

personalization of political relationships with the emergence of "political operators." Tracing the stock of legacies, Rossi explains and shows how the left in Argentina experienced a trauma with state repression and eliminated insurrections and coups from their repertoire of strategies, learning to value democracy with all its limitations. He explains how the *piquetero* organizations perceived the national pueblada during December 2001 as a pre-coup scenario and strategically opted to demobilize to avoid the risk of a coup. This is highly relevant to understand important contemporary events in Latin American politics, where the limits between legality and legitimacy in regime changes have been blurred and have been the object of intense discursive as well as political struggles. Last but not least, the excellent articulation between theory and data is a rare achievement, and the analytic narrative style is enjoyable if also demanding to the attentive reader.

This is an impressive book that will appeal to scholars interested in great political transformations in Latin America and wherever else socioeconomic and political exclusion might generate movements and struggles for rights and citizenship.

Space Invaders: Radical Geographies of Protest, by **Paul Routledge.** London: Pluto Press, 2017. 182 pp. \$27.00 paper. ISBN: 9780745336244.

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Space Invaders: Radical Geographies of Protest is an examination of how the strategies of activists and social movements depend on, and are affected by, spatial considerations. The author, Paul Routledge, is a self-identified "radical geographer" and activist. He draws on this identity to bridge the divide between practical activism and the academic study of social movements. Indeed, one of the strengths of the book results from Routledge's use of numerous examples from his adventures as an activist, such as his

involvement with the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA) through his affinity group "Glasgow Kiss" during the 2005 G8 Summit in the United Kingdom. In general, the book benefits substantially from the thoughtful discussion of a wide range of examples of activism from across the globe, such as the Zapatistas in Mexico, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) in Nepal, the Stop the Ayr Road Route (STARR) Alliance in Scotland, and the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) in the United States. These examples help to make the book widely accessible and of interest to a broad audience.

The book is organized around the discussion of six activist strategies that may have a significant spatial component to them: (1) Know Your Place, (2) Make Some Space, (3) Stay Mobile, (4) Wage Wars of Words, (5) Extend Your Reach, and (6) Feel Out of Place. This review briefly discusses three of these strategies and then concludes with a more general evaluation of the book.

Make Some Space is a strategy in which protesters attempt to transform the meaning of a place in order to upend the power structure opposing a social movement. A typical way to do so is to select a place that already has a meaning that is closely associated with powerholders and then seek to co-opt it for the movement's goals. An archetypal example of this strategy in action was the occupation of Zuccotti Park by the Occupy movement. Zuccotti Park is located in the midst of New York City's financial district, not far from Wall Street. In the Fall of 2011, protesters established an encampment in the park, claiming to symbolically "occupy" Wall Street. They used this action to bring attention to legal abuses and excesses by Wall Street, the need for greater financial regulation, and growing economic inequality in the United States, among other issues. The movement emphasized prefigurative politics, which is the notion that a movement should embody the politics that it promotes for the world. For example, Occupy embodied horizontal politics by stressing citizen participation and consensus decisionmaking in all its gatherings.

Routledge notes that Occupy encampments diffused rapidly to major cities around the globe and were successful in directing public attention toward the movement's issues. He also observes ways in which Occupy fell short of its potential. First, Occupy allowed prefigurative politics to be a higher priority for the movement than its substantive policy goals, thus missing an opportunity to prompt significant changes in financial regulations, for example. Second, Occupy created a politics that fetishized occupied spaces rather than leveraging their symbolism to push for other movement goals. For these reasons, Occupy serves to exemplify both the potential strengths and weaknesses of the Make Some Space strategy.

Stay Mobile is a strategy in which protesters are constantly occupying and abandoning spaces in order to project their messages to the public while avoiding control by powerholders. Routledge calls these processes of territorialization and deterritorialization. For example, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in the United States adopted this approach by using an event at a shopping mall to distract the police from their separate effort to effect a blockade of roads leading to a nearby airport. BLM activists knew that neither action could be sustained for long when confronted by police. Nonetheless, the action at the shopping mall drew police away from the space where they could control the road blockade. This example illustrates how the flexibility of activists with space may give them temporary advantages over powerholders.

Extend Your Reach is a strategy in which activists use local spaces in order to forge networks at local, national, or international levels. For example, activists may create "convergence spaces" at international protest events in order to facilitate meetings by participating activists. These spaces enable activists to share their values and visions of a new world while finding ways to collaborate on their ideas with fellow travelers. Similarly, conferences are a way to bring together people working on similar local efforts in different places. The World Social Forum, which has been held regularly since 2001, is the most prominent event of this type. While Routledge points to the networking benefits of these events, he also notes that sustaining the networking resulting from

these events may be difficult to achieve, especially due to resource differences across regions.

Having considered three of the six spatial dynamics discussed in *Space Invaders*, this review now turns to a more general discussion of the work. Overall, the book is well written in a way that is informative to activists and scholars. It would serve as a valuable text in courses on activism, social movements, and global politics. At the same time, some topics received less attention than might have been expected.

Routledge does mention the internet and its role in activism. For example, he discusses how "hacktivists" exploited advances in mobile phone technology to raise their concerns about climate change during the Conference of the Parties (COP 21) in Paris in 2015. However, the spatial transformations brought about by the internet and advancing digital technologies have had a broader impact than is suggested by the examples given by Routledge. The internet and digital technologies have fundamentally altered the ways that activists relate to one another across space by lowering communication costs, shortening planning windows, and making it easier to maintain distant relationships. As a result, changes have occurred in where activist events take place—for example, through the increasing occurrence of multi-city activist events. Movements such as the Women's March have been more readily transnationalized than had been the case in the past. Space Invaders would have been stronger had it given greater consideration to these developments.

Routledge focuses on the benefits that social movements obtain from relying on spatial strategies. He does give some attention to the failures of spatial strategies, as is already mentioned above. Nonetheless, the limitations of spatial strategies could have been addressed in a systematic, rather than anecdotal, fashion. Are activists systematically disadvantaged by their residential patterns? Does the hub-and-spoke organization of public transportation systems—designed to transport people to work—divert activist potential away from outlying areas? Have increases in online networking hindered activists from building trust during

interpersonal interactions? These and other questions suggest that there may be more to the spatial-communication dynamic than is examined in *Space Invaders*.

Despite the concerns raised in this review, *Space Invaders* provides a useful overview of the ways that geography and space are relevant to social movements and activism. It is likely to provoke many valuable intellectual exchanges between geographers and sociologists. Indeed, interest in this topic is only likely to grow in the years to come.

Pentecostalism and Politics of Conversion in India, by Sarbeswar Sahoo. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 205 pp. \$99.99 cloth. ISBN: 9781108416122.

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Sarbeswar Sahoo's Pentecostalism and Politics of Conversion in India is a well-researched exposition on the divide between religion as a medium of social meanings and relations and the often unscrupulous political conflicts over religious terrain. The book is particularly relevant in a time of rampant politicization of religion in India, if not across the world. It is a study of "competing projects," as spiritled Pentecostal Christianity and nationalist Hindu groups jostle with one another for conversion and "re-conversion" of the Bhil tribes of central India. Perhaps the story is centuries old, as Christian missionaries aiming to spread the Gospel and save the heathens are met by a variety of local resistances. However, there is a different character as Pentecostals fight to save the last soul before the Messiah may return and because of the unique qualities that have made charismatic Christianity so popular among the deprived and downtrodden across the world. The plot thickens when one adds the opposition: a militant, state-supported Hinduism committed to protecting its "turf" and ideologically moored to Indian nationhood. Sahoo's book is a story of the twists and turns as these forces jostle for the souls (and the votes!) of the Bhils, one of India's poorest, largely disenfranchised social groups.

The reasons for the popularity of Pentecostalism among the Bhils, Sahoo shows, are similar to the factors that have made it the rage across the global South: poverty, unemployment, health afflictions, and related psychological and social stress reflected in male alcoholism and chronic marital strain. In the lack of modern education and institutional redressal, magical thinking prevails whereby almost every misfortune—death, sickness, loss of livestock, familial strife—is blamed on evil spirits. The recourse is shamanic rituals requiring the sacrifice of a goat, sheep, chicken, or the like and monetary and material gifts to the shaman (bhopa). The insatiable demands of the bhopas and the expensive and ineffective rituals often leave people very frustrated in their miserable situation but unable to directly question the bhopa for fear of retribution from his spirit world. In these circumstances, the Pentecostal church is a godsend.

The church asks for faith in Jesus and works miracles for the sick and dying with the aid of modern medicines. It asks them to do away with idol worship and the corruptions of the bhopa and his spirit world with no fear of reprisal, since they are under the protection of the Holy Spirit and Jesus. To the people's surprise, the medical and spiritual help of the priest and the Spirit come for free, quite in contrast with the parasitic ripping off by the bhopa. Furthermore, the church is strict and expects from believers sincere work, good hygiene, clean clothing, and regular prayers, and it disapproves of wasteful expenses and alcoholism. This rigorous expectation that people must change their ways is particularly popular among women, as they are able to bring moral and social pressure on men to stop drinking. Very often, these behavioral reforms lead to a significant change in the well-being of the family. Furthermore, the free English education provided by the Church and the humane and respectful behavior of the priests is a far cry from the tribe's ostracized status and much-stereotyped treatment by mainstream Hinduism as well as government institutions. Formal Christianization and re-naming, however, come with the risk of losing affirmative action benefits in government jobs and programs, for which the authorities