

two states, which is why this book will greatly appeal to scholars of comparative politics, political economy, and welfare states, who will find this book very useful in teaching graduate and undergraduate courses on these subjects.

In summary, this book is innovative, thought provoking, and especially timely during this period of global economic crisis as the old neoliberal model has failed to meet expectations not only in the United States but even more so in places like Japan. The Swedish social democratic model, by contrast, has adapted quite well to this crisis and continues to be successful. In many ways, this pioneering book brings us back to Katzenstein's (1985) basic point that high taxes, social corporatism, and a large welfare state are not an *obstacle* but the *key* to surviving and thriving in a globalized economy. Whereas the tendency in international politics is for big countries to lecture small ones, this book reveals that it might actually be in the interests of larger countries such as the United States and Japan to take lessons from Sweden.

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Managers of Global Change: The Influence of Environmental Bureaucracies. Frank Biermann and Bernd Siebenhüner, eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011. 367 pp. \$28.00 (paper).

How do international organizations or, more precisely, the bureaucracies within them influence global policymaking? Why is it that some international bureaucracies are more influential than others? What do we actually mean by "influence" and how do we "assess" it? These are the central questions that guide Frank Biermann and Bernd Siebenhüner's splendid edition of *Managers of Global Change: The Influence of Environmental Bureaucracies*. This is an important book that, despite its sole focus on the environmental policy field, has broader and highly relevant implications for other areas, such as global politics or comparative public administration.

Managers of Global Change searches for the determining factors that affect an international bureaucracy's capacity to influence policymaking in their field. The 13 collaborators of this four-year program depart from an interesting conceptualization of the term "influence" and a sensible list of "explanatory factors," all of which are clearly set out in the chapter "Studying the Influence of International Bureaucracies: A Conceptual

Framework" (written by the editors, plus Steffen Bauer, Per-Olof Busch, Sabine Camp, Klaus Dingwerth, Torsten Grothmann, Robert Marschinski, and Mireia Tarradell). After defining "influence" as "the sum of all effects observable for, and attributable to, an international bureaucracy" (41), the concept is further disaggregated into three varieties (46–48). "Cognitive influence" exists when international bureaucracies act as "knowledge-brokers," producing and disseminating information that leads to changes in the "knowledge and belief systems" of political actors and, eventually, to changes in their "behavior" (47). "Normative influence" happens when international bureaucracies, acting as "negotiation-facilitators," influence the setting, implementation, or revision of international norms and treaties. Lastly, "executive influence" occurs when international bureaucracies serve as "capacity-builders," provide assistance for implementing international agreements and are thus capable of "reshaping national interests." The chapter then briefly discusses factors that might assist in explaining the presence of these various strands of influence: "problem structure" (as different policy problems might allow for different levels of influence), "polity" (i.e., the "legal, institutional, and financial framework" of international bureaucracies and particularly their competences, resources, and "embeddedness" in parent organization), and "people and procedures" (including here "organizational expertise," "organizational structure," "organizational culture," and "organizational leadership").

Although a priori the task of assessing the relative "influence" of various international bureaucracies is not easy, the approach taken here proves to be both useful and adequate when the nine cases studies are developed. These are the environment directorate at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations (UN) Convention on Climate Change secretariat (both by Per-Olof Busch), the environment directorate at the World Bank (by Robert Marschinski and Steffen Behrle), the secretariat of the International Maritime (by Sabine Campe), the Global Environment Facility secretariat (by Lydia Andler), the Convention on Biological Diversity secretariat (by Bernd Siebenhüner), the secretariat of the UN Environment Programme, the Ozone secretariat (which serves both the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol on the matter), and the UN Convention to Combat Desertification secretariat (all by Steffen Bauer). As it usually happens in multiauthor collections, readers will find some variation across chapters in terms of style, length, and perhaps even quality. However, much to the credit of both authors and editors, all empirical chapters are actually quite homogenous. They all closely follow the analytical framework described earlier and structure the background information, analysis of bureaucratic influence, discussion of alternative explanations, and concluding remarks in a similar way. As a result, not only do the case studies offer insight into each international bureaucracy, but they also work very well as a whole, while providing an excellent background for

testing which factors (and how) better explain the influence of international bureaucracies.

The book has merit in terms of both its research design and its substantial findings. As stated earlier, the conceptualization of "influence" is very interesting and should become an essential reference for anyone researching similar questions. The comparative framework is carefully developed and applied to make the most out of a small *N* set of studies. The combination of insights from international relations and management/organizational theory is innovative and provides a good example of how future studies in this field could elaborate on the analytical framework and theoretical claims. Moreover, the project does produce a number of interesting findings. The authors show that international bureaucracies do influence global policymaking processes beyond their official mandate and that they do so in many ways: They "create and disseminate knowledge, shape powerful discourses and narratives on how problems are to be structured and understood, influence negotiations through ideas and expertise, and implement standards that have been agreed to in day-to-day practices in many countries" (345). Furthermore, the book shows that while financial resources, institutional settings, and legal mandates are definitely important, it is the "people factor" (organizational expertise and leadership), as well as the organizational procedures (e.g., "flexible internal hierarchies") that matter the most when explaining why certain international bureaucracies are more influential than others.

Though *Managers of Global Change* is a remarkable and rich work, it has a few limitations. The opening two chapters of the book offer an interesting overview of both the academic field ("The Role and Relevance of International Bureaucracies: Setting the Stage," by the editors) and the relevant literature ("Understanding International Bureaucracies: Taking Stock," by the editors, Steffen Bauer, and Klaus Dingwerth). But the chapters mainly focus on debates within the international relations field, leaving aside the political science and comparative public administration fields. This is particularly odd when the influential role of international bureaucracies in, for example, the implementation of the "Washington consensus" measures, or the spread of new public management reforms, has been frequently noted by scholars from those disciplines. Similarly, despite being a comparative analysis with high theoretical ambitions, the book surprisingly lacks a discussion about how its findings might also apply to other international policy fields. In what otherwise is a very fine concluding chapter by the editors, the latter state that "[t]hough there are surely many factors that distinguish different policy areas, we do not see any *a priori* factors that would let us assume that our basic explanatory model is invalid in other areas" (346). This is a very strong statement, which deserves some elaboration yet is barely supported by a couple of comments in the last two pages of the book. Lastly, one could question some of the assumptions/conclusions of the book. For example, while the list of explanatory factors is quite comprehensive, perhaps one

independent variable is missing from the analysis: the country with which international bureaucracies interact. This might be particularly relevant when talking about “executive influence,” but it may also apply in the case of “cognitive influence.” And while it seems indisputable that “people” matter more than “resources,” the explanation behind why certain international bureaucracies are more influential than others might well be associated to the latter factor in a more complex way than suggested by the chapter. To put it simply, would highly skilled professionals prefer to work at the International Maritime Organisation Secretariat/Desertification Secretariat or at the OECD/World Bank environmental departments? These are questions that might deserve further research. In the meantime, *Managers of Global Change* certainly offers a vast empirical overview of the performance of global environmental bureaucracies, a number of interesting insights about their functioning, and a solid intellectual and theoretical basis for guiding future studies on how international bureaucracies influence the decisions, norms, and administrative frameworks that govern policymaking around the world.

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Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power. Robert D. Kaplan. New York: Random House, 2010. 366 pp. \$28.00 (cloth).

Robert D. Kaplan’s most recent book, *Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power* derives its frame of reference from history, culture, power, and conflict. It extends geographical perspectives on medieval trade and on conquests along the Indian Ocean from Africa to Asia. But why “Monsoon?” Iconic titles are not rare in Kaplan’s literature. So why not “Monsoon Winds,” which directed sailing ships, trade, and meshed destinies in the ancient world (8)?

The book journeys back to earlier centuries that helped prepared Asia for its current ascendancy. The book cites Zheng He, an early entrepreneur and naval admiral in the fifteenth-century Ming dynasty, who ploughed the India Ocean trade routes and exemplified Chinese power (11–12).

Medieval trade in metals, medicines, and frankincense predominated commerce from Malaysia to East Africa. During the Tang dynasty in China, Medina’s prominence rose in Arabia, thus intermingling the Islamic religion with other traded goods. As trade expanded, the Portuguese became familiar with the Indian Ocean kingdoms; however, their predecessors, the first-century Greeks, had sailed to Ceylon and Zanzibar—where Asia closes on Africa (49). This history of trade, expansion, and power, Asia’s past, is reflected in its current economic rise.