

Empire of Humanity's lucid narrative is the product of years of research and dialogue with the subjects and objects Barnett sets out to examine and critically assess through each of three formative "ages" of humanitarianism: imperial, postcolonial (neo), and liberal. He further interweaves humanitarianism's past and present through an analytical framework, emphasizing how forces associated with destruction, production, and compassion have converged across time to shape and craft the contours of these various ages. The central actors constituting the humanitarian system are distinguished by the range and scope of their operations and the degree to which they embrace or reject the politics of the very empire they have helped create: emergency and alchemical humanitarians. Emergency humanitarians provide life-saving assistance and strive to remain outside politics, while alchemical humanitarians tackle root causes of vulnerability and suffering, and most view engagement with politics as part and parcel of being effective. The difference is not academic—it fundamentally affects individual agencies' perceptions of the humanitarian landscape and visions of their place within it.

Alongside the innovative organizational framing, Barnett retains a keen focus on the highly complex nature of the humanitarian's "lived ethics" (p. 6), particularly in his treatment of the growth of the new moral order from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century development of a doctrine of sympathy and compassion for others, to the Enlightenment belief in improving the human condition, to nineteenth-century Evangelical reformism and the legacies of Henry Dunant. He complements this with sharp analysis of wartime and post-war humanitarianism of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, including the rise of a system of humanitarian governance that includes actors like the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Save the Children, and Médecins sans Frontières. These explorations are complemented by brief but fresh reviews of classic humanitarian crises like Biafra, Cambodia, Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and Kosovo.

Ultimately, *Empire of Humanity* reminds us that while faith in the humanitarian imperative is crucial to realizing moral progress, the power of compassion can result in colossal failings. These failings, however, do not mean that humanitarianism is a hapless enterprise. Rather, they are the turning points that mark incremental advances, reform, and innovation that will enable humanitarian actors to not just *be* good but also to genuinely *do* good.

MELISSA LABONTE
Fordham University

Feminist Policymaking in Chile by Liesl Haas. University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. 216 pp. \$64.95.

Chile provides a puzzle for scholars of public policy. While Chile possesses a number of factors identified as providing a positive political climate for

feminist policymaking (a large women's movement, a supportive center-left government, and strong women's policy machinery) and has passed important legislation improving women's status, Chile has also often lagged behind its neighbors in passing laws designed to foster women's equality (abortion remains illegal, divorce was legalized in 2004, and electoral quotas have been rejected). Liesl Haas thus turns to the Chilean case to examine the factors that either promote or hinder the passage of legislation designed to promote gender equality. Haas argues that to understand the complexity of Chile's mixed record on gender equality legislation, we must pay attention to the dynamic nature of all policymaking, and particularly the role of key actors. On the basis of 10 years of research, Haas convincingly documents the fundamental importance of the role of political learning by key political activists in understanding how, why, and when feminist policymaking succeeds or fails. Through an in-depth case study of the legislative process around the attempts to reform the laws governing domestic violence, abortion, and divorce, Haas shows how feminist activists both inside and outside of the state learned to navigate the complex interactions of actors, ideas, and institutions within a context of democratization and consolidation.

One of the most valuable contributions of Haas's book is this focus on the critical role that political learning plays in the process of policymaking. Haas's work is a bracing corrective for a tendency to treat political institutions and the opportunity structures that they produce as static and removed from a larger, more-dynamic political context. Haas's work convincingly shows how feminist actors located in the executive branch, in the Congress, and in civil society progressively learned to overcome obstacles and create new institutional possibilities in order to promote their legislative goals. Drawing on extensive interviews with many of the most-important feminist activists in all three arenas, Haas reveals how feminist activists learned from early failures and setbacks and how this learning process helped to ensure the later passage of a number of pieces of controversial legislation, including the strengthening of the laws against domestic violence and the legalization of divorce in 2004. Haas also traces the importance of the evolving relationships between feminist activists embedded in different networks to explain policy success and failure. For example, in the case study on domestic violence, she shows how feelings of betrayal and distrust between civil society feminist activists, feminist legislators, and feminist bureaucrats generated by modifications made by the National Women's Service to the 1994 Intrafamily Violence Law complicated the ability of feminists in different institutional locations to provide a united front on other controversial issues. Recognizing the costs of this disunity, feminist activists worked hard to repair their networks, and more-consistent cooperation has progressively improved their success in passing other policy reforms around violence against women (pp. 110–118). Haas's three case studies underline the importance to successful policy reform of building and maintaining effective policy networks across state bureaucrats, legislators, and civil society actors.

Haas's empirically rich work provides a nuanced understanding of Chilean political processes. More broadly, Haas convincingly shows that analysis of policymaking must pay attention to how political actors learn from policy successes and failure and how these lessons become embedded within the overall process. Her engaging analysis is a must-read for scholars working on public policy and would work well in classes on women in politics, gender and politics, comparative public policy, and comparative politics.

GWYNN THOMAS
University at Buffalo, SUNY

Immigration and Citizenship in Japan by Erin Aeran Chung. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010. 224 pp. \$75.00.

This book will become a classic on the politics of citizenship in Japan. It is a meticulous study that demonstrates how Korean residents whose families immigrated before the end of World War II have negotiated citizenship in Japan, especially at the local level. Erin Aeran Chung reaches the paradoxical conclusion that their decision *not* to take Japanese nationality has been a strategic choice to achieve visible citizenship. The author further traces how Koreans' movements have had a profound impact on other foreign residents in Japan.

Chung asks why, despite four generations of living in Japan, these Korean residents continue to resist naturalization as a path to political incorporation. The restrictiveness of Japan's naturalization policies and Korean nationalism, she maintains, do not adequately explain this. Instead, the answer lies with strategic choices made by leaders of the Korean community to pursue many of the same rights enjoyed by Japanese nationals. Korean residents have used their foreign-resident status as leverage to achieve political visibility while promoting their social movements, especially at the local level.

Korean residents' pursuit of full membership in Japanese society has changed over time. In the 1950s and 1960s, major organizations that represented Koreans in Japan discouraged naturalization and assimilation. After a treaty between Japan and South Korea in 1965 enabled South Koreans to obtain permanent-resident status, a second generation of Koreans brought about a "full-fledged noncitizen civil rights movement" during the 1970s and 1980s focused on acquiring broader rights (p. 96). Using tactics of litigation, lobbying, and protest, they won greater access to social welfare protections, first locally and then nationally; entry to public jobs in many communities; and protections against social discrimination. A national movement to remove the fingerprinting requirement for permanent residents ultimately succeeded in 1993. By the 1990s, local and national movements had shifted their attention to political inclusion. By focusing on local voting rights and other forms of including foreign residents in local decision making, Korean groups used "their foreign citizenship status as a tool to gain political visibility in