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Globalization of Environmental Management Standards: Barriers and Incentives in Europe and the United States

Permalink https://escholarship.org/uc/item/48m825nw

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Publication Date

2002-07-26

$\label{eq:constraint} Environmental Management Standards and Globalization$

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 $\label{eq:prepared} Prepared for the Working Group on Globalization and Regulation, Center for German \\ and European Studies$

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EnvironmentalManagementStandardsand Globalization

ABSTRACT

ISO 14001, released in 1996, provides the basic framework for the establishment of an EnvironmentalManagementSystem(EMS)thatcanbeauditedandcanleadtocertification.ISO is not only an acronymfor the International Organiza tion for Standardization but is also a term that refers to its Greek meaning: "equal." The main rationale for the creation of ISO 14001 was that its worldwide acceptance should expedite international trade by harmonizing otherwise diffuse environmental man agement standards and by providing an internationally accepted blueprintforsustainabledevelopment, pollution prevention, and compliance assurance.

However, the implementation of ISO14001 varies significantly across the globe. In 1998, 52.4% of the 7,8 87 ISO14001 certified facilities were located in Western Europe and 37% in Asia. On the contrary, American companies, although a head in many areas of environmental management, seem reluctant to adopt this voluntary standard. U.S. certified facilities acco unted for only 3.7% of the total of ISO14001 certified facilities in the world in 1998.

This paper looks at the institutional and organizational factors at well as the market incentives that might facilitate or hinder the adoption of an EMS standard such as ISO14001 in Europe and in the United States. The analysis is supported by primary data collected from a phone question naire to 140 firms in Europe and aquestion naire mailed to 55 firms in the U.S.

 ^{*} Thisre searchbuildsonaprojectaccomplished at the Bren School at UCSB by Brad Edwards,
Jill Gravender, Annette Killmer, Genia Schenke and Mel Willis under the supervision of
professors James Frew and Arturo Keller and that was sponsored by
Groupon EMS .Ithankthemvery much for their essential input.
This paper also benefited from
the comments of David Vogel, Robert Kagan and Diahanna Lynch at UC
Berkeley. Ialso thank
Janet Kayfetz for hervaluable contribution

I. INTRODUCTION

ISO 14001, released in 1996, is an E nvironmental Management System (EMS) that can be audited and certified. The development of ISO 14001 as an international standard for EMS is a clear consequence of globalization. The main rationale for the creation of ISO 14001 was that its worldwide accep tance should expedite international trade by harmonizing otherwise diffuse environmental management standards and by providing an internationally accepted blueprint for sustainable development, pollution prevention, and compliance assurance. ISO 14001 is t herefore an example of the trading -up hypothesis where market forces are the drivers of increased environmental standards. This chapter analyzes the mechanisms of diffusion of ISO 14001 in Europe and in the United States.

ISO 14001 is an example of proced ural harmonized standards where all nations should adopt similar environmental management systems and procedures. However the level of implementation of ISO 14001 differs across countries. In 1998, 52.4% of the 7,887 ISO 14001 certified facilities located in Western Europe and 37% in Asia. On the contrary, American companies, although a head in many areas of environmental management, seem reluctant to adopt this voluntary standard. U.S. certified facilities accounted for only 3.7% of the total of ISO 14001 certified facilities in the worldin 1998 (see Table 1).

[Inserttable1abouthere]

ISO14001 represents a case of a strict standard harmonization with continued divergence in the effectiveness of its implementation. I argue that the main factor that hamp ers the global diffusion of ISO 14001 is the persistence of national policy divergence in an increasingly globalized economy. This paper analyzes the economic, institutional and normative mechanisms that facilitate or hamper the global diffusion of ISO 140 01. It describes in details the role that such factors play in the specific U.S. and European context.

An Environmental management system (EMS) is one of the tools, which organizations can use to voluntary implement environmental policy. It consists of "a number of interrelated elements that function together to help a company manage, measure, and

improve the environmental aspects of its operations." ¹Howeverife ach company designs its own system to meet its own particular needs, one can see that the resull thing systems might differ widely among firms making it difficult to compare their results. To cope with this problem, industry associations have developed codes of practices and some countries have adopted national EMSs. ² However, without a common international standard, companies would be forced to deal with dozens of separate and potentially incompatible EMSs for every country where they conduct business. This could potentially increase their cost and impose tradebarriers.

The ISO 14001 series environm ental management systems standards was introduced on the coattails of the success of ISO 9000, which is the series of quality management system standards. ISO 9000 has become a de facto requirement for doing business in many industries. ³ The total number o f certifications worldwide has passed 250,000 in 1999. ISO 14001 was created with the idea that it would also become a prerequisite for firmstoconduct their business globally.

However, it is not clear how far the internationalization of standardized environmental management systems can go as specific cultural, institutional and organizational issues might hamper the global diffusion of such a standard. These concerns might be more acuteforenvironmentalstandardsasfirmsmightidentifyregulatoryviolat ionsduring the implementation of the environmental certification. The adoption of the standard might thus be associated with high transaction costs if regulatory agencies were to use such informationagainstfirms.

ISO14001 is voluntary but not free and firms will invest in ISO14001 if they perceive that it enhances their environmental performance as well as facilitate their business in specific markets. In this chapter, I analyze the characteristics of the institutional environment that favor or discour rage the adoption of ISO14001. Iargue that the standard will be adopted in context where regulatory agencies along with stakeholders pushfor its development. When regulatory agencies provide some guidance for its adoption as well as show some regulatory flexibility to adopting firms, there are more incentives to adoption than incontext where regulatory agencies pay little attention to the standard or when there are potential liabilities issues linked to the adoption of ISO 14001.

Furthermore, firms will have higher incentives to adopt in context where stakeholders such as distributors, customers, and insurance companies recognize the value of the standard.

European companies benefited from a strong regulatory commitment through the Environmental and Man agement Eco -Audit Scheme (EMAS) which was a regulation issued by the European Commission to favor the development of a European Environmental Management Standard. This regulatory push favored the development of competencies and environmental resources that privileged the development of environmental management practices among European companies. The analysis is based on a telephone survey of European firms that was conducted for the EMAS assessment by the European Commission.

In contrast American companies, although ahead in many areas of environmental management, seem reluctant to adopt this voluntary standard. This could be linked to American Institutional factors that might impede the diffusion of ISO 14001 in the United States. The analysis is supported by primary data collected from a questionnaire mailed to are presentative sample of ISO 14001 certified facilities in the United States.

II. ISO TOREDUCENON -TARIFFTRADEBARRIER S?

Since1990therehavebeeneffortsatthenationallevel, within the European Union and at the international level to standard ize EMS sby defining the essential elements which such a system should contain. EMS standards such as the British Standard BS 7750 ⁴, the European Union (EU) Eco -Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS) ⁵ have been developed to provide organizations with a standard ized framework that would allow them to implement an EMS. The international standard ISO 14001 issued in 1996 is more ambitious as it is intended to remove non -tariff barriers to trade linked to environment tal practices and to level the international playing field in terms of EMS standard. The development of the ISO 14000 Series was stimulated by two important agreements: the RioAgreement(1992) and the GATT Uruguay Round Ministerial Decision on Trade and the Environment (1994).

TheGlobalEnvironmentalInitiativeinRiodeJaneiroin1992wasanessentialstepinthe formationofISO14000 .⁶ OveronehundredofthecountriesattendingtheUnitedNations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) com mitted to improving international environmental management programs and petitioned the International StandardizationOrganizationtoadoptthiscause.

The Uruguay Round Ministerial Decision on Trade and the Environment established a committee in 1994 under the World Trade Organization (WTO) to harmonize environmental and trade policy based on two key factors: (i)"identifying trade and environmental policy linkages to promote sustainable development" and (ii)"avoiding protectionist measures while promoting [the] environmental objective agreed to at the [UNCED]".⁷

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On the heels of ISO 9000's success,⁸ the International Standard Organization (ISO) responded to the demands to address the field of environmental law and pollution. ISO responded by establishingt he Strategic Advisory Group on the Environment (SAGE) to determine whether an international environmental management standard could "promote a common approach to environmental management, enhance an organization's ability to attain and measure improvements in environmental performance, and facilitate trade and remove tradebarriers." ¹⁰SAGE assessed the need for an international EMS standard that would encourage responsible environmental management without violating GATT. As a result, Technical Committee 20 7(TC207) was formed in 1993 to develop the ISO 14000 Series.

In September 1996, ISO issued the first edition of the ISO 14000 Series, a set of guidelines for developing systems and practices in six environmental sectors. The Series was divided into six sections, each containing one or more standards:

- -ISOstandards14001and14004 -EnvironmentalManagementSystems
- -ISOstandards14010to14012 -EnvironmentalAuditing
- -ISOstandards14020to14025 -EnvironmentalLabeling
- -ISOstandard14031 -Environme ntalPerformanceEvaluation
- -ISOstandards14040to14043 -LifeCycleAssessment
- -ISOstandard14060 -EnvironmentalAspectsinProductStandards

The first and only edition that was published in 1996 focused on the EMS standard ISO 14001 and the Environmental Auditing standards (ISO14010 -14012)¹¹.

ISO14001 is the only certifiable standard in the ISO14000 Series. All other standards in the Series describe supporting functions, which serve to maximize the effectiveness of the ISO14001 EMS. However, the implementation of these supporting standards is not required for ISO14001 certification.

TherearefiverequirementsofISO14001:formationofacorporateenvironmentalpolicy and commitment to an EMS, development of a plan for implement ation, implement and operation of the EMS, monitoring and possible corrective action, and top management review and continual improvement.

Worldwide acceptance and incorporation of ISO 14001 should expedite international trade by harmonizing otherwise diffuse environ mental management standards and by providing an internationally accepted blueprint for sustainable development, pollution prevention, and compliance assurance. However, if ISO 14001 is implemented unevenly across countries, there is a danger that ISO 14001 may itself serve as a barrier to trade, especially if it promotes preferential selection of certified companies over non -certified ones.

III. WHICH INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTISAPPROP RIATEFOR ISO14001?

The institutional environment is an essential influencin gfactor for firms, a sitcreates not only the rules of the game but also the market for environmental products and services. ¹² ISO 14001 requires firms to provide information to the certification body that they may consider as 's ensitive'. Once the firm h as disclosed this information to the certification body, it cannot take it back. Furthermore, ISO 14001 certification can have potential legal

consequences interms of confidentiality and discoverability. Indeed, the development of the written EMS document ation, identification of regulatory compliance requirements and third party access to sensitive materials, might have legal impacts.

The legal issue that many companies struggle with, and that in some cases could discourage them from implementing ISO1400 1, is the potential discovery of regulatory violations that firms had not yet identified or resolved. ISO14001 in advertently leads to

the discovery of non -compliance with applicable environmental regulations. While compliance with environmental awsandr egulations should theoretically beconsidered a benefit of implementing ISO 14001, the identification of violations during the implementation phase or self - or third party audits can lead to potential liabilities. The violated regulations may involve stric tliability (intentorneg ligence need not be shown) and/or the duty to disclose violations.

AnotherpotentialriskoflegalliabilityisthatISO14001requirescompaniestodocument the details of environmental aspects of their operations that are not related to regulatory compliance in order to track the effectiveness of the system. Audits conducted under ISO 14001 check these documents and may point out weaknesses in the company's handling of environmental matters such as records of system failures and minor spills. These findings, while they may not be governed by any regulations might still be used in legal proceedings as incriminating evidence. Thus, if a company adopts an EMS with a written policy statement on environmental matters which specified targets and objectives, it may also be defining astandard under which it may be held accountable.

IV. ISO14001 ANDTHESEARCHFORA COMPETITIVEADVANTA GE

An EMS standard like ISO 14001 can be identified as an intangible resource or a capability since it ref ers to the organization's set of skills linked to environmental management.¹⁵Theabilitytointegratethenaturalenvironmentintothestrategicplanning process could potentially offers a firm the opportunity to develop a valuable capability thatcouldbe transformedintoacompetitiveadvantage.¹⁶

AtpresentifisnotclearhowfirmscancreatevaluebyadoptingISO14001.Thestandard itself is an intangible resource or capability and can be regarded as more a process standard than a product standard. IS O 14001 certification is therefore not a label that would signal to the market how a product has been produced with environmental sensitivity.¹⁷Thisdiscussioniscomplicatedbythefactthatconsumersmightnotidentify or understand the advantages of ISO 14001, as the standard does not provide any real measure of environmental performance. Although ISO 14001 requires an organization to measure and track its environmental performance, there are no adopted or commonly

acceptedEnvironmentalPerformanceIndi cators.Section4.5.1ofISO14001 requires an organization to have procedures to "monitor and measure, on a regular basis, the key characteristics of its operations and activities that can have a significant impact on the environment" as part of the check ing and corrective action portion of its EMS. Furthermore, the standard does not establish absolute requirements for environmental performance other than a commitment to compliance with applicable regulations, and it does not identify environmental performance as a factor in the actual certification process.

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Duetothislackofdefinitionofpreciseenvironmentalvariablesformonitoringpurposes, the resulting data may not provide companies, policy -makers, and the public with accurate information they c an use to make comparative judgements about organizational environmental performance issues. It is therefore very difficult for consumers to put a value on this resource.

If not a direct signal to customers, ISO 14001 could also signal to other stakeholde rssuch as investors that the management of a certified firm is environmentally sound. The expanding nature of environmental risks and liabilities has led investment and insurance groups to require more thoughtful environmental analysis in the preparatory stages of a transaction. Companies with pollution prevention programs and EMSs like ISO 14001 should be farmore attractive risks to insurance underwriters and could gain better rates. However, the difficulty in assessing environmental performance might al sobe a problem for these stakeholders since the ylack tangible elements on which to base the iranalysis of afirm's environmental performance.

IfISO14001 is adopted by many firms in one market, and if firms require their suppliers to be ISO14001 certi fied, it is clear that the standard will be come are quirement for any and all firms wishing to access this market. Certification will function as a barrier hampering a non -certified firm's entry into the market. For example, the large diffusion of environm ental management standards such as BS 5570 or EMAS in some sectors of European countries might be a real obstacle to the entry of foreign firms into the European market. Since ISO 14001 is supposed to be applicable on a global scale, it

seemsobvious that firms wishing to enter such a market would have incentive stoob tain ISO14001 certification.

Although ISO 14001 is open to any company that wishes to invest in obtaining the certification, there is a learning experience curve at the sector or even instit utionallevel that might facilitate the adoption of the certification. It is thus easier for a firm in a particular industry to obtain certification in an environment where other firms in that same industry have already been certified. Since the standard d oes not offer much guidance, it is important that firms be able to be nefit from the experience of other firms in the same sector or from consulting companies which have a proven experience of certificationinthatsector.Inanenvironmentwheremanyfirms withinthesame industry have been certified, the development of knowledgeable consulting companies will be useful for firms in search of certification. In such a context, a certification organization mightalsobeavailable. ISO 14001 might therefore be aresourcedifficulttoacquirefor those firms, which do not benefit from an environment where other similar firms have already had experience with the certification procedure. ISO 14001 is clearly derived fromISO9000, which is the standard fort ot alqu alitymanagement.Firmsthatknowhow to deal with ISO 9000 should be more inclined to obtain ISO 14001 certification.

In particular, since the standard does not present "tangible" results regarding improvementof a firm's environmental performance, it is necessary that all stakeholders believe in the benefits of ISO 14001 standardization and make a commitment to promote it.¹⁹ Only in this way can firms transform certification into a competitive advantage. Furthermore firms would be more likely to pursue cer tification if the ybelong to a sector where process manufacturing as well as pollution prevention are core components of business advantage.

Itseemslikelythatfirms would also pursue ISO 14001 certification if they were willing to enter countries where certification was a requirement. Certification would then be similar to, and would function as, a barrier to trade. ISO 14001 could provide a competitive advantage to firms within a given country since it is a resource that is difficult for firms located utside of the country to imitate.

V. THEDEVELOPMENTOF ISO14001 IN EUROPE

The situation of Europe differs from the one in Asia and in the United States as ISO 14001 could grow on the ground of existing Environmental Management Standards (EMSs).TheBritish BS7750andtheEuropeanEMASwerethefirstEMSsimplemented in the world. This providedEurope with a lead advantage and some experience to build on when ISO 14001 was put into place. Furthermore, EMAS, the European standard developed by the European Commission benefited from a strong support by European authorities that promoted his diffusion into European firms. These two elements, experienceandregulatory promotion of the standard would provide a favorable ground to the development of ISO 14001 in European rope by limiting transaction costs associated with the adoption of the standard and favoring the development of potential firmlevel competitive advantage.

In the course of the assessment of the implementation of EMAS in 1997, a survey was conducted with c ompetent bodies, accreditation bodies, accreditation environmental verifiers(AEV)andEMASregisteredsitesinthe15MemberStates. ²⁰Thispartbuildson theresultsofthesurvey.Ifirstexplainhowtheinstitutionalenvironmentshowedcredible commitment to the promotion of the standard therefore reducing the costs of acquiring the standard. Second, I show how EMAS and BS 7750 provided the enough past experienceonwhichEuropeanfirmscouldbuildtofacilitatetheircertificationprocess.

Thethreatof amandatoryEMS

It is in the UK, in 1992, that the world's first environmental standard -BS 7750 - was published in March 1992. The standard was subjected to a 2 -year pilot implementation program involving almost 500 participants, and was modified on the basis of the feedback obtained from the program. The modified standard was published in January 1994.

At the same time that the British Standard Institute (BSI) began work on BS 7750, the European Commission was setting out its proposal for an eco -audit s cheme: the Environmental Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS). EMAS was adopted by the

Council of Ministers on June 29, 1993. ²¹Because EMAS is a regulation, rather than a directive, itimmediately binds all EUM ember States. ²²

The European Commission origin ally intended to pursue mandatory participation but business lobbying successfully prevented this. The European Commission did, however, retain the right to adopt compulsory registration in future, adding power to the legislative impetus towards environmen tal audit. ²³ The European Commission also at first required an annual auditing which was changed to are quirement that the audit will be executed at intervals no longer than three years.

The EMAS regulation requires the European Commission to review the progress of the EMAS no more than five years after adoption. Because the original EMAS proposal contemplated a mandatory scheme, the scheduled renewal in 1999 could result in a mandatory scheme.

TheperceivedthreatofEMASbecomingamandatoryschemewasa lsointensifiedbythe choice of "competent certification bodies" that could be linked to Member States environmentalministries.Forexample,inFrancethechoiceofcompetentbodyhasbeen thecauseofmuchanxietyinindustrywiththecloselinkbetween theinspectionauthority (regulator) and competent body leading to concern over possible increased control of industrial sites, which in turn has raised the issue of the voluntary nature of EMAS. ThereforeinFranceEMASwasperceivedasafirststeptoa mandatorystandard.

Theimportant difference between EMAS and BS7750 is that the later does not have the former's commitment to the publication of audit findings regarding environmental performance, a disclosure with which companies are often uncomfortab le. It has been suggested that BS7750 would serve to introduce companies to the techniques, allowing them to cut their teeth on the less publicly scrutinized standards of BS 7750 before moving on to EMAS. The similarity between the two schemes should ther efore encourage companies to set up an environmental management system and assess their progress before taking the keystept opublication of performance.

The early availability of competing national environmental management standards such as BS7750 (whi chwere withdrawn and replaced by ISO14001 in countries such as the

UK) when the EMAS scheme was launched April 1995 is one factor contributing to the current success of ISO14001.

Inbrief, in Europe, firms could have been adopting ISO14001 under the pressure that the European Commission would issue a mandatory environmental management scheme with environmental performance measures. In addition, EMSs in Europe benefited from a strong promotion by competent bodies, which were also granted some regulatory flexibility to EMSs' certified companies.

PromotionofEMASandregulatoryflexibility

AccordingtointerviewsofEMAS competentbodies conducted in 1997, there have been several measures to inform companies of the requirements of EMAS. Conferences, seminar, brochures, and guidelines were the methods most frequently used by Member States to inform companies of the requirements of EMAS. ²⁵ Six Member States could quantify the financial budget allocated to promote the participation of small and medium companies. The amount was of ECU 35.1 million since 1995 (approximately \$34 millions).²⁶

Furthermore, in some Member States regulatory flexibility was granted to EMAS certified firms. For example, German authorities have begun to ease administrative enforcement requ irements on EMAS certified sites. In the heavily regulated German Länd of Bavaria many industrial sites sought EMAS registration after it was indicated that the environmental regulatory regime would be reduced for EMAS registered sites, this infact has ye ttohappen. Within Germany, apolitical decision was also made to try and keep the competent body for the scheme as close as possible to business. The result was that rather than having one centralized competent body, 44 Chambers of Industry and Commerce and 21 Chambers of Skilled Craftsman were designated as EMAS competent bodies.

Inconclusion, in Europe, EMAS was granted a high regulatory credibility and flexibility. Under the threat of a potential mandatory EMAS, firms could use ISO 14001 as a way to learn how to become EMAS certified. This was further facilitated by the increasing

compatibility between EMAS and ISO 14001 that was implemented in the revision of EMAS in 1997.

Compatibility of EMAS and ISO 14001

Asaresultof the European Commission "De cisions on the recognition of ISO14001 and certification procedures for use with the EMAS Regulation", it is now possible for verifiers to avoid duplication of effort when firms seek both EMAS and ISO 14001 certifications. ²⁷

AlthoughEMAScontinuestodiff erfromISO14001initsdepthanddemandwithregard to commitment, transparency and environmental performance, the structure of the environmentalmanagementsystemistobeanalogoustothestructuredetailedintheISO 14001standard.

Alreadyin1997, ofthe140EMAScertifiedsitesthatwerepartoftheabove -mentioned survey,47% werealsoISO14001certified. ²⁸Only15% ofregisteredsitesofsmallsized enterprises werenot certified ISO14001. Of the 66 registered sites certified ISO14001, overat hird(38%)hadachieved ISO14001 after EMAS verification and 36% at the same time as EMAS verification. ²⁹ The majority (92%) of the 66 registered sites certified ISO 14001 had their ISO 14001 certification undertaken by the same organization that undertook their EMAS site's verification. ³⁰

Since there is a high correlation between EMAS and ISO 14001 certification it is valuable to use the results of the survey of EMAS certified facilities to understand the behavior of ISO 14001 certified facilities in Europ e. We will look at several aspects of EMS certification. The first one refers to the time to get certification; the second one refers to stakeholder involvement and the third one to the competitive advantage gained through EMS certification.

TimetogetE MScertification

EU regulatory credibility also favored the development of certification bodies or "verifiers" and also of the initiation of a market for consulting companies. These elements facilitated the ease of the adoption of EMAS and subsequently ISO 14001 for European

firms.IndeedconsultingfirmsknowingthecommitmentoftheEuropeanCommissionto promotethestandardcouldinvestinconsultingservicestohelpfirmsadoptthestandard. Thiswouldthenreducefirms'coststogetcertificationast heycouldrelyonamarketof consulting firms. In 1997, 254 verifiers have been accredited in 10 Members States, of which 72 (28%) are organizations (as opposed to individuals). Out of the 72 organizationsverifiers,57(79%)arealsocertifierstoISO14 001.³¹

ItishoweverdifficulttoassesstherealcostforEMAS facilities to get EMAS certification. The only measures we could gather concern the time firms take to get EMAS certification. 64% of registered sites with EMAS take more than 10 months to implemen tEMAS. ³² Theelements of the certification process that took the most time were the "environmental management system" (39%) and the "environmental review" (29%). ³³ Firms that were seeking EMAS and ISO 14001 certification conjointly would take more time to g et EMAS certification than firms that were seeking EMAS certification than firms that were seeking EMAS certification of ISO 14001 in EMAS certification procedures.

Stakeholderinvolvement

EMAS has more obligations than ISO 14001. It requires firms to provide an "Environmental Statement" that can be disclosed to the public. The Environmental statement swidely distributed. The majority of all registered sites (88%) distribute over 100 and 499 copies of their environmental statement. ³⁴ This figure increases to 94% for large sized enterprises. 45% of all registered sites have had more than 100 of their environmental statement specifically requested. Therefore unlike ISO 14001, EMAS encompasses apublic document on the environmental performance of the firm. Firms can use this as atool to provide and the environmental management to stake holder.

Indeed, all registered sites viewed customers (60%) and the local community to the site (44%) as the main audiences for their si tes environmental statement. 35 60% of all registered sites viewed the environmental statement as a useful communication tool with their stakeholders. 36

There is therefore a difference between ISO 14001 and EMAS in terms of measurement and diffusion of envir on mental performance. Firms can use the Environmental Statement to communicate with stakeholders on their environmental policy.

Competitiveadvantage

In Europe, the European Commission and Member States Ministries promoted EMSs. It is therefore interesting to see how the "market" for environmental standard developed. The survey of EMAS certified facilities provides some responses on how firms perceive the advantages of EMAS. The top three benefits cited by all registered sites were "cost savings" (31%), "b etter image" (29%) and "improved employee moral" (26%). "Competitive advantage" would be important for only 11% of certified facilities at the same level of "assured regulatory compliance" (11%). In addition to an efficiency rationale, EU firms are seeking to establish good relationships with their stakeholders ratherthanjustseekingacompetitive advantage.

In conclusion, European firms responded to a regulatory pressure that favored the development of an Environmental Management Standard. The European institutional environment reduced the potential search and information costs linked to EMAS certification. Furthermore, it facilitated the development of a certification system with "verifiers" and consulting companies. This eased the certification proces s. Furthermore EMAS withits required "environmental statement" provided a clear and positive signal to stakeholders concerning firms' commitment to improvements in environmental performance. Firms could then use EMAS as a communication tool to improve the ir relations with stakeholders.

SinceISO14001 is easier to implement than EMAS, it might be perceived as a good way to get prepared to a potential "mandatory" environmental management standard that could be installed by the European Commission. Furtherm ore, ISO 14001 with its international dimension provides also economies of scale and may facilitate market entry formultinational companies. Therefore, in Europe, firms could perceive that the benefits of getting ISO14001 would out weight strans action osts.

VI. FIRMS' INCENTIVESTOOBTAIN CERTIFICATIONINTH E U.S.

The case of the United States differs strongly from the European one, as there was no previous environmental management standard in place previous to ISO 14001. The U.S. is marked by a very sophi sticated command and control system of regulations in which ISO 14001 has difficulty to find a place. Furthermore the adversarial culture between the industry and the regulatory agency does not favor the development of collaborative regulatoryschemes.

Thenumber of U.S. certified facilities is low compared to European countries. With 291 certified facilities representing 90 firms in 1998, the United States lagged behind 90 ther countries (United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Japan, France, Australia) (See Table 1.). Within the U.S., many ISO 14001 certification decisions were made by non -U.S. firms. 30.8% of certified firms had their head quarters outside the United States. Of the foreign multinationals that had certified their facilities, the large stpercentages were from Japan (19.2%) and the European Union (9.6%). ³⁸ This raises the question of whether there are specific characteristics of the U.S. environment that deter U.S. firms from seeking certification.

To evaluate the dr ivers and barriers to the implementation of ISO 14001 in the United States, a questionnaire was mailed to 152 U.S. certified companies. Of the 152 questionnairesmailed, atotalof55responses were received by February 15 th, 1999. The responses represent 36% of those surveyed, as well as over 30% of the 200 U.S. ISO 14001 certified firms identified in the Globus International Database as of November 1998. ³⁹Thequestionnaire asked managers to state the importance of several factors that led to the irdecisi onto be come ISO 14001 certified. Two of the questions from the survey were selected for analysis in this chapter. The first question concerns the incentives for a firm to adopt ISO 14001. The second question pertains to the constraints associated with the implementation of ISO 14001 certification.

ISO14001 and the U.S. institutional environment

Concerning theregulatory framework either favoring or discouraging the adoption of ISO 14001, the variables considered in the survey were: "greater permit flexibi lity," "revised

approach to regulatory inspections," "fewer regulatory fines," and "decreased permit costs." These variables were rated from not important (1) to very important (5). A high majority of firms did not consider these factors to be important in centives to their -six percent (76%) of the decision to become ISO 14001 certified. More than seventy firms in our sample considered "greater permit flexibility" not to be a very important factor in their decision to apply for ISO 14001 cert ification. Like wise, seventy seven percent(77%)ofthefirmssaidthat"revisedapproachtoregulationinspections" wasnot very important; se venty six percent (76%) said the same for "greater permit flexibility"; seventythreepercent(73%)for"fewerregulatoryfines" ;andeightyfivepe rcent(85%) for "decreased permitcosts" (see Table 2.). According to this survey, it seems clear that the institutional set -up does not provide any incentive for U.S. firms to adopt the standard. In fact, the institutional set -up seems a constraint that hampers firms from adoptingthestandard.

In contrast, the variables which represent regulatory constraints, "uncertainty with regulatoryagencies',utilizationofEMSauditinformation",and"potentiallegalpenalties fromvoluntarydis closure",areconsideredtobeimportantbyfirms.Thefive -pointscale ranged from "not a constraint" (1) to "a very serious constraint" (5). Sixty two percent (62%) of surveyed firms considered "uncertainty with regulatory agencies' utilization of EMS auditinformation" to be a constraint. Likewise, sixty percent (60%) indicated that the "potentiallegalpenalties from voluntary disclosure" and sixtynine percent (69%) that the "lack of regulatory flexibility" were also a constraint (see Table 3.).

ISO14001 and these archfor a competitive Advantage

Itisclearfrom the survey that, in the U.S. at least, whether or not ISO 14001 is adopted, is not related to stakeholders' requirements. A vast majority of firms considered various stakeholders as non - important ince ntives in seeking certification: "increased shareholder value" accounting for sixty four percent (64%); "customer requirement" accounting for sixty-eightpercent (68%); "buyer requirement" accounting for ninety -percent (90%); and "lender requirement" accounting for ninety -four percent (94%) (See Table 2.). Very few U.S. companies at present require that their suppliers be ISO 14001 certified. IBM is one

of the few in this case which might explain the high rate of certification in the electronics industry.⁴⁰

According to the survey results, ISO 14001 certification is better used as a public demonstration of environmental stewardship.Sixty six percent (66%) of the firms in our sample consider "public demonstration of environmental stewardship" as a n important reason to get ISO 14001 certification. However, "communication with community" and "marketing/advertising opportunity" are less important for firms as incentives in seeking certification accounting for only forty percent (46%) and forty three p ercent (43%), respectively (SeeTable 2.)

One of the main incentives to get ISO 14001 originates from the need to access markets where ISO 14001 is a requirement. The variables representing the potential to gain a competitive advantage from the adoption fISO 14001 are all considered by the majority of managers as important reasons to seek certification: "increased international trade opportunities" accounting for fifty one percent (51%), "increased competitive advantage" accounting for sixty two percent (62%), and "greater market share" accounting for fifty four percent (54%) (See Table 2.). These results indicate that firms believe that there is a positive link between the adoption of ISO 14000 and the gain ing of business advantages.

Inconclusion,our resultsshowthat:

- Firms that get certified are mostly multinationals with experience in dealing with managementstandards.

-Firms believe that the U.S. institutional set -up does not facilitate the adoption of ISO 14001 and might even be a constraint to its implementation.

-Thereisneitherdemand, norinvolvement from U.S. stakeholderstopush firms to adopt the standard. U.S.

- Managers do believe that the adoption of the ISO 14001 standard will improve their environmental performance. However, since U.S. stakeholders do not value the standard, it is mainly used to demonstrate environmental stewards hip to the public and to increase trade opport unities.

VII. DISCUSSION

Inacompetitivemarketinwhichacontractlossduetonon -compliancecouldirreparably damagetheprestigeandfinancesofacompany,ISO14001offersanorganizedapproach to managing environmental issues. Using this approach, a company can potentially cut environment-relatedcostsandincreaseprofitsinavarietyofways.

However, the p rocess of acquiring ISO 14001 certification might be costly if there is uncertainty about regulatory agency commitment to the standard. An EMS audit under ISO 14001 may reveal not only procedural defects, but also environmental performance problems includi ng noncompliance with existing command and control regulations. If companies are required to disclose this information to appropriate enforcement authorities as part of the certification process, and if these authorities do not commit to interpreting these audits in a positive way, then there will be resulting transaction costs for certified companies. These additional costs are potentially a major obstacle to the initiation of ISO 14001 certification.

The European context seems to provide an appropriate g round for the development of EMS standards. The Institutional environment, the European Commission, has been at the origin of the development of EMAS in conjunction with industry. Cultural elements in Europe such as good quality relationship between regula tory agencies and industry have mitigated firms' fears of transaction costs linked to the adoption of the EMS certification.

Thelackofcooperation between industry and regulatory agencies in the U.S. most likely accounts for the slow pace of adoption of ISO 14001. The standard stipulates that audit findings from internal or external audits be documented in a detailed written audit report. In the U.S. context, firms might fear that these audit reports would become the new "smokinggun" of environmentalli tigation. Indeed, it is not clear how corporations would be able to protect the confidentiality of audit reports and other documents solely through the attorney -client privilege and the attorney work product doctrine, which are the two traditional legal privileges that grant confidentiality. ⁴¹

Furthermore the cost of designing and implementing an EMS might be high in an environmentwherethereislittleexperiencetobuildonwithintheindustryaswellasfew consulting companies. We have described how the development of the certification scheme for EMAS in Europe favored such experience and facilitated the certification processforfirms.

The experience of the firm in dealing with management standards is also important. The time and cost for implementing I SO 14001 depends on whether a site has a functioning ISO 9000 Quality Management System to build on, whether it has implemented Responsible Care (Pollution Prevention, Community Awareness and Emergency Response and Process Safety programs) and if it has sy stems in place to maintain compliance with state and federal regulations. European firms are well ahead their American counterparts interms of the adoption of ISO 9000 Ostandard. ⁴²This might also be one of the element explaining the difference between the two continents in the difficulty of the implementation of ISO 14001 in the U.S.

Although commitment to improved environmental performance and compliance with existing command and control regulations are prerequisites to ISO 14001 certification, the ISO 14 001 standard does not provide any real measure of environmental performance. It is therefore difficult for stakeholders to assess the value of such a standard. Furthermore, since ISO 14001 is a process standard and is not linked to any eco-labeling standar d, it does not send a clear signal to customers regarding a firm's environmental improvements. In addition, as the standard is not linked to any life cycle analysis it might not encourage a firm to actively research innovative and lucrative solutions to environmentally sensitive components of the production process. However, ISO14001 is aresource that might allow afirm to penetrate for eignmarkets where EMS standards areal ready requirements.

The survey of U.S. certified firms supported these propositions. Firms seem to perceive that American regulatory institutions do not provide enough regulatory flexibility to allow the smooth development of ISO 14001. Stakeholder pressures to push the adoption of the standard are still weak. The data indicate that firms are using the certification more to increase trade opport unities than to obtain a competitive advantage within their own

market. In conclusion, it is not clear in the United States whether the competitive advantage gained from the adoption of the ISO 1 4001 standard offsets its potential associatedtransactioncosts.

Thispaperhascompared the diffusion of ISO 14001 in Europe and in the United States. It would be very interesting to compare these cases to the Asian context in which the diffusion of ISO 14001 seems quite rapid. Like in Europe, Asian regulatory agencies have actively pushed the development of ISO 14001. Many Asian countries have government funded ISO 14001 support programs already in place and some of them are hoping that in the longrun, an ISO 14000 system will assist the minmonitoring industry.

VIII. CONCLUSION

SpearheadedbytheInternationalOrganizationforStandardization, with the participation of 50 of its 111 member nations, ISO 14001 is a voluntary environmental management and proc edural standard. However the implementation of ISO 14001 is not even between countries as there is continual divergence in the effectiveness of its implementation. This paper has described the economic, institutional and normative mechanisms that are favoring or discouraging the diffusion of ISO 14001 in specific national contexts.

Since ISO 14001 is voluntary, firms will seek certification if the potential transaction costs of acquiring the certification are offset by the advantages the certification will ultimately provide to the firm. This chapter has analyzed how a specific institutional context can impact firm's incentives to adopt an EMS standard. The role of regulatory agencies is key to reduce the costs that are linked to firms seeking certification. Ihave shown how European governments have been providing assistance to firms seeking certification. Furthermore, since the standard does not present tangible results of actual improvement of environmental performance to a firm's stakeholders, it is there fore necessary that all stakeholders believe in the benefits of the ISO 14001 standardization andpromoteit. With such ademand from stakeholders firms are more likely to transform certification into apotential competitive advantage. Inconclusion, witho utthe support of regulatory agencies, the dynamics of market or competitive forces alone may not be

sufficientdriverstopromotethediffusionofISO14001 and guaranty the convergence of voluntary environmental standards.

It seems that ISO 14001 are mor elikely to be adopted when government believe in the competitive advantage that their firms will gain out of ISO 14001 certification. Regulatory agencies by setting up a system that facilitates the adoption of ISO 14001, provide the ground for their firm to be a head of competition in "lagger" countries. This is the case of some Asian and European countries where regulatory agencies compete for the adoption of a standard that might create barriers to trade for their industry. ⁴⁴ This is consistent with the tr ading-up hypothesis developed by Vogel. ⁴⁵ Such competitiveness rational can promote aracetothetop concerning voluntary environmental standard.

Apparently this incentive was not present in the US. U.S. firms seem quite hesitant to enterthis race, asth eEPA does not facilitate the development of the standard. Firms are therefore reluctant to adopt a standard, which does not provide much benefits on their national market. U.S. ISO14001 certified companies are mostly multinational companies operating on European and Asian markets. There is still some skeptic is minthe U.S. with regards to self -regulation which might be seen as a legitimate instrument. As ISO14001 is diffusing rapidly in other countries it is not clear how long U.S. regulatory agencies will be able to resist the trend.

Table1.ISO14001certifiedfacilitiesworldwide

Region	Country	Certifiedfacilities	%total
WesternEurope		4136	52.4
	UK	921	11.7
	Austria	132	45.4
	Denmark	314	218.1
	Finland	206	70.8
	France	295	204.9
	Germany	651	8.3
	Ireland	96	33.0
	Italy	123	85.4
	Netherlands	341	4.3
	Spain	164	2.1
	Sweden	304	3.9
	Switzerland	360	4.6
	Other	229	2.9
Asia-Pacific		2917	37.0
	Japan	1542	19.6
	Korea	263	3.3
	Taiwan	203	2.6
	Autralia	352	4.5
	Other	557	7.1
NorthAmerica		434	5.5
	Canada	104	1.3
	USA	291	3.7
	Mexico	39	0.5
LatinAmerica		144	1.8
Africa/WestAfrica		138	1.7
CentralandEasternEurope		118	1.5
Total		7887	100.0

Source: International Standard Organization

	Notimportantto important(1 -3)	Quiteimportanttovery important(4 -5)
	%	%
Improvedmanagementofenvironmental impacts	28	72
Publicdemonstrationofenvironmental stewardship	34	66
Reducedpollution	38	62
Reducedenvironmentalrisk	38	62
Increasedcompetitiveadvantage	38	62
Improvedcompliancewithgovernment regulations	45	55
Greatermarketshare	46	54
Improvedregulatorycompliance	49	51
Increasedinternationaltradeopportunities	49	51
Improved internal communication among managers	53	47
Accesstonewmarkets	57	43
Marketing/Advertisingopportunity	57	43
Communicationwiththecommunity	60	40
Increasedshareholdervalue	64	36
Customerrequirement	68	32
Fewerregulatoryfines	73	27
Greaterpermitflexibility	76	24
Revisedapproachtoregulatory inspections	77	23
Decreasedinsurancecosts	85	15
Decreasedperm itcosts	85	15
Greateraccesstocapital	87	13
Buyerrequirement	90	10
Lenderrequirement	94	6
ValidN(list)53observations		

Table2.IncentivestoISOCertification

	Mildtoserious constraint(1 -4)	Notaconstraint (5)
	%	%
Lackoft opmanagementsupport	77	23
DesigncostsofISO14001EMS	75	25
Lackofregulatoryflexibility	69	31
Registrationcosts	67	33
LackofunderstandingofISOrequirements	67	33
AnnualcostsofmaintaininganISO14001EMS	67	33
Lackoftimetoimplement aqualityEMS	65	35
Uncertaintywithregulatoryagencies'utilizationof EMSauditinformation	62	38
Potentiallegalpenaltiesfromvoluntarydisclosure	60	40
Lackofpersonneltoimplement/manageEMS	58	42
ValidN(list)52observations		

Table3.ConstraintstotheadoptionofISO14001

³ Struebing,L.(1996). '9000standards.' *QualityProgress* 2 9(1):23 -28.

⁴In 1990, the British Standard Institute (BSI) started to consider the question of third party assessment of environmental performance. BSI had tackled the issue of quality management using a system approach producing the quality systems and ard BS5750 (subsequently replaced by the ISO9000 series of standards) and was of the opinion that environmental performance within organizations could be tackled using a similar approach, i.e. by the introduction of an environmental management system standard. The draft version of British Standard 7750 was published in March 1992. See Welford, R., ed. 1996. Corporate Environmental Management, Systems and Strategies. London: Earthscan.

⁵ Europe's Eco -Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS) followed the developm ent of BS 7750. EMAS was adopted by the European Union (EU) on June 29, 1993, and became effective April 10, 1995. The Commission originally intended to pursue mandatory participation but business lobbying successfully prevented this. Eden, Sally. 1996. *Environmentalissues and business: implications of a changing agenda* Chichester; New York: John Wiley.

EMAS is a site -based registration system (i.e. the certification is granted for individual industrial sites) but considers of f-site activities that may have a bearing upon environmental management at the registered site. EMAS is primarily aimed at the industrial sector.

⁶ Von-Zharen, -.W. -M.1996.ISO14000:understandingtheenvironmentalstandards.:Government -Insts.

⁷ Hall,R.M.J.,andK.A.Tockma n.1995.Internationalcorporateenvironmentalcomplianceandauditing programs. *EnvironmentalLawReporter* 25:10395 -10407.

¹ Welford, R., ed. 1996. Corporate Environmental Management, Systems and Strategies. London: Earthscan.P.61

² Examples of Industry codes of practice are the US Chemical Management Association's Responsible Care program; the Global Environmental Ma nagement Initiative (GEMI), the Environmental Self AssessmentProgram, and many others. Great Britainis the first country which developed anational EMS' standard: British Standard 7750 in 1992.

⁸ The ISO originally focused on product technical standards. Then in 1979, the ISO decided to address quality management and assuran cestandards. As a result, ISO 9000 was published as a final standard in 1987. This systemestablishes standards for quality management in all areas of business and a process for registration or verification of compliance. ISO 9000 is voluntary, yet market forces have mandated ISO 9000 compliance as a virtual passport to international business. Up to the end of December 1997, at least 226,349ISO9000certificates have been awarded in 129 countries worldwide.

⁹ The International Organization for Standardiza tion (ISO) was founded in 1946 to "promot[e] standardization and related activities in order to facilitate international exchange of goods and services." There are 111 member countries within the ISO and each country has 1 official representative. The Unit ed States' representative is the American National Standard's Institute ANSI.

¹⁰ Tibor, T.1996.ISO14000: aguide to the new environmental management standards: Irwin.

¹¹TheothersectionswerepublishedindraftandarestillbeingrevisedbyTC207.

¹² Reinhardt, F. L., and R. Vietor, H. K. 1996. *Business Management and the Natural Environment* . Cincinnati,Ohio:South -WesternCollegePublishing.

¹³ Wilson, R.C. 1998. Whatyoudon'tknowcandefinitelyhurtyou. *PollutionEngineering*, 30(12):33 -34.

¹⁴ Mostek, M. 1998. Limited privilege and immunity for self -evaluative environmental audits. *Creighton LawReview* :545.

¹⁵ Hart, S. L. 1997. Beyond greening: Strategies for a sustainable world. *Harvard Business Review* 75 (1):66-76.

¹⁶ Hoffman, A. J. 1997. Fromheres yto dogma: an institutional history of corporate environmentalism
NewLexingtonPressed.SanFrancisco, California: TheNewLexingtonPressmanagement.Esty, Daniel.
C., andMichael.E.Porter. 1998.IndustrialEcology and Competitiveness. Journal of IndustrialEcology 2 (1):35-43.

¹⁷ ISO 14001 is not linked to ISO 14020 to ISO 14025 which are the environmental labeling standards underdiscussionunderthesupervisionofTechnicalCommittee207.

¹⁸ ISO 14031 (*Guidelines on Environmental Performance Evalu ation*) contains over 100 examples of measures and indicators, but it does not propose a coreset of metrics for comparison and benchmarking of performance, nor does it establish performance levels.

¹⁹ Delmas, M. 2001 "Stakeholders and Competitive Advantage: the Case of ISO 14001" *Production and*

OperationsManagement .10(3):343 -358

²⁰14representativesofMemberStateCompetentbodiesorMinistrieswereinterviewed.CompetentBodies inDK,FR,IR,LUX,NL,SW,theUK,Belgium,Spain.MinistriesfortheEnvir onmentinAU,FIN,GR,P were interviewed. Germany did not provide answers to these questions. The interviews were conducted duringthetimeperiod23/10/1997to5/11/1997.

140registeredEMASsitesin12MemberStates(11.6%)wereinterviewedbyphone.PopulationdatafromEMASHelpDesk(31/12/97):1211EMASsitesin12MemberStates.GR,LUX and Phad no registeredsites.PopulationsizeinAU,DK,FR,FI,DE,NK,SEandUK meantEMASsites were randomly selectedforaminimumrepresentativesampleof10%.The interview time period was 2/2/1998 to 23/2/1998.

The registered sites interviewed were distributed across three years: 9% for 1995, 44% for 1996, 47% for 1997.

²¹CouncilRegulation1836/93,art.1(1),1993O.J.(L168)1,2.

²² Directives and regulat ions are two methods of legislation in the European Union. Directives are most common in the Environmental area. By 1992, there were almost 200 environmental directives but only fortyregulations. Oncepassed, adirectiverequires "harmonization" of the various Member States through

national legislation passed in accordance with the directive. Various levels of harmonization are possible, sine Directives are binding, but only as to the result to be achieved. They leave to the national authorities the choic eofform and methods.

²³ Ashford, N.A. 1994. An Innovation -Based Strategy for the Environment. *The Industrial Transformation Paradigm*: 275-314.

²⁴ Gilbert, M. 1994. BS 7750 and the eco -management and audit regulation." *Eco-Management and Auditing*1(2):6 -10.

²⁵Question G.4.a: "What measures have been taken to inform companies of the requirements of EMAS?" Respondents 14 representatives of Member State Competent Bodies or Ministries.

²⁶ Question G.6.: "What financial budget (and over what time period) has be en allocated to ifnorming companies and the public?". Respondents 14 representatives of Member State Competent Bodies or Ministries

²⁷AspublishedintheOfficialJournalOJL10422April1997.

²⁸QuestionS.2a:"IsyoursitecertifiedtoISO14001?"

²⁹Ques tion S3: "Was the certification to ISO 14001 under taken before, at the same time, or after EMAS validation?".Responses 26% before EMAS verification, 38% after EMAS verification and 36% at the same time as EMAS verification.

³⁰S4:"Was the certification u ndertaken by the same organization that undertook your site's verification?" The 8% of sites which used different organizations for their site verification and their ISO 14001 certification were all of large sized enterprises.

³¹Question A.2.a "Todate,a pproximately how many verifiers has your organization accredited?" Question A.2.b.: How many of these verifiers are organizations?". A.2.c. "How many of these accredited verifier organizations are also verifiers for ISO14001?"

³² Question S5ab:"Could you estimate how long achievement of EMAS took from the start of EMAS implementationtotheverificationofthesite?"

³³QuestionS.6.b"WhatelementofEMAStookthemosttimetoimplement?"

³⁴ Question S.13a. "How many of your site's environmental statements have you distributed in total so far?"

³⁵ Question S.14a. "What in your opinion, are the 3 main audiences (or stakeholders) for your site's environmental statement?" Question s.14.b. "Which are the 3 main groups that have actually requested copies of your site's environmental statements?" The overwhelming majority (79%) of requests for environmental statements came from researchers and people in education/schools. Consultants (34%) are these condhighest group requesting site environmental statements.

 36 Q uestion s.15. "In your opinion, has the site's environmental statement been a useful communication toolwiththesite/companystakeholdersthatyouhavementioned?"

³⁷QuestionS.16a."Whatarethe3mainbenefitsofEMASimplementation?"

³⁸ Bansal, P. 199 9. Taking Stock of ISO 14001 certifications. Final Report. Washington D.C.: EnvironmentalProtectionAgency.

³⁹ The population of certified firms was so small (180) that it was almost impossible to compare it to a representative sample of non -certified companies since they were sonumerous (billions of firms).

⁴⁰ Zuckerman, A.1999. Using ISO1400 as a tradebarrier. *IronAgeNewSteel* 15(3):77.

⁴¹ Delmas, M. 2000 "Barriers and Incentives to the Adoption of ISO 14001 in the United States."

EnvironmentalLawandPolicyForum .Fall:1 -38.

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⁴² In December 1998, Western Europe accounts for 157,016 ISO 9000 certified facilities, 56% of the 279,583worldwidecertified facilities. The United States with 24,987 certified facilities account for 10% of the total.

 ⁴³ These countries include: Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Sri Lanka. Among these countries, Singapore, Thailand, South Korea, Japan and China also offertechnical or financial assistance to companies taking up ISO 14000. Some proactive countries even had their pilot project put in place prior to the official publication of ISO 14001, to prepare their national certification bodies and industry for aquick implementation of the standard. OE CD. 1998. What do Standards for Environmental Management Systems Offer? Background paper: Review of the Development of International Environmental Management Systems - ISO 14000 Standard Series -. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co - operation and Development .

⁴⁴ Esty, D. C., and D. Geradin (1998). 'Environmental Protection and International Competitiveness: A conceptual framework', *Journal of WorldTrade*, 32(3), pp.5 -46.

⁴⁵ Vogel, D. 1995. Trading up: consumer and environmental regulation in a global economy. Cambridge, Mass:HarvardUniversityPress.