

political economy will find that it broadens their temporal and theoretical perspective on the issue of natural resource–led growth. Saylor’s book, we can hope, will provoke more study on the origins of state strength and a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between natural resources and political institutions in developing countries. It may also have policy implications, as developing countries consider the conditions under which natural resource booms might contribute to state capacity rather than detract from it.

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Imtiaz Hussain and Roberto Domínguez, *North American Regionalism and Global Spread*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Acronyms, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index, 251 pp.; hardcover \$105, ebook.

In the 1990s, as NAFTA was negotiated, and through the early years of its implementation, Canada, the United States, and Mexico faced incentives for deep integration, but regional integration in North America today falls short in most areas (5). The authors of this eight-chapter volume thus begin this ambitious book by identifying an important puzzle: while neofunctionalist features of regional integration have multiplied over 20 years, North America is no more integrated today than in the early 1990s (27), and still characterized by dual bilateral relationships (10). Hussain and Domínguez evaluate why through descriptive accounts of seven areas of the NAFTA accord, including trade, foreign direct investment, dispute resolution, the protection of intellectual property rights, and formal institutions, as well as the panels for environmental and labor issues. While the evidence draws on the full 20 years of NAFTA, it is also timely, discussing the effects of the economic downturn of 2008 as a barrier to regional economic interdependence where necessary.

To this reader, the work is handicapped by fitting the puzzle into a theoretical framework that is never clearly presented. The authors frame paths of integration by simply creating a dichotomy between neofunctionalism and interdependence (7). These concepts differ chiefly on the extent to which governments cede policymaking to supranational institutions. Where interdependence assumes that states respond to their own interests and therefore strive to maintain state control over policy decisions, neofunctionalism assumes that as interactions between states become more complex, a rationale for further integration will emerge and eventually become codified in supranational institutions.

However, instead of presenting a clear and comprehensive explanation of either concept, fragments of the theoretical framework are peppered throughout the constituent chapters. For example, a definition of neofunctionalism, its components, and expectations on what spillover might look like in areas of North American integration is hidden in the conclusion of chapter 6, on the environmental side agreement (111). It is chapter 3, on FDI, that provides the most direct evaluation of spillover for the North American context. Other chapters refer to the overall framework but do little to help understand North American integration in terms of either pathway.

Overall, the adoption of the neofunctionalist-interdependence framework to explain North American integration comes off as an ad hoc addition to the book, almost added at the end to extend the analytical content. Though the chapters provide a wealth of information about these areas of NAFTA and descriptions of their content, they do little to establish state interests in either retaining policy control (as in the interdependence framework) or in shaping a regional regime (as in the neofunctionalist interpretation). Even so, this book does not need to force its analytical weight on the reader: the extensive descriptive accounts of North American trilateral cooperation in general, and the contours of NAFTA's content in particular, are the real value here.

In discussing the evolution of NAFTA over time, the authors inadvertently provide answers to another, different question, which they allude to in the title but do not specifically pose: how do regional agreements like NAFTA fit into existing multilateral global governance regimes?

Here is where this book excels, showing where each of the NAFTA provisions complements—or reaches beyond—multilateral trade regimes. In doing so, the book gives readers detailed insight on how new regional accords might fit into and overlap with multilateral accords, or even other regional agreements. Chapter 5, on the protection of intellectual property (IPR), provides a worthwhile example. In 1994, Mexico was new to the emerging movement to include IPR protection in trading principles. Negotiators sought a NAFTA chapter that would both bring Mexico up to speed with international IPR norms then in place and extend stronger protections through the NAFTA accord. The result, the authors contend, is that today Mexico is a developing country that is inserted into the IPR global framework much like a more developed country. That is, NAFTA adopted global standards in this area and extended them, showing that even smaller regional accords can move beyond multilateral governance. To the extent that new RTAs are created at a rapid pace and alternative mega-accords like the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership are moving forward, NAFTA makes for an early, illustrative example.

In addition, each chapter provides an extensive overview of NAFTA's provisions and content over its lifetime, which is rather technical in some chapters (such as those on dispute resolution and IPR) but remarkably detailed throughout. Chapter 8's contribution on the construction of trinational institutions does not just include a full review of formal intergovernmental channels of cooperation in trilateral and bilateral forums, but gives equal treatment to transnational relations among nongovernmental organizations, including business groups, unions, sectoral organizations, social movements, and citizens' organizations.

Chapter 4, which covers the three arenas for commercial and investment disputes, is equally extensive. The text discusses the creation of new institutions to hear and adjudicate cases and summarizes the cases filed and their outcomes, with special consideration for the Anti-Dumping/Countervailing Duty and softwood lumber disputes. The content of NAFTA trade rules is discussed in full in chapter 2, as is the evolution of the trade partnership for each bilateral relation, both in general and

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 Cocalers 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