

example, she notes the firewalls that have been erected between Environmental Protection Agency mainline personnel and the EPA Office of Research and Development, its Scientific Advisory Board, and external researchers funded by EPA grants.

The chapter on agenda setting provides an insightful analysis of how individual scientists and science organizations frame environmental policy issues and provide narratives to highlight the importance of environmental risks. On the basis of rich interviews and careful analysis of the institutions that distill scientific judgment (e.g., the National Research Council and the governmental National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program), Keller argues that scientific research and the modalities for expressing it met little resistance in the elevation of the two issues to public attention. She also convincingly argues that scientists play a crucial role in how environmental problems are defined. However, the focus on two of the most prominent environmental issues begs the question of whether the influence of scientists is typically highest at this stage.

The chapter on scientific input in the legislative arena is less successful. It relies heavily on the objective data on which scientists participate in congressional hearings and whether scientists of different institutional affiliations take explicit policy positions. With this information, Keller categorizes the scientists who are challenged by legislators to state policy positions as unapologetic boundary crossers, apologetic boundary crossers, or boundary observers. This is a useful distinction, but what it says about norms and reluctance to promote their policy preferences is quite unclear. The first problem is that whether or not a scientist explicitly takes a policy position is not a useful indicator of how much scientists' testimony can influence legislative outcomes. Reporting objective findings on the severity of environmental risks may well be more compelling than risking the possibility that findings will be dismissed as contrived rationalizations for policy preferences. By the same token, the unwillingness to make recommendations may reflect the tactic of avoiding the complication of taking a position, rather than philosophical qualms about scientific neutrality. The second problem is that although congressional hearings are the most visible and accessible aspect of the legislative process, the logic behind the formatting of congressional hearings, with deliberate balancing of interests and positions on all sides, often renders hearings more ritual than an influential part of the policy deliberations. It is likely that more important influences on legislation come from "behind the scenes" work by agency experts, congressional staff experts, and specialists employed by industry groups and advocacy groups. Finally, it is not clear that congressional hearings are most usefully viewed as part of the legislative rather than the agenda-setting stage. Legislators and their staffs frequently use hearings to publicize the importance of particular issues.

These problems reflect the analytical weakness of Keller's categorization of policy stages. Instead of using a more comprehensive framework of multiple functions rather than three stages, the analysis is hostage to the sequence of agenda setting, legislation, and implementation. The fact that the legislative process can alter the prominence of issues seriously blurs the distinction between agenda setting and legislation. It is puzzling that the author, after favorably citing Harold Lasswell's much richer framework of policy-process functions at the very beginning of her introductory section on "policy stages," opts for the simplistic Kingdon version. Lasswell's continually interacting, iterative functions (definitely not to be understood as stages) would have resolved this ambiguity by pointing out that the "promotion" function can be found in any of the formal activities of policymaking.

Keller could have adopted this framework to depict scientists as heavily involved in the *intelligence* function of gathering information, analyzing problems, and identifying policy options. In addition to the *promotion* of their policy and outcome preferences, of which agenda setting is only one aspect, scientists also contribute to the *prescription* function of developing laws, regulations, and other rules, whether formal or informal; to the *invocation* function of determining which rules should be applied in particular cases; to the *application* of these prescriptions; to the *appraisal* of how well existing policies and programs are doing; and to the determination of whether existing policies ought to be *terminated*.

With this framework, Keller could have avoided truncating her "implementation" analysis, which, though usefully detailed with respect to regulatory programs, almost entirely ignores the role of the court system—clearly one of the most important institutions involved in the invocation process. Because the bulk of EPA rules, and the decisions of many other federal agencies, are litigated, the ways in which scientific inputs are employed or limited in court decisions are very important for understanding the opportunities and constraints facing scientific inputs.

Despite these shortcomings of empirical basis and framework, *Science in Environmental Policy* is a very useful source of narrative about two crucial environmental issues, and offers thoughtful insights into the boundaries between science and politics.

American Environmental Policy, 1990–2006: Beyond Gridlock. By Christopher McGrory Klyza and David Sousa. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008. 408p. \$30.00.
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— Edella Schlager, *University of Arizona*

In the preface, Christopher McGrory Klyza and David Sousa declare what they intend to accomplish: "[E]nvironmental policymaking today is vibrant and complex, with a variety of opportunities for action. It is also full of

pitfalls and ripe with uncertainty. We take you on a tour of that landscape in this book” (p. xiv). The authors provide an exciting and adventurous tour, exploring many policy-making paths—traditional ones, such as Congress, the president, and the courts; new ones in the form of collaborative governance; and neglected ones, such as the states.

The tour provides a sophisticated analysis of environmental policymaking in the United States by exploring multiple dimensions of each policy pathway using new case studies, which are buttressed by careful analysis of the opportunities and pitfalls afforded by each policymaking path. For instance, the chapter on states’ environmental policymaking focuses on innovative policies developed by states, such as promoting investment in green energy sources and encouraging energy efficiency, as well as on highly contested ballot initiatives that seek to establish environmental policies, such as land-use planning initiatives in Oregon. The chapter on the executive branch examines the discretionary authority of the president to protect federal lands from development through the use of the Antiquities Act, as well as the federal agency rulemaking authority to pursue a president’s environmental policy agenda. Finally, each chapter explores not only the various powers and authorities exercised by policymakers active in particular policy pathways, but also the relations among policymakers across pathways, such as the interactions between Congress and the president and the interaction of states with courts and federal agencies.

The authors are always careful to point out and examine the limitations and weaknesses of each policymaking path. Legislation may be the gold standard because once a law is passed, it is difficult to overturn—it has staying power—but the accomplishment requires a careful alignment of propitious circumstances. Executive branch rulemaking and executive orders may be more readily accomplished than legislation, but rules and executive orders have less staying power and may be overturned, or at least delayed by the next White House occupant or by a well-devised lawsuit. In sum, this book is no dry litany of how a bill becomes a law, or how special interests dominate policymaking, or how the states are merely an afterthought compared to federal policymaking. The authors capture the full complexity of policymaking in a federal system of government.

Given the richness and complexity of the interwoven policymaking processes presented by the authors, the title *American Environmental Policy, 1990–2006* hardly does the book justice. The book does not explore and analyze the major environmental laws and policies of the United States. Rather, it is a book on American environmental policymaking *processes*. This is a critical distinction. Numerous books detail environmental policies; none details environmental policymaking processes with the sophistication of this book, which fills a significant void in the environmental policy literature.

Nor does the subtitle of the book, *Beyond Gridlock*, accurately reflect either the authors’ argument or the argument supported by the case studies. If the subtitle were to reflect the authors’ argument, it would read “Because of Gridlock.” They repeatedly claim that policy actors engage in specific policy actions because of legislative gridlock. For instance, they declare, “It is hardly news that legislative gridlock on public lands issues has led presidents to seek other paths toward their political and policy objectives” (p. 121). Legislative gridlock, however, is too one dimensional and too easily used in an ad hoc manner to capture environmental policymaking in the United States, not to mention the fact that gridlock is descriptively inaccurate. If one assumes that gridlock means Congress will not pass major environmental legislation, then Congress is not gridlocked, as the authors point out up front: “Despite the apparent congressional stalemate on environmental issues, Congress does act on the environment—it passes bills in every session, most of them minor, and it has produced a few important bills since 1990” (p. 48).

In addition, the authors argue that newer forms of policymaking are the result of gridlock. While some of the policymaking processes are new, such as the active role of courts in deciding environmental conflicts, or the collaborative governance processes that have emerged most notably around endangered-species conflicts, they are not the result of a gridlocked Congress. Rather, they emerge from the “golden era” of environmental policy and the many environmental laws adopted by Congress and the president in the 1960s and 1970s. These laws allowed for citizen suits, which the authors deftly portray in the chapter on courts. Congress invited citizens to engage actively in policymaking by making the courts more readily accessible. The seeds of collaborative governance, too, were planted in the environmental laws of the golden era because of the silo structure of the laws (i.e., water supply is separated from water quality is separated from air quality is separated from toxic wastes), making them ill-suited for addressing environmental problems embedded in complex social and ecological settings. Collaborative management seeks to build bridges across the environmental law silos while also bringing the diverse parties in an environmental conflict to the table in order to explore workable solutions.

Certainly, legislative gridlock, or more accurately, heightened partisanship, plays a role in the shape and direction of each policy pathway. It moves the already high bar of major legislative action that much higher, but it is not the cause of collaborative governance or citizen lawsuits, and it is not the only reason that policy entrepreneurs have explored different strategies and venues for realizing their policy goals.

Fortunately, the authors are evenhanded in the development and treatment of their cases and do not attempt to force them into a gridlock box. Repeatedly throughout the chapters, they offer alternative explanations for the

forces at play in any given policy pathway. For instance, the authors describe the impetus for a rule banning the building of roads on vast swaths of Forest Service land as coming from preservationists seeking forest protection *and* forest service officials struggling with inadequate budgets. Likewise, they argue that collaborative governance efforts emerge from the inadequacies of command-and-control policymaking as well as the desire to find less conflictual, more peaceful means of addressing environmental problems. Finally, they rightly note that when the Republican Party controlled both houses of Congress and the presidency between 2000 and 2006, party leaders did not make environmental policy a top agenda item, choosing instead to pursue other issues. Thus, pragmatic budget considerations, agenda setting, and efforts to devise more effective policymaking processes, not to mention many other considerations, shape the various pathways. In the end, what the authors have captured with their diverse and interesting case studies is not so much environmental policymaking shaped by a gridlocked Congress but an overview of how a complex governing system—US federalism—allows for many different policymaking processes to occur simultaneously, each with its strengths and limitations.

This is a well-written book that is easily accessible to a variety of audiences. It would make a suitable text for an upper-division undergraduate or lower-division graduate course on environmental policy. Policymakers, activists, and engaged citizens could readily gain a broad overview of environmental policymaking processes from this single volume. Even environmental policy scholars, who tend to specialize in studying a particular policymaking pathway, would benefit from exploring policymaking processes beyond their area of specialty.

Citizen Environmentalists. By James Longhurst. Medford, MA: Tufts University Press, 2010. 264p. \$85.00 cloth, \$35.00 paper. doi:10.1017/S1537592710003580

— Daniel Mazmanian, *University of Southern California*

This book is the result of the apparent contradiction—at least the unexpected combination of forces—that James Longhurst encountered in peeling back the layers in the battle over air pollution control that erupted as a mass movement in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the early 1970s. The value to those interested in the history of the modern environmental movement is in his locating the philosophical roots of the movement, in form and in citizen activism, in the values and style of the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Progressives, on the one hand, and the Civil Rights movement of the 1950–60s, on the other. The message about the Pittsburgh story, and by implication the deeper story of the environmental movement, is that it can be understood only at the conjunction of profound values in American political culture regarding the right and responsibility of citizens to mobilize to protect

their own interests and, in this instance, their physical health (the citizen component) and the expression of that responsibility, awakened in the 1960s, in tackling some of the worst polluting effects of the industrial age.

Longhurst views the movement through the lens of the citizens who rose up in Pittsburgh (long infamous as “Smoke City”), frustrated with decades of unfulfilled promises by elected politicians and industrial leaders to reduce air pollution from what at the time was probably one of the two or three worst urban air pollution hotspots in the nation. Due to its topography and unique location at the convergence of two major inland waterways, accessible to coal, iron, and other natural resources, Pittsburgh faced a horrendous environmental situation that Longhurst traces all the way back to the early 1800s. In this sense, as an example of the rise of modern environmentalism, the Pittsburgh story is also a narrative of an extreme case. Typical it was not, but very useful in highlighting the salient dimensions of the struggle: the power of entrenched old industrial interests; the mobilization of (even) blue collar workers—in particular mothers—into action; the important object lessons of Progressivism and Civil Rights for the environmental movement; and the transformative power that can result. As Longhurst discovered: “They became citizens first and environmentalists second, first demanding their rights as citizens in a participatory democracy in order to then work toward their environmental goals” (p. 29).

For those familiar with the struggles across the United States in the 1970s against air and water pollution in places beyond Pittsburgh—from Los Angeles to Cleveland to Boston—this story will come as no surprise. It is about real politics and power struggles that played out in local town councils, the debates over the science of health effects, the growing animosities between citizen environmentalists and their industrial protagonists, the importance of the new federal air and water laws, and the regulatory powers of the new US Environmental Protection Agency. It is about jobs and especially their loss with the shuttering of industrial facilities—real or simply threatened.

For the unfamiliar, on the other hand, this book will serve as an eye opener. It is readable, full of personal stories and snapshots of organizations on the ground, and it presents a captivating account of the very early and raw era of what is today a far more institutionalized, conventional, and professionalized environmental movement.

The conceptual themes of the book about citizens and environmentalism are raised in the opening chapter and then woven throughout, with the importance of this story for participatory democracy discussed in the concluding chapter. The five chapters that comprise the body of the book are focused on the players, where they confronted one another and how, and the unfolding battle against air pollution in Pittsburgh. They cover the long history of industrial development and the concomitant air