1972 and 1995. While he clearly describes the content of some of the main national environmental statutes, including the Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act of 1974 and the Environment Protection Act of 1986, he fails to illustrate the legal limits of many these statutes. Oddly enough, the review of environmentally related court cases that can shed light on these issues are relegated to a short appendix.

Chapter 5 discusses the institutional impediments to environmental protection. It appropriately asks why democratic India, with comprehensive environmental protection laws and regulations on the books, has failed to implement effectively its green agenda. Dwivedi repeats the perennial mantras: inadequate institutional capacity, underpricing of publicly supplied resources, lack of administrative rationality, and bureaucratic corruption. Yet, the question of how market-based incentives (or their absence) affect the environment is not examined. Also, it is well known that in India both the central (federal) and state governments exert considerable influence on the formulation and implementation of policy. The central authorities can legislate regarding subjects that fall under state jurisdiction (which includes an extensive list of "environmental subjects") only with the consent of the state governments. How the vicissitudes of center-state relations and, indeed, the politics behind the contentious turf battles between the two have affected the formulation and implementation of environmental policy is missing in Dwivedi's rendition.

Chapters 6 and 7 look at India and international environmental issues. They are poorly organized, the arguments are sloppy and repetitive, and there are numerous glaring omissions. There is no discussion of the implications of international environmental laws, regimes, or institutions for India. For example, the 1992 Earth Summit resulted in the signing of two major treaties—the Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity—in addition to Agenda 21 (a program and set of green guidelines for the twenty-first century) and a statement of Forest Principles, all with major implications for India. The biodiversity convention most directly threatens the interests of Indian farmers since it declares the genetic diversity carefully nurtured by farmers practicing traditional agriculture to be "the common heritage of mankind," but it abrogates to commercial interests the "intellectual property rights" that flow from it. Similarly, there is no discussion of how World Trade Organization rules such as Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights, Trade-Related Environmental Measures, and the Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards, including the World Bank's Global Environment Facility, affect developing countries like India. Given so many weaknesses, I cannot recommend this book.

Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain: The Transition to Democracy after Franco. By Laura Desfor Edles. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. 197p. $59.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.

The Cultural Dynamics of Democratization in Spain. By Peter McDonough, Samuel H. Barnes, and Antonio López Pina, with Doh C. Shin and José Alvaro Moisés. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1998. 241p. $39.95.

Donald Share, *University of Puget Sound*

These two works deal with Spanish political culture, but their methods and the value of their contributions to the literature on contemporary Spanish politics could not be more disparate. The Edles book is not at all about the *new* Spain, but about a period now more than twenty years old. Her reference to Spain's democratization as "recent" (p. 4) is only the most obvious indication that the book is more than a bit outdated. On page 6, for example, Edles discusses the uniqueness of Spain's transition to democracy. In the mid-1970s it appeared to constitute a unique form of regime change, but since then, Spain has been joined by quite a few generally similar transitions in places as diverse as Taiwan, Chile, Brazil, Korea, and South Africa.

In the second chapter Edles sets out to summarize and assail existing theories of democratization. In a confusing, simplistic, and incomplete overview, she distinguishes the political cultural/modernization, neo-Marxist/structural models, and elite/rational choice approaches to democratization. Her decision to lump the last two together is questionable, since it is not clear that either set of writings, let alone both of them, constitutes a single group. She asserts that each of these three "schools" is flawed but aims most of her attack at the elite/rational choice approach, which she then confusingly re-labels "the pact school approach to transition" (she calls its advocates *pactmen*). In this group she places, for example, Richard Gunther ("Spain the Very Model of Elite Settlement," in John Higley and Richard Gunther, eds., *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*, 1992), Kenneth Medhurst ("Spain's Evolutionary Pathway from Dictatorship to Democracy," in Geoffrey Pridham, ed., *The New Mediterranean Democracies*, 1984), Richard Gunther, Giacomo Sani, and Goldie Shabad (*Spain After Franco: The Making of a Competitive Party System*, 1986), Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter (*Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, 1986), and José Maraval and Julián Santamaría ("Political Change in Spain," in G. O'Donnell et al., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe*, 1986).

While acknowledging the diversity of this group of pactmen, Edles nevertheless constructs a straw-man category that is full of simplifications. For example, she argues that the pactmen "see elites as individual, well-placed actors: they believe that *only* elites, defined as the 'top leadership in all sectors,' are able to affect national outcomes" (p. 14). She ignores the fact that most of the writers she lumps together as pactmen consistently emphasize the multiplicity of factors that contribute to political outcomes. Edles asserts that all pactmen view elites as purely rational actors seeking to maximize their own interests, a stance that is both inaccurate and disingenuous.

The author's main beef with the pactmen seems to be her view that this group of writers is unable "to explain why Spanish elites learned [the] particular lesson" of moderation that clearly facilitated the transition (p. 15). In fact, many of the studies she includes in the pactmen school do explain the ability of Spanish elites to adopt moderate behavior and rhetoric in a variety of ways. These writings emphasize generational factors, the nature of repression under Franco, and a whole host of other explanations. Whereas Edles attacks the pactmen for failing to explain why some elites learned moderation while others (e.g., the Basque elite) did not, she ignores the fact that many of these works provide detailed historical explanations for the disparate outcomes. Moreover, she overlooks the fact that that most of the writings lumped together in the pactmen school, far from being "instrumental" (p. 18) or mechanistic, note the role of such factors as leadership skill, personality, and luck.

Edles claims to provide a cultural analysis of the Spanish

transition. Drawing on the literature of cultural sociology and anthropology, she argues that the success of the transition is best explained by four key symbols (a new beginning, Civil War, national reconciliation/*convivencia*, and democracy). She argues that "these symbols contained strands of shared meaning, which became the specific tenets or ground rules of the politics of consensus," and that they "became representatives of the ritual process of transition" (p. 24). She asserts "the transcendence of these four core symbolic categories enabled the successful institutionalization of Spanish democracy" (p. 140). In the process Edles employs much jargon that serves to obfuscate what are really common sense concepts.

The major problem with this book is that Edles never persuasively demonstrates any causal connection between the existence of these four symbols and concrete political outcomes. She contends that political elites (at least as manifested in their statements and writing in newspapers) shared a common symbolic language during the transition, but that is a conclusion reached long ago by many studies of Spain's democratization. Edles is unable to move from description to causality. Her method involved reading through a selection Spanish newspapers during the transition and doing content or discourse analysis, and the results are reported in an entirely anecdotal fashion. The reader is given neither an indication of the relative frequency of types of evidence nor any systematic presentation of the data.

Although the author's goal to cast new light on Spain's regime change by viewing it from a culturalist perspective, her study adds no new insights into this much-studied phenomenon. The vast majority of the work simply recounts historical data and rehashes analysis that is by now old hat. Her conclusion (p. 139) that "culturally, the Spanish transition is extraordinary because an effervescent system of shared symbols emerged and became transcendent in a critical historical moment fraught with possibilities of division and conflict" is not novel and just as easily could have been drawn from a more careful reading of much of the existing literature.

In dramatic contrast is The *Cultural Dynamics of Democratization in Spain*. McDonough, Barnes, and López Pina have long set the standard for quality research on Spanish public opinion. This fascinating work is currently the best single book on Spanish public opinion, and it breaks new ground in many areas. The authors explore three interrelated questions that together give us the most comprehensive overview of contemporary Spanish political culture.

First, the authors want to determine the nature and evolution of political legitimacy in Spain's twenty-one-year-old democracy. In the process they advance some innovative ways to define and conceptualize the often slippery concept of political legitimacy. They present evidence to demonstrate that a profound and apparently durable depolarization of Spanish society has taken place. The authors are careful to point out that depolarization resulted from a combination of long-term structural factors and short-term elite behavior. Of particular interest is the argument that democratic legitimacy is based to some extent on perceptions of social fairness. The ability of the democratic state to deliver higher levels of social protection to its citizens has helped make democracy more legitimate.

A second part of the book examines how Spain's democracy was able to shift from its center-right founding coalition (1977–82) to the Socialists (1982–96). The authors essentially argue that interests as opposed to ideology or partisanship drove Spanish public opinion. Once the political work of the transition had been completed by the center-right, economic concerns (economic performance and social fairness) became paramount. The book does a fine job of explaining why the Socialists were able to implement apparently contradictory policies. During their long mandate the Spanish public demonstrated clear support for populism and statism but also for neoliberal aspects of the Socialist reforms. The contradictory—some would argue sophisticated—nature of Spanish public opinion provided ample leeway for Socialist policies that simultaneously sought to liberalize capitalism and expand the Spanish welfare state. The authors suggest that the Socialist growth-with-equity model had broad support in Spanish society, but their look at public opinion during this period does not entirely explain why massively high unemployment, the most troubling and persistent aspect of the economy under the Socialists, did not have more serious political ramifications.

The final section of the book attempts to account for Spain's unusually low levels of certain types of political participation. The careful comparison of Spain to South Korea and Brazil, two democracies that experienced broadly similar transitions from authoritarian rule, provides a compelling explanation for Spain's very low levels of partisanship, membership in voluntary associations, and conventional political behavior. Contrary to the prevailing wisdom, the authors demonstrate that these outcomes cannot be explained by the Francoist legacy of depoliticization. Instead, they argue that Spain's persistently high rates of unemployment, its comparatively low level of female participation in the work force, and the Catholic Church's unwillingness to attempt to mobilize Spaniards during and after the transition to democracy have resulted in anomalous levels of participation.

The data for this study were drawn from four national opinion surveys conducted between 1978 and 1990. The material is used judiciously to measure and interpret Spanish public opinion, and the authors have grounded their analysis in a careful reading of Spanish history and politics. This is mainly a study of public opinion, but the important role of history, political institutions, political parties, or political elites is never neglected. In carefully advancing this path-breaking interpretation of Spanish political culture and political behavior, McDonough et al. provide a model of how to use opinion research to conduct rich and meaningful comparative political analysis.

Producing Workers: The Politics of Gender, Class, and Culture in the Calcutta Jute Mills. By Leela Fernandes. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997. 199p. $42.50 cloth, $22.50 paper.

Jana Everett, *University of Colorado, Denver*

This ethnographic study reconceptualizes working-class politics in order to explain the weakness of the Indian trade union movement. It also puts forward a theoretical framework for comparative political analysis that avoids the pitfalls of Marx's idealized notion of a unified working class and of categories derived from particular European contexts. Since the 1970s, feminist theorists have sought to analyze the interrelationships among gender, class, and other social identities, such as ethnicity, religion, and caste, in order to explain women's marginalization in working-class movements. For liberal and Marxist feminists the political process is the struggle for resources by already existing groups, whereas for postmodern and critical theorists such as Fernandes, the political process involves the discursive creation of and contestation over social categories and the boundaries between them. Fernandes presents an analytical framework