

had argued in the theoretical chapter. Viacha is a case where the LPP seems to have gradually produced good governance by transforming civil society, rather than a case where distinctive solid civil society drove the LPP into good governance.

My third concern results from the tension between a society/economy-driven theory and an empirical institutional-driven approach that reappears in the book's conclusions. Through the preceding chapters, the author has mainly argued that the success of decentralisation lies in contextual conditions rather than in the reform itself. Yet, suddenly, causality seems to reverse in the conclusions: 'In Bolivia decentralization turned passive residents into engaged citizens ...' (p. 279); 'Decentralization led to major changes ...' (p. 281); 'The local dynamics that it [decentralization] set into motion proved virtuous, not only permitting good cases of local governance to improve but spurring distorted cases to heal themselves' (p. 284). At this point the reader wonders where the explanation lies: is it in the peculiar Bolivian social conditions or in the virtuous formal reform that Sánchez de Lozada launched in 1994? The tension becomes clear when the author summarises the positive institutional aspects of the LPP that might be 'replicated elsewhere'. As a result, readers closing the book wonder how the particularistic comparative politics argument turned into a universalistic public policy approach.

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Ursula Durand Ochoa, *The Political Empowerment of the Cocaleros of Bolivia and Peru* (New York, and Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. xv + 230, £62.50, hb.

Among the major coca-growing Andean states, and across Latin America more generally, Bolivia is increasingly recognised for its role in the hemisphere's burgeoning 'New Left'. Less widely recognised is that Bolivia's *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) government has deep roots in coca-growers' defence of their land and coca crops, a movement that gained much initial momentum through contesting the violent militarisation of the Chapare coca-growing region as part of the 'war on drugs'. If Bolivian coca growers were able to counter constructions of themselves as criminals, and leverage their collective identity as 'cocaleros' (peasant coca producers) towards formal national political ends, why has Peru's cocalero movement achieved only minimal political gains? This is an underlying question in Durand Ochoa's book, which considers how and why cocalero movements in Peru and Bolivia differed, and also how cocaleros leveraged their positions as social actors into roles in formal state politics. *The Political Empowerment of the Cocaleros of Bolivia and Peru* appears as a timely contribution to contemporary scholarly debates surrounding the insensitivities and unintended consequences of supply-side drug control policies, and also the mutually constitutive relationship between movements and governments in the region.

The book is organised into seven chapters. In Chapter 1 Durand Ochoa emphasises her interest in the role of identity formation in the 'contentious politics' of cocalero movements through two phases: the formation of social movements, followed by their transformation. She proposes to explain the political empowerment of cocaleros as a question of contentious politics, and uses an analytical framework primarily developed

by political scientists and sociologists (in particular by scholars Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly). Readers will note that this is a central focus of Durand Ochoa's overall project, and sceptics of the framework may object to the author's application of its categories to complex movements that arguably exceed explanation in terms of contention. For example, cocalero mobilisations are seen as expressions of a contentious social movement only when they become 'legitimate', in other words, unified and/or institutionalised. But even scholars unfamiliar with or unsympathetic to the approach will find value in Durand Ochoa's evaluation of the two cases, which productively leans on the scholarship of other experts, as well as information gathered through the author's 31 interviews in Peru and Bolivia with prominent figures in government, academia, NGOs, and cocalero movements.

Chapter 2 discusses antecedents for contemporary coca governance practices, reminding readers that coca control efforts date back to at least the Inca Empire. It becomes clear that the distinctive historical geographies of Bolivia and Peru significantly shape contemporary coca control efforts. Coca control regimes shifted during colonialism, and again with the discovery of cocaine and its criminalisation, differing across the region to result in unevenness in coca governance in the contemporary period. For example, Durand Ochoa shows that Bolivia's cocalero-led government's oppositional attitude towards coca control has deep roots, with the state and mainstream society largely defending traditional coca uses before US intervention really took hold in the 1980s. This stands in contrast to Peru, where ethnocentric elites have long associated coca use with indigenous peoples' supposed inferiority. One of the strengths of this book is the author's ability to bring together elements of such rich pasts into compelling and vital stories.

Chapters 3 and 4 specifically address the 'first phase' of interest to Durand Ochoa, the formation of social movements. In Chapter 3, she argues that the 2003 March of Sacrifice in Peru marked the birth of a (weak) cocalero social movement, wherein movement actors consolidated their collective identity as 'cocaleros' and worked to reject their purported 'illegitimacy'. In Chapter 4, on Bolivia, Durand Ochoa argues that the 1988 establishment of a coordinating council of the Six Federations of the Chapare coca-growing region marked the inauguration of a (strong) cocalero social movement which productively channelled political action around the political identities of both 'cocaleros' and 'syndicalists'. Chapters 5 and 6 take each country in turn to investigate the 'second phase' of interest in this book, the transformation of social movements. Durand Ochoa argues that, in Peru, transformation involved the division of the cocalero social movement and reification of the 'illegitimate' identity, but also the transformation of some cocaleros into political actors as they earned positions in the state. In Bolivia, on the other hand, the cocalero social movement is seen to have successfully marshalled the widely attractive identity of the 'excluded' to transition into a political instrument that now dominates institutional politics. The concluding chapter summarises the book's main arguments and ends with some reflections primarily of interest to scholars of contentious politics.

Durand Ochoa successfully demonstrates the value of comparison. While chapters are organised in such a way as to allow readers interested primarily in Bolivia or Peru to focus on one case or the other, valuable insights are generated from the juxtaposition. Despite its virtues, however, the book will leave some readers unsatisfied. 'Politics' is treated as if it is basically equivalent to institutional politics, and social movements are only defined as such when they are unified and recognised by the state. Durand Ochoa overwrites more dispersed and contingent agitation through a focus on key figures and

leaders more easily intelligible in terms of politics as government. Finally, given the author's obvious knowledge of both contexts and their histories, it is problematic that she labels the Chapare (Bolivia) cocaleros 'illegal' when in fact today many are registered with the state and now considered 'legal'. The problem of determining which categories count and how is under-interrogated.

Notwithstanding some shortcomings, there is much of value here. This book will be of particular interest to students of the relationship between coca movements and the state in Bolivia and Peru, the powerful role of identity formation in the outcomes of contentious action, and the unintended consequences of drug war geopolitics.

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Kwame Dixon and John Burdick (eds.) *Comparative Perspectives on Afro-Latin America* (Cambridge, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. xxi + 331, £55.00, £19.99 pb; \$90.00, \$29.99 pb.

What does black identity look like in Latin America? What strategies are being employed to carve out spaces for cultural and political expression and affirmation? *Comparative Perspectives on Afro-Latin America* examines these and other questions concerning black identities, primarily in the contemporary period. In particular, the anthology grapples with how the multicultural turn of the 1990s and 2000s ushered in national policies to address racism, identity and citizenship for Afro-Latin Americans. The 15 essays are well researched and persuasive, at times challenging scholars within the collection and occasionally incorporating nineteenth-century roots of inequality into the analysis. In three thematic sections, the work first sheds light on degrees of invisibility experienced by people of African descent, then analyses their continuing efforts to challenge regional forms of discrimination. It concludes with an assessment of state responses to Afro-Latin demands.

Part One describes the configuration of Afro-Latin American identity through the intersections of ethnicity, culture and politics. Patricia de Santana Pinho's essay illuminates how the current 'reinvention of Bantu culture', reveals the vacillating competition and alliance with other Brazilian manifestations of Africanness (p. 22). Situating artistic expressions at the centre of blackness, Heidi Feldman argues that the Afro-Peruvian music and dance revival of the 1950s and 1960s produced the first major successes in twentieth-century black political resistance, which ushered in additional strategies that challenged Peru's dominant creole national identity. In contrast, Sujatha Fernandes notes how the emergence of gangsta rap in Venezuela sidestepped calls of racial injustice, instead focusing on economic marginalisation as a means to unite a 'racially diverse urban poor' and foster new modes of belonging (p. 6). Angela Castañeda highlights the commodification of blackness in Mexico through state-sponsored cultural festivals, particularly the 1994 initiation of the Afro-Caribbean Festival and its evolution, critiqued for being simultaneously sanitised and exotic. Nonetheless, these celebrations created a space for greater public discourse and consumption of the legacy of Africans in Mexico.

Part One concludes with Patricia Morán's analysis of how the paintings of Victor Patricio de Landaluz depicted black invisibility in late nineteenth-century Cuba. Although she does not explicitly reference black political volatility in the preceding decades, ranging from the Escalera Conspiracy (1843–4) to the Ten Years' War