

rights and indigenous peoples norms that have played such a key role in the process he describes and analyzes? The implication seems to be that these are so obvious that they do not need to be defined. It seems, however, that norms related to dams do not really come into sharp focus until the creation of the World Commission on Dams in 1997. Norms associated with indigenous peoples are even more problematic, as many governments of the Third World have rejected the concept of indigenous people as a category. Moreover, as numerous studies and reports make clear, the government of India has not displayed much sensitivity for its indigenous peoples or much concern for human rights in other environmentally sensitive areas such as forest practices. Is it really the case that such norm-based activism was effective in stopping dam construction or is this, at least in part, a *post-hoc ergo propter hoc* analysis? Answering these two questions would add further weight to an argument that, generally speaking, is well-constructed and compelling.

In Chapter 5, Khagram bolsters his position by briefly examining four cases that reflect somewhat different political contexts and that have outcomes congruent with his argument. In the cases of Indonesia and China, social mobilization was difficult under authoritarian governments, whereas it was far more successful in democratic Brazil and quite successful in democratizing South Africa. He concludes his study in Chapter 6 with some more general observations about the linkages among grassroots activists, transnational movements, global norms, and democracy. An important issue raised here concerns the creation of the World Commission on Dams, a partnership between the World Bank and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) which was designed in some measure as a response to transnational opposition to big dam projects.

Overall, *Dams and Development* is a well-written study of what is indeed a "puzzling trend." Well-suited to undergraduate and graduate teaching, it will be of great interest to anyone interested in global environmental politics.

Cashore, Benjamin, Graeme Auld, and Deanna Newsom. 2004. *Governing through Markets: Forest Certification and Non-State Authority*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.

Reviewed by Kate O'Neill
University of California, Berkeley

Governing Through Markets, the winner of the 2005 Harold and Margaret E. Sprout Prize awarded by the Environmental Studies Section of the International Studies Association, is a rich and detailed treatment of an important new topic in the study of international environmental politics: the emergence of private, or "non-state" authority in global governance. From certification of commodities such as forest products, coffee beans and fish through the ISO14000 standards, to emissions trading schemes to combat greenhouse gas emissions, such efforts on the part of industry organizations and civil society actors such as

NGOs are on the rise. In part, and particularly in the forestry sector where efforts to shape an international convention have failed, this trend responds to widespread disillusionment about the ability of traditional inter-governmental efforts to address global environmental change. *Governing Through Markets*, by breaking new theoretical and empirical ground in this important new debate, will be of great interest to scholars, students, and practitioners in the fields of international and comparative environmental politics alike.

From a theoretical perspective, the rise of non-state governance mechanisms in international politics has itself raised some interesting questions. These concern the role (and possible decline) of the state, and the rise of non-state actors in the international system, and the possible diffusion of authority and legitimacy in global governance. This volume is an important, and much needed, contribution to this debate, which, along with a few other recently published works, will define the contours of research and teaching in this field for some time to come.

The book makes three key contributions. First, the authors have developed a rigorous set of hypotheses through which to examine the adoption of a particular set of forest certification initiatives across countries. Second, they test these hypotheses in five comparative cases. Third, they operationalize some concepts in this field of study which have often been given only glancing treatment in other works, and are not afraid to tackle thorny questions, such as the nature of legitimacy and authority, in the evolution of forest certification systems.

The authors identify the following puzzle: “why is it that forest companies and forest landowners in some countries and regions altered their support for forest certification programs to include the environmental group-conceived FSC [Forest Stewardship Council], while in other regions, forest companies and forest landowners have remained steadfast in their support of industry or landowner programs” (p. 7)? Specifically, why have forest companies been receptive to the FSC certification program in British Columbia, the United Kingdom and Sweden, while their counterparts in Germany and the US have rejected the FSC standards in favor of other programs?

The FSC forest certification standards have proven controversial in the arena of forest politics and management. They command strong support from the environmental community, as they require forests to be certified across a twelve-point set of standards which include ecological management, protection of old-growth forests, and participation of forest dwelling communities. They are also reasonably well-known among consumers, the ultimate target of certification schemes. These standards are also quite costly to implement, however (thus making it harder for small forest companies to be certified), and, in the eyes of some members of the industry, involve ceding a good deal of control to “environmental” interests. FSC is not the only choice that forest companies have. In particular, the industry-developed PEFC (formerly the Pan-European Forest Certification Program, now the Program for the Endorsement of Forest

Certification schemes) has emerged as FSC's main competitor in the international arena.

The theoretical framework developed in *Governing Through Markets* is rich and complex. The authors examine a range of structural (e.g. export dependence and the structure of the forestry sector) and strategic (e.g. choices made by the FSC and its supporters) variables to determine why FSC standards have acquired more legitimacy in the forestry sector in some countries compared with others. They find that factors such as export dependence and a forestry sector dominated by a few large firms facilitate adoption of FSC standards. Several factors, such as the role of competing certification programs, and the attitudes of forest owners to particular demands of such programs, help explain exceptions to their initial hypotheses. Finally, the authors identify important interaction effects: most critically, they discuss how the FSC might conform its standards to local industry expectations in order to acquire greater legitimacy. Another general finding worth highlighting here is the continued importance of national political and institutional contexts in determining environmental outcomes.

The detailed, qualitative empirical research presented in each of the 5 cases is based on a large number of in-country interviews as well as primary documents and secondary accounts. People working in this field should also pay close attention to the authors' careful discussion, and operationalization of two notoriously slippery concepts: legitimacy (in its different forms) and the concept of "non-state market authority" itself. Of course, this book raises many questions for further research. To what extent are schemes such as those developed by the FSC and PEFC actually helping to achieve and extend sustainable forest management over the longer term? The answer to this question, as data emerges, will be critical in determining the ultimate viability and legitimacy of non-state governance mechanisms. In addition, all five of the cases are in developed countries; to what extent do these findings extend to the uptake of forest certification schemes in developing countries? (A project to examine this question is apparently underway.) *Governing Through Markets* is a must read for anyone interested in the emergence of non-state authority in the international system, or in the nuts and bolts of forest certification politics. The book is an exemplary model of interdisciplinary, collaborative research among authors of different professional and disciplinary backgrounds.

Fisher, Dana R. 2004. *National Governance and the Global Climate Change Regime*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Reviewed by William C.G. Burns
Monterey Institute of International Studies

In *National Governance and the Global Climate Change Regime*, Dana R. Fisher embarks on the ambitious task of explaining the basis of "different national responses to the potential global governance of climate change" (p. 2), with a fo-