

influences courts' propensity to strike down laws but also affects the deliberation process that might lead courts to assume a more assertive role in safeguarding social and political rights. Perhaps the presence of panel effects, by signaling that judges of one type are able to agree with judges of another type, is indeed a sign of healthy deliberations inside the court and an opportunity for reason to prevail over partisan interests. Tiede's book, in this regard, paves the way for fresh avenues of inquiry, serving as an invitation to remain mindful of the pivotal role played by judges' branch selectors in shaping the outcomes of judicial proceedings.

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Mikaela Luttrell-Rowland, *Political Children: Violence, Labor, and Rights in Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2023. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, 266 pp.; hardcover \$85, paperback and ebook \$28.

*Political Children: Violence, Labor, and Rights in Peru* is Mikaela Luttrell-Rowland's valuable contribution to scholarship on working children, on the one hand, and transforming received wisdom about the state, on the other. She draws on extended ethnographic fieldwork across the sprawl of Lima, the nation's capital and a coastal megacity of more than 10 million, a third of Peru's population.

Two fieldsites each offer different groupings of young people. One is the shantytown of Lomas de Carabayllo in far northern Lima, adjacent to a large landfill and populated by many rural-to-urban migrants. The children in Lomas observe the daily life and challenges of those around them, lamenting environmental degradation, an absence of the state in both infrastructural and personnel commitments, and painful indignities of neighborhood life, like the mysterious poisoning of barking dogs. Many of the children have worked to help support their families, like Clara, whom we meet at age 10½, who is paid to cut glass bottles at the landfill. By contrast, the other fieldsite is an activist organization of young workers called MANTHOC, which has been a part of Peru's labor landscape since the 1970s. MANTHOC members reside all over Peru, although Luttrell-Rowland focuses on those in Lima. But they cohere not as coteridens of a neighborhood but as comrades, as participants in a shared political and ideological project. They work, too, in a range of roles, and through their activism and use of "rights language," they ask for recognition of the contributions they make as workers. The differences in these two populations are illustrative and instructive, and Luttrell-Rowland learns from those differences to great effect as the

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book unfolds. She also maintains that despite those differences, “what connects those young people is their shared experience of disparity and state violence” (17).

All of the real children she speaks and listens to are contrasted with imaginary ones: the symbolic imagery that discursive children offer to politicians who make speeches about vulnerable children in order to justify the various interventions they propose. This is particularly relevant as Peru’s government, in line with international norms and treaties, seeks to curtail child labor even further (159), framing it as a social problem, and as such, as Leigh Campoamor has argued, “depoliticiz[ing] the inequalities within which [particular kids] struggle to survive each day” (2016, 169). Luttrell-Rowland notes that at least since the 1990s, Peru’s government, like many others, has verbally celebrated the rights of children (as one of the early signers of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) while insufficiently battling stark inequalities. History, both relatively recent and quite deep, also permeates Luttrell-Rowland’s analysis: Peru’s signing of that UN convention took place amid the two decades of bitter internal violence between Shining Path and government counterinsurgency forces, and even the violence of the colonial period hundreds of years previously has, Luttrell-Rowland argues, echoes in today’s enduring injustices. When 17-year-old Vanessa comments that “we are very forgotten,” for example, Luttrell-Rowland notes that it is a term with a racialized and colonial history that “implies a sense of neglect” that is relational, personal, and comparative (78).

Though he is not cited, I was reminded of Paul Willis’s classic book *Learning to Labor* (1981[1977]). Willis shows how working-class youth perceive the structural production of injustice and inequality, yet ultimately how they are compelled to participate in it rather than overthrow it. Luttrell-Rowland, too, demonstrates the everyday contradictions of capitalism: how the children who cut glass at the landfill both contribute to their families’ well-being and expose themselves to physical harm (31). “If we burn garbage then we make smoke, right?” asks 9-year-old Ana with great insight about people’s complicity with and participation in the structures that constrain them (38). The chapter on visual political messaging is especially powerful in showing the mechanics of this process: the dynamic relationship between laudatory, optimistic hand-painted slogans and an everyday sense of the state’s material absence informs children’s insights on the gap between possibility and experience (81). Far from fading into the background, these ubiquitous murals and the deferred promises they gesture toward are evidence for “why the young people understand ‘politics’ as largely ideological and absent” (99).


A great strength of Luttrell-Rowland’s approach in both the methodological conduct of this research and in the writing of it is how constructively and ethically she recognizes the humanity of others. This is, first and foremost, true of the children she comes to know. Anyone who does serious research with children must reflect quite deliberately on how to access their unique views of the world, given that they are so often mediated or even undercut by adults. Luttrell-Rowland developed an approach she calls relational listening, which invests time in the research relationships and requires conscious reflexivity on the part of the

ethnographer (8). She quotes lengthy exchanges held with the children, allowing the reader to hear their ways of speaking. She invites them to draw, and to talk about what's outside the margins of their drawings. She also worked closely with a local colleague and research collaborator in Lomas (whom she gives a pseudonym at his request). And with the kids of MANTHOC, she deliberately takes them in the way they ask to be heard: as representatives of a collective and organized social movement and not primarily as children but rather as workers (153). But this reflexivity and relationality also extends to her dialogical relationship with the scholarship she engages with. It is easy to dismiss critically the work of those who have gone before, who wrote in a different time and in response to different imperatives. But Luttrell-Rowland never takes that path. She consistently reads others with generosity and grace, citing an impressively wide range of research and incorporating a significant number of Peruvian and other Spanish-speaking authors into the conversation, and in all this offers a valuable model for how to do scholarship constructively.

The one piece I felt to be missing in the book's analysis was to apply that same reflexivity more consistently to translation. For Spanish-speaking readers, the relative absence of Spanish words leaves some uncertainty about how key terms are being translated. Though in general a translational gloss is appropriate and works well, for central terms some discussion would be welcome, building on an interpretive method that promises it "moves beyond solely content and attends to affect, word choice, and sentiment" (54). One example is to offer clarity on how "politics" was translated—if young people are being "asked about politics" (53) and respond dismissively, knowing what they were asked might have some bearing on the interpretation of their one-word answers. In Spanish, *política* can mean both politics and policy, and the nuance might matter in a situation like this one. Another example is "apology for terrorism," a common phrase and indeed a criminal offense in Peru (64–65). The Spanish word *apología* in this case could be more effectively translated as "defense of" or "justification for," almost the opposite of an apology. (We have the word *apologist* in English for the person who participates in this, but not the word for what they are doing.) "Tenderness" is one last example—clearly central to the political orientation of MANTHOC, the word is an unusual one in English (I had to turn to the bibliography entry for Alejandro Cussiánovich to find the Spanish original: *ternura*). Alternate possibilities for translation—for example, affect, care, "mutuality of being" (Sahlins 2011), or even love—might have opened up interesting routes for theoretical exploration.

This book could be profitably added to the syllabi of courses in Latin American studies, political anthropology, and childhood studies. But where I would most love to see it taught is in a political science course on the state, labor, or activism, or as part of a master's of public policy. Those are the sites where, as Luttrell-Rowland argues, children's perspectives are so seldom considered that this book could be truly revelatory. She shows that political knowledge can contain "longing, hope, contradiction, desire, and even distrust" (55), and that data like children's views on what school means for them are in fact evaluations of the work of the state (59).

The Lomas children understand politics inductively, and the MANTHOC children understand it deductively (182), but all of them are knowledgeable political subjects with much to say about the state, its reach, and its absences.

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Mary Fran T. Malone, Lucía Dammert, and Orlando J. Pérez (2023). *Making Police Reform Matter in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Tables, bibliography, index, 249 pp.; hardcover US\$105.00.

This comprehensive volume provides a much-needed contemporary foundation for understanding police reform in Latin America. Grounded in a structure centered on the dual themes of reform history and public opinion, its seven country case studies together provide a full range of in-depth but clear and applicable analytical points to navigate the complex political and institutional map of Latin American police reform. The authors look at the bundle of reform as they move through time in a “modified path dependency,” showing how specific proposals are added, discarded, and modified along the way as they maneuver around constant obstruction, politization, and change.

To survive, the book shows, these reforms try to hold on to core principles and approaches. The main one is community-oriented policing (COP), which incorporates citizens directly into policing through programs such as neighborhood councils and services for vulnerable social sectors. In the case of Colombia, for example, a history of violence and high-profile scandals helped usher in innovative programs of citizen participation and quadrant-based neighborhood police units. Such citizen-centered policy, the authors correctly stress, is needed to create and maintain the public support and legitimacy on which all reform ultimately depends. “Public trust is essential,” they assert, “for if citizens view the police as corrupt, inefficient, or abusive, they will be reluctant to turn to police for

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