

In chapter 10, Jose Miguel Vivanco and Daniel Wilkinson analyse human rights in the Americas from the perspective of the human rights movement. In a context characterised as a reversal, mainly after 9/11, they review the region's various human rights problems, such as public safety, performance of law and order institutions, and poverty. They conclude that all these challenges must have an impact on the human rights movement's agenda.

Chapter 11, by Nicholas Turner and Vesselin Popovski, serves as a conclusion. The authors identify some of the new features of human rights in a region with a recent past marked by massive human rights violations. Inter alia, they call attention to the weak state as one of the factors that explain new types of violations, deficiencies in the justice system that lead to an overload of the Inter-American system, and the political difficulty for democratic governments of conducting reforms in a context where claims for law and order, primarily public security, are central to the political agenda. At the movement level, they highlight that after achieving success in terms of civil rights it seems important that the human rights movement becomes involved in establishing effective economic, social and cultural rights in the region. In short, what seems clear is that in Latin America the problem is not the legal consensus, but a consensus over state action.

This work has undeniable strengths but some weaknesses too, probably derived from the polyphony of academic, political and activist voices involved. Among these weaknesses one might highlight two: the absence of explicit author approaches and debates that contribute to the work, and the lack of explanation for the choice of case studies, which leaves the reader unclear as to why some countries and not others deserve our attention.

Without doubt this book is an interesting reference material for researchers, officials and activists who want an overview of the institutions and actors involved in national and international human rights regimes in the Americas.

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Eduardo Silva, *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. xviii + 318, \$85.00, \$26.99 pb; £50.00, £16.99 pb.

Eduardo Silva's *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America* seeks to explain how and why opposition to market-oriented policies gradually emerged in the region. It argues that the initial opposition to these reforms, which came mostly from traditional labour unions, was relatively weak and ineffectual. Beginning in the 1990s, however, a variety of social movements, including neighbourhood groups and organisations of indigenous people, pensioners and the unemployed, joined forces with new labour movements and political parties to present a much stronger and more effective resistance to neoliberalism. These movements were not successful everywhere, but in some countries they managed to stem and even reverse the tide of neoliberal reform.

Silva argues that the rise of powerful opposition movements was a response to the social, economic and political exclusion that accompanied efforts to create what Karl Polanyi referred to as a market society. According to Silva (p. 3), neoliberal policies

'subordinated politics and social welfare to the needs of an economy built on the logic of free-market economics'. Neoliberalism thus provided the *motivation* for the waves of contention, but four other factors gave the opposition movements the *capacity* to resist neoliberal policies successfully. First, the return to democracy in the region supplied opposition movements with the requisite political-associational space to organise protests. Second, poor economic performance in some Latin American countries undermined support for market-oriented policies and weakened their proponents. Third, the opposition movements successfully framed their cause in an inclusive manner and connected local grievances to neoliberal policies. Finally, the anti-neoliberal coalitions, with only a few exceptions, eschewed radicalism and violence, seeking instead to build broad and diverse coalitions.

Silva explores these arguments by carrying out detailed case studies of six countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Peru and Chile. In the first three countries, strong and wide-ranging anti-neoliberal coalitions emerged, and these managed to resist some neoliberal reforms. Resistance to market-oriented reforms in these countries also helped propel new leaders to power who would dismantle many of these policies. Strong resistance to neoliberal policies also emerged in Venezuela, but this took a violent path at times, as exemplified by Hugo Chávez's 1992 coup attempt. Partly as a result, no broad-based anti-neoliberal coalition emerged in Venezuela, although Chávez nevertheless succeeded in taking power and bringing an end to that country's neoliberal experiment. In Peru, meanwhile, no significant anti-neoliberal social movement arose, in large part because Sendero Luminoso's guerrilla war and Alberto Fujimori's authoritarian policies severely restricted political-associational space. Similarly, in Chile an absence of political-associational space impeded anti-neoliberal mobilisation during the regime of Augusto Pinochet. According to Silva, no major anti-neoliberal movement emerged after the return to democracy in Chile largely because the ruling centre-left coalition took important steps to reform the neoliberal model and reduce poverty and social exclusion.

Silva's book has numerous strengths. It is hard not to be impressed with the empirical sweep of *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*, which examines protests in six countries over three decades. Silva identifies the commonalities in seemingly disparate protests and effectively explains why major protest movements emerged in some countries and not others. The case studies are thorough and well executed, and they largely support the author's arguments. Perhaps the most significant theoretical contribution of the book is the analysis of the framing and alliance strategies of the protest movements. Silva demonstrates persuasively how the movements built broad coalitions by attributing a host of societal ills to neoliberal policies and by appealing to the common interests of diverse organisations through a combination of universalistic and nationalist appeals.

Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America is not without shortcomings, however. To begin with, the central theoretical argument is somewhat diffuse. Silva attributes the success of the anti-neoliberal movements to a host of different variables, but he does not provide a clear explanation of which variables mattered most. Instead, he suggests that all of the variables were necessary factors without which the movements would not have succeeded. This is almost certainly an overstatement, however – indeed, the book shows that significant anti-neoliberal movements emerged in Chile in the early 1980s, even though little political-associational space existed there at the time. Protests have also emerged where neoliberal policies were performing relatively well, such as in Venezuela during the early 1990s.

The book also focuses excessively on the negative impact of market-oriented policies and ignores the benefits of some of these reforms. The most important benefit provided by these policies was that they helped various countries, including Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Peru, to conquer hyperinflation, which made them quite popular in these countries for a while. Ecuador and Venezuela, by contrast, never suffered from hyperinflation, which explains why market-oriented policies met more resistance in these two countries and were never implemented in a thorough and sustained manner. Throughout Latin America, trade liberalisation also brought important benefits, including access to foreign markets and inexpensive consumer products. This explains in part why the leftist governments that took power after 1998 have maintained open trade regimes as well as anti-inflationary policies for the most part. Silva is correct that certain market-oriented policies, such as privatisation, became quite unpopular beginning in the late 1990s, but he is too quick to paint all neoliberal policies with the same broad brush.

These shortcomings detract only modestly from what is otherwise an important and impressive book. *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America* is essential reading for anyone interested in market reform in Latin America, and it will be the main reference point for scholars seeking to understand anti-neoliberal protests in the region.

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Paul Dosh, *Demanding the Land: Urban Popular Movements in Peru and Ecuador, 1990–2005* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010), pp. xviii + 262, \$75.95; £67.95, £24.95 pb.

In *Demanding the Land*, Paul Dosh provides a detailed account of the land invasions in Quito and Lima that began in the 1990s, following their trajectories up until 2005. Land invasions as a form of urban popular movement have received relatively little attention since the heyday of academic interest in the 1970s and 1980s. This book is a welcome reminder that the lack of adequate housing and service provision are still important humanitarian and political issues in Latin American cities. In the contemporary period, changes in economy and administration complicate the living arrangements of the poor as restrictions on the urban land market are reduced, opening it up to commercial development; as utilities such as electricity are privatised; and as decentralisation empowers local government, but usually without adequate financial resources to meet demand.

It is against this background that Dosh traces over time the organisational characteristics of ten invasion communities and the strategies of their leaders, comparing three cases of invasions in Quito and seven in Lima. He divides the organisation types historically by the dates of their establishment, labelling their leadership 'Old Guard' and 'Next Generation'. Among the more recently established he makes a further distinction, based on strategy, to create a third category of 'Innovators'. The differences in context between Quito and Lima are nicely brought out, ranging from the relative ease with which public land can be invaded in Lima compared with Quito and the stronger tradition of democratic local politics in Lima to the climatic differences that require more durable building materials in Quito. The author points out that Lima's invasion rates are double or triple those of Quito.