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(Review) Revolution at the Grassroots: Community Organizations in the Portuguese Revolution

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itatively different processes of incorporation by the different states. The key to understanding these differences lies in the political interests and power differentials among incorporating states and between states and absorbed societies over different time periods. In particular the changing geopolitical context created greater differentiation of absorbed groups as the strength of incorporating states increased. Also, the relation of trade to incorporation changed over time, ultimately being connected to a more dynamic American state. And third, the sociopolitical complexity of absorbed societies affected the processes and outcomes of incorporation.

In his critique of world-system theory, Hall's historical analyses are quite successful in providing evidence of variation in the processes and effects of incorporation. However, in his discussion of changes in ethnicity, the analyses are less compelling. While his point is well taken that ethnicity is created through the incorporation processes of states and can change according to the nature of that process, the author does not explore in any real depth the process of creating different ethnic identities. However, given the breadth of the author's work, this seems too great an expectation.

Hall's book should be applauded for several contributions. First, his multilevel analysis clarifies both the nature of change processes and their effect over a lengthy period of history, providing an example of historical sociology that deserves attention. Second, his historical portrayals of change in the southwestern United States are both fascinating and revealing. And finally, Hall makes an important contribution to recent literature on the history of the incorporation of Native American populations. Hall's book is the second in the past two years to use a historical sociological approach to address the change processes affecting this minority population. (The other is Steven Cornell's *The Return of the Native* [1988]). While these books treat different times, locations, and topics, it is noteworthy that two sociologists have recently used similar approaches to examine the complexities of the circumstances affecting Native Americans, a population given relatively little attention by the discipline of sociology as a whole. The quality of work and insights provided by these books should serve to inspire others interested in unraveling the many facets of long-term social change processes.

Revolution at the Grassroots: Community Organizations in the Portuguese Revolution. By Charles Downs. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989. Pp. ii + 215. \$49.50 (cloth); \$16.95 (paper).

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Revolution at the Grassroots is about the struggles of neighborhood organizations in the city of Setubal during the Portuguese Revolution between 1974 and 1976. It provides a rich and detailed account of the

origins, ascendancy, and eventual demise of a popular movement that accompanied struggles over the national state following the overthrow of Europe's oldest authoritarian regime. These events are then evaluated in the light of current controversies as to the origins of urban social movements and their roles in the process of social and political change.

Following a brief introduction to the empirical and theoretical issues at hand, chapters 2 and 3 provide the reader with a short journalistic history of the Portuguese Revolution from the seizure of power by the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) in April 1974 to the military coup that effectively ended the revolution on November 25, 1975. While chapter 2 documents the course of events at the national level, chapter 3 focuses on parallel events in the city of Setubal. Paying particular attention to the internal dynamics and strategy of neighborhood associations, Downs describes how the end of the fascist regime in Setubal was followed by high levels of mass mobilization and by a number of popular victories. Of particular interest in this chapter are the attempts—not entirely successful—by the various neighborhood associations to construct alliances with organized labor in defense of the revolution and the dynamic of the popular movement's relationship with political parties and the state.

Chapter 4 tackles the issue of the origin and political orientation of neighborhood associations in Setubal. The author argues that they were neither spontaneous nor the result of conscious manipulation by external political forces. Looking at the correspondence between macropolitical events and the emergence of social movements in Setubal, Downs concludes that their formation was determined by structural factors: changes in the balance of class power at the national level, the social bases of the movements themselves, and the objective problems that each one faced. He goes on to argue that their structural origin precluded attempts to penetrate and manipulate them except under specific circumstances.

In chapter 5 Downs assesses the effect of the popular movement on the physical, social, political, and cultural infrastructure of the city. Among the victories attributed to the movement are the occupation of vacant housing, reduction in rent payments, the creation of public housing projects, and the provision of such services as day care and social centers. At the political level, he argues that the popular movement brought uninvolved people into the revolutionary process, forced the state to change the ways in which it provided (or failed to provide) services, and created a new model of society based on "popular power."

In the concluding chapter, Downs steps back to evaluate the significance of events in Setubal for other contexts. He concludes that, given the right political conjuncture, social movements will mobilize and have an effect on the balance of class relations in society. They are able to do this through the pursuit of specific objective interests and the construction of a broad-based political movement that goes beyond such specific demands. Finally, while never totally independent from it, social movements are able to transform the logic of state action and create the basis of an

alternative form of direct democracy that can bypass institutional political channels.

Downs's book is a worthwhile investment for anyone interested in the internal dynamics of social movements. And, while many will disagree with his evaluation of the political significance of the popular movement in Portugal, his work sheds light on the possibilities and limitations for popular-based social movements in political transitions, revolutionary or otherwise. It will therefore be of use to those interested in transitions in other contexts, particularly in southern Europe and Latin America.

French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment. By Paul Rabinow. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. Pp. ix + 447. \$35.00.

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French Modern is an impressive book. Rabinow is concerned with nothing less than the making of modernity in France through the implementation of techniques of social control based on the redefinition of the physical and social environment. These 19th- and 20th-century changes resulted in the concretization of Saint-Simon's technocratic dream of shifting from "the government of men to the administration of things." This was accomplished by a revolution in cultural categories and in spatial arrangements, by the development of new social knowledges (statistics, demography, geography, and sociology), and by the implementation of social and moral reforms aimed at soothing working-class discontent.

The book is impressive because Rabinow carefully demonstrates how parallel changes occurred in various spheres of activity, using as an empirical anchoring the work of the progenitors of those changes (architects, urban planners, biologists, statisticians, colonial administrators, sociologists, and so forth). The book is enchanting because the author sets the action in the Paris world fairs of 1867 and 1889 and in 19th-century Madagascar; he tells us exotic stories about the reconstruction of Casablanca and relates the adventures of pathbreaking architects who struggled against classicism. The book is anecdotally interesting because we learn about attempts to control traffic around the Arc de Triomphe and about administrative struggles for the regulation of "W.C." installations in Paris buildings. But the book is also maddening because this proliferation of seductive topics sometimes overwhelms the theoretical yield of the study. I do grant that juggling such an impressive amount of information simultaneously requires considerable dexterity.

The book is framed as an "anthropological study of reason," that is, as a study of changes in fields of knowledge and technologies of pacification. Rabinow identifies two major periods in these changes: the first period, which is called "techno-cosmopolitanism," presents a cultural shift from

