In an era when political science is often divorced from real politics, this work is a breath of fresh air for its relevance to policy debates and its reliance on the insights of well-placed actors to make its case. It points to the vital role of presidential advisory networks in underwriting the potential success of presidentialism. This fine book is simultaneously a blueprint for potential reforms to Chile's executive branch and a handbook for other Latin American countries to consider the options for enhancing presidential advisory networks. Such an advance has the potential to improve the functioning of presidentialism, reinforcing the patterns of good and efficient governance that are so necessary for improving democracy's tarnished image in Chile and in much of the region.

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Marc Becker, *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated edition. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2012. Bibliography, index, 292 pp.; paperback, $29.95.

Ecuador's indigenous movement has long been recognized as one of the most powerful in the Americas. In the 1990s, indigenous activists staged mass mobilizations that brought the country to a standstill, launched a new political party, and developed a platform for constitutional reform that in 1998 materialized into vast new sets of rights for indigenous peoples. In the first half of the twenty-first century, the movement was at the peak of its influence and power: it had staged a coup that brought down a president, emerged as a core electoral bloc after winning a number of local and national offices, and gained a number of high-profile cabinet positions. Fast-forward a decade later. In the era of Rafael Correa, the once-powerful movement finds itself increasingly a marginalized political actor under attack.

It is precisely in this context that Marc Becker's book offers an indispensible resource. A vivid account of indigenous politics and activism, from the movement's meteoric rise to its troubled present, and written in highly accessible language that is sure to recommend it for course adoption, the book represents the first history of this influential social movement available in the English language, drawn from Becker's two decades of expertise as a participant and researcher. The book, however, provides more than an albeit much-needed historical overview. For Becker, the Ecuadorian movement's contemporary struggles reflect longstanding tensions and contradictions suggestive of a perennial dilemma of social justice activism: whether political change is best brought about by taking to the streets and exerting pressure on the state as an outside force, or by engaging in the formal political arena as political parties, elected officials, and through constitutional reform to institutionalize change.

Synthesizing historical narrative with political analysis, Becker deftly sets in relief the indigenous movement's current problems by tracing these at the same time to its historical trajectory, its defining characteristics, and the prevalent tensions evident in the movement's deployment of these two avenues for change. By way of this unique approach, Becker sheds new light on current Ecuadorian indigenous politics

and on what is gained and what is lost when social movements go from the streets to the ballot box, halls of government, and political power.

The book's first two chapters set the stage for understanding this turn by providing a rich account of the ascendance of contemporary indigenous activism. The account Becker offers here is valuable not only for its descriptive richness but for introducing an important corrective: it shifts engagement with the Ecuadorian case from viewing it as a singular to a plural set of movements. This discursive and analytical shift has several advantages. First, it offers a more nuanced perspective on this foundational period. Second, it resists locating the struggle's efficacy in a singular actor. In Becker's account, the ascendancy of the CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) in the 1980s and early 1990s and its efforts to become the country's first national indigenous organization are set in relief against the efforts of other existing indigenous movements and actors.

Among these, Becker discusses the CONAIE's protagonist role in organizing the historic *Levantamiento del Inti Raymi* of 1990 in conjunction with two other uprisings: the 1992 *caminata* (march) staged by Amazonian groups to bring attention to demands for territorial autonomy initially brought up by OPIP (Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza), and the 1994 Mobilization for Life in support of agrarian reform, which brought together indigenous and peasant groups. Thus, while the CONAIE played a central role, Becker argues that these three uprisings were together what "gained Ecuador the reputation as home to the strongest Indigenous movements and one of the best-organized social movements in the Americas" (37).

For Becker, a foundational characteristic of the overall movement and a source of its strength is its "diversity and multivocality" (18). This heterogeneity represents, in his view, a "maturation of social movement organizing," as it involves the ability to organize politically across "competing interests, concerns, and cultures" between various indigenous actors (18). Yet efforts to organize among diverse groups, Becker argues, also reveal, at different points in those movements' contemporary trajectory, moments of tension and conflict, if not outright fragmentation. An important contribution of the book is to trace these various conflicts and link them to the movements' developing strategies for enacting change against a changing field of politics and new actors. This framework aptly captures the dynamism of the movements and permits readers who are new to Ecuadorian politics and its indigenous struggle to better situate the rapid and complex transformations that the movements have undergone in the span of a little over a decade. It also facilitates an analysis of the consequences of these transformations, most crucial of which have been the movements' entrance into electoral and institutional politics and their more recent marginalization.

The middle three chapters focus on this critical shift, beginning with the founding of Pachakutik. As Becker notes, Pachakutik is not an indigenous party, but instead emerges as a "third option" between forming an ethnic party and joining existing leftist ones. In this regard, Becker rightly underscores strategic continuities between Pachakutik and the CONAIE since, like the CONAIE, Pachakutik positioned itself as a movement defined by more transcendent aspirations to attain

broad political and societal change, and was linked more closely than traditional parties to social movement organizing.

Becker views Packakutik mostly in a positive light, as it provided the movements with a new vehicle with which they could supplement the CONAIE's work and another tool with which to attain change. For instance, during the crisis brought on by the corrupt administration of Abdalá Bucaram in 1997, these two vehicles permitted indigenous movements to mobilize more effectively: on the one hand, to press for enduring change by organizing protests against Bucaram and push to gain support for demands to convene a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution, and on the other hand, to enact this change through the work of Pachakutik in the assembly.

While the emergence of Pachakutik allowed indigenous movements to gain a progressive new constitution and catapulted indigenous leaders into local, regional, and national offices, it was not without a price. According to Becker, it stirred new divisions between the grassroots and leaders and between existing organizations, as well as raising questions and conflicts surrounding the nature of this vehicle and its relationship to other organizations (was it to be independent or in the service of CONAIE?), new demands by constituents for concrete economic benefits, and concerns over the corruption and co-optation of indigenous leaders.

Becker's analysis highlights two subsequent political developments that would further aggravate these early concerns over entering into institutional politics: the movements' role in the January 2000 coup that ousted President Jamil Mahuad and its role in the government of Lucio Gutiérrez following the appointment of a slew of indigenous leaders to key cabinet and government posts. The Gutiérrez government in particular revealed the fragmentation in the movement, as the CONAIE and Pachakutik withdrew their support by 2003 while the Amazonian federation CONFENIAE continued its support. "Through these gains and reversals," concludes Becker, "it became clear that Indigenous movements were strong enough to bring governments down but not united enough to rule on their own—or even possibly in alliance with others" (96).

The final chapters of the book examine the indigenous movements' recent challenges following Correa's ascendancy. These chapters are nothing less than a tour de force, and extend the book's contributions beyond the field of Ecuadorian studies in several noteworthy ways. First, the book provides a careful analysis of the 2007–8 constitutionmaking process, depicting in great detail the increasingly marginalized role of the indigenous movements and actors affiliated with Correa's Alianza Pais party. As Becker demonstrates, beneath seemingly participatory constitutionmaking can lie processes of co-optation through which one actor—in this case, indigenous movements—can become marginalized and another—Correa—can entrench his power, an insight that will be of interest to scholars of constitutionalism.

Second, chapter 9, on the 2009 presidential elections, offers an extensive examination of a prevalent puzzle that has accompanied the rise of radical populist presidents in Latin America: their maintenance and expansion of extractive industries. In the manner of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, Rafael Correa's so-called Citizens' Rev-

olution has been highly dependent on petrorevenues. What is peculiar in the case of Ecuador is that a president's aggressive actions on extractivism have been accompanied by progressive social and ecological discourses. The book does an outstanding job of cataloguing Correa's befuddling promotion of seemingly progressive ecological policies, such as supporting a hiatus on oil exploration in Yasuní National Park and the adoption (or co-optation) of the Kichway concept of *sumak kawsay*; his deployment of nationalist, anti-imperialist discourses; and his "divide and conquer" tactics against dissenters, most prominently indigenous actors and environmental groups, which he notoriously labeled "infantile environmentalists."

Becker's analysis helps to better explicate Correa's capacity to resist social movement pressures by linking these actions to Pachakutik's lack of local support and the movement's existing divisions and weakness in Amazonian provinces such as Orellana, where some of the most contentious protests occurred (178). This discussion further reveals another dimension of populist discourse—a new manifestation of Manichean "us versus them" posturing—and its concrete manifestation in Correa's attacks on indigenous institutions and organizations, such as stopping the funding of CODENPE (Development Council of Indigenous Nationalities and Peoples). The book's analysis here will no doubt be useful to students of neoextractivism and populism.

But it is ultimately for students and scholars of Ecuador's indigenous struggle that this book offers a thought-provoking response to the question of evaluating the movements' contemporary marginalization. The indigenous movements' entry into institutional and electoral politics, Becker contends, did not constitute an abandonment of prior strategies but represented another tool by which to seek change, which is testament to the movements' strength and endurance. Yet Becker's analysis suggests that the movements' contemporary marginalization is not simply a consequence of Correa's actions, but emerges as part of the long-developing unintended consequences of engaging in this domain.

Foremost, in a political realm "known for its corruption, dirty dealings, and trade-offs" (208), seeking this avenue for change, Becker argues, has tended to intensify conflict and existing divisions, as well as leading to co-optation and fragmentation (208). For Becker, Correa's relations with indigenous movements emphasize this point by underscoring "the complications, limitations, and deep tensions inherent in pursuing revolutionary changes within a constitutional framework" (209). But what is inherently problematic about pursuing enduring change by institutional means? And do these problems apply equally to electoral politics and to engagement in other formal institutional arenas, such as constitutionmaking or work via state-supported institutions such as CODENPE? I believe that some clarification and explanation of the limitations and complications arising out of different institutional domains would have strengthened an already strong book. Nevertheless, Becker's *¡Pachakutik!* stands as an important achievement that is sure to enhance existing debates and guide current research in new directions.

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