

teacher autonomy and accountability into alignment. However, teachers in the Guild's very first authorized school—the Art and Science Academy—sought to unionize amidst allegations of mismanagement, an inequitable pay scale, and a general lack of transparency in decision making. Making matters worse, fiscal pressures induced the Guild to add and maintain poorly performing schools to its portfolio. Once again, teachers in charter schools, even that were those authorized by a teachers' union, had grievances similar to teachers in more traditional public schools.

The third, longest segment of *A Collective Pursuit* deals with the work of “traditional” teachers' unions in Minnesota. While Lavery spoke with teachers in suburban and rural districts for these chapters, her work on the revitalization of the St. Paul Federation of Teachers stands out. A core of dedicated St. Paul activists worked toward “bargaining for the common good” (p. 99-100). This was not merely framing, to use a term from the social movements lexicon, but constituted a set of concrete demands informed by a renewed commitment to serving the communities whose children teachers see in the classroom each day. In practice, this meant exposing the funding structure of the state's public education system and teaching community members about it in an effort to confront the myth that there wasn't enough money to fund public education. It also meant engaging with union members about persistent racism and unconscious bias.

A Collective Pursuit is not meant to be a rigorous test of a hypothesis drawn from social scientific theory. The segment dealing with charter school unionization uses a small-N method “better suited to description than generalization” (p. 75) and, while the book clearly deals with social movements, it does not do so through an engagement with social movement theory. Instead, the purpose of this book is to push against the current of today's education reform movement. It demonstrates that charter schools do not automatically extract professional interests from teachers, that public school funding is not as scarce as many citizens are given reason to believe, and that, above all, teachers as an occupational group have distinct professional interests that are difficult to advance without collective action. While teachers' unions may be interest groups, that label runs the risk of obscuring more than it reveals. Unions have, in the past, hurt themselves by assuming a too sharp distinction between themselves and the communities their members serve. This book uses activism by teachers, some in charter schools and some in traditional public schools, to show how responsibility for schooling Minnesotans is attributed and apportioned among different actors. Its demonstration of the ways that teachers have sought to

improve their working conditions—their students' learning conditions, as they rightfully insist—eloquently illustrates the author's central message about education: it is a collective pursuit.

Rebecca Tarlau. *Occupying Schools, Occupying Land: How the Landless Workers Movement Transformed Brazilian Education*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2019. \$58.00 (hardcover).

John Thomas III
University of Chicago

In her extensive work, *Occupying Schools, Occupying Land: How the Landless Workers Movement Transformed Brazilian Education*, Rebecca Tarlau challenges the reader to rethink the consequences of social movements engaging with state actors through an analysis of the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, the Brazilian Landless Workers Movement (MST). Since its 1984 founding, the MST has worked for land and agrarian reform, as well as social transformation. Its influence in Brazil and Latin America is undeniable, and the MST has become one of the region's most consequential (and studied) social movements. Tarlau's work, however, gives us new purchase on understanding the impact of the MST by unpacking one of its specific goals: influencing public education. The book seeks to explain how the MST promoted alternative practices in educational policy within the state apparatus. Styled as a political ethnography, *Occupying Schools, Occupying Land* utilizes a rich trove of data gathered from interviews, observations, and primary and secondary documents gathered in twenty months of fieldwork between 2009 and 2015 to weave together the book's narrative.

The book advances three clear arguments. First, social movements can increase their internal capacity through the strategic engagement of formal institutions. Second, while participating in formal institutions can help develop a social movement's internal capacity, activists must remain mobilized and utilize tactics of disruption and institutional pressure. Tarlau names this strategy “contentious co-governance” (p. 5), using the co-governance concept elaborated by Sonia Alvarez. Third, social movements can participate in the contentious co-governance of state institutions in various political and economic environments irrespective of the government's ideology. Tarlau states that the success of the MST's contentious co-governance depends on the strength of the social movement infrastructure and the state's capacity for educational governance. She shows that political ideo-

logy alone did not determine the outcomes of MST's public education agenda.

After the introduction, the book is organized into six main chapters, a conclusion, and an epilogue. The first chapter deals with the history of the MST's educational project and lays the groundwork for its importance to their overall goals. Chapters 2 and 3 are case studies of the MST's involvement with two federal programs, the National Program for Education in Areas of Agrarian Reform (PRONERA) and Educação do Campo (Education of the Countryside). The second half of the book outlines regional case studies involving three state educational systems (Rio Grande do Sul, Ceará, and São Paulo) and two municipal systems (Santa Maria da Boa Vista and Água Preta) across Brazil. The degree and complexity of variation in the case studies assist the author in advancing the argument and showcasing the need to add temporal and geographic dimensions to studies of social movements. In the conclusion, Tarlau builds upon her arguments by adumbrating six points: (1) transforming state institutions is an iterative process of experimentation and learning; (2) strategic allies and multiple access points are essential; (3) bureaucratic institutions vary widely in their capacity and autonomy (4) movement outcomes vary across region and across time; (5) the most critical factor influencing outcomes is a movement's own internal dynamics; and (6) trade-offs do exist when activists engage state institutions. The epilogue is a poignant analysis of ideologically left-wing social movements in Brazil after the 2018 election of Jair Bolsonaro.

Tarlau's work makes both substantial empirical and theoretical contributions. This comprehensive and granular MST study across periods, yet focused on a specific policy, yields important insights into the group's decision-making process and tactics. Even though it is not a full history of the MST, the work provides tantalizing details through its nuanced approach. The author's frequent use of the first person is a refreshing perspective and helps the reader appreciate the narrative's fluidity. Tarlau squarely situates this work in the social movement literature and chiefly engages with the literature on activism and state impacts. *Occupying Schools, Occupying Land* successfully challenges Piven and Cloward's ideas about the dilatory consequences of activists engaging the state. Tarlau challenges readers to complicate their understanding of state and social crusade interactions, both temporally and geographically. She also repeatedly engages with work on formal institutions and regional Black and women's movements, repositioning the narrative of social movement institutionalization.

Because Tarlau seeks to complicate our understanding of formal institutions, the treatment of the Brazilian state is confusing as different levels are analyzed. Specifically, in the case studies, she

justifies giving equal weight to the two municipal cases, which appear as idealized types. Because Brazil is a federal system, treating state and local cases as equivalent may not be entirely appropriate, as there are different opportunities for interaction and pressure at distinct levels. Also, the generalizability of the ideal types to other movements could have been further explored in the conclusion to extend the theoretical intervention of this work. Nonetheless, Tarlau presents a persuasive case for the arguments and gives readers of *Occupying Schools, Occupying Land* a deeper and more nuanced understanding of how social movements can successfully engage states without sacrificing their mobilization potential or suffering co-optation.

Eleonora Pasotti. *Resisting Redevelopment: Protest in Aspiring Global Cities*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2020. \$99.99 (hardcover), \$39.99 (paper).

Anna Zhelnina
University of Helsinki, Finland

Urban movements are one of the most popular forms of mobilization around the world; even in politically apathetic or repressed societies, people resist undesirable developments in their living environments. In recent years, scholars in both urban studies and social movement research have pointed out the lack of communication between the two domains. In *Resisting Redevelopment: Protest in Aspiring Global Cities*, Eleonora Pasotti attempts to link them.

The book relies on the qualitative comparative analysis of an impressive empirical database of 29 cases in 10 cities from across the globe: Buenos Aires, Hamburg, Istanbul, Los Angeles, Madrid, Melbourne, Santiago, Seoul, Tel Aviv, and Toronto. With this ambitious empirical scope, Pasotti seeks to answer two fundamental questions of social movement research: why do people mobilize, and when do social movements succeed?

All ten of these cities aspire to global status. Governments introduce various policies to transform their cities into internationally attractive business hubs, and thus maximize their economic profits—a process widely documented in urban studies scholarship. Pasotti explains that cities “in the developmental states” tried to eliminate informal settlements, and “in more advanced economies a key dynamic was the deep erosion of public-sector housing through lack of maintenance and the privatization not only of the existing stock but also of public housing agencies” (p. 85). In both scenarios, the policies led to a loss of “home” in the targeted territories: “material” physical displace-