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the Internet, they don't look at specific uses of the Internet that further commercialization and standardization -- two related issues they oppose. If they did, they would probably see that the list of detrimental uses of the Internet exceeds the positive uses.

This holistic comparison of a technology is precisely what Mander says needs to be done. He suggests that if you look only at the personal and local impacts of technologies, you might see personal and local benefits. But if you take a wider view, you might see that although a technology has benefits for you, it might have much greater benefits for institutions that harm you. Although the Internet (or any technology) can appear beneficial for everyone, it can be a net loss for those in favor of increasing diversity and community power.

On the scale of information ecologies, Nardi and O'Day do encourage people to control technologies. In their examples and case studies, they highlight the ways in which technologies are restricted in particular ecologies: one school decided not to send out newsletters via email because it would lose something in the new medium; another school decided to restrict certain technical features of virtual world software to help kids learn to deal with uncomfortable social situations; and in libraries they advise not replacing librarians with software due to the human expertise librarians add.

Finally, there are a couple of weaknesses in the case studies. First, they all involve information technologies, which is not surprising, given the authors' backgrounds (and the title of the book!). However, it would have been useful to have at least one example of a technological ecology that didn't involve computers. The case studies also could have benefited from a summary that compared the five aspects of information ecologies (system, diversity, coevolution, keystone species, locality) in each case to show how those factors affected the different situations.

Conclusion

Information Ecologies is written in an engaging style, which makes it easy to delve into, even in the more theoretical chapters. Nardi and O'Day's main project of introducing the concept of a technological ecology is an important one. Any metaphor that helps us think about how to encourage more individual and small group control over technologies is positive. However, there are a couple of key failings that make the book less persuasive and useful than it could otherwise be: their discussion of the technology criticism field is incomplete and less nuanced than they claim, and the presentation of their real-world case studies is not well connected with their theoretical material.

By focusing on the small, they provide an entry point for non-technical people to begin to control the technologies they face daily. But by failing to connect their information ecologies with the larger political system of technology development, their metaphor limits the possibility for larger change. The ecologies seem geared to deal with an inevitable flood of new technologies into small, local worlds, rather than places where committed people can direct the development of desired technologies.

Environmentalism: A Global History, by Ramachandra Guha. New York: Longman (2000), xiii, 161 pp.

Reviewed by Kathryn Hochstetler, Department of Political Science, Colorado State University

Environmentalism: A Global History is best read as a short but ambitious text that will introduce readers to a series of environmental thinkers from across the globe. In Guha's own explanation of the book, "this is a historical account and analysis of the origins and expressions of environmental concern, of how individuals and institutions have perceived, propagated, and acted upon their experience of environmental decay" (p. 2). As such, it is not a history of the environment itself, which he leaves to scientists, but a history of environmental ideas. In just 145 pages of text, Guha covers many of the most prominent environmental thinkers over the last two centuries, and adds a few lesser known as well. The thinkers are placed in their social contexts, with particular attention to the unfolding of industrial and colonial (and post-) processes. Taken as a whole, the book is well written and engaging; I think it would be successful as a text chosen to instigate discussion of global and historical varieties of environmentalism.

Guha divides the book into two halves, one for each of two waves of global environmentalism. In the first wave, which began in the 1860s and continued through the interwar period, three varieties of environmental thought competed to construct a diagnosis of environmental degradation and an alternative vision to it: the back to the land movement, the scientific conservation movement, and the wilderness movement. The back to the land movement found strong adherents in England and Germany, as industrialization brought a revival of agrarian sentiment. Pre-industrialized India also contributed a more practical agrarian thinker in Mahatma Gandhi, who read Carpenter and Ruskin while studying in England. Scientific conservation, characterized by a concern with environmental degradation and confidence in science's ability to reverse that degradation, also took root in Britain and Germany before spreading elsewhere. Global transmission of the ideas of scientific conservation was more direct and custodial, as colonial powers established state-run departments to manage their colonies's forests, soil, water, wildlife, and fisheries. Guha strongly criticizes these management efforts on both social and environmental grounds, preferring Japan's indigenous forest science. Similarly, colonial rule spread the wilderness idea to Europe's colonies, with protection of native wildlife often taking priority over native peoples. The wilderness thinking of the Americans John Muir and Aldo Leopold (born in Germany) is presented more sympathetically, with attention to their differences as well as their shared appreciation for non-human species.

The first wave of environmentalism ended with an interlude of "ecological innocence" after World War II, when both North and South were committed to economic growth through technology. Dissenters from technological optimism — Sauer, Mumford, Schumacher, Mira Behn (in India) — were easily ignored in the industrialized world, and the newly independent countries sought economic liftoff on the western path, not a renewed village economy.

With numerous others, Guha dates the beginning of the second wave of environmentalism to Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), which he extols for its impact and quality. Across the globe, the second wave added an environmentally engaged public to the previously expert arena of environmental thought. Guha organizes his discussion of the second wave with three chapters on what would once have been called the first, second, and third worlds. Among the affluent, both the threat of impending doom and the desire to consume nature as another good drove the steady growth of the environmental movement after 1962 (Guha's data end with 1991). Guha differentiates deep ecologists from environmental justice activists in American radical environmentalism. A section on the German Greens, "the finest achievement of the second wave of environmentalism" (p. 97), completes this chapter. Guha cites Gandhian influences in all of these branches of modern environmentalism, but still sees a strong polarization between this environmentalism of the affluent and the environmentalism of the poor of the next chapter. He rejects the hypothesis of Inglehart and others that environmental concern belongs to the wealthy, but notes a change in its concerns. When peasants and indigenous peoples of Malaysia, India, Thailand, and Brazil mobilize on environmental issues, they link environmentalism to social justice and livelihood concerns. Sections comparing Brazil to India and Chico Mendes's rubber tappers to the Chipko movement offer some rare extended concrete examples of environmental thought in action. Finally, a brief chapter on environmentalism (or the lack thereof) in the Soviet Union and in China serves mostly to underline that the strongest debate of the second wave is that between North and South.

A concluding chapter argues that a shared global common future would have to be based on a genuinely equitable and participatory global democracy. In the absence of that democracy, concrete environmental debates will be conflict-ridden. Yet Guha's final word is that two ideas unite all the kinds of environmentalists he has discussed: restraint, in the sense of limits on behavior toward both the environment and other humans, and farsightedness, looking toward "a common future" — and the multiple paths to get to it (p. 145).

As should be clear from this summary, this global environmental history synthesizes a very broad array of environmental ideas, across both time and space. As Guha himself says, this requires him to be "savagely selective" (p. 7). Fitting the introductory nature of this book, the selection criteria favor the better-known thinkers and movements, but there are plenty of lesser-known stories to send the more experienced reader to the bibliographic essay at the end. (This is especially useful since there are few citations in the text, and no conventional bibliography.)

The first part of the book, on the first wave of environmentalism, best achieves Guha's two aims: to present a "trans-national perspective on the environmental debate" and "to document the flow of ideas across cultures" (p. 8). In this section, we see clear linkages across cultures as travel, reading, and colonial institutions moved ideas around the world both freely and by force. These chapters show at once the global relevance of certain environmental ideas, such as wilderness, and their very different local meanings depending on where, how, and by whom they are put into practice.

In the second section, on the second wave, there is much less attention to the transnational flow of

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environmental ideas, despite the fact that global news reports, the internet, and international travel and meetings have shrunk the effective distance between peoples. This is especially noteworthy in the chapter on the southern challenge, where several of the examples Guha uses are commonly cited as classic instances of international advocacy networks (see Keck and Sikkink 1998). Guha stresses their domestic origins, which are certainly also a part of the story, but his references to the "prolific misrepresentations...by the international media" (p. 119) do not do justice to the transnational flow of ideas, perspectives, and activists at work. Similarly, he misses the ways that at least parts of the environmental justice movements of the north were inspired by their southern counterparts. I would have liked to see a fuller analysis of transnational environmentalism as we turn into the 21st century. Is it, as some have argued, a new variant of the 19th century's colonial relations? Could it be, in contrast, a manifestation of the more equitable and participatory global democracy Guha seeks?

Throughout the book, Guha's characteristic post-colonial critiques give the book a consistent perspective, which will challenge the northern students who are likely to be among the book's readers. Because of its focus on environmental thinkers across the globe, it is not the best presentation of the complexities of Guha's own perspective, however. For that, I prefer some of his other works, such as *Ecology and Equity* (with Madhav Gadgil, 1995) and *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South* (with Juan Martinez Alier, 1997).

References Cited:

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Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries, edited by Susan Pharr and Robert Putnam, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2000), xxvi, 362 pp.

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"It appears that democracy is always in crisis," Ralf Dahrendorf writes in his too-brief afterword (p. 311) to this volume. Read Dahrendorf's four pages first, then again after working through this compelling, frustrating, provocative, and sometimes inspiring volume. Dahrendorf wrote the afterword to this book's ancestor some 25 years earlier. Commissioned by the Trilateral Commission, like this successor volume, *The Crisis of Democracy*, saw serious threats to democracy everywhere. Michel Crozier, Samuel Huntington, and Joji Watanuki identified external threats (most notably security challenges from the Soviet Union and communism generally), internal threats (particularly citizen movements and political mobilization), and discussed the intrinsic characteristics of democracies that made them vulnerable to instability (an argument developed by Socrates many years earlier).

Of course, much has changed since that report, most visibly, the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ironically, the editors note, at a time when the external threats to the Trilateral democracies have been substantially circumscribed, the democracies are vulnerable to disaffection from within. To be fair, the editors (with Russell J. Dalton) use the term, "troubled," rather than threatened, in their introduction. The problem is that citizens of these democracies have lost confidence in the performance of their governments, and indeed, in their politicians, political parties, and many other secular organizations. Declining trust, they posit, leads to weakening institutional capacity, which leads to weaker government performance, which leads to, unsurprisingly, further losses of public trust.

If you hear the crash of bowling pins in the background of this argument, it's entirely appropriate. Robert Putnam's ideas about social capital, that is, the trust, organizations, norms, and networks that help society function, animate all of the discussions in this book. As expressed in "Bowling Alone," civil society is deteriorating in modern democracies, such that the prospects for effective organization for all sorts of public purposes have declined. Putnam has been admirably effective in inspiring public intellectuals and scholars to speak to the decline in social