

# Abstracts

## **Institutional Interaction in Global Environmental Governance: The Case of the Cartagena Protocol and the World Trade Organization**

*Sebastian Oberthür and Thomas Gehring*

The competitive quest of the Cartagena Protocol and the WTO for authority to regulate international trade in genetically modified organisms (GMOs) exemplifies a typical interaction between international institutions with diverging objectives. This article first develops a conceptual framework for the analysis of institutional interaction that emphasizes disaggregation of complex interaction situations into separate cases of clearly directed inter-institutional influence. These cases can follow different causal mechanisms. Second, applying this framework to the interaction between the Cartagena Protocol and the WTO reveals that existing commitments have driven parties toward a step-wise delimitation of the institutions' jurisdictions. Although the WTO acquired a first-mover advantage by structuring the regulatory field, the Cartagena Protocol showed surprising strength in exploiting the remaining room for maneuver. The structure of international governance thus steers institutions with differing objectives toward a jurisdictional balance that, while reflecting existing power relations, limits the potential for conflict and frames available policy choices.

## **The Making of Global Environmental Norms: Endangered Species Protection**

*Charlotte Epstein*

Endangered species protection represents one of the most enduring paradigms of global environmental governance. From a localized concept rooted in North American conceptions of nature, it evolved over the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century into a norm shaping inter-state behavior. This article analyzes the making of endangered species protection as the first global environmental norm, within a broadly constructivist framework. The central concern is how the "making of" the norm impacted its becoming; and how it continues to determine the current orientation of global environmental policy-making. Three enduring legacies are explored. First, the norm was essentially "made in the North" and *for* the North. A genealogy of the norm thus brings into sharp relief the North-South tensions that have developed as the norm was extended onto a global level. Second, the article highlights the divide between *conservationists* and *preservationists*, which

continues to plague much policy-making today, as it leads to conflicting visions of global environmental well-being. In a genealogical perspective, this split appears constitutive of the norm itself, and no closer to being resolved. Third, the article examines the targeted single-species approach that was first ushered in by the norm, and has become entrenched as a template for global environmental policy-making at large. There the article asks whether the norm has in fact precluded the passage to more comprehensive, ecosystemic approaches in the making of global environmental policies. Throughout the discussion the whaling issue takes center stage, because of its role in the emergence of the norm, and because of the way it continues to capture recent developments in global environmental politics.

### **When is Sustainable Forestry Sustainable? The Forest Stewardship Council in Argentina and Brazil**

*Ralph Espach*

Despite the proliferation of private regulatory regimes as instruments for global governance, we know little about the operations or effectiveness of these regimes at the national level. This is particularly true in developing countries where these programs are expected to have their greatest impact. This paper examines why it is that in two nations that share several properties believed to support private forms of environmental regulation, the effectiveness of one prominent global program, the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), should vary so dramatically. Findings indicate that differences in three variables that often support successful private regulation—domestic and foreign market demand, the influence of transnational actors, and state endorsement—do not adequately account for this variation. Instead, factors that promote the supply of local programs have strongly influenced the effectiveness of the FSC in these nations, particularly the social resources and political strategies utilized by program administrators.

### **Shop Right: American Conservatism, Consumption, and the Environment**

*Nadivah Greenberg*

Prevailing American conservative views regarding consumption and the environment have evolved in ways incongruous to a past intellectual legacy. As the world's most voracious consumer and greatest power, the United States possesses a vast global footprint; this historically unprecedented combination of appetite and might translates into both potential and peril. Given that the repercussions of dominant American perspectives are not just domestic, but global, it is imperative to reflect on American conservative ideology. This article begins with an examination of a past intellectual heritage, which extolled virtues such

as conservation, prudence and stewardship. It then examines an array of contemporary conservatisms by laying out a typology of views. As a whole, the spectrum shows considerable ideological elasticity. Of much interest is an array of green outliers within the typology, for these nascent, diverse voices indicate potential synergy with mainstream environmental goals, although not without caveats. Finally, the future direction of conservative thought with respect to consumption and the environment is assessed.