

Book Reviews

Elizabeth R. DeSombre. 2000. *Domestic Sources of International Environmental Policy: Industry, Environmentalists, and U.S. Power*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Reviewed by Kate E. Marshall

Domestic Sources of International Environmental Policy: Industry, Environmentalists, and U.S. Power is an accessible, interesting, clear, and important book. DeSombre argues that successful internationalization of US domestic environmental regulations requires a coalition of environmental and industry actors, the latter acting out of fear of the competitive advantage foreign firms gain when not subject to similar environmental regulations. DeSombre then expands her argument to state that internationalization attempts are most likely to be successful when a credible threat of import sanctions has been posed in an area in which the US represents a dominant market for the state subject to internationalizing pressure. The credibility of this threat, in turn, rests upon the dynamics of the coalition of industry and environmental actors.

The book is written in a style that makes the information appropriate and relevant for a wide body of readers. This work is thorough and, simultaneously, broadly grounded in a number of disciplinary subfields. Whether one approaches from a domestic or international policy perspective, or with knowledge of political economy, international relations, or environmental studies, DeSombre's book is a meaningful addition to understanding the internationalization of domestic environmental policies. The book is able to speak to each of these audiences in their own language: it is replete with policy implications, economic discussion, game theory and international relations theory, all while maintaining an oft-neglected focus on resource conservation.

DeSombre's examples are wisely chosen: they are pertinent and widely varied, and, thus, offer a broad scope and basis for understanding. The selected case areas, endangered species, air pollution, and ocean fisheries, are examined in detail, allowing for a comparison both within and among issue areas. Relying upon the Baptist (environmentalist) and bootlegger (industry) dynamic makes for organizational clarity. This dichotomy, coupled with DeSombre's insightful discussion about the sources and the success of internationalization, allows one to examine the internationalization process in a systematic and methodical manner.

However, reliance upon the Baptist and bootlegger dichotomy as an explanatory framework has a flaw: it excludes other actors who may impact the in-

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ternationalization of domestic environmental policies. In particular, DeSombre neglects the roles of indigenous groups and the government. Indigenous groups may play a role in the destruction of an environmental resource, thus inflaming environmentalists, but these groups are not industries, and do not have the same incentive or cost structure underlying their actions. Although these groups are not necessarily transnational in scope, the effects of their actions, particularly as they relate to a pre-existing regulation, may impact events both domestically and internationally, affecting a policy change on either level. DeSombre also minimizes the role of the government, seeing it primarily as a force for the implementation of the agreed-upon policy, both at the national and international levels, not as a multi-faceted actor in its own right. The book neglects the bureaucratic politics that are inherent in the implementation and interpretation of US policies. Although DeSombre does mention the conflicting views taken by the Department of State and the US Court of International Trade on the subject of sea turtle protection and shrimp fishing, she fails to explore the potential significance of this disagreement in the attempted internationalization of US environmental standards. While DeSombre's conceptualization of the process of internationalization of US environmental policies sheds a significant amount of light on the process, the understanding she offers would have been enhanced by a discussion surrounding those actors that are neither Baptists nor bootleggers, yet play a role in the internationalization process.

The argument that the determining force in the success of internationalization attempts is power, specifically defined as market power and the power to withhold access to the potentially-significant US market, is clearly applicable in an era of increasing trade. DeSombre quite cleanly makes the case that the threat of sanctions, made particularly credible by the presence of industry actors and the degree to which they would gain from decreased competition as a result of the imposition of sanctions, can lead to compliance with US environmental regulations. The weakness she notes, however, is significant: states like French Guiana and Suriname have little incentive to comply with US regulations on sea turtle preservation as it relates to shrimp harvesting since exports to the US are but a small part of their shrimp industries. This observation supports DeSombre's use of market power and threatened sanctions as an explanation for the relative success of internationalization attempts, but it also weakens the broader applicability of her internationalization schema: market power is only important where market interactions exist.

DeSombre's book clearly and convincingly explains the relationship between environmentalists and industry on the sources of, and successes in, the internationalization of domestic environmental regulations. *Domestic Sources of International Environmental Policy*, with its thorough delineation of the conditions surrounding successful internationalization of domestic regulatory policies, also carries significant import not only for industry members and environmentalists, but for those interested in institutionalization, sanctions, and coalition dynamics. Both for the wider applicability of the argument and for the

prescient and focused points DeSombre makes, this book is an engaging and valuable contribution.

Matthew Paterson. 2000. *Understanding Global Environmental Politics: Domination, Accumulation, Resistance*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Reviewed by David Watkins

In this important and exciting new book, Matthew Paterson makes a convincing case for significantly expanding the boundaries of research done in the field of global environmental politics (GEP). The principal argument is that scholars of GEP to date have largely focused on efforts to deal with environmental problems through international institutions, cooperation, and/or conflict, but have ignored the *causes* of global environmental problems. This book sets out to correct this deficiency in the literature by examining some sources of global environmental change and degradation.

Paterson makes both an empirical and theoretical case here, with each side of his argument getting three chapters. The theoretical chapters all make compelling cases for changing the way we approach the study of GEP. Chapter two, "Realism, Liberalism, and the Origins of Global Environmental Change," make the case that realist and liberal approaches to GEP focus and limit the topics that can be studied. Realist approaches to GEP limit the analysis to questions of environmental security; liberal approaches lead to a focus on international institutions and agreements on environmental issues. Environmental problems, in both cases, are implicitly assumed to be the result of a collective action problem; specifically, a version of the famous "tragedy of the commons" thesis. However, "most writers eschew the apocalyptic language of 'tragedy,' but still invoke the notion of the *commons* as a metaphor for many facets of global environmental change" (23). In other words, they focus on the problem of collective action, but not the creation of the problem itself.

In chapter three, "The 'normal and mundane practices of modernity': Global Power Structures and the Environment," Paterson identifies four aspects of what he terms the "deep structures" of international politics that are responsible for the production of environmental problems. He identifies four aspects of this system, all of which contribute to environmental harm: the states system, capitalism, knowledge and power, and patriarchy. He makes compelling cases for why each of these structural features of international politics are prone to contribute to environmental degradation. He is quite pessimistic about the capacity of any of these features of the modern world order to contribute to the solution of environmental problems.

In chapters four, five, and six, he applies his theoretical arguments to specific topics: the construction of sea defenses, cars and car culture, and fast food. The methodology behind these chapters is to look at the discourses surrounding these social practices for evidence of the four aspects of the deep structure of