(p. 249), while also recognising the crucial need for favourable national policy and legal frameworks to promote the development of local governance and environmental citizenship. In Chapter 10, David Barkin and Blanca Lemus also investigate the centrality of local solutions for gaining environmental justice. They underline the fact that local projects have been key to integrating old knowledge with new technology and note that these local initiatives have presented ‘an audacious challenge to the prevailing model of governance … and its marriage with the free market’ (p. 270). The final chapter in Part III, by Walter and Leire Urkidi, reviews local responses to large-scale mining and emphasises the hybrid nature of environmental governance in Latin America, described as an ‘institutional bricolage’ (p. 288). Consultations are very much a part of this bricolage. They are an often ‘innovative form of protest that aims to foster participation’ (p. 314) and challenge ‘official decision-making institutions’ (p. 320) but, nonetheless, these must interface with government institutions in order to achieve legitimacy.

The volume is brought to a close with an afterword from Eduardo Silva, who considers the volume ‘a milestone in the political ecology of environmental governance in Latin America’ (p. 326): it is difficult to argue with such an assessment. At the same time, while the content does portray a significant shift in thinking, the structure of the volume is less satisfactory. There is no clear rationale for dividing the book into three parts, nor for how the parts and the chapters within them relate to each other. This was especially problematic in Part I, which purported to set out general debates in the field of environmental governance, yet included an in-depth case study on Mexico. It was also unclear how poverty alleviation through sustainable development was a particularly ‘new’ project, since permutations of such discussions have been abundant within the literature on Latin America for decades. This confusion might have been avoided by providing a short introduction at the beginning of each section and is to some extent mitigated by Eduardo Silva’s afterword, which does a fine job of drawing out the central lessons and most enduring tensions that emerge from the volume.

Nevertheless, an effective overview and analysis of the key debates is provided, with the inclusion of information on the most recent political happenings. Newer political projects at national state level were interestingly placed in the historical trajectory of environmental governance on the continent, and inter- and intra-national power struggles were clearly conveyed. This volume is an essential read for all those interested in the tensions and obstacles that lie before a socially and ecologically just environmental governance in Latin America. It has been very well received and used by students at the University College London Institute of the Americas, not least because it has been made open access: a further achievement on which the editors and the publisher should be congratulated.

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JASKIRAN CHOHAN AND GRAHAM WOODGATE


Barry Cannon is widely known in Ireland because of his scholarly work and public statements on Bolivarian Venezuela. But in this book he has shifted his focus from chavistas and the Latin American ‘pink tide’ more generally to the Left’s fierce
opponents. His starting point is that that ‘pink tide’ did not turn into a tsunami and that ‘a large part of the region remains under Right or Right-leaning rule, or at least heavily influenced by neoliberal orthodoxy’ (p. 2). How did that happen? How did the Right resist the Left-inspired push of the last 15 years?

This book reflects an outstanding effort to build a multinational, cross-disciplinary and empirically-based explanation of a perennial Latin American paradox: landowners, businessmen and other capitalists have long held economic and social power, but right-wing parties have traditionally shown electoral weakness and ideological insecurity. Cannon critiques traditional political science for its narrow perspective on the Latin American Right, which has led to the perception that right-wing parties do not satisfy theoretical expectations. The novel approach of this book is how the author connects the study of Latin American right-wing actors with the study of elite power, a topic well-rooted in sociological tradition. As Cannon shows, right-wing politics can be better understood when placed in the specific context of elite political and economic practices. Skilfully employing Michael Mann’s *The Sources of Social Power* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), Cannon shows that the socioeconomic elite possess different kind of resources that inhibit radical changes and even symbolical threats to its reproduction across time and the space. Military, ideological, economic and political clusters are widely available for the elites. But Cannon includes a fifth dimension of elite’s power: the transnational arena, which is a key factor for a region highly dependent on foreign investments and loans. In this account, ‘it is not Rightist political parties which predominate, but rather the paramount expressions of economic (business group), ideological (church, media, think tanks) and military power’ (p. 16).

Chapter 3 highlights the rightist discourses in four countries. Through 63 interviews, Cannon convincingly shows that the pink tide opponents share an ideological neoliberal core in Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Venezuela. The author suggests strongly that ‘the emphasis on personal responsibility and effort, the lack of trust in the state, and the unwillingness to accept state action to redress inequalities all are indicative of Right-wing attitudes and infused with neoliberalism’ (p. 30). The following chapter concentrates on what the author calls ‘Right-oriented state/society complexes’, that is to say, the intricate and apparently solid ideological and economic neoliberal arrangement that reproduces local elites’ interests. Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Peru and the Central American nations have been subject to long-lasting neoliberal regimes with low levels of state control, open trade regimes, concentrated media ownership and military participation within Pentagon-controlled anti-drug war alliances. In these countries, ruling neoliberal elites have built well-fortified positions across the five power clusters, which allow them to resist counter-hegemonic threats to that dominance and reduce the effectiveness and depth of inequity-reducing policies.

The fifth chapter analyses the Left-inspired threats to the neoliberal, Washington-supported economic order. Cannon offers a map of the identified (or possible) threats in the realms of the economy, ideology, international relations, armed forces and, obviously, national politics. Using the previously mentioned five clusters and indicators, the author measures the retrenchment of neoliberal rules under Left-inspired governments. He identifies three levels of threat to neoliberal hegemony in the region, from medium to high (Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and Argentina), low to medium (Brazil, Uruguay, Nicaragua and El Salvador) and non-existent to low (Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica).
The final chapter shows the full-scale right-wing repertoire to contest Left-inspired public policy and political proposals. Cannon identifies three kinds of strategies displayed by the elites: within the legal frame (such as elections), mobilisation practices (such as demonstrations and street politics, media campaign, economic destabilisation) and illegal or extra-constitutional activities (such as the coup d’état in Honduras in 2009 or recent paramilitary actions in Venezuela). The book supports the idea that the higher the level of threat to neoliberal elites, the more likely the use of diverse strategies to remove or reverse the threat; this menu of resources ‘can be activated depending on the strategic circumstances’ (p. 117).

The Right in Latin America is an excellent book not just for its deft combining of sociological elite power theory and studies on right-wing parties but also for the impressive amount of data collected from numerous interviews in four countries, from press and think tank documents, and from statistical sources. Cannon opined two years ago that ‘The Right is experiencing its most concerted challenge from the Left since the armed insurgences of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and up until the end of the Central American revolutions in the 1980s’ (p. 102). Things seem to have changed incredibly rapidly since then. Macri’s electoral victory in 2015, Dilma Rousseff’s impeachment in 2016 and the very conflictive year that Venezuela is currently experiencing suggest that the pink tide has already ebb.

Ernesto Bohoslavsky


This book represents an ambitious attempt to tackle a long-standing puzzle: what stopped Peru from joining the ‘Left turn’ in recent Latin American history? Unlike most of its neighbours, and despite conditions in common (weak institutions, access to natural resource rents) that have been singled out as explanations for the rise of leftist governments in the region, the neoliberal reforms adopted in the early 1990s have remained largely in place in Peru. Building on classic theories of political power and influence (Dahl, Lukes, Gramsci, Wright Mills), John Crabtree and Francisco Durand provide a comprehensive explanation of Peru’s recent political history based on the power of elites and the weakness of civil society.

The authors lay the blame on ‘political capture’, defined early in the introduction as the way ‘powerful elites are able to use overwhelming political muscle to protect and project their economic interests’ (p. 1). As in a zero-sum game, it is suggested that the gains of the elite come at the expense of the rest of the population, and are facilitated by the weakness of civil society. To illustrate the lack of response from societal actors to elite dominance, they borrow Cotler’s metaphor of a ‘triangle without a base’, whereby individuals in the base of the society are unable to articulate or aggregate their preferences and interests. This asymmetrical relationship between elites and masses has not only persisted and reinforced itself since the independence but has also widened since the adoption of neoliberal reforms in the 1990s.

After the introductory chapter, the authors locate their argument in the theoretical debates surrounding the notion of political capture and some of its mechanisms, in both developed and developing countries, such as ‘revolving doors’ or ‘agenda