

Book Reviews

Rock, Michael T. 2002. *Pollution Control in East Asia: Lessons from Newly Industrializing Economies*. Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future.

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East Asian economic success stories—Japan, the “four tigers” (South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan), and most recently China—have brought world attention to the region. However, economic success has also brought pollution. East Asia is one of the world’s regional-scale pollution hot spots. East Asian pollution affects local, regional, and global environments. It is critical, therefore, to understand the sources of pollution in East Asia and the efforts to control them. Michael Rock’s short (about 200 pages) book opens a window onto one understudied dimension of East Asian pollution—industrial pollution management in East Asia’s newly industrializing economies (NIEs). The book offers case studies of industrial pollution management in six East Asian NIEs—China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, and Thailand.

Rock not only draws lessons from his case studies, but also, to his credit, aims to balance the highly negative image of pollution in East Asia with “success stories.” He documents positive and innovative experiences, such as Taiwan’s Flying Eagle Project in which helicopters were used to respond to citizen complaints about factory emissions, Indonesia’s Proper Prokasih program in which a simple color-coded rating system for BOD (biological oxygen demand) of emissions to rivers was used in conjunction with public disclosure to push voluntary cleanup of Indonesia’s rivers, and China’s Urban Environmental Quality Examination System (UEQES) index in which a public rating of cities’ overall environmental quality has encouraged competition among local officials to clean up their cities.

Rock’s central questions are: Why did the six NIEs originally choose different industrial pollution management strategies, and how and why have these strategies changed over time (between roughly 1970 and 2000). To answer these questions, he constructs a picture based on the meager literature on the six NIEs’ environmental regulatory agencies, a few empirical studies on their industrial pollution management practices, and his own in-depth interviews and analysis of pollution statistics. In addition, he employs Stephen Haggard’s theoretical framework (used to explain economic development, and outlined in *Pathways from the Periphery*, University of Cornell Press, 1990) to structure his analysis. Of

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Haggard's four factors shaping development trajectories (international market and political pressure, nature of domestic politics, structure and institutions of the state, and development and spread of ideas), Rock concludes that differences in domestic politics and state capacity are the central factors determining industrial pollution policy.

Using his scheme, Rock admirably explains the wide variation in his six cases. He firmly puts to rest any misconceptions about a uniform approach to industrial pollution control in East Asia. Singapore, for example, adopted a top-down approach. The government (i.e., Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew) essentially mandated in 1972 a strong but flexible agency, the Ministry of Environment (ENV), to help him create a "clean" industrial-world oasis in Southeast Asia. In contrast, Taiwan's approach evolved more or less bottom up. Increasing democratization and public protest spurred creation of the Taiwan Environmental Protection Administration (TEPA) in 1987.

In the final chapter, Rock compares the six cases and draws four general lessons for reducing industrial pollution, directing his message to other East Asian countries and to the developing world in general. To successfully regulate industrial pollution, according to Rock, countries should: 1) ensure openness to trade, investment, and new ideas, 2) establish tough, competent, pragmatic, and fair command-and-control environmental agencies, 3) maintain "embedded autonomy" for these agencies (i.e., make them independent of pressure groups, such as business, but at the same time require them to institutionalize channels of communication with the pressure groups), and 4) harness public pressure to strengthen regulation.

The book provides a road for us to travel in understanding East Asian industrial pollution control; however, it is a gravel, not a paved, road. There are serious flaws and gaps in the book. First, it is not clear why the author left out South Korea even though in the second sentence of the book he categorizes South Korea as one of the East Asian NIEs. There is frequent comparison to South Korea, but no strong justification for leaving it out of his analysis. In addition, there is little attempt to situate the six case studies in a broad East Asian, or global, context. The book hardly mentions Japan, and gives little indication of how East Asian industrial pollution management fits into a global picture of such management. Such perspective would have greatly enhanced the book's value.

Numerous editing oversights make the road bumpy. The presentation of the six case studies is not consistent. For instance, the introduction to each country varies greatly. Some countries, such as Taiwan, are given a full and logically ordered introduction; others, such as China, are highly fragmented. To make matters worse, many terms are not adequately explained. For example, the New Order government in Indonesia is not explained; neither is the Taiwan's Executive Yuan. Also, the same information is often needlessly repeated. For instance, a statement of the elevation of China's old environment agency to ministerial rank in 1998 (NEPA to SEPA) is unnecessarily repeated only a few pages

apart. Finally, there is no table of acronyms, even though acronyms permeate the book.

Pollution Control in East Asia is a worthwhile contribution to our understanding of East Asian environmental practices. It is not, however, as one reviewer enthused on the back cover, "a magnificent study." It is a rough-cut path, a work-in-progress, to be further expanded by Rock and others.

Steinberg, Paul F. 2001. *Environmental Leadership in Developing Countries: Transnational Relations and Biodiversity Policy in Costa Rica and Bolivia*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

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This volume is the most recent addition to a series on comparative environmental policy edited by Kamieniecki and Kraft. Since policy decisions made in developing countries are likely to have great impact on the future state of the global environment, this book represents a significant contribution to better understanding of how and why such decisions are made. It argues that while we should not necessarily be sanguine about environmental protection in developing countries, we need not be pessimistic either. While focusing upon case studies of Costa Rica and Bolivia, Steinberg also develops a framework of analysis which could be applied on a broader, comparative basis to other developing states.

A "spheres of influence" model is introduced in the first chapter. The interaction of both international and domestic spheres is seen as providing the resources and dynamics which affect environmental policy decisions. The international sphere encompasses science and technology, financing, and policy ideas and norms, while the domestic sphere includes a variety of political and social resources and the policy culture indigenous to each society. Key to understanding the policy outcomes of these interactions is the role of what Steinberg defines as "bilateral activists." These are actors who are comfortable operating simultaneously in both spheres and who can use their knowledge of global ideas and resources as well as their knowledge of and access to domestic decision making to attempt to advance environmental awareness and protection. Steinberg invites others to test this model of analysis by application to other case studies. Acceptance of this challenge could lead to major advances in comparative policy analysis and public policy theory.

Much prior literature has questioned the ability and will of poor, developing countries to give priority to environmental concerns and exercise leadership in ecological protection. Chapter two challenges such assumptions. Based upon polling data, public opinion about the environment in both poor and rich countries is seen as not significantly different. Environmentalism is not something that has been forced upon unwilling actors in developing countries. As a consequence, Steinberg questions whether financial inducements are always