

conclusion and a reflection upon the book's subject matter in the context of contemporary discussions of sovereignty.

DeSombre's *Flagging Standards* offers a rich, insightful assessment of maritime regulatory regimes and the global shipping and fishing industries. Her assessment refrains from imposing a dominant theoretical argument but instead uses a few key concepts from political economy literature to illuminate some of the more intriguing causal dynamics that are at play in this empirical domain. Her research is thorough and her arguments are empirically well supported. The book will likely prove valuable to scholars and practitioners and versatile in its amenability to being read in its entirety or *à la carte*.

Prakash, Aseem, and Matthew Potoski. 2006. *The Voluntary Environmentalists: Green Clubs, ISO 14001, and Voluntary Environmental Regulations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

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Businesses are increasingly eager to constrain their freedom to pollute and join non-state institutions that regulate corporate environmental behavior. Scholars and practitioners observe this trend with great interest, debating how voluntary regulation can mitigate collective-action problems and whether it is a promising tool for responding to environmental challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In *The Voluntary Environmentalists*, Prakash and Potoski argue that research provides no clear answer about the overall efficacy of voluntary environmental programs, acknowledging that while some believe that these programs create a win-win scenario for everyone involved, others see them as pro-business private regimes that lie beyond public accountability. The authors attempt to identify what distinguishes the effective voluntary programs from the ineffective ones, defining effective programs as the ones that are able to induce participants to take progressive environmental action beyond what they would otherwise take unilaterally.

Prakash and Potoski draw on the economic theory of club goods. Voluntary environmental programs are like clubs because they offer their members excludable benefits such as positive image, goodwill, legitimacy and reputation for environmental stewardship. They also produce a broader public good in the form of cleaner environment. As theoretical analysis suggests, such "green clubs" must overcome two collective action problems to be effective. First, they must attract members to join the club and pay the costs of meeting the club's standards. Second, they must prevent members from shirking, for which they may use a variety of enforcement mechanisms. Based on the variation in club standards and enforcement mechanisms, the authors identify four ideal club types: clubs with stringent standards and credible enforcement rules (Mandarin), stringent standards without enforcement (Country clubs), lenient stan-

dards with enforcement (Bootcamps), and lenient standards without enforcement (Greenwashes). The authors do not present a comprehensive test of this typology. Instead, they use an impressive multi-method analysis of a single Bootcamp-type club to test the theoretical framework.

The focus of the empirical analysis is ISO 14001, a rapidly growing international certification standard requiring members to establish an environmental management system. With respect to a club's capacity to attract members, an examination of ISO 14001 diffusion across countries and within the US demonstrates (among an array of findings) that business-government relations and sponsoring organizations play an important role in ISO 14001 adoption, and that firms are more likely to join ISO 14001 in countries where laws are stringent and flexibly enforced and where consumers are better able to use the ISO 14001 brand to discriminate among firms. With respect to ISO 14001 program efficacy, a treatment effects analysis indicates that, on average, ISO 14001 certified facilities have lower pollution emissions and better regulatory compliance records than non-certified facilities.

Prakash and Potoski define voluntary environmental programs as green clubs and institutions, which enables them to analytically connect institutional design and efficacy and expose the incentives firms and other stakeholders have in voluntary regulation. The resulting conceptual framework is generalizable enough to account for varying efficacy across programs. It is also applicable to other issue areas, so it can indeed be a foundation for a more systematic treatment of voluntary regulation. From an institutionalist perspective, the theoretical approach is compelling, because it draws from the well-established but evolving institutionalist research agenda, which has focused primarily on state-based regimes; advances it in the areas that it has overlooked; and adds a novel twist to that agenda. The theoretical analysis fits into the broader research on how institutions matter in shaping the behavior of actors in world politics. This analysis can also contribute to the rapidly emerging research within the political economy approach to international environmental governance.

The novel element that green clubs introduce is the focus on institutional brand image as the primary payoff for institutional members to produce public goods. A central observation here is that enforcement rules to mitigate shirking also influence a club's reputation: less shirking means clubs have a stronger reputation for being effective, which in turn attracts new members to join. This observation has several important implications. For example, as corporate social responsibility becomes more relevant and international in scope and voluntary programs proliferate, institutional brand image becomes central in insuring that a specific institution is chosen in the first place from among several options. Both the institution and its members influence the brand image, jointly maintain it and contribute to institutional efficacy. Applying club theory more broadly to the provision of global public goods is an interesting area for future research: it can contribute to our understanding of institutional choice, the link

between membership size and institutional efficacy, and reputation effects in world politics.

The authors attempt to bridge the divide between scholars studying “domestic” issues and scholars studying “international” issues via their work as they examine both the international and domestic dimensions of ISO 14001’s diffusion and efficacy. While the international dimension of ISO 14001 is empirically well covered, the authors do not explicitly place green clubs within the context and processes of global environmental governance. The need for such a discussion is not only an issue of achieving the balance in the text but, as the two examples illustrate, insights from global environmental governance can contribute to theory development and increase its policy relevance. First, states are trusting voluntary industry efforts to help improve environmental quality, even delegating some authority to them and celebrating their partnerships (e.g. Chapter 30 of Agenda 21 and the 2002 Johannesburg Summit). This increasing global reliance on voluntary partnerships underscores the importance of the book’s findings about the role of business-government relations, especially the role of government regulators in rewarding firms’ participation in voluntary programs. Second, since the emerging economies are now the drivers of global growth, the theory needs to be more explicitly considered in their specific contexts. Understanding vertical linkages between the national and international levels of governance is crucial, because the attractiveness of voluntary standards in an emerging economy operates within wider political battles over environment-related trade barriers, common but differentiated responsibilities, and technology transfer.

The application of the club theory to voluntary environmental programs offers a creative and timely perspective on the challenges and opportunities of voluntary regulation. *The Voluntary Environmentalists* is an important book that advances current thinking about the theory and practice of environmental governance. It will easily induce scholars to join in the further development of the presented theoretical framework and produce new insights into the effectiveness of institutions in providing public goods.

Schwartz, Katrina Z. S. 2006. *Nature and National Identity after Communism: Globalizing the Ethnoscape*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

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It is often assumed that, as globalization extends its reach, the diversity and distinctiveness of national identities and cultures will be eroded. Integration into the global economy and the concurrent flow of information, ideas, and the ethos of capitalism by societies that have until recently stood at the fringes of the global marketplace have led to expectations of, if not total homogenization, at least less distinctive and powerful national identities. For some, this projec-