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Looking across the literature might reveal a richer body of research examining the relationship between structure and agency within the lives of privileged migrants than Lehmann identifies in her text.

On a final note, and perhaps reflecting my own preoccupation with understanding lifestyle migration through social theory, I found myself wondering about Lehmann's position on structure and agency. Her approach was never fully elaborated within the text. I found the escape of past social structures—familiar and understood—into those new and under construction a little simplistic and in need of further explanation through theory or otherwise. Similarly, I found myself wondering what such a macrolevel structural framework for understanding migration excludes. In other words, what nuances does using Westerners as an analytical category omit? Is the experience of neoliberal global capitalism the same across those countries considered Western? These questions bring me back to the need for this text to be better located within the wider literature, particularly that on the relationship between migration and social theory; this choice would have been beneficial to the development of a more rigorous argument with other texts acting as ballast against which the author could test and thus strengthen her argument.

*Women in War: The Micro-processes of Mobilization in El Salvador.* By Jocelyn Viterna. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. xvi+288. \$99.00 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

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I teach a class, Conflict and Connection in the Americas, in which a third of the coursework focuses on gender, feminism, and revolution in El Salvador. On the first day a few years ago, we discussed the war in El Salvador, and I explained what some revolution theorists believe needs to be in place for a revolution to triumph and how that related to the Salvadoran case. By all accounts we discussed macro forces. After my explanation, one student asked, "But *why* did people actually join the guerrillas?" In other words, why would someone willingly put themselves in harm's way? Clearly, she wasn't moved by the macro theories. If I was still in touch with this student I would recommend she read *Women in War: The Micro-processes of Mobilization in El Salvador* by Jocelyn Viterna, as it speaks directly to that and other micro questions of revolution.

*Women in War* is a theoretically and methodologically rigorous study of women's participation in the Salvadoran revolution. Viterna builds on earlier scholarship regarding women and revolution in Latin America, includ-

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ing Karen Kampwirth's *Women and Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), Ilya Luciak's *After the Revolution: Gender and Democracy in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), and my own *The Revolution Question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba* (Rutgers University Press, 2004). As these titles suggest, they are all comparative studies and thus cannot offer the same depth to the Salvadoran case that Viterna offers in *Women in War*. Similarly, and most important for her scholarly goals, Viterna's in-depth focus on El Salvador allows her to probe microlevel processes of mobilization and demobilization that earlier works failed to do (p. 6).

Methodologically the book is unparalleled. Viterna spent over two years in El Salvador. She conducted 230 formal interviews; 120 of her subjects were randomly selected via village censuses "to represent 'regular' men and women living and working in the former war zones of rural El Salvador" (p. 7) and about half of these were former guerrillas. She also did ethnographic analyses and archival research that included the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional's (FMLN) own recruitment materials, allowing her to marshal significant evidence to substantiate her claims. Viterna includes a lengthy and detailed appendix with nearly 25 pages dedicated to her methodological strategies, sample, and obstacles, which works well when teaching about the theory, practice, and challenges of qualitative methods.

In *Women in War* Viterna argues that "the most effective way to understand how macro-level contexts generate movement mobilization is to analyze how individual participants themselves view, interpret, and act upon the political and cultural environment in which they operate" (p. 41). The guerrillas, Viterna claims, recruited identities rather than individuals (p. 48); that is, the FMLN circulated identity-based narratives that led unincorporated civilians to see themselves as part of the FMLN. Viterna's research illuminates the fact that the most salient identities for the FMLN leadership and their targeted recruits were "mother," "activist," "peasant," and "youth." For example, youths were pressured to see themselves as protectors of "the most vulnerable," as defined by the FMLN (p. 69), from military-perpetrated violence, especially violence directed at women. The circulation of these and other narratives allowed untapped civilians to see the guerrillas as "people like me" (p. 116) and thus commit themselves to the cause. Viterna explains that the FMLN leadership was so effective at tapping into existing identities, compounded by its well-entrenched narrative that the FMLN were "the good guys," that her respondents "were quite clear that they joined 'because we had no choice,' but they were equally clear that they were *not* forced to join—'it was always one's own decision'" (p. 71; emphasis in original).

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Viterna's gendered analysis of guerrilla labor corroborates, fleshes out, and advances what many of us found in our own earlier research about guerrilla organizing; that is, there was a clear, gendered division of labor, where women typically did the "low-prestige" or support roles like cooking and "logistics," and men the more explicitly political and armed labor, or "high-prestige" work like combat. Viterna was surprised, however, that "the high-prestige work performed mostly by women was in many ways *more* prestigious than the combat work performed mostly by men" (p. 132; emphasis in original). Viterna's research also shows that the FMLN's rhetoric of assigning tasks based on "ability" rather than gender (p. 137) combined with the narrative that the guerrilla camps were the place where women's bodies were the most protected (p. 155) were both ways of mobilizing narratives of respect for women to further entrench gender-based hierarchies and control over women's sexuality (pp. 210–11).

A major strength (and at times weakness) of the book is the original theory that Viterna advances—indeed, far more so than I was able to discuss here. She has adeptly taken a single case study and articulated arguments that are most certainly useful across social movements in general, not at all bound by nation, time, or movement structure (e.g., armed vs. nonviolent). However, in her attempt to advance the aforementioned and other theoretical insights while speaking to her targeted audience of social movement, political violence, and gender scholars as well as historians of El Salvador (pp. 10–11), the text often becomes overwhelming to the reader, especially in chapter 3, "Micro-Level Processes of Mobilization." While Viterna is a clear and organized writer, telling the reader what she will argue, laying it out as she does, and regularly recapping her claims, she frequently keeps many theoretical balls in the air. Eventually she grounds her conclusions in empirical data, which allows the reader to contextualize the many simultaneous arguments.

Overall I found *Women in War* a very historically, methodologically, theoretically, and empirically compelling read. It is a stellar piece of sociology and necessary reading for gender, social movements, revolution, and violence scholars as well as students seeking models for their own research designs.

*Gendered Commodity Chains: Seeing Women's Work and Households in Global Production.* Edited by Wilma A. Dunaway. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2013. Pp. xxiv+285. \$90.00 (cloth); \$29.95 (paper).

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A cup of Brazilian arabica coffee. Hiking shorts "made in Bangladesh." A South African nurse recruited abroad. A polyester sari. Fresh fish from