

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.

*Reviewed by Jane I. Dawson*  
*Connecticut College*

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-

tion is viewed positively as a trend that will gradually lessen ethnic and nationalist conflict, while for others, it is bemoaned as the road to the eventual “McDonaldization” of the world. In *Nature and National Identity After Communism: Globalizing the Ethnoscape*, however, Schwartz challenges the underlying assumption and argues quite convincingly that, rather than undermining national identity, in the case of post-Soviet Latvia integration into the global economy has prompted both an examination and resurgence of key elements of the Latvian national identity.

Focusing on attitudes toward nature, Schwartz examines how the globalizing process of integration into the European Union has brought longstanding beliefs about the Latvian national identity into question, with imaginings of the rural landscape at the center of contestation. Using competing visions of the Latvian rural landscape as a lens, Schwartz illuminates the powerful pressures on societies being pulled into a global web of interactions, leading some members to embrace the new internationalism as a remolded element of the nation’s identity, and others to turn inward and hold tightly to more traditional visions of the nation’s identity. It is through this contestation of inward and outward looking visions that the impact of globalization on Latvia is examined.

The book opens with a theoretical introduction, followed by three chapters exploring the historic role of rural agrarian landscapes in Latvia’s national identity from the 1850s through early 1990s (Part I), then turning to ongoing challenges to this agrarian nationalist vision that have surfaced under the intense pressures generated by Latvia’s “return to Europe” and integration into the European Union (Part II). Both the history-based chapters of Part I and contemporary chapters of Part II are built around case studies, with Part I laying the foundation, establishing visions of the rural landscape as central and enduring (though not monolithic) components of national identity throughout Latvia’s history. Part II builds on these findings and explores internationalist challenges to these traditional visions as the European governmental and non-governmental organizations move in to promote a new vision of rural landscapes. These case chapters are based on extensive field research building on an impressive array of primary sources and interviews, and are both empirically rich and tightly focused around the questions posed in the introductory chapter. The book is also beautifully and evocatively written, with unusually accessible theoretical discussions mingling fluidly with detailed depictions of the many facets of Latvian agrarian life.

In her introduction, Schwartz explores the nexus of nature and concepts of the nation. Her discussion delves into theoretical debates on the malleability of national identity, with Schwartz taking an intermediate position that nonetheless “come[s] down on the side of durability against malleability, at least in the modern era” (p. 19). Using environmental narratives of the rural landscape as her lens, she frames her study around the contestation between agrarian nationalists and internationalists with competing visions of the rural landscape. While the agrarian nationalists have tended to look inwards to find national identity,

viewing Latvia as a “nation of farmers,” with a cultivated agrarian landscape, internationalists have turned their attention outward, seeing Latvia far more as a crossroads between East and West. In Part I, Schwartz examines this competition between inward and outward visions of the Latvian identity by tracing Latvia’s national awakening from the mid-1800s through its brief interwar experience of independent statehood, attempts to remake the rural ethnoscape under communism, and the resurgence of the agrarian nationalist vision in the first decade of post-communist Latvian independence.

While Part I makes a substantial and innovative contribution to environmental history, Part II will be of more interest to both students and scholars concerned with the potentially homogenizing effects of contemporary globalization. By looking at local responses to Western aid aimed at rural development, Schwartz explores how the dominant agrarian nationalist vision of Latvia as a country of farmers and cultivated landscapes is being challenged by the global environmental narrative of sustainable development and biodiversity conservation. Bowing to the reality of agricultural overproduction in Europe and the need for a “post-productivist transition” to a rural economy built around wilderness, biodiversity, and ecotourism, Western donors attempting to propagate a new vision of nature have prompted a renaissance of Latvian internationalism. While agrarian nationalists have remained dominant throughout this struggle, their ascendancy is slipping in the face of global economic pressures, a failing agrarian sector, and the predominance of capital in the hands of the Western donors. Latvia’s return to Europe appears to be inexorably leading to the “globalization of the ethnoscape;” that is, a changing understanding of the relationship between the Latvian nation and nature.

Although Schwartz’s study focuses on the small post-communist country of Latvia, it will be relevant to a much broader audience. Her discussions of national identity and exploration of the changing rural landscape hold relevance for all European countries undergoing the post-productivist transition in their agricultural sectors, and her focus on the nexus of nature and nation suggests an innovative lens for examining challenges to national identity around the globe. Most importantly, though, the book demands a questioning of simplistic assumptions on the impact of globalization on national identities, reminding us that national identity is constantly under contestation. What we are seeing in the integration of post-communist Central Europe into the European Union should not be viewed as the erosion of national identities, but rather the intensification of contestation between competing visions of the nation. Schwartz’s study represents a valuable addition to our understanding of the linkage between globalization and nationalism, as well as a compelling exploration of the nexus of nature and nation.