

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-

cus on the responses of Japan, Netherlands, and the United States to the Kyoto Protocol of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Fisher concurs with a large number of legal and international relations scholars in recent years that “the national level is the base of global environmental policy making” (p. 4). Most scholars, however, have failed to adequately probe the array of interactions among domestic actors that ultimately determine national responses to global environmental regimes such as the Kyoto Protocol.

Fisher proposes a broader orientation, utilizing a concept she terms “the global environmental system (GES)” (p. 15). The GES encompasses “the mediation of interrelated domestic actors,” the interaction of states with other states and international organizations, and each state’s history and global political, economic, and environmental characteristics (p. 16).

On the basis of a quantitative analysis to assess the impact of several indicators on carbon dioxide, Fisher concludes that, contrary to the expectations of environmental sociologists, economic indicators, such as gross domestic product do not have significant effects on CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Rather, nearly three quarters of the variance across industrialized nations in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per capita are attributable to policy choices. Fisher’s focus for the remainder of the book is on the influence of four independent variables (the state, the market, civil society, and science) on climate policy decision making in the United States, Japan and the Netherlands. Information on these factors was primarily obtained through extensive interviews of key players in each respective state.

Japan’s decision to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, and its efforts to implement its emissions reduction mandates through mechanisms such as a new energy policy and greenhouse gas inventories reflect these factors. The Japanese state is strong because of the almost uninterrupted governance by the Liberal Democratic Party over the past 50 years (which Fisher attributes primarily to a strong cultural commitment to social harmony) and has made a commitment to supporting Kyoto. Japan accepts climate change science as reflected in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports. Finally, there is a close and collaborative relationship between the state and industry. While Japan’s climate change regime fairly closely conforms to the tenets of ecological modernization, defined by Fisher as the theory that the quality of the environment can and will be improved through industrialization (p. 13), it differs in one significant aspect from how that is expected to happen: civil society is not building substantial coalitions with the state and industrial sectors to address this issue.

The Netherlands also ratified the Protocol and developed plans to meet state commitments. The state’s climate plan includes an array of measures, including reporting requirements, a household fuel tax, and a commitment to renewable energy. Though industry has reservations about the validity of the science of climate change, it has ceased expressing such sentiments publicly, consistent with the Dutch *polder model* for negotiation and policy making, which emphasizes collaboration and negotiation. Industry instead is seeking to identify economic opportunities in climate change mitigation. While the

climate change policy of the Netherlands closely reflects the ecological modernization model, the outcomes it predicts have yet to happen. Greenhouse gas emissions continue to rise in the Netherlands, supporting the idea that while “ecological modernization and postmaterialism are possible, they have not yet substantially affected actual materials environmental outcomes” (p. 102).

Finally, Fisher examines the “debate and discord” within the United States, including the Bush administration’s rejection of the Kyoto Protocol. The United States dependence on the automobile, “one of the best predictors of carbon dioxide emissions in the developed world” (p. 114), and the prominence of coal (for which there is an abundant indigenous supply and a large constituency) in the US fuel mix, have exerted a profound impact on policy. Many industries that might be adversely affected by climate change have effectively mobilized against the Kyoto Protocol and substantial resistance to Kyoto both in Congress and the Executive Branch scuppered ratification. A high level of skepticism about climate change science, fueled largely by industry-funded non-profit organizations has muddled the debate, including for the general public. There has also been a tepid response to the climate change issue by the American public. Industry-funded non-profit organizations have fueled skepticism about climate change science, and many Americans resist changing lifestyles, believing that climate impacts will not be that severe.

While Fisher strives mightily to demonstrate the impacts of domestic variables on the fate of Kyoto, one wonders if these are ultimately distinctions that make a difference. While both Japan and the Netherlands have ratified Kyoto and implemented national emissions reductions policies, neither country has done a good job of translating its aspirations into substantive reductions in emissions. Neither state is currently on schedule to meet its Kyoto commitments (in fact, Japan could miss the target by more than 20%), and Japan sought concessions in the Bonn and Marrakesh rounds of negotiations that weaken its obligations. While Fisher expresses a hope that Kyoto will encourage investment in alternative energy sources and new technologies, the evidence to date is not encouraging, including in Japan and the Netherlands. At the end of the day, perhaps the failure of most states to genuinely confront climate change may be related to other structural factors not parsed out in Fisher’s analysis, or it may be that the public’s indifference to climate issues in all three states studied is the paramount factor.

Fisher’s book also should not be viewed as a “one stop” text for classes that focus on climate change. Some of its statistics are incorrect (such as the aggregate contribution of the United States and Japan to the globe’s carbon dioxide emissions), and while published in 2004, it touches on few developments beyond 2001. What this book does best is to encourage further research on the factors that have thwarted meaningful efforts to confront climate change, even in the face of growing and ever more foreboding scientific evidence of the phenomenon’s impacts during this century and beyond.