

policy-making. Two chapters provide particularly fresh insights on this topic. Shane Gunster examines British Columbia's adoption of a carbon tax in 2008. The provincial government decided to frame its new tax as a revenue-neutral economic measure that would not harm anyone, thus downplaying the idea that paying the tax would be onerous yet enhance the environment by reducing climate change risks. Interestingly, the electorate rejected the tax because it was not asked to make sacrifices, suggesting that appropriate framing matters to the reception of demanding environmental policies. Simon Nicholson criticizes the rush to geoengineering solutions to greenhouse gas emissions as lacking insight into the distributive effects of technological fixes. Such technocratic decision-making creates a sacrifice-free zone, whereas specific choices of technologies can have very different effects on who is asked to sacrifice and what. That sacrifices are being made is disguised by the lack of participation of diverse voices, which brings out the participatory justice dimension in ways that other essays do not.

While the collection provides a relatively cohesive and cogent critique of sacrifice, there are several key biases and gaps that need to be addressed in future work. The editors acknowledge that the essays largely concentrate on the United States, with limited attention to developing country contexts. There could well be different, culturally grounded, forms of sacrifice that can advance sustainable consumption in India, for instance. There is an excessive focus on parenthood and children as a model of socially acceptable sacrifice. Other types of family relationships and social relations may be important sites for sacrifice in the United States and other cultures. The communal nature of sacrifice is not fully recognized. For example, Cannavò suggests that suburbia can look very different but does not look at how communities of consumption may need to change: there is a rich literature on this topic that could have been woven in. This lack of attention to the process of change characterizes the book as a whole. Almost as an add-on, Maniates underscores the great challenges of building new social movements around sacrifice, using the case of demanding greater vacation time in return for lower pay. As Meyer advocates, there needs to be democratic politics that can expose and critique the sacrifices that humans already make. The essays are an important contribution to that goal.

Mikler, John. 2009. *Greening the Car Industry: Varieties of Capitalism and Climate Change*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

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Car manufacturing is a global industry dominated by a small number of large multinational corporations. Although they operate in a global market, car companies display significant differences in their approach to environmental protection and climate change. Japanese manufacturers are pioneers in hybrid technology, while their German counterparts focus on incremental improvements of their diesel technology. US car manufacturers lag behind Japanese and Ger-

man environmental product development initiatives. John Mikler takes this observation as the starting point for his analysis of car manufacturers' environmental strategies and activities. He analyzes the factors that motivate car firms to consider environmental issues in their operations, and examines national and individual differences between the major companies in this sector. His impressive empirical study shows that both rational profit-maximizing motivations and behavior based on institutionalized norms explain the car industry's environmental activities. And contrary to what one would expect from a global industry, he finds that a corporation's home country, and not the global market, has the major influence in shaping its environmental activities.

Rejecting the liberal economic model that considers companies as self-interested actors aiming exclusively to maximize material profit and power, Mikler applies an alternative analytical approach that considers the variations of national institutions in capitalist relations as a central explanatory factor. This application of the Varieties of Capitalism (VOC) approach is innovative since he does not use it to assess comparative advantages of states with regard to their industrial bases and markets, as is commonly done, but rather to investigate whether varieties of capitalism have implications for the environment. The VOC approach distinguishes between liberal market economies (LMEs) and coordinated market economies (CMEs). This distinction is used as a heuristic device to organize information and crystallize country-specific features, acknowledging that these are extremes on a continuum. In LMEs, the state and the market are separate, whereas CMEs have closer state-business relations.

In LMEs, there is a priority for the market as the organizer of economic activities, while in CMEs, mechanisms for organizing economic activities are more relational and cooperative—with the market as only one among many organizing mechanisms. LME firms are therefore more focused on exogenous material factors, as opposed to the endogenous factors that are more prominent in CME firms. In CMEs, there is a preference for non-price competition via product innovation. In LMEs, however, companies compete primarily on the price of their products. These key differences between the models of capitalism and the resulting institutions of capitalist relations, Mikler argues, explain different car manufacturers' activities with regard to the environment.

This carefully crafted and meticulously documented empirical study, drawing on statistics, the analysis of corporate environmental reports and expert interviews, makes a compelling argument for the important role of varieties of capitalism in motivating car manufacturers' environmental activities. The United States, Germany, and Japan were chosen as case studies because they are the home countries to the world's largest car manufacturers. The United States is a case of an LME while Germany and Japan are different variations of CMEs. In the United States, the state and the market are separated whereas in Germany the state plays a coordinating role based on negotiated consensus between a range of stakeholders. In Japan, the state and the market are in a symbiotic relationship based on mutual understanding. Industry groups are involved in developing policies and a culture of consultation and conflict avoidance enables Jap-

anese bureaucrats to issue legally non-binding instructions that are nevertheless followed by industry.

Mikler's overall finding is that "firms' strategies are dependent on where they have their home base" (p. 221). Resulting from the co- and self-regulatory way of rule-making in Japan, Japanese car manufacturers tend to lead—rather than follow—the market. They have longer-term strategic horizons. The "technonationalist" model of the Japanese CME incentivizes radical technological solutions and fast marketing, which explains Japanese companies' internal strategies to embrace environmental technologies in order to enhance their corporate performance. Japanese car manufacturers internalize a concern for the environment in their business strategies.

German companies are similar to their Japanese counterparts. Yet, because of their path dependent expertise in diesel technologies, they focus on improving this approach as opposed to pursuing other solutions like hybrid technology. Also due to Germany's cooperative state-market relations and its density of corporate networks that foster a culture of consultation with suppliers and other stakeholders, German car manufacturers act in partnership with regulators on a long-term cooperative strategy. This results in incremental improvements of their environmental performance rather than engagement in radical changes, which would require breaking up established networks.

US companies are more reactive than CME-based companies, waiting for consumer demand or regulation to drive environmental improvements of their products. They are less likely to lead change because of the particular economic model of separate state-market relations and the emphasis of the market as driving force.

In addition to these different national institutional factors, Mikler also finds firm-specific differences. This shows that the motivators for environmental improvements are not universal in a given country but rather that both nation- and firm-specific factors play a role.

Mikler's focus on the VOC approach allows for an in-depth analysis of a manageable set of variables that reveals important insights. Yet, one could extend the breadth of his study. A broader set of institutions and domestic conditions could provide additional evidence for the overall argument of the book that home country institutions shape a car manufacturer's environmental activities. Geographical conditions and historical developments that led to different countries' general attitude towards environmental protection could be considered, along with the institutional settings of the policy-making process.

Greening the Car Industry is a valuable contribution to academic literature on the role of private actors in global environmental governance and on the drivers of environmental protection activities by corporations. It is not only of interest to scholars dealing with the car industry but also to everyone intrigued by the conundrum of why some globally competing private actors are more protective of the environment than others.