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for selected economic sectors. There is really no substantive area of the commercial aspects of the accord that is not discussed here.

Overall, the shortcomings of the main theoretical framework detract from the wealth of material presented in the substantive chapters. The book is missing a separate conclusions chapter that would resolve this conflict. The conclusions to the individual chapters on the NAFTA provisions are uneven here as well, with the IPR chapter voting for neofunctionalist spillover and the other chapters ending with a claim for evidence of the intergovernmental approach. The authors never really answer the question of why integration in North America has stalled, and avoid asking the obvious question of whether further integration is even necessary if dual bilateral relations suffice for North American cooperation. As the book assumes without directly stating, surely these have been easier to negotiate.

However, because of its ambitious aim to provide a comprehensive picture of the important features of NAFTA, this book is still an excellent source for any scholar needing a descriptive primer on North American integration. Readers will benefit as well from an extra bonus: four full compendiums of cases and resolutions in the appendixes, around chapter 11, 19, and 20 dispute resolution, IPR cases, and cases filed at both side accords. These appendixes provide a big-picture view of dispute resolution across NAFTA, and are especially helpful for understanding the dynamics of conflict among the three countries.

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Ursula Durand Ochoa, *The Political Empowerment of the Cocaleros of Bolivia and Peru*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Figures, tables, index, 248 pp.; hardcover $105, ebook.

This book seeks to explain why coca producers (*cocaleros*) in Bolivia and Peru have differed so sharply in their ability to gain political empowerment. In both cases, *cocaleros* formed a social movement in response to the criminalization of the millenarian coca leaf. They did so against all odds. In Bolivia, they then created a political party, the MAS (Movement Toward Socialism), through which they participated in elections and ultimately brought its leader, Evo Morales, to the country's presidency. In Peru, *cocaleros* did not experience such a transition, and their impact on national politics has been more modest.

The author phrases the question in terms of their "differing abilities … to gain political empowerment" (2, 184) and approaches the analysis from the perspective of contentious politics, in the fashion of McAdam et al. (2001). She argues that two of the most influential theoretical literatures in social movement theory—resource mobilization, which privileges the strategic component of collective action, and the new social movement approach, which privileges identity formation over strategy—are by themselves insufficient to explain diverging outcomes in Bolivia and Peru. Peru's *cocaleros* have not attained much political traction because they have failed to develop a political identity that transcends the

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image of illegality, which, in turn, has kept them from pursuing better political-electoral strategies.

The book develops a rich comparative historical analysis, tracing the fates of the two movements of *cocaleros*. Although it is not carefully spelled out in the methodological section (23–24), the research is based on a wealth of qualitative data collected through primary fieldwork in Bolivia and Peru, which included both interviews with key political actors and archival research. In the eyes of this reviewer, the methodological approach is sound; comparative historical work, as this book helps to exemplify, is a particularly strong tool for studying power relationships among collective actors and structural constraints on their choices. The arguments and evidence about the mechanisms shaping the identity formation process are generally convincing, but at times this reviewer had difficulties discerning which of them really carries the bulk of the causal weight. Whether collective identities provide the key to the explanation of different levels of political empowerment is a bit more problematic. Before elaborating this point, I shall describe the logic of the argument and its theoretical implications.

The argument is complex and dynamic. It is divided into two parts, which align with what the author dubs phases in the evolution of the *cocalero* movements. The first part explains "the emergence and consolidation of the *cocalero* social movements, which entails a transition from illegitimate actors to social actors" (185). The criminalization of coca is at the very beginning of the causal chain; it provides the main grievance, the common cause unifying producers of legal and illegal coca, which would shape the relationships between *cocaleros* and the state. On the basis of careful archival and interview research, the author documents how a number of differences in the political opportunity structures and threats interact with structural preconditions to then shape identity formation mechanisms. Such mechanisms include category formation (e.g., invention, encounter, borrowing), object shift, certification, and brokerage.

Similar mechanisms are present in both cases, but they lead to diverging outcomes. In Bolivia, they enabled the formation of two political identities, *cocalero* and "syndicalist," which, in turn, helped produce a strong and united social movement. In Peru, similar mechanisms contributed to the formation of a primary identity of *cocalero* and a secondary identity of "illegitimate," which, in turn, led to the development of a weak social movement. This illegitimate identity was imposed on *cocaleros* because of the association between coca and illegality. According to the author, while the Bolivians expanded their potential for alliance building with popular sector organizations through their identity work, the Peruvians could not avoid their association with the illicit drug trade, and thus remained unable to generate connections to other movements that could serve as allies and a resource base. The key contextual condition inhibiting this outcome, as the author notes, is the operation of Shining Path, which, by penetrating coca-growing areas, not only closed political associational space but also contributed to the general perception of *cocaleros* as illegitimate actors.

Despite these challenges, Peru's *cocaleros* entered into the political power game; taking advantage of shifting political opportunities, they organized a national-level

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mass mobilization, the 2003 March of Sacrifice, and brought issues to the agenda in the aftermath of the Fujimori (1990–2000) regime.

In the second part of the argument, the author explains the transition of Bolivia's *cocaleros* into a political party and the failure of the Peruvians to do so. Their starting points are sharply different. At the beginning of the causal chain, the Bolivian movement was already better organized and had more members; it had much stronger horizontal and vertical connections to other popular sector organizations with national reach, including urban labor and peasant confederations; and, most important to the author, it had developed collective identities that enhanced its potential for alliance building with organized social sectors. In addition to having fewer organizational, or tangible, resources, *cocaleros* in Peru carried a heavy burden—their imposed identity of "illegitimate." Their inability to transcend this identity in a context of widening opportunities meant that they were unable to build alliances and to expand their appeal and make their struggle palatable to mainstream society. According to Durand Ochoa, one broad mechanism, the radicalization of the social movement in the aftermath of the March of Sacrifice, is largely responsible for that result and the splintering of the movement. By contrast, Bolivia's *cocaleros* developed an identity of the "excluded," which helped foster unity and build alliances and coalitions. This was enabled by the political opportunity structure, which *cocaleros* used remarkably aptly to their advantage.

The author's argument is interesting for its theoretical implications. Social movements organized around the defense of "a good of questionable legitimacy" (19), like the coca leaf, can enhance their collective power—their capacity to establish connections and coordinate action—by linking their struggle to broader societal concerns. With proper identity work, or what other authors in social movement theory may simply call issue framing, claim makers with initially low levels of legitimacy can broker broad-based alliances and link previously unconnected groups. In the process, they can broaden their political purpose and eventually become more successful in the pursuit of their goals.

The book's principal claims, however, seem to place too much emphasis on the idea that unlike the Bolivian *cocalero* movement, the Peruvian made the wrong strategic choices. While developing collective identities with broad societal appeal could have enhanced their ability to establish coalitions and alliances, the translation of identities into electoral support and overall empowerment is far from automatic. Led by the *cocaleros*, the Bolivian MAS gained national relevance and broad electoral support only by tapping into the organizational networks of existing groups. It did this through a mix of programmatic linkages and more "routine" territorial strategies that, particularly in urban areas, included infiltration of base and umbrella organizations, co-optation of their leadership, and clientelist exchanges.

Access to patronage resources was crucial to expand territorially, and so was the availability of a dense civil society. More attention to the deep differences in civil society density, to the nature of the electoral system, and to the intensity of the existing cleavages and divisions in both countries would have highlighted the greater obstacles faced by the Peruvians. In this sense, at the end of the day, the book does

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not fully resolve the question of structure versus identity, and one is left wondering which of them really matters. More often than not, movements face obstacles not of their own choosing that limit their long-term impact, whether they build unifying identities or not.

In addition, while many contextual differences and their consequences are thoroughly analyzed in the book, a central issue appears to be insufficiently treated: the role of charismatic leadership. Nelson Palomino, one of Peru's most prominent coca leaders and a key instigator of the 2003 March of Sacrifice, never had the leadership skill of Evo Morales, and he was a decidedly polarizing figure, as the book documents (65–68). With notable exceptions (e.g., Ganz 2009), contemporary social movement and political science scholarship tends to eschew the role and organizational abilities of leaders from the center of analysis, but in the eyes of this reviewer, this might come at a high cost. In contexts of weak parties and candidate-centered politics, popular leadership is a central power resource. Without a popular and skillful leader who serves as the "glue" and arbiter between disparate interests, organizations, and social groups, it is unlikely that social movements or protest organizations will gain traction and empowerment.

Despite these criticisms, Durand Ochoa's book achieves what good books do. It answers some important questions and raises many more. The deep examination of two fascinating cases and the clear writing style make this book an important contribution and a valuable classroom tool. Contentious politics attracts the attention of undergraduate and graduate students on most campuses, but admittedly, significant portions of the literature are devoted to their failures to induce social, cultural, and political change. With this book, Durand Ochoa offers a fresh reminder that while there are usually many obstacles to contentious action, careful identity work can help produce both tangible and intangible gains.

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