



***Global Civil Society and the Quest for Global Justice:  
Assessing Variation in the Conceptualizations of Global Justice in Strategies  
of Civil Society Actors.***

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## Executive summary

The quest for global justice has become a key element of strategies of civil society organizations, from environmental activists to development-oriented and human rights-focussed groups, with the climate justice movement being one of the most prominent example in recent years. Yet while all organizations seek to advance global justice in their areas of work, the question arises about what these organizations mean when they speak of *justice*. In this paper, I systematically assess and analyse the conceptualization of justice among leading civil society organizations. Five major philosophical traditions are distinguished: liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, libertarianism, the capabilities approach, and critical perspectives such as feminism and Marxism. In this context, different conceptualizations in the strategies and framings of civil society organizations were analysed in terms of the subjects of justice, of the key principles of justice, and of the central mechanisms of achieving justice. In doing so, a broader desk research approach was combined with a detailed empirical analysis of six major NGOs: ActionAid, Care, Friends of the Earth International, Greenpeace, Oxfam, and the World Wide Fund for Nature. This research draws mainly on discourse analysis that builds on an extensive study of data taken from reports, statements, papers, and interviews with representatives of these organizations. Interesting results in this research are the differences of patterns between the subjects, principles, and mechanisms of justice. The NGOs are all in agreement that cosmopolitan subjects of justice are the most predominant, followed by critical perspectives and liberal egalitarianism, which remain less influential. In terms of principles, the NGOs follow similar patterns with a dominance of cosmopolitanism and influence by the capabilities approach and the critical perspectives. However, when looking at mechanisms, no clear common pattern can be extracted. In conclusion, NGOs seem to share common vision on the surface when looking at the prevalence of cosmopolitanism, creating some sort of homogeneity. However, the variations remain important to acknowledge, especially regarding the mechanisms of justice, where no *one voice* seems to exist. This research presents a clear introduction to the field of planetary justice through the eyes of the selected civil society. Further research could use a large-scale online survey following the operationalization developed here, to integrate more organizations from around the world with more diverse characteristics. This would allow global generalization of the results regarding the definition of planetary justice through the eyes of civil society.

**Key words:** Planetary Justice - Non-Governmental Organisations - Philosophical foundations - Over-Consuming countries vs Low-Consuming countries - Discourse analysis

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Today, 836 million people live in extreme poverty (less than 1.25\$ per day). The majority of the extreme poor live in Southern Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, while North American and European populations largely enjoy a high baseline level of consumption (United Nations (UN), 2017a). The Gross Domestic Product per Capita adjusted to the Purchasing Power Parity of Qatar was about 129,726 United States (US) dollars in 2016, being 130 times higher than that of the Central African Republic, which reached 656 US dollars in the same year (Global Finance, 2017). Domestic inequality remains a major issue. Between 1990 and 2010, income inequality has on average increased by 11 percent in poor countries (UN, 2017b).

In 2015, 193 countries agreed on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, an international initiative focusing on people, planet and prosperity. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted in New York City in 2015 are directly part of this agenda, being oriented around the idea of inclusion, dignity and justice (Scheyvens et al., 2016). Goal Ten of the SDGs is particularly focused on this, explicitly stating an end goal of “reduc[ing] inequality within and among countries” (UN, 2017b). This includes specific targets, such as reducing income inequality, ensuring equal opportunity, as well as social, economic and political inclusion of all, regardless of age, sex, race, religion or any other status. Other goals share some conceptual overlap: goal number 5 focuses on gender equality; goal number 8 is about inclusive economic growth etc. (UN, 2017c). The SDGs are seen as “an unprecedented development in global governance” (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017, p. 2).

More than ever before, the words *justice*, *equality* and *inequality* are frequently and significantly used within academic literature and political discourse. Justice is recognised as being a central concern in a broad range of disciplines. This interest has grown substantially over the last two decades (Schlosberg, 2013). While initially focused on the unequal distribution of environmental risks and consequences, mainly in the United States of America (USA) (Schlosberg, 2013; Scott, 2014; Larrère, 2017), the scope of application of justice applied to environmental issues has expanded significantly. It has since been extended across spatial, material, and political scales, resulting in a greater breadth of inquiry in fields such as activism, research, and policy (Walker, 2009).

Sustainable development issues are typically interlinked and interdependent, such as international trade, climate change, and waste management. Many of these issues can be regarded from a justice frame; however, in order to do this, one cannot ignore the international aspect (Walker, 2009). By doing so, certain questions arise: Who is responsible for what? Who can participate? Are all countries facing the consequences of climate change

equally? Economic inequalities (e.g. wealth gap) between countries further complicate attempts to succinctly elaborate answers to these questions. With respect to this interconnectedness, Castells states, that “Not everything or everyone is globalized, but the global networks that structure the planet affect everything and everyone” (2008, p.81). For all the heterogeneity on this planet, our destiny is shared, and that is why it is critical to understand the nature of global networks and how they build their views on how the planet should be structured.

## 1.2 The focus on non-governmental organizations

The actions of people and their governments are influenced and “shaped by globally interdependent processes that move beyond the realm of ostensibly sovereign state territory” (Castells, 2008, p.82). The globalization of problems (e.g. climate change) is reducing the state’s ability to take unilateral action, while expanding the role of global civil society (Castells, 2008). Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), being one element of civil society, have seen their importance and influence grow over the past several decades in the domains of sustainable development and justice (Rondinella et al., 2015). Scholars generally agree that NGOs are becoming central actors in the policy arena: an observed increase in their media coverage is one example of this. The number of admitted NGOs as observers has largely increased from the first Conference of the Parties to the 22nd (See Figure 1). A similar pattern was observed during the proceedings surrounding the Paris Agreement. Indeed, NGOs have a greater influence on international negotiations than ever before (Jacobs, 2016). They are also recognised as equally responsible as businesses or governments for the achievement of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development (Scheyvens et al., 2016).

As their importance grows, many NGOs are advocating for justice across an array of domains: environment, security, poverty. But after all, what exactly is *just*, according to the policy announcements, strategy documents, and internal communications of civil society organizations? Do all civil society organizations follow the same conceptualization of justice, or do we discover variations between Northern and Southern NGOs, environmentalists and development-oriented groups, or large global associations and grassroots organizations?

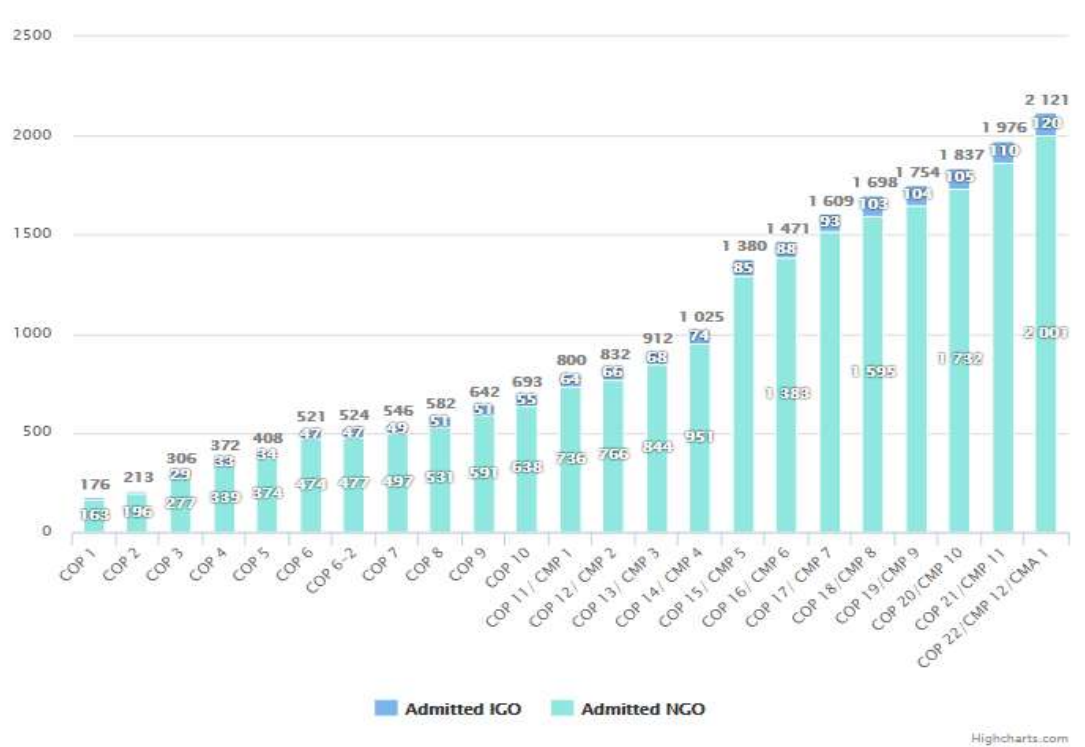


Figure 1. Cumulative admission of observer organizations at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 2017)

The climate movement is a key way that NGOs work on climate change and talk about global justice (further elaborated on in Chapter 2: Literature review). It is an activist movement composed of NGOs related to climate change awareness, mitigation and adaptation. Environmental activism took off in the 70's, followed a decade later by formation of organizations with the express purpose of preserving the climate. The Climate Action Network (CAN) is an international network of more than a thousand NGOs working worldwide, and it is probably one of the largest examples of climate-related collaborations. It was established in 1989, with representation from mostly European and American actors. The aim was to coordinate all their activities within the climate change negotiations and national climate action. The international arm of CAN was founded a few years later (CAN, 2017). The 350.org movement is another climate network organization. Founded in 2008 by a group of university friends in the USA along with Bill McKibben, it has quickly become a central figure in the climate discourse operating in 188 countries. It includes 58 international and regional organizations, of varying sizes, from various subjects which are of course all related to the environment (350.org, 2017). More recently NGOs have begun to discuss the concept of climate justice, linking the climate change movement to global justice. The Mary Robinson Foundation is a prominent example of such a development.

Notions of justice, with respect to climate change, often focus on the dynamic between *developed/developing* countries. Countries that are called *developed/developing* are designated here as *over-consuming/low-consuming* countries based on the work of the environmental lawyer Antonio A. Oposa. Consumption (both energy and material) is used today as the basis of the economic model by which to measure the development of countries, as “economic progress is measured according to the mythical level of per capita income and corresponding levels of consumption (Oposa, 2017, p. 41). The designation *developed/developing* assumes a hierarchy among countries and a specific model of development to follow, a model which has been demonstrated to be unsustainable (Oposa, 2012; Oposa, 2017).

Because of the way that the climate movement now plays into narratives about global justice, a selection was made among the climate movement to be able to analyse deeper the differences in conceptions of justice. This research focuses on the understanding of justice between the richest and the poorest countries of the world (often referred to as the Global North and the Global South); therefore, looking at international NGOs, is highly relevant here, since they are concerned with relations among countries. As a result, ActionAid, Care, Friends of the Earth International (FOEI), Greenpeace, Oxfam and World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF) were selected:

- *ActionAid* focuses on people facing discrimination and/or poverty. They work in various sectors such as food and land rights, climate change, youth, democratic governance and emergencies and conflicts.
- *CARE* works on similar issues: climate change, economic development, food security, water sanitation, and hygiene, to name only a few.
- *FOEI* campaign on major global current issues such as climate justice, energy, economic justice, food sovereignty, forests, and biodiversity.
- *Greenpeace* works on different issues including nuclear power, climate change, toxic pollution, and agriculture.
- *Oxfam* works on various causes of poverty like inequality and essential services, natural resources, right to be heard - voices for choices, saving lives, sustainable food, and women’s rights.
- *WWF* aims to guarantee nature conservation and diversity of life on Earth by focusing on food, climate, fresh water, wildlife, forests, and oceans.

Because these NGOs are working on common issues, it is often assumed that when they talk about concepts of justice that they are referring to the same thing in theory and in practice (*as one voice*). However, it is useful to study whether they are really working on common grounds and common perceptions of the world. Further, it is worth investigating how a shared understanding of planetary justice can work, if coordinated, to facilitate efforts to make the world more just.

### 1.3 Research objective and research questions

The research objective of this thesis is to understand how the concept of justice is applied to the environmental field, framed in the dichotomy of relations between nations which over-consume and those which don't. This will be done by investigating trends among NGOs, their assumptions underlying their statements on justice, and an assessment of whether or not they speak as one voice. In addition, the research seeks to add insight to the ongoing debate on environmental justice.

The central research question of this thesis is:

*How do international non-governmental actors understand and define planetary justice in the relations between over-consuming and low-consuming countries?*

To answer this research question, the following sub-questions will be points of reference in the research framework of this research (Figure 2):

- 1) How is justice defined by philosophical traditions and how is it defined in environmental issues?
- 2) How can justice in environmental issues be operationalised?
- 3) How do international NGOs define justice in environmental issues?
- 4) Do NGOs merge or differ in their understanding of justice?

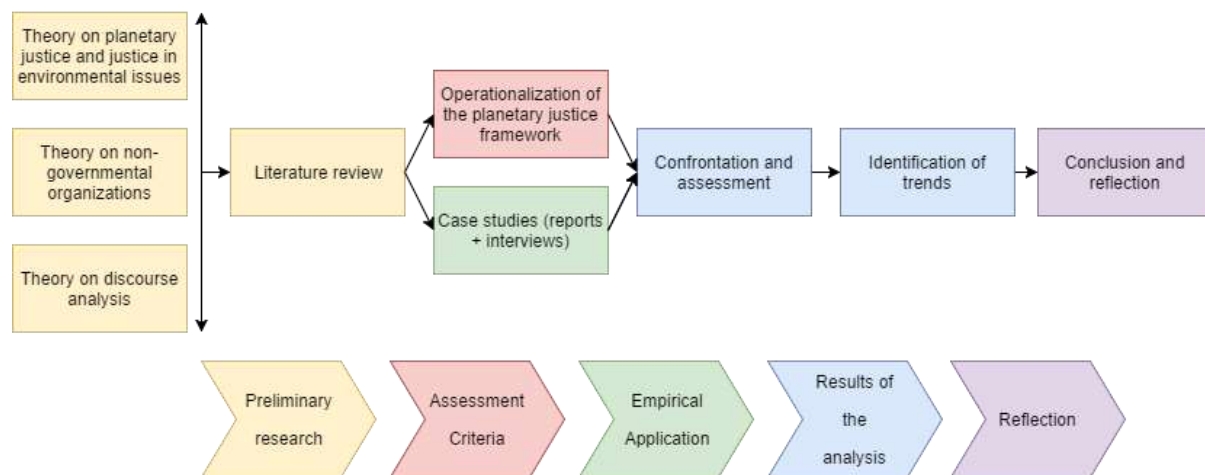


Figure 2. Research framework outlining the process of investigating conceptions of planetary justice within and across NGOs.

## 1.4 Relevance

Civil society is growing in importance both in terms of policy making and in terms of responsibility towards achievement of the SDGs. The concepts of *equity*, *justice*, and *inequality* are used intensively by NGOs. Therefore, understanding what is meant by those statements will help the organizations covered by this investigation to reflect on their own policy and strategy. Moreover, since they all identify as part of the same climate movement, a deeper understanding of variation in perceptions and worldviews can enhance international collaboration. On a practical and applied level, this will make their work more effective. The aim of this thesis is to lend greater insights to both NGOs and scholars, and has important societal relevance. In addition, this thesis takes place within the debate of justice in environmental issues. By understanding its meaning(s), more appropriate policies could be developed, leading to greater strides towards equity, justice, and inequality. According to the SDGs, NGOs and academic are considered important actors towards achieving the goals, so it is relevant to study their perspectives and their perceptions of the world. It is also relevant to see them as distinct organizations, compare them, and avoid seeing them as a homogeneous group (Casey, 2016).

In terms of academic relevance, concepts of justice and equality are widely studied within the literature. Conferences around the world are being held in order to understand and advance research on that topic. The academic discussions around this concept are not the sole focus of philosophers as it was in the past centuries, but now is relevant in almost every domain. The focus of the Lund Conference 2017 is on “allocation and access in a warming and increasingly unequal world”, showing the relevance of questioning who gets what, when, how, and where (Earth System Governance, 2017). In addition, one of the main themes of the conference will be “conceptual understandings and progress” (Earth System Governance, 2017). This topic is in line with what this research attempts to do, namely, understanding the philosophical foundations of NGO discourses on justice. Of equal importance is the task of relating the normative assumptions and theories of justice to the current debate in earth system governance. Indeed, “the inherent newness and lack of shared normative perspective” is seen as one of the main issue of the Anthropocene (Biermann, 2014, p.148). Understanding such normative foundations is essential towards adopting effective political practices and explaining stakeholders’ positions, reconciling current academic discourses in earth system governance to normative assumptions (Biermann, 2014).

More generally, it is argued within academic literature that more research on climate change politics and justice dimensions are needed (Schlosberg, 2004; Klinsky et al., 2016). Therefore, it is relevant to study NGOs’ discourses on planetary justice in the relations between over-consuming and low-consuming countries. As many of them advocate for more *justice* or more *equity*, it is important to understand whether they define it in the same way. Furthermore, it is important to know whether their assumptions are grounded differently.

## 1.5 Outline of the thesis

In the following chapter (Chapter 2), various theories on justice in environmental issues, such as environmental and climate justice, and on the rising role of non-governmental actors are analysed. The analytical framework is explained in Chapter 3 to assess the philosophical foundations of non-governmental organizations' discourses, including liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, libertarianism, capabilities approach, and critical perspectives. Chapter 4 explains the methodology for this research, which includes a cases study approach with desk research and interviews. In Chapter 5, the subjects, principles, and mechanisms are scrutinized in each of the six NGOs selected, namely FOEI, ActionAid, Care, Greenpeace, Oxfam, and WWF. Chapter 6 elaborates a comparative analysis of all the case study results, which allows a presentation of homogeneous trends in both subjects and principles of justice, while assessing the various mechanisms of justice advanced by the NGOs. In Chapter 7, results are then placed in a broader context to further the discussion section of this paper. And finally, Chapter 8 offers conclusions and suggestions for further research.



## 2. Literature review

### 2.1 Justice in environmental issues

The concept of justice has been discussed for centuries in various schools of thought: for example, in utilitarianism by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), in libertarianism by Friedrich August von Hayek (1899-1992) or Robert Nozick (1938-2002), and in liberal egalitarianism by John Rawls (1921-2002). Contemporary philosophers also try to make sense of those traditions with current dilemmas: such as Will Kymlicka and Marc Saint-Upéry in *Les théories de la justice: une introduction: libéraux, utilitaristes, libertariens, marxistes, communautariens, féministes...* (2003) or Michael Sandel in *Justice: What's the right thing to do* (2010).

Moving beyond theory, the concept of justice has been applied to a broad range of issues: citizenship, religion, conflict, urban studies, gender studies, etc. In addition, the SDGs signed in New York City in 2015 integrate *justice* and *equity* components into their framework and agenda. For example, all countries agreed on ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education (SDG 4), achieving gender equality (SDG 5), and reducing inequality within and among countries (SDG 10). *Inequality*, *equitable*, and *equity* all refer to the notion of justice and are applied to various issues. Articles continue to be published which explore various facets of the SDGs, their meanings, implications, targets, and indicators (Griggs et al., 2013; Griggs et al., 2014; Hák et al., 2016).

Inquiry into the concept of justice applied to environmental issues began in the 1980s, with an initial focus on local movements in the USA related to pollution and toxic contamination (Čapek, 1993; Larrère, 2017). In Europe, environmental inequalities were not studied until the 2000s. The delay can be explained by the difficulties of relating environmental and social aspects (Larrère, 2017). Moreover, while concepts and theories are well understood and defined at the national/local level, this is not the case for global/international justice. Global justice is indeed still at the early stage of formation (Nagel, 2005; Beckman and Page, 2008). In addition, this thesis is embedded within an academic debate on whether normative aspects should be incorporated into climate change politics. In responding to Robert O. Keohane's refusal to see a normative framework as necessary, a large group of scientists collaborated to argue against his statement and to demonstrate the importance of incorporating justice issues in the environmental debate (Klinsky et al., 2016).

Justice applied to environmental issues can be divided into three subcategories: environmental justice, climate justice, and social justice. These will be briefly explained. However, this thesis applies a broader definition,

namely planetary justice applied to environmental issues in order to avoid the exclusion of any aspect while conducting the research.

*Environmental Justice* - Environmental justice is defined as both a social movement and theoretical lens, focusing on the “fairness in the distribution of environmental benefits and burden, and in the processes that determine those distributions” (Scott, 2014, p.4). Schlosberg (2004) has added more components of environmental justice than the common understanding of *equity*. Considering that incomplete, he argues for a threefold definition: “equity in the distribution of environmental risk, recognition of the diversity of the participants and experiences in affected communities, and participation in the political processes which create and manage environmental policy” (Schlosberg, 2004, p.517). The concept of environmental justice has expanded vertically, moving beyond the national borders. Environmental justice is no longer only seen as a matter of local debates or local preoccupations. Scholars have applied environmental justice in various cases: urban climate change (Bulkeley et al., 2014), indigenous issues (Schlosberg and Carruthers, 2010), water issues in Canada and South Africa (Debbané and Keil, 2004), to name a few.

*Climate justice* - Climate justice is linked with “human rights and development to achieve a human centric approach, safeguarding the rights of the most vulnerable and sharing the burdens and benefits of climate change and its resolution equitably and fairly” (Mary Robinson Foundation, 2013, p.8). Not only does it refer to ethical behaviour, but it also questions normative aspects of equity and fairness, addressing considerations of legitimacy (Huntjens and Zhang, 2016). Climate justice can be conceptualized as a recent subcategory of environmental justice.

*Social justice* - In today’s globalized world, two claims seem to be the most prominent within the social justice debate: the first one is about a just distribution of resources and goods; and the second claim is relatively new and concerns the recognition of cultural differences. These two claims are seen as separate and therefore lead to polarization. Notably, Nancy Fraser (1998) stated that we could not speak about justice if we would divide them. For her, “justice today requires both redistribution and recognition” (Fraser, 1998, p.1).

Until recently, even though justice in environmental issues has grown within both the academic and political debates, relatively little attention has been paid to the definition of justice (Schlosberg, 2004; Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017). Going beyond the search for an exact definition, Doctor Agni Kalfagianni and Professor Frank Biermann are creating a new global research network on planetary justice, having developed a conceptual framework based on philosophical and ethical traditions to assist in researching climate change challenges (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017). This framework can help researchers to systematically study policy documents, programmes, or discourses while assessing their normative aspects. Possible applications of this include a systematic comparison tool to assess different perceptions or worldviews. In this thesis, this

conceptual framework is used to first analyse NGOs discourses on justice in environmental issues. Secondly, the framework is used to develop systematic comparisons among them to understand their possible differences or similarities.

## 2.2 Non-governmental organizations

Civil society has been widely covered by the scientific literature, especially because of its growing role within the policy making area (Rondinella et al., 2015; Scheyvens et al., 2016; Sénit et al, 2017). Civil society usually includes non-governmental and non-profit actors, as well as citizens, private sector organizations, and social movements. Properly defining civil society as well as NGOs is challenging (Heidbreder, 2012). Castells defines them as “private organizations (albeit often supported or partly financed by public institutions) that act outside government channels to address global problems” (Castells, 2008, p.84).

The difficulty to clearly define what is an NGO is mainly due to the various cultures and histories in which they have emerged (Lewis, 2010). NGOs have existed for centuries but the boom was during the 1980’s and the 1990’s. They are well-known for two main types of activities: “the delivery of services to people in need, and the organization of policy advocacy” (Lewis, 2010, p.1). In addition, they are in several other aspects such as conflict resolution or environmental activism. However, their role can be defined in three categories: implementer, catalyst, and partner. The implementer role refers to “the mobilization of resources to provide goods and services to people who need them” (Lewis, 2010, p.1). The second role, catalyst, points out the “NGO’s ability to inspire, facilitate or contribute to improved thinking and action to promote social transformation” (Lewis, 2010, p.2). Finally, the third role, partner, refers to the current trend that NGOs are more often working with various stakeholders such as governmental and the private sector. Those joint activities include “providing specific inputs within a broader multiagency program or project, or undertaking socially responsible business initiatives” (Lewis, 2010, p.2). This shows the diversity of organizations that are found within the word *NGO*. In order to offer a more accurate definition of what this concept means, Martens (2002) takes into account both juridical and sociological aspects and defines NGOs as “formal (professionalized) independent societal organizations whose primary aim is to promote common goals at the national or the international level” (Martens, 2002, p.282).

While looking at earth system governance, it is important to determine who is setting the environmental standards. Going beyond the traditional focus on states or on the market, NGOs often have an influence on the decision-making process and are consulted (Biermann, 2014). This influence is growing as more NGOs are accepted as observers at the UNFCCC (UNFCCC, 2017) and are considered as central actors in the SDGs (Casey, 2016; Scheyvens et al., 2016). In addition, this influence can grow when NGOs are mobilizing public

pressure and media by organizing mass demonstrations. It can probably not influence directly an international negotiation but it can affect a government position (Rietig, 2011). Moreover, NGOs also shape the world culture despite the fact that NGOs are built themselves on world-cultural principles. Due to their importance, they have a strong influence on governments or other significant actors worldwide (Boli and Thomas, 1997).

However, limitations can be found within the literature. First, the influence of NGOs is limited as there is no institutional mechanism in the United Nations system which allows them to gain power or importance (Biermann, 2014). Secondly, their legitimacy is under discussion. One of the main arguments is the fact that NGOs are headquartered in the over-consuming countries while often advocating for issues happening in the low-consuming regions of the world. In addition, their funding often comes from the same group of countries which could influence indirectly their agenda, approaches to certain issues, and choices for promoting certain norms over others (Chandhoke, 2005; Biermann, 2014). However, their involvement in the current international institutions can also be necessary to overcome the democratic deficits faced by the global governance (Dombrowski, 2010).

### 3. Analytical framework

To study empirically the concept of justice in environmental issues within NGOs' discourses, this thesis is using the conceptual framework developed by Biermann and Kalfagianni (2017) which “does not presuppose a normative stand of the analyst” (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017, p.6). Indeed, studying environmental inequalities brings complexities, and often such applications are not straightforward (Scott, 2014). The analysis goes from quantitative to qualitative, from objective to subjective (Larrère, 2017). Because there is not a consensus definition of such a concept in social sciences and in humanities, this framework is useful to study in depth the underlying assumptions behind the extensive use of words like *equity* and *justice*. In addition, such research based on normative analysis can help to determine whether distributive outcome can be defined as fair under certain philosophical tradition or theories of justice (Biermann, 2014). The difficulties of elaborating such definitions challenge the definitions of both the *environment* and *justice*. In that context, the environment is not only related to the traditional conception of nature but must also be understood in a broader sense (i.e. where people are and live) (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014).

The conceptual framework is based on five philosophical traditions: liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, libertarianism, the capabilities approach, and critical perspectives (feminism and Marxism). First, liberal egalitarianism is mainly about how social institutions can counterbalance the arbitrariness of life by assigning rights and duties, as well as economic opportunities. Secondly, cosmopolitanism takes place within a global society and focuses on social interactions and global interdependencies. Thirdly, libertarianism opposes governmental regulations and is in favour of unfettered markets. The main belief behind it is the human freedom, meaning that we all have “the rights to do whatever we want with the things we own, provided we respect other people’s rights to do the same” (Sandel, 2009, p.60). Fourthly, the capabilities approach assesses institutions on their ability to provide effective opportunities. This relates to the capabilities of people, meaning “that people have to live a valuable and dignified life” (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017, p.6). Finally, critical perspectives, mainly feminism and Marxism, reflect and assess on what creates injustice (misrecognition, misrepresentation etc.).

This division is very useful when looking at the discourses produced by a range of NGOs. As the following analysis will show, this division has been chosen because it reflects the mainstream approaches taken by NGOs. As a result, one way of understanding *critical perspectives* within this framework, is that they categorise the perspectives that do not fit into, or even contradict, the mainstream discourses found among NGOs. This is by no means done to conflate the broad range of disciplines included under this category (mainly feminism and Marxist theories, but also race and gender theories), but rather for ease of reference. Critical perspectives and their possible implications for this research will be expounded upon further in Chapter 7.

Each of the five philosophical traditions are explained following the same outline, namely the development of specific characteristics of each tradition in terms of subjects, principles, and mechanisms of justice. This operationalization is based on Biermann and Kalfagianni (2017).

### 3.1. Liberal Egalitarianism

#### *Subjects of justice*

Within the liberal egalitarian perspective, borders matter. The subjects of justice within this philosophical tradition is based on membership understood as shared nationality and citizenship. The structure of society is defined “on the basis of a self-contained national community in which individuals of that community are free, rational, and ‘reasonable’ citizens who want to live in cooperation with one another, in a territorially defined society where egalitarian principles of justice apply to the fullest extent” (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017, p.6).

Looking at the international level, justice should be ensured by an international system of multiple just societies following the above conditions. The combination of all those national systems characterised by the liberal egalitarian principles of liberty and equality, and the cooperation among citizens would lead to a just world according to this philosophy. Indeed, according to Rawls, a just world must involve a world of nations where justice is internally ensured (Nagel, 2005).

Operationalization: The NGO is focusing on the national level and on the citizenship of individuals. The NGO considers that international injustices are due to national burden. Therefore, the NGO considers that only a system of *just societies* can lead to international justice.

#### *Principles of Justice*

The main principles within the liberal egalitarianism tradition are the maximum possible of both liberty and equality. From this point of view, inequality would only be accepted if the situation, the law, or any other policy involved benefits the least advantaged members of society. Liberal egalitarians ask for equality of opportunity. The distribution of all social primary goods and basis for self-respect must be done equally, meaning that if inequality occurs in this distribution of, for instance civil and political rights, it must be in favour of the least advantaged members of the society.

John Rawls, leading author within this tradition, claims that: “1. Each person has an equal right to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic rights and liberties, which scheme is compatible with a similar scheme for all. 2. Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions: first, they must be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; and second they must be to the greatest

benefit the least advantaged members of society.” (Rawls, 1993, p.51). This involves both equality and liberty but also guarantees that they are provided through a fair equality of opportunity and that such system should benefit the least advantaged members of society.

Operationalization: The NGO is claiming for the maximum possible liberty and equality as source of justice and only accepts inequality (within national policies for instance) if it benefits the least advantaged members of society.

### *Mechanisms of Justice*

To ensure such principles, liberal egalitarians provide the creation of a national welfare state, as it can be seen in most of the industrialized countries. Such national welfare state should involve a “social system in which the government is responsible for the economic and social welfare of its citizens and has policies to provide access to health care, education, minimum wage, and support to the unemployed and disadvantaged” (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017, p.10). However, for Rawls, one procedure might work at the national level but not at the international level because any type of mechanism depends on the nature of the regulation. Therefore, for Rawls, the international regulation cannot just be an extension of the domestic system (Nagel, 2005).

Operationalization: Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods (e.g. economic and social welfare). Justice should be first ensured at the national level.

## 3.2. Cosmopolitanism

### *Subjects of justice*

Cosmopolitan tradition looks at the world as one big place without border from an ethical point of view. We all live in a global society based on global interdependence, no matter where we are from. But because we are all citizens of a global society, we are “all equally related by moral obligations of support and care, making international cooperation and redistribution a fundamental tenet of cosmopolitanism” (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017, p.7).

Operationalization: The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.

*Principles of justice*

Probably the main principle of justice for cosmopolitanism is the fact that no matter what nation, state, class, religion, or ethnic group someone belongs to, we (of equal ability and motivation) all have the same opportunity to achieve a good standard of living (Caney, 2001; Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017). This is called the global difference principle. In addition, some cosmopolitans argue for a needs-based minimum floor principle which would enable people to meet their basic needs, and have basic liberties by ensuring fair cooperation among global institutions, global social, and political arrangements in line with this objective.

Operationalization: The NGO is claiming that everybody around the world should be able to have equal opportunity to attain equal position in terms of standard of living (global difference principle). The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival (needs-based minimum floor principle).

*Mechanisms*

The main mechanism advanced by the cosmopolitan philosophical tradition is the global redistribution. This would entail a global cooperation that supports the needs of the poorest within and among countries. The most privileged must support the least advantaged within the global society. Over-consuming countries should help (financially, for instance) the low-consuming countries. International cooperation, through global redistribution institutions, is then at the core of the cosmopolitan mechanisms.

Operationalization: The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that supports the least advantaged within and among countries (eg. global tax system).

### 3.3. Libertarianism

*Subjects of justice*

Libertarianism is based on self-ownership. Similarly to cosmopolitanism, borders are seen as meaningless. However, this similarity between cosmopolitanism and libertarianism is based on different foundations. Indeed, libertarians focus on global free trade and advocate for the removal of all possible barriers to free enterprise. From this perspective, people should all feel united with the rest of the world under the principles of a global free market society. This then rejects the creation of global institutions and organizations. Development aid or any form of coercive transnational transfer of funds are also denied by this philosophical tradition while any voluntary transfer such as philanthropy is accepted.



Operationalization: The NGO is claiming for a global free market society. The NGO is considering borders as unimportant. The NGO is opposed to international structure or international organization.

#### *Principles of justice*

*Laissez-faire* is the motto of the libertarians. Markets are the main exchange mechanism. The role of government should be minimized as much as possible from this perspective. Justice can only be achieved when civil liberties are assured. In that sense, redistribution policies promoted by cosmopolitans are seen as unjustified by libertarians. Coercive instruments, such as taxation, are excluded.

Operationalization: The NGO is claiming for civil liberties protection and minimization of the role of governments. The market is at the basis of the system promoted by the NGO.

#### *Mechanisms of justice*

Based on the principles of justice discussed previously, the main idea for the libertarians is the total rejection of a strong role of the government and coercive and/or redistributive policies such as taxation. The market should be the central actor and only so, justice can be achieved naturally.

Operationalization: The NGO is rejecting a strong role of the government and any redistributive policies. The NGO is assuming that free market will naturally provide justice.

### 3.4 Capabilities approach

#### *Subjects of justice*

The capabilities approach focuses on personhood, which defines humanity (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017). This perspective has a different way of seeing the system as it is emphasising on “individual capacity for care, love, compassion, altruism, reciprocity and dignity even though this capacity may often not be expressed” (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017, p.7). The main objective of this approach is that people should live a valuable and dignified life.

Operationalization: The NGO is focusing on personhood (personal moral and religious conviction for instance). The NGO is focusing on individual capacity for love, compassion, care, altruism, reciprocity, and dignity.

*Principles of justice*

In order to achieve a just society, each person should be enabled to fulfil basic requirements, defined by him/herself or by general standards. These requirements are mainly about the individual wellbeing, individual development, and his/her capabilities and virtues. It is only when everybody is living a prosperous life that the society is considered as just in terms of the capabilities approach.

Operationalization: The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued function. (The idea of *valued* here is understood as coming from a personal sense of pride).

*Mechanisms of justice*

Within this philosophy, governments and public policies are central in ensuring the quality of life of each person as defined by his/her capabilities. In that sense, borders and governments are important, just as it is for the liberal egalitarians. Because the capabilities approach focuses on the wellbeing and development (human capabilities in general), the education system and cultural and religious institutions are essential. Economic development is no longer the only measure; human development is prominent. This way of thinking can be seen at the international level as well. The Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations, combining measures of life expectancy, level of education, and per capita income is the product of such thinking. Gross domestic product is no longer the only indicator taken to measure the development of certain populations.

Over-consuming countries must support low-consuming countries in order to help them meet their own capabilities. Philanthropy and aid or donation are not seen as suitable. The capabilities approach favours networks of international treaties focusing on norms, responsibility of corporations, and civil society. The cooperation in this system is more loose and adaptable than, for example, the cooperation within the cosmopolitan philosophical tradition.

Operationalization: Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO's discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society as a global decentralized support system. The NGO considers that richer nations should assist poorer nations to meet their capabilities in a flexible and decentralized system. The NGO is using the Human Development Index as a measure of development.

### 3.5. Critical perspectives

#### *Subjects of justice*

Critical perspectives are much more focused on social construction underlying certain subjection. Subjection refers here to being subjected to a certain form of domination (Biermann and Kalfagianni, 2017). They particularly look at gender and class differences within governance structures. At the international level, critical perspectives focus on transnational class and gender conflicts.

Operationalization: The NGO is focusing on differences of subjection to particular governance structures. The NGO looks at transnational class and gender conflicts. The NGO takes into account the underlying conflicts (class and gender) in the current context.

#### *Principles of justice*

Economic maldistribution, social and cultural misrecognition, and political misrepresentation are at the core of the fight of the critical perspectives. For them, participatory parity in the economic, cultural and political aspects of life can ensure justice. Without parity, a society cannot be considered as just.

Operationalization: Participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.

#### *Mechanisms of justice*

The main strategy for the critical perspectives is to dismantle current institutions and remove any obstacles that prevent certain people from participating in any aspect (social, political etc.) of life as their peers. The current global institutions are obsolete in that sense; therefore, they must be changed. Critical perspectives advocate for the invention of new democratic institutions that meet the democratic standards of the necessary participatory parity. These new institutions should foster the dialogue between democratic centres of decision-making and global civil society. This dialogue will also control the often lack representativeness and lack of ability to take binding decisions considered by critical perspectives.

Operationalization: The NGO is advocating for the elimination of oppressive institutionalized structures of subjugation. The NGO is suggesting new democratic institutions. It aims at fostering a dialogue between the centre of decision-making and the global civil society.

### 3.6 Summary Tables

This section provides a summary of the conceptual framework developed by Biermann and Kalfagianni (2017) and the operationalization used for this research based on the selected framework.

<i>Justice theories</i>	<i>Subjects of Justice</i>	<i>Principles of Justice</i>	<i>Mechanisms of Justice</i>
<i>Liberal Egalitarianism</i>	Based on membership as shared nationality and citizenship.	Maximum possible liberty and equality. Inequality in distribution of wealth accepted only if it benefits the least advantaged.	Creation of national welfare state.
<i>Cosmopolitanism</i>	Based on global interdependence.	Global difference principle. Needs-based minimum floor principle.	Global redistribution.
<i>Libertarianism</i>	Based on self-ownership.	Protection of civil rights, markets as main exchange mechanisms, minimized role of the government.	Free markets unfettered by governmental oversight and control. Rejection of a strong role of government and of any redistributive policies enacted by government based on taxation.
<i>Capabilities approach</i>	Based on personhood.	Development of individuals through their capabilities and virtues.	Government and public policies are necessary. Prominence of certain institutions:

			especially education, cultural and religious. Flexible and adaptable institutional solution.
<b><i>Critical perspectives</i></b>	Based on differences according to subjection.	Participatory parity in the economic, cultural and political dimensions of life.	Dismantling institutionalized obstacles. Democratic standards of participatory parity. Necessary invention of new democratic institutions.

Table 1. Summary

<b><i>Justice theories</i></b>	<b><i>Subjects</i></b>	<b><i>Principles</i></b>	<b><i>Mechanisms</i></b>
<b><i>Liberal Egalitarianism</i></b>	The NGO is focusing on the national level and on the citizenship of individuals. The NGO considers that international injustices are due to national burden. Therefore, the NGO considers that only a system of <i>just societies</i> can lead to international justice.	The NGO is claiming for the maximum possible liberty and equality as source of justice and only accepts inequality (within national policies for instance) if it benefits the least advantaged members of society.	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods (eg. economic and social welfare). Justice should be first ensured at the national level.
<b><i>Cosmopolitanism</i></b>	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to have equal opportunity to attain equal position in terms of standard of	The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least

		<p>living (global difference principle). The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival (needs-based minimum floor principle).</p>	<p>advantaged within and among countries (e.g. global tax system).</p>
<b><i>Libertarianism</i></b>	<p>The NGO is claiming for a global free market society. The NGO is considering borders as unimportant. The NGO is opposed to international structure or international organization.</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for civil liberties protection and minimization of the role of governments. The market is at the basis of the system promoted by the NGO.</p>	<p>The NGO is rejecting a strong role of the government and any redistributive policies. The NGO is assuming that free market will naturally provide justice.</p>
<b><i>Capabilities approach</i></b>	<p>The NGO is focusing on personhood (personal moral and religious conviction for instance). The NGO is focusing on individual capacity for love, compassion, care, altruism, reciprocity, and dignity.</p>	<p>The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning.</p>	<p>Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO's discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society as a global decentralized support system. The NGO considers that richer nations should assist</p>

			<p>poorer nations to meet their capabilities in a flexible and decentralized system.</p> <p>The NGO is using the Human Development Index as a measure of development.</p>
<i><b>Critical perspectives</b></i>	<p>The NGO is focusing on differences of subjection to particular governance structures.</p> <p>The NGO looks at transnational class and gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying conflicts (class and gender) in the current context.</p>	<p>Participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.</p>	<p>The NGO is advocating for the elimination of oppressive institutionalized structures of subjugation. The NGO is suggesting new democratic institutions.</p> <p>It aims to foster a dialogue between the centre of decision-making and the global civil society.</p>

Table 2. Operationalisation

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1 Discourse analysis

This research adopts a simple definition of what the discourse encompasses from Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips in the *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (2002): “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” which “do[es] not neutrally reflect our world, identities and social relations but, rather, play an active role in creating and changing them” (2002, p.1).

Social constructionism is at the core of discourse analysis (Potter, 1996; Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002; Gee and Handford, 2012). The discourse theory approach is considered as an umbrella concept including various theories about culture and society, discourse analysis being the most widely used (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). This approach assumes that reality is only accessed through language (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002), but that language also simultaneously generates and constitutes our social world. Therefore, by extension, language constitutes social identities and social relations. Based on this assumption, changes in discourses lead to changes in the social world and reality (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). The consequence of this is that social phenomena are never fixed, they are constantly being challenged by changes in discourses, leading to constant societal struggles “about definitions of society and identity, with resulting social effects” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.24). The role of the analyst is then not to study whether a statement is right or wrong, but instead the analyst has to base his/her research on “what has actually been said or written, exploring patterns in and across the statements and identifying the social consequences of different discursive representations of reality.” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.21).

### 4.2 Research strategy

This research used discourse analysis and case study approach to answer the research question. A case study allows us to fully understand the assumptions and worldviews underlying certain statements regarding planetary justice. Depth implies that the researcher uses various and intensive methods of gathering data (Verschuren et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012). A triangulation of methods is used between existing material such as reports and public statements, existing scientific literature, and interviews. Cross-referencing the different sources allows for emergent characteristics of an organization to become apparent.

#### 4.2.1 Step 1: Selection of cases

The conditions for selection of the NGO are:



- The organization must be still active.
- The organization must have the legal status of an NGO.
- The organization must be active in climate change issues.
- The organization must be international.
- The organization must advocate for justice or related subject.
- The organization must be relevant (in terms of size and important) within the international relations. This will be done by crossing members of both CAN and 350.org. In addition, the organization must be an accepted observer at the UNFCCC.

Keeping all these criteria in mind, ActionAid, Care, FOEI, Greenpeace, Oxfam, and WWF were ultimately selected for further investigation.

#### 4.2.2 Step 2: Desk research and case study approach

Existing literature and academic materials are used. Desk research includes literature and secondary data (such as reports, public statements). The case study approach focuses on qualitative research methods, and so this study uses qualitative and interpretive approaches.

A table was made for each of the publication including the highlighted statements, operationalization and corresponding theory of justice. Each statement is subsequently linked to the corresponding theory of justice. Analysing one publication is not considered sufficient for this research to gain a deep understanding of the views of the NGOs, because each publication is context-specific. Therefore, to get a broad perspective on the selected NGOs, several publications were perused. A summary of insights based on the various sources is added at the end of each NGO's section for the subjects, principles, and mechanisms of justice. The research tackles a current issue and a current question around the conceptualisation of justice. Since policies change quickly and are context-specific, only recent secondary data has been selected, *recent* refers to the past five years, namely between 2012 and 2017.

Regarding Greenpeace and WWF, the search for secondary data has been more challenging than for the other selected NGOs. Those two NGOs are mainly based on a *human-to-nature* relation rather than a *human-to-human* one necessary for the application of the framework used. Analysis of Greenpeace involves two publications and one blogpost written by two executive directors. The analysis of WWF involves one publication by WWF alone and two others, written together with Care International and ActionAid. As those last two publications are collaborative, it is assumed that the arguments developed in the document are the views of all the authors, including the WWF.

### 4.2.3 Step 3: Interviews

Interviews were conducted in order to supplement the desk research component of this investigation. This allows for more flexibility and richer insights from the interviewee. Structured interviews are conducted, meaning that the same series of questions is asked to interviewees and that there is a limited set of responses (Bryman, 2012). Answers are based on a range from strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, to strongly agree. The full question set can be found in the Appendix (p.126).

Interviews were conducted with representatives of the six organizations selected. All interviewees are high-ranking members within the hierarchy of the organization (e.g. policy and programme directors, senior policy advisers, senior experts, and senior managers) and were invited for a Skype-call. The same questions are asked in the same order for each of the interview. The procedure has followed the same structure each time. A first email has been sent with an official invitation including a short description of the research project, and a biography of the involved researchers namely Marie Hürlimann, Professor Frank Biermann, and Doctor Agni Kalfagianni. During the interview, a short introduction was explicitly given, insisting also on the anonymous nature of the exchange. Following this, each statement was read and the interviewee could answer directly, adding comments if desired.

As the interview guideline was created while using the terms *developed/developing*, the document is kept in its original form as used throughout the interviews process. In addition, some interviewees questioned the use of the terms *developed/developing* in the research description, referring to Oposa's work.

As requested by the NGOs, Greenpeace and Care International (Interviewees 5, 6, 7, and 10) have received the questions in advance. This difference has to be noted, as the interviewee had then had time to prepare and analyse the questions before giving his answers.

The advantage of conducting structured interviews by skype is that the interviewer knows that the person he/she is targeting is the one answering. Structured interviews allow for a standardization of both questions and answers, a simple and straightforward method, making the comparison between respondents easier. It reduces the error "due to variation in the asking of questions, and greater accuracy in and ease of processing respondents' answers" (Bryman, 2012, p.210). Moreover, the standardization of both format of asking and answering, if correctly executed, involves that variation in interviewees' response is due to real differences of answers, and not due to the interview settings (Bryman, 2012, p.210). There are two key issues with structured interviews: the acquiescence - tendency of people to consistently agree or disagree - and social desirability - tendency of people to answer relatively of their perception of what is socially desirable (Bryman, 2012). The

analysis of both secondary data and interviews allow to control those limitations, as the result are aggregated for the comparison of cases.

#### 4.2.4 Step 4: Comparison of cases

The analysis of each case study is divided into three elements, namely subjects, principles, and mechanisms of justice. This was done based on the operationalization developed from the literature. Because each case is analysed through the same structure, the researcher can more reliably compare the results to identify similarities and/or differences. Because the different sources have been crossed, the singularity of one source (due to context, opinion, misunderstanding) is avoided, and results more closely resemble reality.

#### 4.2.5 Step 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The last stage of the research is the discussion and conclusion. Upon reflection, the results are summarized and placed in a broader societal and academic context.

### 4.3 Limitations

One limitation of this research is the number of case studies (i.e. six NGOs were selected). While the current sample size allows for a deeper understanding of their discourses, more NGOs would be needed to get a broader and more comprehensive analysis of NGO perspectives on planetary justice. Additional NGOs would include more diversity in terms of geographical position and hopefully size (this research is only looking at relatively big NGOs). Second, the framework includes five perspectives, which simplifies reality. This reductionism facilitates both individual analysis and cross-comparison. However, arguments might be caricatured by the necessary subdivision in groups involved by the framework. Third, the method of discourse analysis is context-specific. The meaning and implication of certain ideas might quickly change, according to the context and the time. The analysis uses documents from within the last decade, without looking at the context related to the year of publication. Fourth, Greenpeace and WWF employ a predominantly human-nature based approach, rendering an analysis with the Planetary Justice framework more challenging. The framework is best applied when the discourse involves *human-to-human* relations. Fifth, as the risk of non-participation for the interviews was high, the strategy has been to design a really short and straightforward interview. The limitation is that all philosophical foundations were of course present within the statements, but not all of them could be represented for all subjects, principles, and mechanisms of justice. The interviews give a general idea and complement the publications, but as such they are not self-sufficient.

## 5. Analysis

### 5.1 Friends of the Earth International

#### 5.1.1 Profile

Friends of the Earth International (FOEI) has existed since 1971 and was founded by four organizations from France, Sweden, England and the USA. It is now a federation of 75 groups situated all around the world (Europe, North America, Latin America and The Caribbean, Asia Pacific, and Africa) with a secretariat based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands (FOEI, 2017a).

#### 5.1.2 Reports

##### 5.1.2.1 FOEI report: Annual Report 2015 (Table 3)

In their annual report from 2015, FOEI takes a universal approach to justice, arguing for “a peaceful and sustainable world” (FOEI, 2017b, p.2). Interdependence is central in this report as they argue for “a society of interdependent people” (FOEI, 2017b, p.2), “to collectively ensure environmental justice, human dignity [...]” (FOEI, 2017b, p.2) and for the “empowerment of local movements and organisations around the world, with people from North and South working together, creating an unstoppable global momentum” (FOEI, 2017b, p.5). In that sense, borders are meaningless as justice should be brought about in a way which transcends political boundaries (FOEI, 2017b, p.2). Another important aspect of this report regarding the subjects of justice is that the rich are considered morally responsible, that “The burden and costs of the global transition towards post-fossil fuel societies must be carried by the responsible rich, not people in poor and vulnerable communities” (FOEI, 2017b, p.3). From this point of view, everyone is connected through moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, it can be concluded that the subjects of justice in the FOEI’s 2015 report are rationalised through the lens of cosmopolitanism.

Looking at principles of justice according to FOEI, the focus is mainly on “a society of interdependent people living in dignity, wholeness and fulfilment in which equity and human and people’s rights are realised” (FOEI, 2017b, p.2). FOEI refers to the rights of people to have equal opportunity and, to be able to satisfy their basic human needs, relating to the core of the cosmopolitanism approach. FOEI also promotes the rights of people to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued potential, which refers to the main principle of the capabilities approach. Furthermore, the participation of people is essential, with the report arguing that society must be “a society built upon people's sovereignty and participation” (FOEI, 2017b, p.2). In addition, one of

FOEI's goals refers to critical perspectives, that is, "to secure the empowerment of indigenous peoples, local communities, women, groups, and individuals, and to ensure public participation in decision-making" (FOEI, 2017b, p.2).

A strong opponent to free trade agreements, FOEI advocates for international treaties and binding rules for corporations (FOEI, 2017b, p.3; FOEI, 2017b, p.5), with voluntary guidelines seen as insufficient (FOEI, 2017b, p.3). The promotion of setting norms and standards for corporations through international treaties relates to the capabilities approach, which advocates for a decentralised system. In addition, they argue that international redistribution to support the least advantaged is necessary (FOEI, 2017b, pp.2-3) which again is based on cosmopolitan views. For instance, the NGO promotes the creation of a carbon budget which should "be divided between countries on a fair shares basis, and the payment of industrialised countries' climate debt" (FOEI, 2017b, p.11). Close collaborations with UN agencies, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), governments and civil society, are highlighted (FOEI, 2017b, p.9; FOEI, 2017b, p.11). Therefore, the mechanisms seem to correspond to a strong cosmopolitan perspective combined with the capabilities approach (i.e. international treaties).

Overall, the 2015 FOEI report follows cosmopolitanism in each of the aspects of justice. This approach is combined with the capabilities approach, and critical perspectives for the principles of justice, and with the capabilities approach only within the context of the mechanisms of justice.

#### 5.1.2.2 FOEI report: Hidden impacts How Europe's resource overconsumption promotes global land conflicts (Table 4)

While Europe is the focus of the report, FOEI goes beyond Europe's borders and takes global actors into account: "Europe's use of land outside of Europe and the associated environmental and social impacts in other countries are also discussed. [...] Feeding our increasing world population is becoming an ever more complex challenge, as on a geographically finite planet, the expansion of the use of one type of land will always be at the expense of another [...]" (FOEI, 2013, p.6); "The more the world economy is becoming globalised, the more the use of one type of natural resource in one part of the world can directly affect the availability of natural resources in other parts of the globe." (FOEI, 2013, p.7). Along with the interdependence claimed by the NGO while describing the effect of one action on another part of the world, borders are also thus considered, by extension, as trivial. Cosmopolitan views apply in this section as this perspective looks at the world as an interdependent system regardless of national boundaries.

Moreover, the unequal relationship between over-consuming countries and the rest of the world in terms of natural resources consumption, is readily apparent throughout the text. This is seen through statements about

the consequences of overconsumption happening in rich countries on the rest of the world: “[...] those with the most political and economic sway tend to influence outcomes to their advantage to the detriment of smaller, developing or emerging economies, as many developing countries do not have the resources and capacity with which to adequately protect their interests against the better resourced, larger and generally more industrialised countries.” (FOEI, 2013, p.18); “Europe’s quest for raw materials to fuel its economy has seen it exert undue pressure on least-developed resource-rich countries, therefore putting further pressure on foreign land resources.” (FOEI, 2013, p.19). The argument is cosmopolitan, in drawing on the idea that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.

Regarding the principles of justice, the NGO focuses on the provision of basic food and resource needs for the people (FOEI, 2013, p.3), protection of livelihoods (FOEI, 2013, p.4), the challenge of feeding the increasing world population (FOEI, 2013, p.6), and advocates for “an improved and just distribution of food resources” (FOEI, 2013, p.31). The underlying message about the principles of justice is that the behaviour or the consumption of a certain group or population should not harm anyone, nor should it prevent anyone from gaining access to basic needs such as food. There are strong parallels between the key concept of cosmopolitanism and the principles of justice of FOEI’s report, with both arguing that everyone in this planet should be able to satisfy their basic needs.

In terms of mechanisms, the role of governments is rather important as FOEI states that “in particular, government interventions in agriculture, such as through farming and trade policies, need to be reformed accordingly.” (FOEI, 2013, p.4). The focus on governmental responsibility refers to liberal egalitarianism. FOEI advocates for a global redistribution of food resources and argues for international inclusive cooperation: “Hence it is imperative that resource use strategies at the national, regional and global levels are comprehensive and inclusive of all affected parties, such as governments and industries.” (FOEI, 2013, p.7). Beyond the global redistribution that FOEI advocates for, FOEI calls for a reimbursement of these debts towards the low-consuming countries which suffer from Western policies: “Europe has been enjoying a large and uninterrupted supply of land and other resources at the expense of other countries. Consequently, with increasing scarcity of land around the globe, Europe has to assume its responsibility in paying back this debt.” (FOEI, 2013, p.34). Those arguments are based on cosmopolitanism, being centred on international redistribution.

#### 5.1.2.3 FOEI report: Decade zero (Table 5)

In this last FOEI report, borders do not seem to be central. Indeed, FOEI uses statements such as “For the sake of the planet and its people” (FOEI, 2016, p.4) or “We are facing a planetary emergency” (FOEI, 2016, p.7). The words *global* and *globalization* are used 39 times. In addition, the over-consuming countries are defined as responsible for the damage caused to low-consuming countries and therefore have a responsibility to provide

support: “the rich industrialised countries that are responsible for these climate debts need to provide financial and other support to developing countries, to compensate for damage already done, and to help them adapt to the coming challenges and to work towards a life of dignity for their people.” (FOEI, 2016, p.6). Overall, the subjects of justice clearly belong to cosmopolitan views, sharing the idea that everyone is connected by their moral obligation of care and support in a globally interdependent world, regardless of national boundaries.

FOEI targets people on this planet as their principles of justice as mentioned in statement, “we need to take action immediately if we are to protect our planet and environment, and ensure the right of all citizens to a safe and dignified life.” (FOEI, 2016, p.5). *Safe and dignified life* seems to be understood very broadly. Therefore, it can be said that they include basic needs necessary for human survival but also draw from other aspects of life such as political, cultural and religious which are crucial for people to live in safety and dignity. The same combination of perspectives is again reflected in the lines, “we need energy—for fuel and electricity to cook our food, to have habitable homes and workplaces in both hot and cold places, to ensure everyone has access to basics like health and education, to communicate, travel.” (FOEI, 2016, p.14). The NGO insists on the need for energy access (FOEI, 2016, pp. 14-15) which is based on a cosmopolitanism view, focusing on the satisfaction of basic human needs. And on top of targeting the basic need for access to energy, the NGO includes the rights to communicate and travel, which relate more to the capabilities approach as this philosophy includes more inclusive and variable aspects of life.

Regarding the mechanisms of justice, FOEI first argues for global redistribution and necessary support from over-consuming countries towards low-consuming countries, citing “[...] their historical responsibility for climate change, they [in the text: developed countries] must also provide finance for adaptation and loss and damage.” (FOEI, 2016, p.6) or in: “Rich countries are already closing their borders to those in need. It is essential that these countries acknowledge their responsibility for this coming mass migration, taking immediate measures to mitigate climate change and ensuring that impacted people<sup>1</sup> receive protection and support for adaptation, both now and in the future.” (FOEI, 2016, p.7). The idea of global redistribution is found again in other statements: “We also need to ensure a just energy transition, which benefits everyone, and includes compensation and support for affected workers and their families, [...]”. (FOEI, 2016, p.15) or in “This finance is the repayment of the climate debt of the rich developed world, which has done the most to cause the problem of climate change and has far greater resources available to tackle the problem.” (FOEI, 2016, p.16). Those statements are based on cosmopolitan views as this philosophical foundation considers an international redistribution system as the main mechanism of justice.

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<sup>1</sup> In the text “peoples”. Own correction.

In addition, FOEI does not only argue for the responsibility of the richer nations. Instead, all governments are responsible for ensuring justice; “However, southern governments have an obligation to strive for a life of dignity for their own people.” (FOEI, 2016, p.6). This argument refers to liberal egalitarianism as liberal egalitarians put the role of national government as the centre. Moreover, the NGO is advocating for more international treaties that set norms for companies: “However more needs to be done to keep companies guilty of environmental crimes and human rights violations fully accountable and give victims access to justice.” (FOEI, 2016, p.10). The same idea is found in the argument in favour of “[...] international binding rules on businesses’ conduct in their operations abroad in relation to their impacts on the environment and Human Rights [...]” (FOEI, 2016, p.10) and in the promotion of “an international binding treaty [...] to hold Transnational Corporations (TNCs) accountable for Human Rights and environmental violations no matter where in the world they operate.” (FOEI, 2016, p.16). This is typically an argument from a capabilities approach which promotes international treaties setting norms and emphasizes the role of corporations.

In addition, FOEI clearly rejects libertarian mechanisms by stating for instance that “Carbon markets are a false solution, flawed both in terms of the theory underpinning them and in practice.” (FOEI, 2016, p.11).

### 5.1.3 Interview

*Interviewee 1 - Senior expert from the Climate Justice and Energy Programme; Europe; via Skype on May 15th, 2017 (Appendix, p.128)*

The interviewee strongly agreed that the over-consuming countries are responsible for redistributing wealth among the low-consuming countries. In addition, they agreed with the notion of interdependence among countries and people. The subjects of justice in this first interview are then cosmopolitan.

The interviewee strongly agreed that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs, but that redressing the issue alone is not enough. Religion, education, and cultural aspects of life should be included as well. This refers both cosmopolitanism, and the capabilities approach. They also strongly agreed that the representativeness of women and minorities is insufficient, implying a critical perspectives approach.

The interviewee agreed that states and state governments are the main parties responsible for ensuring justice in their territory, corresponding with liberal egalitarianism. The interviewee added that public policies should indeed play a strong role, primarily by facilitating the development of people, rather than imposing on them, keeping with the capabilities approach. They strongly agreed that strengthening the role of civil society is necessary, an assertion which is recognised by both the capabilities approach and cosmopolitanism. The interviewee strongly agreed that the over-consuming countries must financially support the low-consuming



countries, which refers to cosmopolitanism. They disagreed that cooperation among states is not possible and that they should focus mainly on their citizenry, again demonstrating a cosmopolitan perspective. The interviewee strongly agreed that we should reject modern capitalism and combat its dominance in global affairs, seeing it as the main cause for existing inequalities. In addition, they strongly disagreed that global free markets and free trade have a central role in resolving inequalities over time, and that the current neoliberal system should not remain.

*Interviewee 2 - Programme coordinator in Resource Justice and Sustainability; Europe; via Skype on May 19th, 2017 (See Appendix, p.128)*

Regarding the subjects of justice, the two interviewees were largely in agreement. Cosmopolitanism is the main philosophical foundation represented in the interviewee's perspective about the subjects of justice.

Looking at the principles of justice, the previous interviewee's perspective is again found here. The results remain the same, and the principles of justice are then based on cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and critical perspectives.

Regarding the mechanisms of justice, the same applies as for the previous interviewee. The main difference is that the interviewee 2 disagreed that over-consuming countries must provide funding to low-consuming countries. For the interviewee, the financial solution is not an efficient one. The over-consuming countries should instead take responsibility and change their own lifestyle. Over-consuming countries nonetheless remain responsible for the harm caused and thus, the results do not change. Therefore, the results are the same: the mechanisms are based on liberal egalitarianism, capabilities approach, cosmopolitanism.

### 5.1.4 Summary Friends of the Earth

#### *Subjects of justice*

	FOEI 1	FOEI 2	FOEI 3	INT 1	INT 2
Liberal egal.					
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X
Libertar.					
Capabilities ap.					
Critical persp.					

Table 3. Subjects of justice - FOEI

The three publications and the two interviews all base their subjects of justice on cosmopolitanism which perceives the world as an interdependent system, regardless of national borders, in which everyone is related by a moral obligation of care and support. No reference to other philosophical foundations was found when looking at the subjects of justice.

#### *Principles of justice*

	FOEI 1	FOEI 2	FOEI 3	INT1	INT2	Total
Liberal egal.						
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X	5
Libertarianism						
Capabilities ap.	X		X	X	X	4
Critical persp.	X			X	X	3

Table 4. Principles of justice - FOEI

All the sources share cosmopolitan principles of justice which state that everyone should have equal opportunity to attain equal position and that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. Capabilities approach is the second most represented philosophical foundation, promoting a set of basic

requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full capacity to realize their desired and valued function. The two approaches complement each other, as the capabilities approach seems to build on cosmopolitanism. The two interviewees and one of the three publications refer to critical perspectives as well when it comes to principles of justice. Critical perspectives address participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life.

### *Mechanisms of justice*

	FOEI 1	FOEI 2	FOEI 3	INT 1	INT 2
Liberal egal.		X	X	X	X
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism					
Capabilities ap.	X		X	X	X
Critical persp.					

Table 5. Mechanisms of justice - FOEI

The mechanisms suggested within FOEI's publications and by the interviewees are all based on cosmopolitan views which advocate for international cooperation and international redistribution. Then, we see in equal measure liberal egalitarianism which looks at government's responsibility and the capabilities approach which promotes international norms setting norms (seen in four out of the five sources) within the proposed mechanisms of justice raised by FOEI. The mention of liberal egalitarianism is contradictory in the sense that the mechanisms of justice suggested in this approach are not at all at the same level of policy (national level) as cosmopolitanism and the capabilities approach (international level). Furthermore, interviewees agreed on every mechanism of justice, while the publications present some variations.

## 5.2 ActionAid

### 5.2.1 Profile

ActionAid was founded in 1972 in the United Kingdom, operating in over 40 countries, with a focus on combatting poverty. Their international secretariat is based in Johannesburg, South Africa. ActionAid follows a federal mode of governance with offices all around the world (ActionAid, 2017a; ActionAid, 2017b).

## 5.2.2 Reports

### 5.2.2.1 ActionAid report: Annual report 2015 (Table 6)

In terms of subjects of justice, states and citizens are relevant according to ActionAid. Indeed, the national level and citizenship are present in their discourse as in “Inequality continued to rise, characterised by many of the states in which we work, serving the interests of rich elites and powerful multinational corporations while performing poorly in protecting, promoting and respecting their citizens’ rights.” (ActionAid, 2016a, p.4). This national based approach is liberal egalitarian as it considers that international injustices are due to national burden. Therefore, it focuses on national level and on the citizenship of individuals.

In addition, ActionAid is focusing on the structural causes of poverty (ActionAid, 2016a, p.9) and looks at the subjection of women to “deepening fundamentalism and patriarchy” (ActionAid, 2016a, p.4) and marginalization of young people in the job market (ActionAid, 2016a, p.4). By looking at structural causes of poverty and the exclusion of women and young people, ActionAid refers to critical perspectives which focus on differences of subjection to particular governance structures.

Moreover, besides looking at the national level, ActionAid looks at nations as interdependent and views borders as meaningless when it comes to conflicts or disasters (ActionAid, 2016a, p.10). On top of that, over-consuming nations are considered responsible for the damages caused in low-consuming countries. The NGO focuses on “how the climate crisis is driven by inequalities of power and wealth” (ActionAid, 2016a, p.16). Cosmopolitanism is the philosophical foundation of those arguments as cosmopolitan views consider everyone as related by moral obligation of care and support in an interdependent world.

ActionAid’s aim is the accomplishment of human rights for all, “ActionAid is a global association of people working together to further human rights for all” (ActionAid, 2016a, p.8). Saying that human rights refer to basic human needs is a limited statement. Indeed, as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, other dimensions are included such as political, religious, or cultural freedoms (UN, 2017d). Therefore, both cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach are represented here as cosmopolitanism focuses on the satisfaction of basic human needs and the capabilities approach promotes a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning.

Moreover, ActionAid targets the exclusion of women in the decision-making and leadership as in: “This severely limits the amount of time available to women to participate fully and equally in decision-making and leadership in their communities and beyond” (ActionAid, 2016a, p.12). By looking at the participation of women in decision-making and leadership, ActionAid makes a clear reference to critical perspectives which puts participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life at the centre of the discourse.

Regarding the mechanisms of justice, first, international cooperation seems to be a core of ActionAid's strategy as the NGO aims at "Working in partnerships and alliances" (ActionAid, 2016a, p.9), "[...] alongside other actors, including local partners (with whom most of our work is implemented) and with a variety of other partners, alliances and social movements at local, district, national, and international levels." (ActionAid, 2016a, p.15). Cooperation at all the levels is mainly based on cosmopolitan views.

Secondly, besides the international cooperation, the role of NGOs around the world is crucial, "ActionAid and other organisations this year laid foundations for stronger networking and alliance-building on the serious issue of shrinking political space for NGOs." (ActionAid, 2016a, p.17); "We also contributed to building an international coalition with 150 other civil society organisations calling for a reform of the New Alliance and for its replacement with genuine initiatives supporting smallholder farmers." (ActionAid, 2016a, p.23); "ActionAid International Secretariat joined hands with Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), CIVICUS, Greenpeace and Oxfam in creating the Progressive Alliance" (ActionAid, 2016a, p.16). The willingness to strengthen the role of NGOs is shared by both cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.

Thirdly, the NGO is advocating for more international redistribution through taxes for instance with the introduction of "more progressive taxation systems." (ActionAid, 2016a, p.25) or by helping "national laws and policies to make corporate tax more progressive" (ActionAid, 2016a, p.30). ActionAid has a "#TaxPower campaign [...]" which aims to achieve "[...] a fairer tax system so the world's poorest people can have access to vital public services." (ActionAid, 2016a, p.30). ActionAid also holds a position in favour of fairer taxation at conferences such as "the Financing for Development (FFD) conference this year – a key influencing moment for progressive global corporate tax reform to sustainably fund the world's development aspirations." (ActionAid, 2016a, p.30). Advocacy for a better tax system is clearly a cosmopolitan argument as cosmopolitanism advocates for international redistribution.

Fourthly, international cooperation and redistribution do not negate national and governmental responsibilities. National level policy is present in ActionAid's mechanisms of justice, for instance with the advocacy in favour of "the adoption and implementation of the Tenure Guidelines at country level to secure the land and natural resource rights of women and marginalised communities." (ActionAid, 2016a, p.21). This goes also via efforts "to make governments more accountable, transparent and decentralised, helping countries to experience improvements in public services because of people in poverty becoming increasingly involved in local governance" (ActionAid, 2016a, p.25). This nationally-based approach is liberal egalitarian as this philosophical foundation considers governments to be responsible for ensuring justice.

Fifthly, and finally, as seen in the two previous sections of subjects and principles, marginalized groups are very important within ActionAid's work. The NGO is focusing on supporting the role of women, indigenous people "to strengthen their control over land and natural resources, helping them adapt to climate change and call for fairer and more sustainable policies governing their food systems and natural resources." (ActionAid, 2016a, p.19). ActionAid also supported women "to join together, as a result over 3,750 women's

groups across 16 ActionAid countries organised to claim their rights and entitlements.” (ActionAid, 2016a, p.19) and called “for gender-responsive public services [...]” (ActionAid, 2016a, p.45). Regarding youth, ActionAid created over 800 youth platforms (ActionAid, 2016a, p.35). ActionAid does not recommend or implement extreme and radical mechanisms regarding gender or issues affecting other marginalized groups. However, the NGO is active in that domain by fostering a dialogue, creating room for discussion and action for women and youth. This refers to a soft version of critical perspectives.

#### 5.2.2.2 Climate Change knows no borders - An analysis of climate induced migration, protection gaps and need for solidarity in South Asia (Table 7)

Looking at the subject of justice, ActionAid in this report focuses on South Asia. Little attention is given to national borders while talking about human rights or climate related issues with for instance: “South Asian countries face the same climate change problems. They could and should be working together to cooperate, and to share equitable and common solutions.” (ActionAid, 2016b, p.9) or again with: “Although human rights are applicable to all, and are not subject to borders or nations, these rights are being compromised by climate change and migration patterns.” (ActionAid, 2016b, p.22).

In addition, everyone around the globe seems to be related by moral obligation of support and care, especially towards least advantaged persons. ActionAid mentions this, stating that “Poor and vulnerable people are leaving their lands as a result of a climate problem that they did not cause. They need greater support for adaptation and resilience, and they need protection and systems of safe migration for when they are forced to move.” (ActionAid, 2016b, p.6). Those two aspects are cosmopolitan.

Moreover, the struggle for women to be protected and to be taken into account through policies is repeatedly addressed in this report, as “the impacts of climate-induced migration on women are not being monitored by government agencies in South Asia, and this is a gap that must be addressed.” (ActionAid, 2016b, p.5); “policies are currently failing to understand the scale and impact of migration on women, and are failing to address emerging issues. Promotion of women’s empowerment, as well as women-led planning and disaster response, must be part of the solution.” (ActionAid, 2016b, p.6). Assessment of issues facing women in South Asia such as social pressure, violence, or sexual assaults, supplements this call. This gender-based approach refers often to the critical perspectives approach, which considers the underlying gender conflict within this specific context.

As analysed in ActionAid’s annual report of 2015, the NGO aims at accomplishing human rights for all as “[...] people’s rights must be protected.” (ActionAid, 2016b, p.22); “Although human rights are applicable to all, and are not subject to borders or nations, these rights are being compromised by climate change and migration patterns. The basic human rights to food, livelihood, social security, life and safety under the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights can all be threatened under circumstances of climate change and migration.” (ActionAid, 2016b, p.22)

Human rights involve both basic needs and requirements in terms of religious freedom, as argued in the previous section. The cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach are dominant in terms of principles of justice: cosmopolitanism because of its focus on the satisfaction of basic human needs and capabilities approach because of its promotion to basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning.

The role of treaties and alliances to enhance countries’ capacity to tackle the impact of climate change are essential according to the report from ActionAid. Legal protection and the fulfilment of human rights should for instance be enforced by The Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage (WIM) under the UNFCCC to those who have to migrate because of climate change (ActionAid, 2016b, p.29). Taking the fact that climate change is a worldwide issue, ActionAid focuses on regional and international processes as the main actors who should be proactive in terms of forming climate solutions (ActionAid, 2016b, p.23). In addition, the importance of civil society is repeatedly emphasized as playing a critical role in the relations between countries (ActionAid 2016b, p.25; ActionAid, 2016b, p.29). All together this refers to capabilities approach and cosmopolitanism, with both of them supporting international cooperation. This is especially the case with, the implementation of treaties for the capabilities approach, as both of them support the consolidation of the role of the NGOs. Moreover, ActionAid argues that the over-consuming countries should provide more financial funding to low-consuming countries through the Green Climate Fund for instance because of their responsibility vis-à-vis climate change (ActionAid, 2016b, p.25). This argument is typically cosmopolitan as this philosophical foundation advocates for an international redistribution system.

### 5.2.2.3 ActionAid report: Hotter planet, humanitarian crisis (Table 8)

In this report, ActionAid focuses on the moral obligation of support and care that subsists between the over-consuming countries towards the low-consuming countries in terms of climate change adaptation and capacity building, like in: “when vulnerable countries suffer climate-induced humanitarian disasters, the countries with the greatest responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions, and the deepest pockets for providing support, must step forward.” (ActionAid, 2016c, p.7) and in “The international community must therefore be willing to provide its fair share of climate finance to support capacity building and adaptation strategies.” (ActionAid, 2016c, p.25); “rich countries have a moral obligation to support poorer countries in adapting to and coping with a crisis not of their making” (p.28). In addition, borders do not have an important role within the discourse as “crop failure, hunger and starvation have affected hundreds of millions of people across Africa, Asia and Latin America.” (ActionAid, 2016c, p.6). Those arguments are cosmopolitan, as they look at the world as an

interdependent system where borders are meaningless and everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support.

Moreover, as seen in the previous reports, gender conflicts are essential within ActionAid's report. *Hotter Planet, Humanitarian Crisis* (2016c) is not an exception. Two main statements illustrate it: "Pre-existing inequalities can make women and children more vulnerable, while the roles, responsibilities and status associated with being a woman can often bring additional burdens and fewer privileges when a disaster strikes." (ActionAid, 2016c, p.19) and "There has been limited gender analysis to date of the impacts of this El Niño event globally. However, needs assessments carried out by ActionAid country offices in Somaliland, Lesotho and Ethiopia reveal worrying trends, and these are confirmed by further analysis in Ethiopia, Vanuatu, Vietnam and Cambodia." (ActionAid, 2016c, p.19). The subjects of justice are here based on critical perspectives which take underlying gender conflicts in the current context into account.

Regarding the principles of justice, ActionAid targets the needs of people threatened by climate change regarding water access, sanitation, crop harvest, nutrition etc. The needs of the most vulnerable (ActionAid, 2016c, p.7) are central, especially issues like "hunger, malnutrition, thirst, exhaustion, and loss of livelihoods" (ActionAid, 2016c, p.28). This allows for the assertion that the main principles driving this report are that basic needs should be ensured for everybody around the world. The needs approach refers to cosmopolitanism.

In addition, ActionAid considers that women must participate more in "decision making, planning processes and disaster response delivery [...]" (ActionAid, 2016c, p.20) but also in "[...] making resilience, disaster preparedness and response more effective by addressing the barriers facing those in their communities who are most marginalized" (ActionAid, 2016c, p.20). Participatory parity is part of ActionAid's discourse, referring directly to critical perspectives which put it at the centre of their philosophy.

In terms of mechanisms of justice, international cooperation is again at the centre of ActionAid's strategy. Cooperation between stakeholders is primordial, especially between "climate and humanitarian agencies" (ActionAid, 2016c, p.7; ActionAid, 2016c, p.27) but also with "governments, donors" (ActionAid, 2016c, p.5). Poor people and poor nations should receive support from over-consuming countries as part of a global redistribution of wealth: "In order to make these critical investments, vulnerable countries desperately need international financial support. Yet international aid to support disaster risk reduction is grossly insufficient." (ActionAid, 2016c, p.24); "Climate justice requires developed countries to provide support to developing countries for adaptation and dealing with climate impacts." (ActionAid, 2016c, p.28). Those arguments are cosmopolitan in their advocacy for an international cooperative and redistributive system.

Besides these cosmopolitan views on the world, ActionAid holds governments responsible for ensuring justice for their own citizens. In that sense, international cooperation does not erase national level considerations. Low-consuming countries should also take action, for instance by increasing "their investment



and training in key strategies such as disaster risk reduction, risk assessments, early warning systems, emergency response systems, social protection and agro-ecological and climate resilient sustainable agriculture techniques.” (ActionAid, 2016c, p.24). This refers to liberal egalitarianism which considers governments as responsible for ensuring justice.

Regarding gender parity, the NGO is suggesting new democratic mechanisms to increase women’s participation in leadership while holding governments responsible to develop those strategies (ActionAid, 2016c, p.24). ActionAid combines here critical perspectives (advocating for new democratic mechanisms eliminating oppressive institutionalized structures of subjugation) and liberal egalitarian views (advocating for the responsibility of states).

### 5.2.3 Interview

*Interviewee 3 – Leader Officer in Policy, Research, Advocacy and Campaigns; Africa; via Skype on May 16th, 2017 (See Appendix, p.129)*

#### *Subjects of justice*

The interviewee agreed with the idea of redistribution from the over-consuming countries to the low-consuming countries. In addition, the interviewee agreed that people are interdependent. Both wealth redistribution and interdependence refer to cosmopolitanism.

#### *Principles of justice*

The interviewee agreed that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic needs but added that the list presented of basic needs (food, water, etc.) is no longer sufficient at the present time. Society gets more complicated. They gave the example that the need for a phone, has now become essential to getting a job or having a social life. Therefore, they strongly agreed that covering basic needs is not enough. More requirements must be taken into account. This relates both to cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach. Moreover, they strongly agreed that participatory parity is essential, especially regarding women and minorities referring to critical perspectives.

#### *Mechanisms of justice*

The interviewee strongly agreed that states and state governments are the key responsible actors for ensuring justice on their territory, following a liberal egalitarian perspective. In addition, they strongly agreed on public policies playing a vital role which relates to the capabilities approach. The interviewee also strongly agreed on strengthening the role and the rights of present NGOs in both cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach. They agreed that a redistribution through financial support is necessary between the over-consuming countries and the low-consuming ones. This argument is typically cosmopolitan. They disagreed on that cooperation

among states is not possible and that states should mainly focus on their citizens, while taking a cosmopolitan view. The interviewee showed an important rejection against modern capitalism and its dominance in global affairs, seeing it as the main cause for the existing inequalities. In addition, they strongly disagreed on the importance of global free markets, showing that the current neoliberal system should not remain. Overall, the mechanisms of justice are based on liberal egalitarianism, capabilities approach, cosmopolitanism, and strongly reject libertarianism.

*Interviewee 4: Leader officer; Europe; via Skype on May 22nd, 2017 (See Appendix, p.130)*

Looking at the subjects of justice, the interviewee agreed on the idea of redistribution between of the over-consuming countries and the low-consuming countries, relating to cosmopolitanism. However, the interviewee disagreed that nationality and national boundaries are outdated and that we are all interdependent, invoking liberal egalitarian views.

The two interviewees were largely in agreement for the principles of justice which are thus based on cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and critical perspectives.

Regarding the mechanisms of justice, the previous interviewee's response pattern is again found here. The main difference is that he interviewee did not blame entirely modern capitalism and its dominance in global affairs as the main cause for all the inequalities, rather citing it is as one among other causes. Combined with the strong disagreement about the importance of global free markets and free trade, it can be said that the interviewee here rejects the neo liberal system but does not have a strong opinion regarding capitalism. Still, the results remain the same; the mechanisms of justice are based on liberal egalitarianism, capabilities approach, and cosmopolitanism.

## 5.2.4 Summary ActionAid

### *Subjects of justice*

	Action Aid 1	Action Aid 2	Action Aid 3	INT 1	INT 2
Liberal egalitarianism	X				X
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism					
Capabilities ap.					
Critical persp.	X	X	X		

Table 6. Subjects of justice - ActionAid

The three publications and the two interviewees all base their subjects of justice on cosmopolitanism which looks at the world as an interdependent system, regardless of national borders, and in which everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support. All three publications share critical perspectives on the definition of subject of justice, which look at the underlying class and/or gender conflicts in the current context. One publication and one interviewee address liberal egalitarian subjects of justice which consider that international inequalities are due to national burden. Therefore, they focus on the national level, an action strategy which is contradictory with the cosmopolitan subjects of justice.

### *Principles of justice*

	Action Aid 1	Action Aid 2	Action Aid 3	INT 1	INT 2
Liberal egal.					
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism					
Capabilities ap.	X	X		X	X
Critical persp.	X		X	X	X

Table 7. Principles of justice - ActionAid

All the sources share cosmopolitan principles of justice, which state that everyone should have equal opportunity to attain equal position and that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for

survival. Capabilities approach and critical perspectives are then equally represented (for both: four sources out of five). The capabilities approach promotes a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning, while critical perspectives address participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life.

### *Mechanisms of justice*

	Action Aid 1	Action Aid 2	Action Aid 3	INT 1	INT 2
Liberal egal.	X		X	X	X
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism					
Capabilities ap.	X	X		X	X
Critical persp.	X		X		

Table 8. Mechanisms of justice - ActionAid

All the sources share cosmopolitan mechanisms of justice which are based on a cooperative and redistributive system. Then, liberal egalitarianism and capabilities approach are equally represented (four out of five). Liberal egalitarian mechanisms target state's responsibility, while the capabilities approach promotes international treaties, setting norms, and emphasizes the role of corporations, civil society, etc. Finally, two sources suggest critical perspectives, which advocate for new democratic mechanisms eliminating oppressive institutionalized structures of subjugation.

## 5.3 Greenpeace

### 5.3.1 Profile

Greenpeace was created in 1979. It is an independent global campaigning organization. Greenpeace aims at changing attitudes and behaviours, protecting and conserving the environment, and promoting peace. Greenpeace International is based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, with 26 regional offices. Greenpeace is working in more than 55 countries around the globe and has around 2.8 million supporters worldwide (Greenpeace, 2017a).

## 5.3.2 Reports

### 5.3.2.1 Greenpeace report: Annual report 2015 (Table 9)

Greenpeace refers to people as *humans* as opposed to citizens, and also talks about the *Earth*, making the borders meaningless. Such statements are: “[...] how threatening we humans have become for our own life-supporting systems [...]” (Greenpeace, 2016a, p.6). “[...] human activities have such a decisive impact on the Earth that we have entered a new epoch: The Anthropocene – the Age of Humans.” (Greenpeace, 2016a p.6). This belongs to the cosmopolitan perspective which defines the world as an interdependent system, with no consideration for national boundaries, and where everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support.

In terms of principles of justice, Greenpeace advocates for people’s health and human rights abuses as it is seen here: “[...] the immense risk that the fossil fuel industry poses to people’s health and communities, [...]” (Greenpeace, 2016a, p.8); “the human rights abuses being perpetrated in the high seas, especially in the tuna industry.” (Greenpeace, 2016a, p.17). Health is linked with basic human needs to survive, while human rights are a broader concept. The advocacy for basic human needs refers to cosmopolitanism. Moreover, the word *people* is used, making the cosmopolitan view on the universal coverage even stronger, *people* being a broad and inclusive term (i.e. with no reference to citizenship). However, as argued previously, the term *human rights* goes beyond that and includes other aspects of life such as political rights. This involves the capabilities approach.

Looking at the mechanisms of justice, Greenpeace focuses on the responsibility of governments and corporations by pushing them “[in the text: governments and corporations] towards coal divestment and greater investment in renewables” (2016a, p.3) by asking them “[in the text: governments and businesses] for big and difficult changes all the time.” (2016a, p.5) and holds “corporations and governments to account” (2016a, p.10). Greenpeace blames also “governments’ inaction and companies’ dismissal of the problem.” (2016a, p.5). The responsibility of governments refers to liberal egalitarianism, while the emphasis on corporations’ responsibility relates to capabilities approach.

On top of that, Greenpeace advocates for international cooperation among a variety of actors as it is seen in “During the past year, we embraced working with other networks, collaborating with unlikely partners, and using smart engagement to deliver success in the uptake of clean energy.” (2016a, p.7) which refers to cosmopolitanism which puts international cooperation as one of its main mechanisms of justice.

However, Greenpeace argues for a people-based approach, more bottom-up mechanisms, mass mobilization, and this is not included in the Planetary Justice framework used in this research. This interesting point is further addressed in Chapter 7.

### 5.3.2.2 Greenpeace report: The great water grab (Table 10)

The subjects of justice in this publication are centred around two main points: the interdependency of countries around the world and the international focus. The NGO describes the biggest risks the world will face with no consideration of borders. Water scarcity is the focus of this publication and is one of the biggest challenges of societies (Greenpeace, 2016b, p.5). Societies are understood as a broad term, involving interdependency between countries. By taking the example of India (Greenpeace, 2016b, p.37), the NGO argues around the interdependency of countries as India will be the most populous country of the world but owns very little of the world water stock. India will need to import water resources, creating new interdependencies. This risk of water stress is already existing for several regions, and this could increase risk of conflict (Greenpeace, 2016b, p.54). Those statements belong to cosmopolitan views; philosophical foundation which sees the world as an interdependent system where national borders are meaningless and where everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support.

In regard to principles of justice, Greenpeace discusses the competition between the water consumption of coal-fired power plants units and people's most basic needs. By referring to "the most basic needs of more than 1 billion people" (2016b, p.6) and "the most basic water needs of half a billion people" (2016b, p.7), Greenpeace addresses human basic needs referring to the principle that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic needs for their survival which relates to cosmopolitan principles of justice.

On the contrary of the subjects and principles of justice following very clearly cosmopolitan views, the mechanisms here are slightly different. Indeed, Greenpeace addresses governments and holds them responsible for a fair resources management as "[...] governments are failing to manage water sustainably [...]" (2016b, p.5). The following statement illustrates this argument as well: "To avoid serious consequences in the water/energy nexus, governments need to face the fundamental reasons behind this issue, and stop licensing and constructing new coal power plants in high water stress areas." (2016b, p.46). These national-based mechanisms are typically liberal egalitarian as this philosophical foundation targets governments as the main responsible party for safeguarding justice.

### 5.3.2.3 Greenpeace Blog post: Let's make it a green peace (Table 11)

As regard to the subjects of justice, borders are in this text meaningless. Indeed, Bunny McDiarmid and Jennifer Morgan (2016, September 20) talk about the suffering of people with no distinction of national borders. The world, the planet, and planet boundaries are at the centre. They do not address national boundaries. The international interdependency and absence of national borders in the text refer to cosmopolitanism.

Two aspects of principles of justice are developed. One is the claim that everybody should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for their survival. The authors advance arguments about the lack of electricity access and clean cooking facilities for instance. The second aspect goes beyond the basic needs. Indeed, Bunny McDiarmid and Jennifer Morgan (2016, September 20) argue for the protection and the promotion of “dignity, empowerment and fulfilment for all people”, including other aspects of life such as political and cultural rights. Altogether, the two aspects are related to cosmopolitanism for the needs approach and capabilities approach for the inclusion of political and cultural requirements.

With respect to mechanisms of justice, Greenpeace on the one hand addresses the lack of focus of governments on conflict prevention while defence expenditure (e.g. nuclear armaments) is judged as very important. On the other hand, the NGO advocates for international interdependence and international cooperation to share our resources and protect our global commons. By doing so, Greenpeace combines liberal egalitarian views while holding governments responsible and cosmopolitan views when the NGO argues for international cooperation and international redistribution.

### 5.3.3 Interview

*Interviewee 5: Senior expert from the Greenpeace Clean Energy Now; North America; via Skype on May 15th, 2017 - (See Appendix, p.130)*

The interviewee agreed that everyone is related by a moral obligation to support and care, as the over-consuming countries are responsible towards the low-consuming countries. Moreover, they agreed that we are all interdependent. Both arguments refer to cosmopolitan subjects of justice. In addition, the interviewee recognized the citizenship of people as very important, especially while talking about indigenous, adding that “it is too easy to ignore nationalities”. This is indicative of a liberal egalitarian based approach.

Regarding the principles of justice, the interviewee strongly agreed that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs and added that the basic needs are changing in an ongoing process. They gave the example of Internet now being necessary while it was not until a couple of years ago. The interviewee also agreed that more aspects of life should be included (political, cultural, and education), justifying it by saying that “this is part of being a human” and that every country emphasizes on different aspects of the human development. They strongly agreed on the lack of representation in the policy-making, regarding women and minorities, making participatory parity essential within the debate. This view is shared by critical perspectives. The principles of justice are thus based on cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and critical perspectives.

Looking at mechanisms of justice, the interviewee agreed that states and state governments are primarily responsible for securing the basic needs of their citizens and added that they share the responsibility with the corporations. In addition, they agreed that public policies should play on everyone's development. The governmental responsibility approach is a view shared by liberal egalitarians, while the emphasis on corporation and public policies would be more in agreement with the capabilities approach. They argued that civil society acts as "the check and balance of the governments and corporations" and insisted to say that the media are also part of this civil society. This opinion is shared by cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.

Moreover, the interviewee strongly agreed on the need for international redistribution and added that the funding should target the mitigation and adaption of climate change, implying a cosmopolitan argument. They expressed a belief that cooperation among countries is possible and that the differences are used to avoid changes, referring to a cosmopolitan argument. The interviewee was against the current global free markets and free trade and considered that they are exacerbating the global inequalities. Modern capitalism is here seen as only one of the driving forces for existing inequalities (i.e. militarism).

*Interviewee 6: Climate Change and Energy Policy adviser; Europe; via Skype on May 17th, 2017 - (See Appendix, p.131)*

On the subject of justice, the interviewee recognized the debt that over-consuming countries have to the low-consuming countries. In addition, they recognized the interdependence between people or countries. Indeed, for the interviewee "where he or she was born is not an achievement" and "the national boundaries are human-made, they do not exist on the planet". The subjects of justice refer to cosmopolitanism.

Regarding the principles of justice, interviewees 5 and 6 are largely in agreement with some variations in answer intensity. Otherwise, the principles of justice remain based on cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and critical perspectives.

The interviewee strongly agreed on the crucial role of states and state governments as responsible for securing the basic needs of their citizens, referring to liberal egalitarian mechanism of justice. In addition, the interviewee strongly agreed that public policies should play an important role on everyone's development, opinion shared by the capabilities approach. They strongly agreed as well that civil society should be stronger as they are a pillar, acting like a watchdog. Both cosmopolitan and capabilities approaches agree on that point.

In addition, the interviewee agreed that the over-consuming countries have a historical debt but disagreed on the second part of the statement, namely the "funding". Indeed, funding is not proven to necessarily lead to improvements of livelihoods. Therefore, the efforts should be more concentrated on skills development. They added that "while now Europe is importing only resources, we should help to develop their



skills and import instead end products, and reduce then the tariffs on the importation from those countries”. The interviewee believed in a cooperation among countries, especially because they can learn from each other and avoid isolation. Both of those arguments are cosmopolitan. Moreover, they recognised modern capitalism as one of the main cause for the existing inequalities around the world and are against global free markets and free trade as drafted now. The mechanisms of justice are thus based on liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, and the capabilities approach.

*Interviewee 7: Senior expert in Climate justice; Southeast Asia; via Skype on May 19th, 2017 (See Appendix, p.132)*

The interviewee considered global free markets and free trade as subjects of justice, which refer to libertarianism. Moreover, the interviewee considered nationality and national boundaries as important, giving citizenship an important role, referring to liberal egalitarianism.

Regarding the principles of justice, all the interviewees from Greenpeace are largely in agreement. There is some variation in terms of intensity in the answers, but the principles of justice remain based on cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and critical perspectives.

Concerning mechanisms of justice, the interviewee agreed that states and state governments are the main responsible actors for securing the basic needs for their citizens and added that they have to “enable the conditions and not hurt the conditions, they have to maintain the conditions for their citizens”. The interviewee referred to liberal egalitarianism. In addition, they agreed that public policies are important to ensure everyone’s development, implying a capabilities approach argument. They agreed that the rights and role of civil society are crucial and must be strengthened, an opinion shared by cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.

The funding from over-consuming to low-consuming countries is particularly criticized by the interviewee, as they considered it as “the least thing which is expected” and “if every country would respect sustainable development, there will be no harm”. This argument is very nationally and governmentally-based, and therefore refers to liberal egalitarianism. In addition, the interviewee considers cooperation as necessary as “sharing is essential because we are living in one planet. Differences are not an excuse”. Cooperation among countries relates to cosmopolitanism. Finally, the interviewee agreed that global free markets and free trade are central, showing a libertarian tendency. Mechanisms of justice are thus based on liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and libertarianism.

### 5.3.4 Summary Greenpeace

#### *Subjects of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT 1	INT 2	INT 3
Liberal egal.				X		X
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X	
Libertarianism						X
Capabilities ap.						
Critical persp.						

Table 9. Subjects of justice - Greenpeace

The three publications and two out the three interviewees base their subjects of justice on cosmopolitanism which looks at the world at an interdependent system, regardless national borders, and in which everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support. Two sources agree on liberal egalitarian subjects of justice, which consider that international inequalities are due to national burden and therefore, focus on the national level. One source refers to libertarianism, arguing for a global free market society. The combination of cosmopolitan, liberal egalitarian, and libertarian subjects of justice is contradictory. However, libertarian subjects of justice are only mentioned by one source, which is not representative of the rest of the sample.

#### *Principles of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT 1	INT 2	INT 3
Liberal egal.						
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism						
Capabilities ap.	X		X	X	X	X
Critical persp.				X	X	X

Table 10. Principles of justice - Greenpeace

All the sources share cosmopolitan principles of justice which state that everyone should have equal opportunity to attain equal position and that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. Five out of the six sources agree on principles of justice belonging to the capabilities approach, promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and

valued functioning. Half of the sources share common views on principles suggested by critical perspectives, focusing on participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life.

### *Mechanisms of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report3	INT 1	INT 2	INT 3
Liberal egal.	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cosmo.	X		X	X	X	X
Libertarianism						X
Capabilities ap.	X			X	X	X
Critical persp.						

Table 11. Mechanisms of justice - Greenpeace

The three publications and the three interviewees agree on liberal egalitarian mechanisms of justice, which target government's responsibility for ensuring justice. Five out of the six sources share cosmopolitan mechanisms, claiming for a cooperative and redistributive system. Four out of the six sources agree on mechanisms of justice suggested by capabilities approach, promoting international treaties, setting norms, and emphasis on the role of corporations, civil society, etc. One interviewee suggested libertarian mechanisms of justice, rejecting a strong role of public policies and assuming that the free market will naturally deliver justice. This combination of perspectives is somehow complex (liberal egalitarianism and cosmopolitanism being almost equally represented for instance) and seemingly full of contradiction.

## 5.4 Oxfam International

### 5.4.1 Profile

Oxfam International was founded in 1995 by several independent NGOs. The aim of this joint effort was to take greater strides towards the eradication of global poverty. Oxfam International Confederation now has twenty member-organizations, ranging in location from Mexico to New Zealand. The international secretariat is based in Oxford, UK (Oxfam, 2017a). They envision a world without poverty “where people are valued and treated equally, enjoy their rights as full citizens, and can influence decisions affecting their lives” (Oxfam, 2017b).

## 5.4.2 Reports

### 5.4.2.1 Oxfam report: Annual report 2015/2016 (Table 12)

The unequal relation among countries is at the centre of Oxfam's report. Several times the responsibility of the over-consuming countries towards the low-consuming countries is mentioned: "Meanwhile, climate change fuelled by the emissions of rich nations prospers inequality." (Oxfam, 2017c, p.4); "Our world must yet support the poorest and women on the frontlines suffering most because of the excesses of the richest." (Oxfam, 2017c, p.4). This reflects the idea of everyone being related by a moral obligation to support and care, which refers to cosmopolitan views. In addition, Oxfam takes into gender conflict into account, in the understanding of current issues as in "Discrimination against women and girls is both a cause and a consequence of poverty." (Oxfam, 2017c, p.28) which follows critical perspectives.

The principle involving that everybody should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival is essential in Oxfam's text: "And we won't stop until every person on the planet can enjoy life free from poverty." (Oxfam, 2017c, p.6); "We worked alongside government authorities and civil society organizations to improve water and sanitation services, and the livelihoods of thousands of people living in poverty." (Oxfam, 2017c, p.57). But this principle goes beyond the satisfaction of basic needs. The statement "We believe that everyone has: • A right to a sustainable livelihood [...] • A right to be heard • A right to an identity." (Oxfam, 2017c, p.6) refers to more conditions that people requires to live fully. Those conditions are going beyond the simple basic needs and involve more individual aspects such as the right to be heard. Altogether, the principles of justice recognized in Oxfam's report are cosmopolitan when looking at the needs approach, and based on the capabilities approach with the integration of more requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning.

There are two main directions of mechanisms of justice within Oxfam's report. On one hand, the NGO argues for more international cooperation, especially involving the international support and redistribution. This could be done through wealthier nations adopting more welcoming practices towards refugees (Oxfam, 2017c, p.4; Oxfam, 2017c, p.48), a global tax reform which would fight the current inequality (Oxfam, 2017c, p.5; Oxfam, 2017c, p.81), cooperation among countries and with other international organisations organizations (Oxfam, 2017c, p.22; Oxfam, 2017c, p.71), the funding of the crisis response of the Syrian case by rich countries (Oxfam, 2017c, p.48), and in general, more financial support from rich countries towards poor countries (Oxfam, 2017c, p.75). The support between the most advantaged towards the least advantaged refers to cosmopolitan views which advocate for international redistribution. The international cooperation between governments,

international organizations and global civil society is recognised by two philosophical foundations, namely cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.

On the other hand, Oxfam also emphasizes on the role and responsibility of governments on their own territory. Following that logic, justice should then be ensured at the national level. The following two statements illustrate this argument: “Oxfam maintained pressure on the EU throughout the year, urging governments to find solutions to the migration crisis.” (Oxfam, 2017c, p.50); “Solutions lie in ensuring that governments maintain a strong commitment to reducing emissions and global warming, and assurance from world leaders that adequate and consistent financing will flow to enable countries to adapt to the threat of climate change.” (Oxfam, 2017c, p.67). The emphasis on governmental responsibility is based on the liberal egalitarian approach.

#### 5.4.2.2 Oxfam report: An economy for the 99% (Table 13)

The strongest focus in terms of subjects of justice is around the responsibility of the most advantaged people towards the least advantaged. The redistribution of wealth can be a national matter, within one society (Oxfam, 2017d, p.1), within corporations (Oxfam, 2017d, p.3). The redistribution of wealth can also be conducted at the international level (Oxfam, 2017d, p.2; p.6), including the loss for healthcare and education development in Africa due to the consequences of tax havens (Oxfam, 2017d, p.5), and the fact that poor communities face the impact of climate change while the related emissions are due to rich people/nations (Oxfam, 2017d, p.27). Those arguments are cosmopolitan. On top of that, Oxfam takes into account gender conflicts within the current issues, especially regarding the income distribution where women are the least advantaged (Oxfam, 2017d, p.14). Gender, colour or caste should not be subject to discrimination (Oxfam, 2017d, p.28). This argument refers to critical perspectives as they look at underlying gender conflicts in the current issue.

One of the biggest fights of Oxfam is against poverty. Therefore, within Oxfam’s report, we find many references to the principle that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival: “Yet one in nine people still go to bed hungry. Had growth been pro poor between 1990 and 2010, 700 million more people, most of them women, would not be living in poverty today.” (Oxfam, 2017d, p.2); “Wealth is critical for people living in poverty to be able to respond to financial shocks like a medical bill.” (Oxfam, 2017d, p.10). Those principles of justice are based on cosmopolitanism.

In “A human economy is one which meets the needs of both people [...]” (Oxfam, 2017d, p.28) the needs are not specified, but throughout the text, the argument goes beyond basic needs, with Oxfam arguing that “A human economy would see progress measured by what actually matters, not just by GDP.” (Oxfam, 2017d, p.28). By saying so, the NGO promotes the inclusion of more aspects that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning. This belongs to the capabilities approach.

As for the mechanisms of justice, Oxfam advocates for more international cooperation and global redistribution that supports the least advantaged through tax reform (2017d, p.2; p.7; p.17). This type of mechanisms is typical from a cosmopolitan perspective which advocates for an international cooperative and redistributive system. In parallel, governments remain important actors and are responsible for ensuring justice on their territory (Oxfam, 2017d, p.7; p.22; p.23; p.28) implying liberal egalitarian views. Moreover, Oxfam considers the measurement of development with GDP as obsolete. Therefore, the NGO prescribes the use of more inclusive tools, such as the Genuine Progress Indicator or the OECD Better Life Index and the Social Progress Index which are expected to more accurately enumerate human well-being and quality of life (Oxfam, 2017d, p.35). This argument is based on the capabilities approach.

#### 5.4.2.3 Oxfam report: Let them eat coal (Table 14)

As the two previous publications, the unequal distribution of wealth around the world is at the centre of Oxfam's report. Oxfam targets the burden that poor women and men endure due to climate change (2015, p.6), climate change which has been caused by the most advantaged countries (2015, p.14). Therefore, the NGO further argues that to be fair, those countries should be paying a commensurately higher price (Oxfam, 2015, p.13). The unequal distribution is also illustrated in the following statement: "There is a price to pay for every tonne of CO<sub>2</sub> emitted, and it is paid in dollars and in lives and livelihoods ruined in communities far from the security and safety nets of the rich world." (Oxfam, 2015, p.8). Thus, the subjects of justice are mainly cosmopolitan, which view the world as an interdependent system, regardless of national boundaries, and where everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support.

Oxfam is focusing on the fight against hunger (2015, p.6). Therefore, the principle applies that everybody should be able to satisfy their basic human needs. This refers directly to cosmopolitan views.

Responding directly to the previous subjects and principles of justice, Oxfam advocates for the over-consuming countries to support financially the low-consuming countries (2015, p.6; p.15; p.34), especially because they are responsible for the harm caused by climate change. This relates to cosmopolitan mechanisms of justice which advocate for an international cooperative and redistributive system.

### 5.4.3 Interview

*Interviewee 8 - Senior expert from the Tax Justice Programme; Europe; via Skype on May 19th, 2017 (See Appendix, p.133)*

In terms of subjects of justice, the interviewee agreed that over-consuming countries have a historical and a present responsibility towards low-consuming countries. In addition, the interviewee disagreed that nationality and national boundaries are meaningless but agrees that we are interdependent. They added that “one does not exclude the other”. Therefore, the subjects of justice are here cosmopolitan for responsibility and the interdependence, and liberal egalitarianism for nationality and citizenship.

With respect to the principles of justice, the interviewee agreed on the necessary satisfaction of basic human needs in order to achieve a just world, and strongly agrees that this is insufficient. Religion, education, and cultural aspects of life should be included too. Moreover, they agreed about the lack of female and minority participation in the policy-making. Therefore, the principles of justice refer here to cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and critical perspectives.

The interviewee agreed that state and state governments are primarily responsible for securing the basic needs for their citizens, invoking liberal egalitarian mechanisms of justice. In addition, they strongly agreed that public policies should ensure everyone’s development, a perspective which is closer to the capabilities approach. The interviewee agreed that the role and the rights of civil society must be strengthened, referring to cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach. They agreed about international redistribution and believed that cooperation among countries is possible. Both last two arguments are cosmopolitan. They agreed that global free markets and free trade are central to eventually resolving global inequalities. However, the interviewee added that they were not talking about the current system, but they were not against free markets, a sentiment which relates to libertarianism.

Overall, the mechanisms of justice are based on liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and libertarianism.

*Interviewee 9 - Research and Policy adviser; Europe; via Skype on June 9th, 2017 (See Appendix, p.133)*

The interviewee strongly agreed that the over-consuming countries have a responsibility to support the low-consuming and agrees that national boundaries and nationality are meaningless. Moreover, they agreed that we are living in a global interdependent world. Therefore, the subjects of justice here are cosmopolitan.

With respect to the principles of justice, the two interviewees are largely in agreement despite some variations in the intensity of the answers. The principles of justice are thus invoking cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, and critical perspectives.

The interviewee agreed that states and state governments are primarily responsible for securing people's basic needs, attributing liberal egalitarian mechanisms. However, they added that "business, civil society, and individuals as well" when talking about responsibility, and they recognized public policies as important. This refers more to a capabilities approach. The same applies for the fact that they agreed that the rights and role of civil society must be strengthened. By doing so, the interviewee made a reference to cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach. They are in favour of both international redistribution and international cooperation, which are based on cosmopolitanism.

#### 5.4.4 Summary Oxfam

##### *Subjects of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT 1	INT 2
Liberal egal.				X	
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism					
Capabilities ap.					
Critical persp.	X	X			

Table 12. Subjects of justice - Oxfam

The three publications and the two interviewees all base their subjects of justice on cosmopolitanism which looks at the world as an interdependent system, regardless of national borders, and in which everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support. Two out of five sources share critical perspectives' subjects of justice which looks at the underlying class and/or gender conflicts in the current context. One source refers to liberal egalitarian subjects of justice which focuses on the national burden and individual citizenship.



*Principles of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT 1	INT 2
Liberal egal.					
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism					
Capabilities ap.	X	X		X	X
Critical persp.				X	X

Table 13. Principles of justice - Oxfam

All the sources share cosmopolitan principles of justice which state that everyone should have equal opportunity to attain equal position and that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. Four out of five sources agree on capabilities approach's principles of justice which promotes a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning. The two interviewees share views on adding principles from critical perspectives, addressing participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life.

*Mechanisms of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT 1	INT 2
Liberal egal.	X	X		X	X
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism				X	
Capabilities ap.	X	X		X	X
Critical persp.					

Table 14. Mechanisms of justice - Oxfam

All the sources share cosmopolitan mechanisms of justice, which are based on a cooperative and redistributive system. Then, liberal egalitarianism and capabilities approach are equally represented (four out of five). Liberal egalitarian mechanisms target state's responsibility, while capabilities approach promotes international treaties setting norms and emphasizes on the role of corporations, civil society etc. One interviewee refers to libertarian mechanisms of justice which focus on the importance of free market and rejection of a strong role of government and any redistributive policies. This combination of perspectives is somehow complex and seemingly full of contradiction.

## 5.5 Care

### 5.5.1 Profile

Care emerged at the end of the World War II in 1946, in Le Havre (France). This was the beginning of the answer to a general need of food and relief after the war. Throughout the following decades, during the European post-war reconstruction, Care found itself involved in the entire globe and has evolved into “one of the largest poverty-fighting organizations in the world, providing relief to people hit by disasters and emergencies, and contributing to economic empowerment that strengthens livelihoods over the long term, starting with women and girls who are often marginalized and among the world’s poorest” (Care International, 2017a). The organization is a global federation of 14 members working in 94 countries in 2016 (Care International, 2017b).

### 5.5.2 Reports

#### 5.5.2.1 Care report: Annual Report 2015 (Table 15)

Regarding the subjects of justice, Care works at the global level, looking at global issues and pursuing global goals like fighting poverty around the world (2016, p.2). The society is described as a “global society” (Care International, 2016, p.3) regardless national boundaries. In addition, the consequences of climate change involving climate emergency are endured by poor people while they are the one contributing the least (Care International, 2016, p.15). Everybody seems then to be related by a moral obligation to support and care do on another. The subjects of justice targeted by Care are specific to cosmopolitanism.

Moreover, Care targets structural causes like “equal rights and opportunities” of “all people” (Care International, 2016, p.2). Therefore, women and girls are central in Care policies (2016, p.2) implying critical perspectives which look at underlying gender conflict in the current context.

With respect to the principles of justice, the fact that people should be able to satisfy their basic human needs is very present in Care’s work (2016, p.2; 2016, p.8). The end of poverty is the main goal of the NGO, an outlook which corresponds to cosmopolitanism approach. By claiming that women should have equal rights and opportunities (Care International, 2016, p.2; Care International, 2016, p.7) and that woman's voice must be strengthened (Care International, 2016, p.7), participatory parity seems to be essential in Care’s principles, referring to critical perspectives.

Looking at the mechanisms of justice, Care’s actions are not conducted alone. Indeed, the organization works together with “[...] a broad network of partner and allies [...]” (2016, p.2) but also with “[...] local communities,

government agencies and civil society partners [...]” (2016, p.9). This follows a strategy of international cooperation.

The approach followed by Care in case of emergency involves that “Care then provides technical and material support, for example in helping rebuild water systems, latrines, and other community infrastructure.” (2016, p.8). As Care funding are based on donor contributions or government and non-government agencies grants (2016, p.20), the idea of wealth redistribution can be extracted from this statement as we can assume that the most advantaged actors are the most likely to donate. Care advocates for an increase of international assistance as well (2016, p.10). This mechanism is crucial in Care’s discourse because “Without scaling up international assistance, the spiral of deepening poverty will accelerate with lasting impact on both refugees and local communities.” (2016, p.10). The mechanisms of justice are following cosmopolitan views which are based on a cooperative and redistributive system.

#### 5.5.2.2 Care report: One planet one future (Table 16)

Care targets the “lives of millions of poor women and men and children.” (2012, p.3), implying interdependence around the world regardless of national borders. The idea that everybody is related by a moral obligation of care and support, especially toward the least advantaged, appears several times throughout the text (Care International, 2012, p.3; p.5; p.8; p.18). Those aspects are based on cosmopolitanism approach to the subjects of justice.

Furthermore, Care criticizes the lack of representativeness in the decision making, especially regarding women. By looking at gender inequality, the NGO looks at the underlying conflicts in the current context, a nod to critical perspectives.

In regard to the principles of justice, Care advocates for the ones who “still face severe challenges in surviving and meeting their daily basic needs.” (2012, p.3) and the risk for millions of people of malnutrition in the following years due to the consequences of climate change (2012, p.8). This refers directly to the principle that everybody should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for their survival, which is common for the cosmopolitan perspective.

Moreover, Care advocates for the unequal distribution of power between men and women (2012, p.4) and argues against the “Limitations on women’s decision-making powers and fundamental rights to participate in all spheres of life” (2012, p. 11). Participatory parity is then at the centre of the NGO’s publication, implying the importance of critical perspectives.

Regarding the main mechanisms of justice, Care calls for pressure on political leaders (2012, p.3), holding governments responsible for ensuring justice at the national level, as liberal egalitarians would argue.

In addition, international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries are present several times throughout the text (Care International, 2012, p. 3; p.13; p.17; p.20). This is based on cosmopolitanism. The need of “policy, institutional and governance reforms” (Care International, 2012, p.20) refers to critical perspectives which aim at destroying the current system making full equality impossible and suggest new democratic reforms.

#### 5.5.2.3 Care report: Fleeing climate change: Impacts on migration and displacement. (Table 17)

Within this publication written by Care Denmark, two main points seem to be addressed regarding the subjects of justice. First, Care stresses the argument of a “sustainable, more prosperous and inclusive global society” (Care Denmark, 2016, p.4) and of “our common humanity, and shared future” (Care Denmark, 2016, p.40). It can be translated by the belief that Care does not consider borders as meaningful and sees the world as interdependent. Secondly, the unequal situation among countries is highlighted and the responsibility of the over-consuming countries towards the low-consuming ones is argued as in: “A society that also tackles climate change and shows solidarity with the poorest and most vulnerable, leaving no one behind.” (Care Denmark, 2016, p.4); “[...] they are being forced to move by climate change, which has been caused largely by developed countries and societal dependence on the fossil fuel industry. Calling them “migrants” undermines the responsibility of the developed countries and the fossil fuel industry.” (Care Denmark, 2016, p.12). The two points refer to cosmopolitanism, which believes in an interdependent world where everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support.

About the principles of justice, the entire document is about issues like food security, water scarcity, poverty, and agricultural issues. To give an example, *food insecurity* is mentioned 13 times in the entire document. The principle that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival appears many times in the text: “to help those that are already seeing their livelihoods undermined by a changing climate” (Care Denmark, 2016, p.4); “Failing to tackle climate change, poverty and inequality is a recipe for political and economic chaos.” (Care Denmark, 2016, p.21); “The poor will have less water for drinking and agriculture, their homes and possessions will increasingly become destroyed due to storms and floods, and heat waves and warmer temperatures will reduce their ability to work.” (Care Denmark, 2016, p.31). This *basic needs* approach reflects cosmopolitan views.

In regard to the mechanisms of justice, the responsibility of countries is claimed by Care as in: “Unless governments take strong preventive action and invest in adaptation, climate change-related phenomena such as floods, droughts, famines and hurricanes could push the total number of permanently displaced people as high as 250 million people, between now and 2050.” (Care Denmark, 2016, p.5) and again (Care Denmark,

2016, p.22). The national based approach refers to liberal egalitarianism which focuses on government's responsibility for ensuring justice.

Moreover, Care highlights the need of international support through "adequate humanitarian assistance" (2016, p.14). The over-consuming countries are described as the main actors who should provide financial and technical support to the low-consuming countries: "Many parts of the world are at risk of entering into permanent crises, as the gap between the level of support provided to poorer countries and what poor countries need could become much bigger." (Care Denmark, 2016, p.6); "Without adequate adaptation funding, these goals will not be met and poor people will face even more severe climate consequences. The world's poorest people are most at risk from the near-term impacts of climate change." (Care Denmark, 2016, p.23); "For poor people, adaptation finance from developed countries will be essential." (Care Denmark, 2016, p.27); "A key contribution from richer countries is technical and, in particular, financial support for countries most affected by climate impacts." (Care Denmark, 2016, p.42-43). The mechanisms claimed are based on cosmopolitan foundations which claim for international cooperative and redistributive systems.

### 5.5.3 Interview

*Interviewee 10 - Programme and policy Leader Officer; Europe; via Skype on June 6th, 2017 (See Appendix, p.134)*

Concerning the subjects of justice, the interviewee agreed that the over-consuming countries have a responsibility towards the low-consuming countries. In addition, the interviewee strongly agreed that nationality and national boundaries are meaningless and that we are all interdependent. However, regarding nationality and national boundaries, they added that they are still existing and still relevant to some people. The subjects of justice in this interview mainly refer to cosmopolitanism.

With respect to the principles of justice, the interviewee strongly agreed that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs and that more aspects of life should be included, namely education, religion, and cultural dimensions. They considered the coverage of basic needs as an essential starting point for progressing to other aspects of life. Those arguments refer to the cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach. The interviewee strongly agreed that there exists a lack of women and minorities participation in policy-making processes, adding that the same issue applies for the seats in the parliament, earning, etc., opinion shared by critical perspectives. They added that there is no justification for this lack of representativeness.

The interviewee strongly agreed that states and state governments are primarily responsible for securing the basic needs for their citizens, involving liberal egalitarian mechanisms. In addition, they added that governments

are primarily responsible but not alone as issues are interconnected and sometimes beyond the control of the government. On top of that, they strongly agreed that public policies should ensure everyone's development. The emphasis on the importance of public policies and responsibility of other actors like corporations refers to capabilities approach. Moreover, they strongly agreed that the role and the rights of civil society should be strengthened, an opinion shared by both cosmopolitanism and the capabilities approach. They added that, "civil society is playing a key role, but more attention should be paid on what role should it be".

As said previously, the interviewee agreed that the over-consuming countries have a responsibility towards the low-consuming countries. However, they thought that providing funding is not necessarily what it is needed. They suggested "speaking out, challenging policies, funding in some cases." This refers more to the capabilities approach which considers that the over-consuming countries should support the low-consuming countries but in a loose and decentralized way. Finally, they considered that cooperation among countries is possible as "actions have impact beyond borders". This argument is cosmopolitan.

#### 5.5.4 Summary - Care

##### *Subjects of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT 1
Liberal egal.				
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism				
Capabilities ap.				
Critical persp.	X	X		

Table 15. Subjects of justice - Care

The three publications and the interviewee all base their subjects of justice on cosmopolitanism, which looks at the world at an interdependent system, regardless national borders, and in which everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support. Half of the sources share critical perspectives' definition of subject of justice, which looks at the underlying class and/or gender conflicts in the current context.

*Principles of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT 1
Liberal egal.				
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism				
Capabilities ap.	X			X
Critical persp.	X	X		X

Table 16. Principles of justice - Care

All the sources share cosmopolitan principles of justice which state that everyone should have equal opportunity to attain equal position and be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. Three out of four sources share principles belonging to critical perspectives which focus on participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life. Half of the sources agree on principles presented by the capabilities approach, which promotes a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning.

*Mechanisms of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT 1
Liberal egal.		X	X	X
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism				
Capabilities ap.				X
Critical persp.		X		

Table 17. Mechanisms of justice - Care

All the sources share cosmopolitan mechanisms of justice which are based on a cooperative and redistributive system. Then, three out of four sources agree on liberal egalitarian mechanisms which target government's responsibility. Both approaches are conflicting. Capabilities approach and critical perspectives are equally represented. Capabilities approach promotes international treaties, setting norms, and places an emphasis on the role of corporations, civil society. Critical perspectives, however, advocates for new democratic mechanisms eliminating oppressive institutionalized structures of subjugation.

## 5.6 WWF

### 5.6.1 Profile

The WWF was founded in 1961 in Switzerland with Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands as the organization's first president. Its International Secretariat is based in Gland, Switzerland (Seat of the Director General). As the world's leading conservation organization, the WWF works now in 100 countries and has national autonomously-run organizations and programme offices which are affiliated to one of the independent WWF offices. The organization receives support from approximately five million individuals from around the globe. Its main mission is "to conserve nature and reduce the most pressing threats to the diversity of life on Earth" (WWF, 2017).

### 5.6.2 Reports

#### 5.6.2.1 WWF report: Annual Report 2015 (Table 18)

Regarding the subjects of justice, WWF addresses "complex global issues that impact our planet" (WWF, 2016, p.1) making borders meaningless and global increasing the interdependence. This goes further with the sentence "the only way we can spark change at scale is by working together" (WWF, 2016, p.1). *We* has no geographical distinction. This type of thought process is a reflection of cosmopolitanism, which looks at the world as interdependent, where borders are meaningless and where everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.

The development of these two statements gives a clear vision on the principles of justice advanced by WWF "we secure water for people and nature" (2016, p.2) and "we drive sustainable food systems to conserve nature and feed humanity" (2016, p.3). WWF explicitly references basic human needs, making a direct link to cosmopolitanism.

In regard to mechanisms of justice, WWF advocates for partnership and cooperation among actors such as "government leaders and tribal authorities; consumers and corporate leaders; fishers and ranchers; donors and advocates; and local communities, universities, and multinational institutions" (2016, p.1) or again with "government officials, business leaders, and communities" (2016, p.14). The emphasis on multi-actor cooperation, and the described role of business and civil society refers to both cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.



### 5.6.2.2 ActionAid, Care, and WWF report: Loss and damage (Table 19)

This publication focuses on the unequal wealth distribution between over-consuming and low-consuming countries and the lack of support from richer countries. NGOs argue that this lack of financial support makes low-consuming countries unable to tackle climate impacts (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2015, p.5; p.7; p.12). This refers directly to cosmopolitanism.

On the topic of principles of justice, the NGOs emphasize the high risks for rural livelihoods, but also necessary basic needs such as electricity, water supply, and health services (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2015, p.8; p.11). By doing so, the NGOs highlight a principle that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for their survival, referring to cosmopolitanism. Going beyond this principle, the loss of culture, community, and social structures is linked to climate disasters (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2015, p.8). Those aspects are perceived as necessary for human well-being. This principle is shared by the capabilities approach which promotes a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning.

Global interdependence and cooperation are present throughout the text when looking at the mechanisms of justice. The need of more financial support from over-consuming countries to low-consuming countries is particularly argued. The financial support is combined with technical support which will help countries to adapt to climate change (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2015, p.15). This relates to cosmopolitanism, as this philosophical foundation is advocating for international cooperation and redistribution to support the least advantaged within and among countries.

In addition, the NGOs claim that communities most affected should be fully integrated in the public participation (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2015, p.15). This refers to new democratic systems, referring to critical perspectives.

### 5.6.2.3 ActionAid, Care, and WWF report: Global Goal on Adaptation: From Concept to Practice (Table 20)

Regarding the subjects of justice, the notion of “global inequality” (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2016, p.7) is addressed in this publication, making borders meaningless in that matter. Because of historical greenhouse gas emissions, over-consuming countries have a responsibility towards low-consuming countries as this is seen as “an unjust burden” (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2016, p.3) and again “severe and unjust burden” (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2016, p.7). Cosmopolitanism is then the main philosophical foundation explaining the subjects of justice of ActionAid, CARE, and the WWF.

The main principle of justice in this text is about the protection of population as in “Special attention needs should be given to protecting the people, livelihoods [...]” (ActionAid, Care, and WWF, 2016, p.4). The reference to the principle that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival is related to cosmopolitanism.

Responding to both cosmopolitan subjects and principles of justice, ActionAid, CARE and WWF agree that “adaptation cannot be sufficiently enhanced to address the needs in developing countries without support, including finance, technology transfer, and development, and capacity building.” (2016, p.9). The significance of such a statement relates to international cooperation involving the support of over-consuming countries towards low-consuming countries, again based on cosmopolitanism.

### 5.6.3 Interview

*Interviewee 11 - Food and Climate Senior expert; Europe, via Skype on May 11th, 2017 (See Appendix, p.135)*

The interviewee strongly agreed that the over-consuming countries have a responsibility towards the low-consuming countries. In addition, the interviewee strongly agreed that nationality and national boundaries are meaningless and that we are all interdependent. They added that nowadays there are two levels, namely local and global. The subjects of justice in this interview mainly refer to cosmopolitanism.

Regarding the principles of justice, the interviewee strongly agreed that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs and that more aspects of life should be included, namely education, religion, and cultural dimensions. Those arguments refer to cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach. The interviewee strongly agreed too about the lack of women and minorities participation in the policy-making and added that the same issue applies for the education, land rights, and decision rights, opinion shared by critical perspectives.

The interviewee agreed that states and state governments are primarily responsible for securing the basic needs for their citizens, involving liberal egalitarian mechanisms of justice. On top of that, they strongly agreed that public policies should ensure everyone’s development which refers to the capabilities approach.

Moreover, they strongly agreed that the role and the rights of civil society should be strengthened, opinion shared by both cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach. The interviewee strongly agreed that the most advantaged countries must provide funding to the least advantaged countries. They considered that cooperation among countries is possible. Both arguments are cosmopolitan.

## 5.6.4 Summary

### *Subjects of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT
Liberal egal.				
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism				
Capabilities ap.				
Critical persp.				

Table 18. Subjects of justice - WWF

They all base their subjects of justice on cosmopolitanism which looks at the world at an interdependent system, regardless national borders, and in which everyone is related by moral obligation of care and support.

### *Principles of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT
Liberal egal.				
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism				
Capabilities ap.		X		X
Critical persp.				X

Table 19. Principles of justice - WWF

All the sources share cosmopolitan principles of justice which state that everyone should have equal opportunity to attain equal position and that everyone should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. Half of the sources agree about principles justice suggested by the capabilities approach, promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning. The interviewee adds principles belonging to critical perspectives, which focus on the participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life.

*Mechanisms of justice*

	Report 1	Report 2	Report 3	INT
Liberal egal.				X
Cosmo.	X	X	X	X
Libertarianism				
Capabilities ap.	X			X
Critical persp.		X		

Table 20. Mechanisms of justice - WWF

All the sources share cosmopolitan mechanisms of justice which are based on a cooperative and redistributive system. Half of the sources agree on mechanisms of justice suggested by the capabilities approach, which promotes international treaties setting norms and emphasizes on the role of corporations, civil society etc. And finally, liberal egalitarianism and critical perspectives are equally (one each) represented. While liberal egalitarian mechanisms target state's' responsibility, critical perspectives advocate for new democratic mechanisms eliminating oppressive institutionalized structures of subjugation.

## 6. Case comparison

### 6.1 Subjects of justice

Overall, cosmopolitanism is the main philosophical foundation at the heart of the subjects of justice category. Apart from one interviewee, all sources agree on cosmopolitan subjects of justice. This is followed by the application and adherence to critical perspectives, which are present within ActionAid (three out of five cases), Care (half of the sources), and Oxfam's (two out of five sources) discourses. Liberal egalitarianism is the third common more common philosophical foundations, where liberal egalitarian subjects in ActionAid (two out of five cases), Greenpeace (two out of six cases), and Oxfam (one out of five) are found. Libertarian subjects of justice have been mentioned by one interviewee, which is not representative of the same. Therefore, it can be said that both libertarianism and capabilities approach are absent from the discourses.

### 6.2 Principles of justice

All the NGOs share cosmopolitan principles of justice and all of them also have principles of justice belonging to the capabilities approach and critical perspectives. There are variations in the weight given to those philosophical foundations. There is no reference to liberal egalitarianism and libertarianism in this category.

### 6.3 Mechanisms of justice

Cosmopolitanism is the main philosophical foundation for every NGOs, except for Greenpeace where liberal egalitarian mechanisms are the most important. Liberal egalitarian mechanisms and the capabilities approach are present in every case as well. Libertarian mechanisms are only shared by Greenpeace and Oxfam. However, in both cases, one interviewee only has declared libertarian mechanisms, which acts as an isolated example when looking at the bigger picture of the organization (i.e. can be due to misunderstanding of the question, opinion etc). Critical perspectives influence the mechanisms of three of the NGO's, ActionAid, Care, and WWF.

### 6.4 Overall Results

This research found that there are different results between the subjects, principles, and mechanisms of justice. The NGOs are all in agreement about cosmopolitan subjects of justice as the most dominant, followed by critical perspectives and liberal egalitarianism. In terms of principles of justice, the NGOs follow similar patterns with a dominance of cosmopolitanism followed by influence from the capabilities approach and the critical

perspectives. However, when looking at mechanisms, no clear common pattern can be extracted. While Greenpeace focuses on liberal egalitarian mechanisms, for WWF these are almost absent. Cosmopolitan views remain very important, but in some cases, like for FOEI, ActionAid, Greenpeace, and Oxfam, the difference in significance between cosmopolitanism and the capabilities approach is not very significant. Liberal egalitarianism greatly influences NGO's mechanisms of justice. This brings complexities for the analysis, when both cosmopolitanism and liberal egalitarianism are for instance strong in the discourse, being somewhat contradictory. Libertarianism is not popular among the selected NGOs, which in fact underlies their very existence, as they are all by nature against the idea of a *laissez-faire* attitude. Overall, NGOs seem to share common vision, on the surface, when looking at the common presence of cosmopolitanism throughout, creating some sort of homogeneity. However, the variations remain important to acknowledge, especially regarding the mechanisms of justice, where no *one voice* rule seems to exist. Furthermore, where the critical perspectives approach has been present, so many different theories coexist within this approach (such as feminism including all the related movements, and Marxism), that the variations might be even bigger than what the analysis shows. Indeed, one organization could have a more radical feminist approach, while another one could focus on socialist feminism, however, under this framework they would belong to the same category, but it would not be accurate to conclude that they are in agreement.

Another interpretation of the collective results is to conclude that for every NGO's publications interviews, regarding all subjects, principles, and mechanisms of justice (except for the subjects of justice developed by one interviewee from Greenpeace), cosmopolitanism is a common line. The disparities are in the weight of the other philosophical foundations depending on the source. Those disparities are stronger for the mechanisms of justice where no clear pattern can be extracted. In that sense, it can be concluded that NGOs have common cosmopolitan grounds but each of them has specificities regarding the attention paid to the other philosophical foundations, especially when talking about the mechanisms of justice. Those variations can come from the absence of full consensus on justice related issues, different agenda for each of the selected NGO, cultural differences (i.e. interviews have been conducted from all over the world, from Canada to Indonesia), internal disagreements (i.e. when there is only one reference to a certain philosophical foundation).

Further to this, it is relevant to understanding the results to highlight that Greenpeace and WWF employ a slightly different approach to their work, a human-to-nature approach. This is particularly relevant when looking at differences in mechanisms of justice. However, as already described in the methodology section, the secondary literature used for the analysis of WWF is shared with Care International and ActionAid. This might influence the results and undermine WWF's singularity. The fact that, both Greenpeace and WWF are more nature-based focus than the other selected NGOs in this research, has an impact on the conceptualization of planetary justice. As discussed in the section 4.2.2, the analysis of the WWF and Greenpeace has been more

challenging than for the other organizations in terms of access to relevant material for this research. Their arguments are mainly based on environmental aspects, which could exclude humans' needs and positions but also the relations between people. On one hand, on Greenpeace's website, it is for instance stated that "What matters isn't words, but actions, and, as far as we're concerned, there's only one standard in this: The environment has to benefit." (Greenpeace, 2017b) By saying "only one standard", Greenpeace makes a clear statement about what it is considered as *just*, excluding other parameters. On the other hand, on WWF's website, they declare that "WWF's mission is to stop the degradation of the planet's natural environment and to build a future in which humans live in harmony with nature" (WWF, 2017b). This mission does not imply that humans should live in harmony with each other, rather "live in harmony with nature". Obviously, this research does not insinuate that planetary justice is not relevant for both NGOs, for instance Greenpeace works a lot with indigenous people. In addition, there is no normative judgement on their choice of objectives as organisations. Instead, the research shows that their approach to humans, and therefore justice for humans, is different than that for the other selected NGOs (which include more human-to-human aspects) and does not include considerations on the international relations in the broad term.

## 7. Discussion

Despite variations among NGOs, cosmopolitan views remain the most important philosophical foundation while libertarian perspectives are almost excluded from the discourse. This is related to the nature itself of the NGOs as most of the time they focus on issues focussing on the international level involving solidarity (human-to-human or human-to-nature). The same applies for the rejection of libertarianism, as the nature of NGOs is often naturally against libertarian principles of non-interventionism. Furthermore, Greenpeace and WWF have a different approach to justice (looking at the environmental benefits). Indeed, for the two NGOs, the environment has to be the main beneficiary, excluding from their research the complexities of the relations between people, countries around the world. The framework does not include this dimension. However, this has consequences on the understanding of justice, as the wellbeing of people is not central in their discourses.

Moreover, besides their differences, the fact that NGOs collaborate with each other for certain publications, as we have seen between Care, ActionAid, and WWF, shows a certain interest for alliance and common strategy. While WWF does not prioritise the subjects around justice in its own publications, it has had several collaborations, as seen in this research. Moreover, they are all part of the Climate Action Network and of 350.org, showing the willingness to act and speak together on issues related to climate change and justice.

It is relevant to note that the mechanistic aspects of justice are generally most variable. Indeed, subjects and principles are quite clear, but actor responsibility and the definition of best solutions for achieving a just society remain a morass of widely differing elements. Governmental responsibility is always perceived as important but is no longer seen as sufficient. Many people do not believe anymore in the real motivation of elites to take actions against inequality. Discourses of this sort can still be found, as the new French President Emmanuel Macron said in his inauguration speech that fighting inequality is key for his government, especially when dealing with national divisions or extremisms (Macron, 2017, May 14; Phillips, 2017, May 18). However, the French population, as found in many other countries around the world, must wait and see if concrete steps will be taken. Corporations, civil society and individuals seem no longer willing to wait for their governments to take action on their behalf (Jeunejean, 2017, June 16). Grass roots and mass mobilizations are taking place as illustrated by Fight Inequality Alliance (Fight Inequality Alliance, 2017). We also observe a power shift as the USA withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement, and companies like Coca Cola or Nike stand united against President Trump's administration, declaring that they will continue their efforts to achieve the 2025 goals (Shear, 2017, June 1; Lauer, 2017, June 2).

Justice is a deeply fascinating concept to consider, especially because of its context-based specificity. Indeed, when looking at a relatively straight forward term, such as *basic needs*, it quickly becomes clear that what was



necessary 100 years may no longer apply now. Basic human needs such as access to drinking water and food have clearly remained constant over the career of the human species. That being said, nowadays, having a phone, for instance, has become another basic need in order to get a job. For this reason, one of the comments made by an interviewee from ActionAid regarding the mutable and interpretive nature of justice is especially relevant, that “justice as such can mean everything and anything”. The concept of justice is used by so many actors, in many different contexts. The interviewee illustrates this by giving the examples of the caste system in India, or of ISIS with its disjointed global network. They all deem their worldviews to be just and justified (Interviewee 3). However, from the perspective of this interviewee, a key difference between the *justice* of ISIS and that of NGOs, is that “justice should always be linked to equality. Otherwise, justice is meaningless.”

The main challenge with using a framework is the oversimplification of reality. For instance, critical perspectives include both feminism and Marxism, as both question the structure of the society and subjugation to societal patterns. However, both lines of thought are based on two different struggles and histories. One of the potentially major issues with the critical perspectives component of the framework is that it could lead to people misreading the collected data, or mask the reality of how NGOs function. While on the surface, it appears as if they *speak as one*, there may actually be key differences in their perspectives, based on underlying philosophical/theoretical differences, which can account for their differing approaches to implementation (i.e. mechanisms), but does not take away from the important findings by this framework. Nonetheless, it should be taken into account when considering further collaboration between and with NGOs.

NGOs have often been criticised for their lack of concerted effort. The findings of this research appear to disregard this reality, so how can this be explained? The findings suggest that NGOs are, by their nature, against libertarianism and neo-liberalism. However, this does not address the realities facing NGOs in their daily struggle to survive *within* neo-liberal systems. As a result, NGOs are increasingly forced to justify their projects in neo-liberal terms in order to secure funding, which also means that they are often forced into viewing other NGOs working in similar areas as their direct competitors. The important revelation that this framework brings, is that NGOs share more similarities than differences. Their struggle to secure funding is, in fact, another aspect of their shared reality. By combining this realist understanding with the research findings, we observe that NGOs have a lot more to gain through further collaboration. Our findings suggest that NGOs will be sympathetic and open to arguments which are framed in terms of combatting neo-liberalism. This can perhaps open up conversations about restructuring of funding models, facilitation of knowledge sharing, and laying the groundwork for future collaboration.

In addition, the subdivision between subjects, principles, and mechanisms allows for some other interesting findings to be presented by the framework. What does it mean if an NGO follows libertarian principles but

does not present any libertarian mechanisms, or if an NGO focuses on cosmopolitan subjects of justice but does not follow any cosmopolitan principles? Aside from the dominance of cosmopolitanism in the findings of this research, there is not necessarily a line which can be drawn from the subjects towards the mechanisms of justice. Oxfam, for instance, has a strong focus on gender inequality but does not present a practical revolutionary solution laid out in the framework. Does it allow the research to conclude that Oxfam does not have a feminist approach? The variations between subjects, principles, and mechanisms cannot be normatively assessed based on Biermann and Kalfagianni's framework. Otherwise, this would imply that the assumption underlying the framework is that the philosophies presented are self-sufficient. The ensuing discussion is not around the idea whether one philosophical path is objectively better than another, or that the subjects and mechanisms should necessarily follow the same logic. This is not the purpose of the framework, and neither of the aforementioned points can be extracted from it anyhow. However, these questions persist and should be further addressed.

Within a simplified analytical framework, the reality of a given situation is *compressed*, and in some ways ends up as a rigid distortion of the true circumstances. Greenpeace has a people-based approach when looking at mechanisms of justice, involving for instance mass mobilisation. This strategy does not refer to the framework used in this research. While cosmopolitan views are more institutionalised, mass mobilisation could correspond to critical perspectives as a form of dialogue, or to the capabilities as a form of empowerment of civil society. However, there is no clear philosophical foundation within the framework which could explain the people-based approach of Greenpeace.

Some philosophical foundations seem to be more readily analysed. For instance, NGO's shared and broad understanding of libertarianism appears rather straightforward and does not leave much room for interpretation. With respect to the capabilities approach, each individual values their own virtues and capabilities in a subjective manner, and the use of the Human Development Index as a measure of development is a step towards better integration of those variables. However, this does not clearly illustrate how the NGO can practically consider each person's virtues and capabilities. The HDI involves life expectancy at birth, mean and expected years of schooling, and the Gross National Income per capita. The inclusion of religious and cultural aspects suggested in the principles of justice of the capabilities approach do not appear in this measurement.

As already explained in the limitations section, this research covers six NGOs. The in-depth analysis has allowed for an understanding of the patterns that the organizations follow, and comparison results based on various sources (interviews, publications, blogpost etc.). This research has aimed at presenting a clear introduction to the field of planetary justice through the eyes of the selected civil society actors, but it should be noted that its level of objectivity does not match that of the original framework. The NGOs have been selected, for instance,

based on certain criteria chosen by the investigator of this research, which are based on a subjective assessment of their importance. But is this subjectivity fair? And is this importance relevant in the research context? Therefore, a comprehensive analysis of NGOs would allow for more accurate generalization. This research, and the ensuing analysis, have revealed that the structured interviews and publications are mutually enforcing. Since analysing 10,000 publications of NGOs from all around the world is not feasible in the scope of this research, it would be more feasible to conduct a massive online survey following the structured interviews, which would bring interesting results. Moreover, every policy or programme director, researcher, expert interviewed, has expressed their interests and enthusiasm for this type of research. The relevance of this question is shared by academics and practitioners alike.

A mass online survey would also allow for smaller NGOs, and less geographically accessible organizations to participate. It was a deliberate choice to assess the larger, more influential NGOs, however, to approach a global consensus regarding the view of global civil society on planetary justice. A different angle must be taken for further research, followed by a more inclusive and international approach. This thesis can serve as a foundation for further development of a massive online survey, or a similar methodological approach.

Regarding theoretical implications, as developed above, a massive online survey could generate more accurate generalizations. As for policy implications, the findings will be given to the interviewees as there was a nearly unanimous request for such a follow-up. This will allow them to gain insights into how their strategies are analysed, in addition to how other NGOs working in the same field function.

## 8. Conclusion

The Planetary Justice framework developed by Frank Biermann and Agni Kalfagianni (2017) has been applied to six NGOs' discourses, including FOEI, ActionAid, Greenpeace, Oxfam, Care, and WWF. Analysis of publications and interviews has been conducted for the subjects, principles, and mechanisms of justice based on five different categories, namely liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, libertarianism, the capabilities approach, and the critical perspectives. To be able to answer the research question, four sub questions have been developed. The chapters 2: Literature review and 3: Analytical Framework have answered the two first, namely *how is justice defined by philosophical traditions and how is it defined in environmental issues?* And *how can justice in environmental issues be operationalised?* Through the literature, different streams of justice have been defined, such as climate justice and environmental issues. Following this, Biermann and Kalfagianni's framework was employed to give insights on the subjects, the principles, and the mechanisms of justice. Based on this knowledge, the operationalization of each of those variables has been developed to conduct the discourse analysis on the secondary data and the interviews. The third sub question on *how do international NGOs define justice in environmental issues* has been answered in chapter 5: Analysis, focusing on FOEI, ActionAid, Care, Oxfam, Greenpeace, and WWF. And finally, chapter 6: Case Comparison brings insights for the last sub question namely, *do NGOs merger or differ in their understanding of justice?*

Those four stages bring us to the main objective of the thesis, which was to answer the following research question:

*How do international non-governmental actors understand and define planetary justice in the relations between over consuming and low-consuming countries?*

The selected NGOs define the subjects of justice mainly on cosmopolitan perspectives, implying interdependence between countries and international support between each other, due to a lack of meaning assigned to national borders. The principles of justice are shared by three main views, namely cosmopolitanism (everyone should be able to satisfy basic human needs), capabilities approach (more is needed, political, cultural, and education aspects of life must be included), and critical perspectives (focusing on participatory parity).

And finally, the mechanisms of justice vary a bit more and does follow a clear and common pattern. Cosmopolitanism, involving global redistribution and collaboration, is the main philosophical foundation for every NGO, except for Greenpeace, where liberal egalitarian mechanisms are the most important ones (involving national based responsibility). Liberal egalitarian mechanisms and capabilities approach (focusing on the responsibility of different actors, and loose and flexible international support) are present in every case as well. Libertarian mechanisms are only shared by Greenpeace and Oxfam. Critical perspectives (dialogue and introduction of new democratic mechanisms focusing on participatory parity) influence NGO's mechanisms

when looking at ActionAid, CARE, and WWF. The findings of this research reveal that NGOs share more similarities than differences, which constitutes an essential asset for collaboration and further negotiation.

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## Appendix

Table 21. Friends of the Earth International. (2017). 2015 Annual report of Friends of the Earth International.

Statement	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“a peaceful and sustainable world” (p.2)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism
“a society of interdependent people” (p.2)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence.	Cosmopolitanism
“to collectively ensure environmental justice, human dignity [...]” (p.2) and for the “empowerment of local movements and organisations around the world, with people from North and South working together” (p.5)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence.	Cosmopolitanism.
“between and within societies” (p.2)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“The burden and costs of the global transition towards post-fossil fuel societies must be carried by the responsible rich, not people in poor and vulnerable communities” (p.3)	The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“a society of interdependent people living in dignity, wholeness and fulfilment in which equity and human and people’s rights are realised” (p.2)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.
“be a society built upon people's sovereignty and participation” (p.2)	Participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.	Critical perspectives.
“to secure the empowerment of indigenous peoples, local communities, women, groups, and individuals, and to ensure public participation in decision-making” (p.2)	Participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.	Critical perspectives.
Mechanisms of justice		

“We need binding rules for corporations that violate human rights, not just voluntary guidelines.” (p.3).	At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations.	Capabilities approach.
“The burden and costs of the global transition towards post-fossil fuel societies must be carried by the responsible rich, not people in poor and vulnerable communities” (p.3).	The NGO is calling for international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.
“We remained at the forefront of the UNHRC Treaty process throughout the year, and helped to build the Treaty Alliance’s international strategies, ensuring the presence of southern groups and their positions. We also collaborated in several shared activities—on the Treaty process and on climate, trade and TNCs—during the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change COP 21 summit in December in Paris.” (p.5)	At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms.	Capabilities approach.
“We worked to strengthen alliances around energy justice. This included collaborating with others to gather and share critical information, and helping to build civil society’s capacity.” (p.9).	The NGO is calling for international cooperation. + Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is emphasizing on the role of civil society.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.
“Civil society and social movements emerged stronger and increasingly united, ready to mobilise to make ‘people power’ a reality in 2016 and beyond.” (p.11) “We were part of a global alliance of social movements, trades unions and other civil society organisations with deep roots in communities around the world” (p.11)	The NGO is advocating for the international cooperation. + Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is emphasizing on the role of civil society.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.
“a ‘carbon budget’ to be divided between countries on a fair shares basis, and the payment of industrialised countries’ ‘climate debt’.” (p.11)	The NGO is advocating for international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.

Table 22. Friends of the Earth Europe. (2013). Hidden impacts How Europe's resource overconsumption promotes global land conflicts.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
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Subjects of justice		
<p>“[...] a more sustainable use of the planet’s limited resources. [...] Europe’s use of land outside of Europe and the associated environmental and social impacts in other countries are also discussed. [...] Feeding our increasing world population is becoming an ever more complex challenge, as on a geographically finite planet, the expansion of the use of one type of land will always be at the expense of another [...] [...] societies around the world are increasingly facing shortages of and competition for land, as well as suffering the social impacts of land overconsumption.” (p.6)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“The more the world economy is becoming globalised, the more the use of one type of natural resource in one part of the world can directly affect the availability of natural resources in other parts of the globe.” (p.7)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“[...] those with the most political and economic sway tend to influence outcomes to their advantage to the detriment of smaller, developing or emerging economies, as many developing countries do not have the resources and capacity with which to adequately protect their interests against the better resourced, larger and generally more industrialised countries.” (p.18)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“[...] undercutting domestic markets that cannot compete with the scale and subsidised prices of European farmers. This then exacerbates food insecurity in developing countries.” (p.19)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“Europe’s quest for raw materials to fuel its economy has seen it exert undue pressure on least-developed resource-rich countries, therefore putting further pressure on foreign land resources.“ (p.19)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
Principles of justice		

<p>“[...] the land used for crop production and livestock farming which was required to satisfy the demand for products in Europe – was located in other regions of the world, some of which are unable to provide basic food and resource needs for their own people.” (p.3)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“[...] communities that are dependent on local natural resources can retain access to land and other natural resources in order to sustain their livelihoods.” (p.4)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“Feeding our increasing world population is becoming an ever more complex challenge [...]” (p.6)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“Therefore, while on the one hand industrialised countries harvest or import more than they can eat, poor countries are often not able to harvest enough to survive, and cannot afford to import food. An improved and just distribution of food resources is therefore essential.” (p.31)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>Mechanisms of justice</p>		
<p>“In particular, government interventions in agriculture, such as through farming and trade policies, need to be reformed accordingly.” (p.4)</p>	<p>Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods.</p>	<p>Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“Hence it is imperative that resource use strategies at the national, regional and global levels are comprehensive and inclusive of all affected parties, such as governments and industries.” (p.7)</p>	<p>The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“Europe has been enjoying a large and uninterrupted supply of land and other resources at the expense of other countries. Consequently, with increasing scarcity of land around the globe, Europe has to assume its responsibility in paying back this debt.” (p.34)</p>	<p>The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>

Table 23. Friends of the Earth International. (2016). Decade zero, demanding rapid and bold action to address the root causes of climate change.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of Justice
Subjects of justice		
“For the sake of the planet and its people” (p.4).	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“We are facing a planetary emergency” (p.7)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“the rich industrialised countries that are responsible for these climate debts need to provide financial and other support to developing countries, to compensate for damage already done, and to help them adapt to the coming challenges and to work towards a life of dignity for their people.” (p.6).	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.	Cosmopolitanism.
“The world’s richest, developed countries are most responsible for climate change.” (p.6)	Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“We need to take action immediately if we are to protect our planet and environment, and ensure the right of all citizens to a safe and dignified life.” (p.5).	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism and Capabilities approach.
“We need energy—for fuel and electricity to cook our food, to have habitable homes and workplaces in both hot and cold places, to ensure everyone has access to basics like health and education, to communicate, travel.” (p.14).	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism.
“[...] whilst ensuring energy sufficiency for everybody to meet their needs for a dignified life.” (p.14).	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
“provide energy access for all as a basic human right;” (p.15)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Sustainable societies where everyone has access to the resources they need to live a life of dignity, and where	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.	Cosmopolitanism.



wealth and resources are not concentrated in the hands of few.” (p.17)		
Mechanisms of justice		
“In addition, developed countries have an already agreed responsibility to provide financial and technological resources and capacity-building to developing countries, [...]. Because of their historical responsibility for climate change, they must also provide finance for adaptation and loss and damage.” (p.6).	The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
“However, southern governments have an obligation to strive for a life of dignity for their own people.” (p.6)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods.	Liberal egalitarianism.
“Rich countries are already closing their borders to those in need. It is essential that these countries acknowledge their responsibility for this coming mass migration, taking immediate measures to mitigate climate change and ensuring that impacted peoples receive protection and support for adaptation, both now and in the future.” (p.7)	The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.
“However more needs to be done to keep companies guilty of environmental crimes and human rights violations fully accountable and give victims access to justice.” (p.10).	Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations.	Capabilities approach.
“To date, communities and individual victims of their abuses have nowhere to turn to in order to seek justice, as there are no international binding rules on businesses’ conduct in their operations abroad in relation to their impacts on the environment and Human Rights - a long-time demand from Friends of the Earth International.” (p.10).	Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations.	Capabilities approach.
“Carbon markets are a false solution, flawed both in terms of the theory underpinning them and in practice.” (p.11)	Against the idea of market as a solution to provide justice.	Against libertarianism.

“We also need to ensure a just energy transition, which benefits everyone, and includes compensation and support for affected workers and their families, [...]”. (p.15)	The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.
“That is why we have, for many years, been a keen promoter of an international binding treaty—which is currently being discussed within the UN Human Rights Council—to hold Transnational Corporations (TNCs) accountable for Human Rights and environmental violations no matter where in the world they operate.” (p.16)	Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations.	Capabilities approach.
“This finance is the repayment of the climate debt of the rich developed world, which has done the most to cause the problem of climate change and has far greater resources available to tackle the problem.” (p.16)	The NGO is advocating for the international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.

Table 24. ActionAid. (2016). 2015 Annual report of ActionAid.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“Inequality continued to rise, characterised by many of the states in which we work, serving the interests of rich elites and powerful multinational corporations while performing poorly in protecting, promoting and respecting their citizens’ rights.” (p.4)	The NGO is focusing on the national level. The NGO is emphasizing on the citizenship of individuals.	Liberal egalitarianism.
“Women continued to experience exclusion and rights violations as a result of deepening fundamentalism and patriarchy, and a development model that further exploits them, while young people continued to bear the brunt of ‘jobless growth’.” (p.4)	The NGO is focusing on transnational class and gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying conflicts (class and gender) in the current context.	Critical perspectives.
“This year our advocacy work highlighted how the climate crisis is driven by inequalities of power and wealth, as poor communities in developing countries have to bear the biggest impacts and costs of changes	The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.

in climate that are not of their making.” (p.16)		
“ActionAid challenges the structural causes of poverty [...]” (p.9)	The NGO is taking into account the underlying conflicts (class and gender) in the current context.	Critical perspectives.
“Over the past few years conflicts and disasters across the globe have been increasing [...]” (p.10)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles		
“ActionAid is a global association of people working together to further human rights for all” (p.8).	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.
“This severely limits the amount of time available to women to participate fully and equally in decision-making and leadership in their communities and beyond.” (p.12)	Participatory parity is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.	Critical perspectives.
Mechanisms		
“Working in partnerships and alliances – the core principle of ActionAid’s approach [...]” (p.9)	The NGO is calling for international cooperation.	Cosmopolitanism.
“[...] alongside other actors, including local partners (with whom most of our work is implemented) and with a variety of other partners, alliances and social movements at local, district, national, and international levels.” (p.15)	The NGO is calling for international cooperation.	Cosmopolitanism.
“As part of our struggle to challenge inequality and more equally distribute the global economic, social and political power currently concentrated in the hands of a few, ActionAid International Secretariat joined hands with Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID), CIVICUS, Greenpeace and Oxfam in creating the Progressive Alliance. The chief executives of these civil society organisations issued a joint statement on the need to challenge the power of the ‘one percent’” (p.16);	The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries. + Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society as a global decentralized support system.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.

<p>“ActionAid and other organisations this year laid foundations for stronger networking and alliance-building on the serious issue of shrinking political space for NGOs.” (p.17)</p>	<p>The NGO is calling for international cooperation. + At the international level, the NGO is emphasizing on the role of civil society.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism and Capabilities approach.</p>
<p>“We continued to advocate for the adoption and implementation of the Tenure Guidelines at country level to secure the land and natural resource rights of women and marginalised communities.” (p.21)</p>	<p>Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.</p>	<p>Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“We also contributed to building an international coalition with 150 other civil society organisations calling for a reform of the New Alliance and for its replacement with genuine initiatives supporting smallholder farmers.” (p.23)</p>	<p>The NGO is calling for international cooperation. + Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society as a global decentralized support system.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.</p>
<p>“Our continued mobilisation and engagement contributed to the European Parliament proposal to limit the use of land-based biofuels in Europe at 7% of the fuel used in transport, because of their detrimental social and environmental impacts in the global south – including land grabs.” (p.23)</p>	<p>The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“In 2015 we made significant efforts to make governments more accountable, transparent and decentralised, helping countries to experience improvements in public services as a result of people in poverty becoming increasingly involved in local governance” (p.25).</p>	<p>Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.</p>	<p>Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“We also saw governments take steps to introduce more progressive taxation systems.” (p.25)</p>	<p>The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries (eg. global tax system).</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“ActionAid continues to fight for political change through our #TaxPower campaign by working at the local, national and international levels for a fairer tax system so the world’s poorest people can have access to vital public services.” (p.30)</p>	<p>The NGO is calling for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries (eg. global tax system).</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>

<p>“ActionAid International played a pivotal role in the Financing for Development (FFD) conference this year – a key influencing moment for progressive global corporate tax reform to sustainably fund the world’s development aspirations.” (p.30).          “We cemented this progress by helping to change national laws and policies to make corporate tax more progressive.” (p.30)</p>		
<p>“This year ActionAid supported women and indigenous groups to strengthen their control over land and natural resources, helping them adapt to climate change and call for fairer and more sustainable policies governing their food systems and natural resources.” (p.19) “We supported women to join together, as a result over 3,750 women’s groups across 16 ActionAid countries organised to claim their rights and entitlements.” (p.19)</p>	<p>The NGO is suggesting new democratic institutions. It aims to foster a dialogue between the centre of decision-making and the global civil society.</p>	<p>Critical perspectives.</p>
<p>“We enabled the creation of over 800 youth platforms and saw some great innovative examples of local youth mobilisation.” (p.35).</p>	<p>The NGO is suggesting new democratic institutions. It aims to foster a dialogue between the centre of decision-making and the global civil society.</p>	<p>Critical perspectives.</p>
<p>“We called for gender-responsive public services [...]” (p.45)</p>	<p>The NGO is suggesting new democratic institutions. It aims to foster a dialogue between the centre of decision-making and the global civil society.</p>	<p>Critical perspectives.</p>

Table 25. ActionAid. (2016). Climate Change Knows No Borders An analysis of climate induced migration, protection gaps and need for solidarity in South Asia.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of Justice		
<p>“The impacts of climate-induced migration on women are not being monitored by government agencies in South Asia, and this is a gap that must be addressed.” (p.5)          “Policies are currently failing to understand the scale and impact of migration on women, and are failing</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on transnational class and gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying conflicts (class and gender) in the current context.</p>	<p>Critical perspectives.</p>

to address emerging issues. Promotion of women's empowerment, as well as women-led planning and disaster response, must be part of the solution." (p.6)		
"Poor and vulnerable people are leaving their lands as a result of a climate problem that they did not cause. They need greater support for adaptation and resilience, and they need protection and systems of safe migration for when they are forced to move." (p.6)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
"South Asian countries face the same climate change problems. They could and should be working together to cooperate, and to share equitable and common solutions." (P.9).	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
"Although human rights are applicable to all, and are not subject to borders or nations, these rights are being compromised by climate change and migration patterns." (p.22)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of Justice		
"[...] people's rights must be protected." (p.22) "Although human rights are applicable to all, and are not subject to borders or nations, these rights are being compromised by climate change and migration patterns. The basic human rights to food, livelihood, social security, life and safety under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can all be threatened under circumstances of climate change and migration." (p.22)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.
Mechanisms of justice		
"With climate change affecting people in every country, regional and international processes must take the opportunity to proactively address emerging challenges and ensure protection for climate migrants." (p.23). "Thus all countries in the region could benefit significantly through regional cooperation in implementing climate solutions." (p.23)	The NGO is calling for international cooperation.	Cosmopolitanism.

<p>“[...] greater solidarity between South Asian nations is both a moral necessity and a practical tool for working together to find common solutions that work for all.” (p.25)                  “Civil society has an important role to play in facilitating robust and sustained relationships between countries that do not depend on changing governments.” (p.25)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation. + At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society as a global decentralized support system.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.</p>
<p>“Although developed countries are largely responsible for causing climate change, they have provided relatively little international climate finance to support adaptation so far. Now that the Green Climate Fund (GCF) is set up and poised to distribute more funds for adaptation [...]” (p.25)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“The Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage (WIM) under the UNFCCC must work to ensure legal protection and fulfilment of human rights of those that are forced to migrate or displaced by climate change”. (p.29)</p>	<p>At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms.</p>	<p>Capabilities approach.</p>

Table 26. ActionAid. (2016). Hotter Planet, Humanitarian Crisis - El Niño, the “new normal” and the need for climate justice.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects		
<p>“In one of the biggest climate emergencies ever seen, crop failure, hunger and starvation have affected hundreds of millions of people across Africa, Asia and Latin America.” (p.6).</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence.                  Borders are meaningless.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“The injustice of climate change means that countries that are most exposed to climate impacts also tend to be the least responsible for causing the problem, and the least financially able to prepare and cope. Thus when vulnerable countries suffer climate-induced humanitarian disasters, the countries with the greatest responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions, and the deepest pockets for providing support, must step forward.” (p.7). “the same</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>

governments that promised climate compassion in Paris apparently turned their backs on an actual global climate crisis.” (p.7)		
“Pre-existing inequalities can make women and children more vulnerable, while the roles, responsibilities and status associated with being a woman can often bring additional burdens and fewer privileges when a disaster strikes.” (p.19)	The NGO is focusing on gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying gender conflicts in the current context.	Critical perspectives.
“There has been limited gender analysis to date of the impacts of this El Niño event globally. However, needs assessments carried out by ActionAid country offices in Somaliland, Lesotho and Ethiopia reveal worrying trends [...]” (p.19)	The NGO is focusing on gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying gender conflicts in the current context.	Critical perspectives.
“The international community must therefore be willing to provide its fair share of climate finance to support capacity building and adaptation strategies.” (p.25)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“[...] develop effective and fair responses that target the needs of the most vulnerable.” (p.7)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Women leaders are recognized as being able to reach all parts of a community. They must be active participants in decision making, planning processes and disaster response delivery. They have a critical role to play in making resilience, disaster preparedness and response more effective by addressing the barriers facing those in their communities who are most marginalized. By challenging gender stereotypes, they can help to shift power and eventually to transform gender relations.” (p.20)	Participatory parity is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.	Critical perspectives.
“They will continue to face hunger, malnutrition, thirst, exhaustion, and loss of livelihoods every day for many months to come.” (p.28)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.	Cosmopolitanism.



Mechanisms of justice		
<p>“With global temperatures predicted to continue rising, and disasters becoming ever more common, climate change and humanitarian agencies must increasingly work together to develop effective and fair responses that target the needs of the most vulnerable.” (p.7)</p> <p>“Governments, donors, climate and humanitarian agencies must work together to build people’s and countries’ resilience, and prepare for and respond to an increasingly climate-chaotic world.” (p.5).</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“As women are more vulnerable to disasters and are disproportionately impacted, these countries must also design strategies (including disaggregated data collection) using a gender-sensitive lens that ensures they meet the specific needs of women. Increasing their leadership and participation in planning and delivery at all levels is key to effective adaptation, preparedness and relief activities.” (p.24)</p>	<p>The NGO is suggesting new democratic institutions. It aims to foster a dialogue between the centre of decision-making and the global civil society. + Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level</p>	<p>Critical perspectives combined with liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“Vulnerable countries should significantly increase their investment and training in key strategies such as disaster risk reduction, risk assessments, early warning systems, emergency response systems, social protection [...]” (p.24)</p>	<p>Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.</p>	<p>Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“In order to make these critical investments, vulnerable countries desperately need international financial support. Yet international aid to support disaster risk reduction is grossly insufficient.” (p.24)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“Coordination between humanitarian and climate agencies will be necessary, so this important progress must continue. Further collaborative activities including joint assessments and joint working group must also be explored.” (p.27)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“[...] rich countries have a moral obligation to support poorer</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>

countries in adapting to and coping with a crisis not of their making. Climate justice requires developed countries to provide support to developing countries for adaptation and dealing with climate impacts.” (p.28)	international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	
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Table 27. Greenpeace. Annual report. 2015.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“[...] how threatening we humans have become for our own life-supporting systems [...]” (p.6). “[...] human activities have such a decisive impact on the Earth that we have entered a new epoch: The Anthropocene – the Age of Humans.” (p.6)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“[...] the immense risk that the fossil fuel industry poses to people’s health and communities, [...]” (p.8)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.	Cosmopolitanism
“the human rights abuses being perpetrated in the high seas, especially in the tuna industry.” (p.17)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.
Mechanisms of justice		
“We are proud that our role in mass mobilisation was significant while we continued to push governments and corporations towards coal divestment and greater investment in renewables.” (p.3)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. + The NGO is emphasizing on the role of corporations.	Liberal egalitarianism and capabilities approach.
“Greenpeace has borne witness to governments’ inaction and companies’ dismissal of the problem.” (p.5) “We ask governments and businesses for big and difficult changes all the time.” (p.5) “an influential movement of people to hold corporations and governments to account.” (p.10)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. + The NGO is emphasizing on the role of corporations.	Liberal egalitarianism and capabilities approach.

“During the past year, we embraced working with other networks, collaborating with unlikely partners, and using smart engagement to deliver success in the uptake of clean energy.” (p.7)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation.	Cosmopolitanism.
“[...] interactive web platform was launched with this people-powered approach in mind” (p.12)	People-based approach.	?

Table 28. Greenpeace International. (2016). The Great Water Grab - How the Coal Industry is Deepening the Global Water Crisis.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects		
“The World Economic Forum’s Global Risks report 2015 identified water crises as the greatest risk that the world faces over the next 10 years in terms of potential impact, with political, business and civil society leaders agreeing that “water security is one of the most tangible and fastest-growing social, political and economic challenges faced today.”” (p.5)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“This huge demand on water resources coupled with the importance of all these major sectors, could severely impact societies.” (p.5).	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“India is a seriously water-stressed nation and is faced with the prospect of becoming the planet’s most populous country by 2050, with an estimated population of 1.6 billion, while only having 4% of the world’s water resources.” (p.37)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“These plants could plunge many regions already suffering severe water stress into serious drought, as well as increasing risk of conflicts over already depleted water resources between agricultural, industrial and domestic users.” (p.54)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“This means that annually the world’s 8,359 coal-fired power plant units consume enough water to meet the	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for	Cosmopolitanism.

most basic needs of more than 1 billion people.” (p.6)	survival.	
“If all of these measures are implemented, a massive 143 billion m3 of water would be saved in terms of withdrawal, or 11 billion m3 of water in terms of consumption - enough to meet the most basic water needs of half a billion people.” (p.7)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival.	Cosmopolitanism.
Mechanisms of justice		
“[...] governments are failing to manage water sustainably [...]” (p.5)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods.	Liberal egalitarianism
“This pioneering study should be a wake-up call for all resource planners as it clearly illustrates the need for urgent action to integrate water and energy planning.” (p.7) “The results should spur new policy discussions and meaningful debates about energy choices, especially in already water stressed regions where energy demand is growing rapidly.” (p.7)	<i>‘Resource planners’ understood here as governmental bodies.</i> Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods (eg. economic and social welfare)	Liberal egalitarianism.
“To avoid serious consequences in the water/energy nexus, governments need to face the fundamental reasons behind this issue, and stop licensing and constructing new coal power plants in high water stress areas.” (p.46)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.	Liberal egalitarianism.
“Governments and energy and water policy makers must take decisive action to phase out coal power to avoid these looming energy-water conflicts.” (p.55)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods (eg. economic and social welfare)	Liberal egalitarianism.

Table 29. Greenpeace International. (2016). Let’s make it a green peace. Blogpost by Bunny McDiarmid and Jennifer Morgan. 20 September 2016 at 20:50.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“Suffering and grief beyond comprehension, and beyond the limits of what people should have to endure, are the daily reality for many.”	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.

“how can all of us make our world more green and peaceful?”	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Much of the damage we are inflicting on our planet is irreversible. We are now at a critical juncture, a tipping point, where overstepping our planetary boundaries is leading us down a path to growing instability, resource scarcity, fear, crisis and potential conflict.”	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“Human security focuses on protecting and promoting dignity, empowerment and fulfillment for all people. It means not only protecting people from threat, but creating the kind of environmental, social, political and economic systems that support and enhance people flourishing alongside each other and their environment.”	The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Capabilities approach.
“We humans cannot survive, nor live peacefully, without a healthy, functioning environment.”	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism + capabilities approach.
“Worldwide 1.3 billion people – equivalent to 18% of global population – continue to live without access to electricity. 2.6 billion people are without clean cooking facilities. [...]”	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival.	Cosmopolitanism.
Mechanisms of justice		
“Governments spend a fortune on ‘defense’, be it guns, bombs, war planes or the ultimate weapon – nuclear armaments. By comparison there is currently very little focus on and very little time and money spent on proactively preventing conflict.”	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.	Liberal egalitarianism.
“Sharing our scarce resources fairly and protecting the Global Commons for us all are two essential ways to achieve a green and more peaceful world.”	The NGO is claiming for global redistribution and international cooperation.	Cosmopolitanism.

“But to get there we must choose cooperation over conflict.”	The NGO is claiming for global redistribution and international cooperation.	Cosmopolitanism
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Table 30. Oxfam. (2017). 2015/1016 Annual report of Oxfam.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“Meanwhile, climate change fueled by the emissions of rich nations prospers inequality.” (p.4)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Our world must yet support the poorest and women on the frontlines suffering most because of the excesses of the richest.” (p.4)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Discrimination against women and girls is both a cause and a consequence of poverty.” (p.28)	The NGO is focusing on gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying conflicts (gender) in the current context.	Critical perspectives.
Principles		
“And we won’t stop until every person on the planet can enjoy life free from poverty.” (p.6)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival.	Cosmopolitanism.
“We believe that everyone has: • A right to a sustainable livelihood [...] • A right to be heard • A right to an identity.” (p.6)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism and Capabilities approach.
“We worked alongside government authorities and civil society organizations to improve water and sanitation services, and the livelihoods of thousands of people living in poverty.” (p.57)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival.	Cosmopolitanism.
Mechanisms		

<p>“We continue to push rich governments to welcome more refugees and treat them with dignity, and outlined practicable solutions.” (p.4)</p>	<p>The NGO is arguing that the most privileged have a moral responsibility to support the least advantaged within and among countries. + Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism + Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“To tackle inequality this past year we pursued tax reform globally and within nations.” (p.5)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for global redistribution (tax reform) and international cooperation. The NGO is arguing that the most privileged have a moral responsibility to support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“When countries work together to achieve change, the potential for delivering results is so much greater.” (p.22)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“We also urged rich states to fully fund the 2015- 16 Syria crisis response appeal and to resettle 10 percent of all registered Syrian refugees by the end of 2016.” (p.48)</p>	<p>The NGO is arguing that the most privileged have a moral responsibility to support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“Oxfam maintained pressure on the EU throughout the year, urging governments to find solutions to the migration crisis.” (p.50)</p>	<p>Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods.</p>	<p>Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“Solutions lie in ensuring that governments maintain a strong commitment to reducing emissions and global warming, and assurance from world leaders that adequate and consistent financing will flow to enable countries to adapt to the threat of climate change.” (p.67)</p>	<p>Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods.</p>	<p>Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“We worked with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) to pilot a multi-stakeholder land governance program [...]” (p.71)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for global redistribution and international cooperation. + Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society as a global decentralized support system.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism + capabilities approach.</p>
<p>“This coalition led by Oxfam, the</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for global</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism + capabilities</p>

Rights and Resource Initiative and the International Land Coalition is working with more than 400 organizations and civil society groups worldwide to double the land owned by indigenous peoples and local communities by 2020.” (p.71)	redistribution and international cooperation. + Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society as a global decentralized support system	approach.
“Oxfam continues to urge world leaders to release the cash that is urgently needed to save lives and invest in the future [...]” (p.75)	The NGO is arguing that the most privileged have a moral responsibility to support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
“The rich need to pay their fair share of tax.” (p.81)	The NGO is claiming for global redistribution (tax reform). The NGO is arguing that the most privileged have a moral responsibility to support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.

Table 31. Oxfam. (2017). An economy for the 99% It’s time to build a human economy that benefits everyone, not just the privileged few.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“As growth benefits the richest, the rest of society – especially the poorest – suffers.” (p.1)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless and that rich people are responsible to redistribute welfare to the poorest.	Cosmopolitanism.
“[...] global inequality crisis [...]” (p.2)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“In pursuit of delivering high returns to those at the top, corporations are driven to squeeze their workers and producers ever harder – and to avoid paying taxes which would benefit everyone, and the poorest people in particular.” (p.3)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless and that rich people are responsible to redistribute welfare to the poorest.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Africa alone loses \$14bn in tax revenues due to the super-rich using tax havens – Oxfam has calculated this would be enough to pay for the healthcare that could save the lives of four million children and to employ	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless and that rich people are responsible to redistribute welfare to the poorest.	Cosmopolitanism.



enough teachers to get every African child into school.” (p.5)		
“A more equal distribution of wealth is necessary.” (p.6)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless and that rich people are responsible to redistribute welfare to the poorest.	Cosmopolitanism.
“There are significant gender differences when it comes to the winners and losers of the growing income gap, with women more likely to find themselves in the bottom half of the income distribution. Worldwide, the chances for women to participate in the labour market remain almost 27 percentage points lower than those for men.” (p.14)	The NGO is focusing on gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying conflicts (class and gender) in the current context.	Critical perspectives.
“Oxfam has estimated that the richest 10% of the global population are responsible for half of all total emissions. Yet it is the poorest communities that face the most severe consequences.” (p.27)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless and that rich people are responsible to redistribute welfare to the poorest.	Cosmopolitanism.
“A human economy is one in which people are valued equally and not disregarded on the basis of their gender or colour or caste, and the vital space for civil society and women’s groups is protected.” (p.28)	The NGO is focusing on transnational class and gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying conflicts (class and gender) in the current context.	Critical perspectives.
Principles of justice		
“Yet one in nine people still go to bed hungry. Had growth been propoor between 1990 and 2010, 700 million more people, most of them women, would not be living in poverty today.” (p.2)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Wealth is critical for people living in poverty to be able to respond to financial shocks like a medical bill.” (p.10)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival.	Cosmopolitanism.
“A human economy is one which meets the needs of both people [...]” (p.28) Followed by: “A human economy would see progress measured by what actually matters, not just by GDP.” (p.28)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.

Mechanisms of justice		
“Research finds that three-quarters of extreme poverty could in fact be eliminated now using existing resources, by increasing taxation and cutting down on military and other regressive spending.” (p.2)	The NGO is claiming for international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries (eg. global tax system).	Cosmopolitanism.
“Countries must cooperate, on an equal basis, to build a new global consensus and a virtuous cycle to ensure corporations and rich people pay fair taxes, the environment is protected, and workers are paid well.” (p.7)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries (eg. global tax system).	Cosmopolitanism.
“Governments must ensure corporations pay fair wages and fair taxes and take responsibility for their impact on the planet.” (p.7)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods (eg. economic and social welfare). Justice should be first ensured at the national level.	Liberal egalitarianism.
“[...] we must increase taxes on both wealth and high incomes to ensure a more level playing field, and clamp down on tax dodging by the super-rich.” (p.7)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries (eg. global tax system).	Cosmopolitanism.
“Governments must intervene to ensure that technology contributes to reducing inequality, not increases it.” (p.8)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.	Liberal egalitarianism.
“Tax revenues are critical for funding the policies and services that can fight inequality, and progressive taxes directly shrink the gap between rich and poor.” (p.17)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries (eg. global tax system).	Cosmopolitanism.
“Ultimately it is governments which are responsible for the rules, regulations and policies that govern our economies and shape our societies. Governments can, if they choose, use their power and policy tools to have a huge impact on reducing inequality in a country, and work in the interests of those towards the bottom of the economic distribution and of society more broadly.” (p.22)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.	Liberal egalitarianism.

<p>“Governments can and should be powerful players in the economy.” (p.23)</p>	<p>Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.</p>	<p>Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“In a human economy, government is the guarantor of the rights and needs of all; it is a creative force for progress and responsible for managing markets in the interests of everyone.” (p.28)</p>	<p>Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.</p>	<p>Liberal egalitarianism.</p>
<p>“Fundamentally, a human economy would put GDP in its place as simply one, imperfect, indicator of progress. It would be tempered by other measures that are more useful in assessing quality of life, well-being and the possibilities people have to adequately satisfy their fundamental human needs. Alternative, more inclusive measures should come to the forefront of global policy making, such as the Genuine Progress Indicator or the OECD Better Life Index and the Social Progress Index.” (p.35)</p>	<p>Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society as a global decentralized support system. The NGO is using the Human Development Index as a measure of development.</p>	<p>Capabilities approach.</p>

Table 32. Oxfam. (2015). Let them eat coal - Why the G7 must stop burning coal to tackle climate change and fight hunger.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
<p>Subjects</p>		
<p>“The most extreme weather changes, sea-level rises and agricultural losses tend to be concentrated among poorer countries with the least capacity to cope. It is women and men already struggling with the everyday burdens of poverty, without safety nets, who are most exposed to changes in the climate, and for whom it is most difficult to cope and recover from more frequent disasters.” (p.6)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“There is a price to pay for every tonne of CO2 emitted, and it is paid in dollars and in lives and livelihoods ruined in communities far from the security and safety nets of the rich world.” (p.8)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>

<p>“Reductions will have to be much faster in the rich countries most responsible for climate change in order to be fair.” (p.13)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“There is an inherent inequality in the causes of climate change. Just seven of the richest, most powerful economies – the G7 – have been collectively responsible for half of all CO2 emissions since the Industrial Revolution. It is these past emissions which have caused the climate change being experienced now.” (p.14)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>Principles</p>		
<p>“Climate change is the biggest threat to our chances of winning the fight against hunger.” (p.6)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>Mechanisms</p>		
<p>“As a group of the leading rich industrialized nations, the G7 has a special responsibility to stop doing harm – by phasing out climate polluting fossil fuels, and to start helping – through delivering the promised \$100bn finance for the world’s poorest people to adapt to the climate impacts that they have done little to cause and to develop along a low-carbon pathway.” (p.6)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“As well as the greatest responsibility for climate change, wealthy countries also have the greatest capacity to take action.” [...] “They can therefore decarbonize, and finance mitigation and adaptation, more easily than poorer countries.” (p.15)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“Stand by existing commitments to jointly mobilize \$100bn per year by 2020 for tackling climate change in developing countries.” (p.34)</p>	<p>The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>

Table 33. Care International. (2016). 2015 Annual report of Care International.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“CARE International is a global network of 14 National Members with a common vision and mission to defeat global poverty.” (p.2)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.	Cosmopolitanism.
“CARE works around the globe to save lives, defeat poverty and achieve social justice.” (p.2)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care.	Cosmopolitanism.
“We put women and girls in the centre because we know that we cannot overcome poverty until all people have equal rights and opportunities.” (p.2)	The NGO takes into account the gender conflict underlying the current issues.	Critical perspectives.
“These statistics are a worrying benchmark on where we are as a global society [...]” (p.3)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Poor people have done the least to contribute to this climate emergency, but they are paying the highest price for its consequences.” (p.15)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“[...] where poverty has been overcome and people live in dignity and security.” (p.2)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival (needs-based minimum floor principle). + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet to have the full ability to realize their desired and valued functioning.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.
“We put women and girls in the centre because we know that we cannot overcome poverty until all people have equal rights and opportunities.” (p.2)	Participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.	Critical perspectives.
“[...] we must address the root causes of poverty and social injustice. [...] Strengthening gender equality and	Participatory parity in the economic, political, and cultural aspects of life is at the centre of the world the NGO is	Critical perspectives.

women's voice. [...] Promoting inclusive governance [...]" (p.7).	promoting.	
Mechanisms of justice		
"CARE offices around the world work alongside a broad network of partners and allies to multiply our impact as we strive to rebuild and improve the lives of the most disadvantaged [...]" (p.2)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
"CARE then provides technical and material support, for example in helping rebuild water systems, latrines, and other community infrastructure." (p.8)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.
"CARE worked hand-in-hand with local communities, government agencies and civil society partners to help nearly 200,000 people begin their recovery from the disaster, [...]" (p.9)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.
"Without scaling up international assistance, the spiral of deepening poverty will accelerate with lasting impact on both refugees and local communities." (p.10)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.

Table 34. Care. (2012). One planet one future.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
"[...] it is a lack of political will and ambition to improve the lives of millions of poor women and men and children." (p.3)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
"Our current model of blunt economic growth delivers prosperity primarily for the global minority – people living in developed nations. While it has lifted some of the world's most vulnerable people out of poverty, it is failing the millions who still survive in grinding poverty." (p.3)	The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.

<p>“Global disparities in power and access to resources, coupled with the excessive consumption of our industrialised economies, are exacerbating social and economic inequality and driving environmental degradation, both locally through resource extraction and globally through the effects of climate change and other drivers.” (p.3)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“While climate change is largely due to pollution generated by wealthy countries in the process of industrialisation, developing countries will bear 75–80% of the costs of climate change damage.” (p.5)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“Climate change is largely caused by past carbon emissions from industrialised nations, while those least responsible – poor people in developing countries – now face the greatest impacts.” (p.8)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>
<p>“While gender inequality places expectations and specific pressures on both women and men in the face of increasing environmental pressure and economic shocks, nowhere in the world have women achieved equal status to men, which places unique burdens on them. [...] Women face barriers to participation in decision making at all levels, thus being denied meaningful input into key social, economic and environmental decisions that affect their lives.” (p.8)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on gender conflicts. The NGO is taking into account the underlying conflicts (class and gender) in the current context.</p>	<p>Critical perspectives.</p>
<p>“For Care, the choice is clear: we must take radical action now to secure the future of the planet and to right the injustices that exist around the world, which keep millions of people in poverty while others consume far beyond their fair share of the earth’s limited resources.” (p.8)</p>	<p>The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.</p>	<p>Cosmopolitanism.</p>

“While climate change is largely due to pollution generated by wealthy countries in the process of industrialisation, developing countries will bear 75–80% of costs of the damages.” (p.18)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“This natural capital is essential to our societies and economies but especially to the world’s poorest people, who still face severe challenges in surviving and meeting their daily basic needs.” (p.3)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.	Cosmopolitanism,
Gender inequality remains a critical barrier to sustainable development and social justice. the distribution of power between men and women creates huge inequalities that continue to limit the development choices of half of the world’s people and particularly those in the poorest communities. (p.4)	Participatory parity is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.	Critical perspectives.
Estimates predict that an additional three million of the world’s poorest and most vulnerable people could die from malnutrition each year as a result of the worsening impacts of climate change on agriculture. (p.8)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Limitations on women’s decision-making powers and fundamental rights to participate in all spheres of life continue to constrain gender equality and women’s empowerment [...]” (p.11)	Participatory parity is at the centre of the world the NGO is promoting.	Critical perspectives.
Mechanisms of justice		
“As such, we need to put pressure on our leaders to hold them accountable and to also support them to seize new opportunities [...]” (p.3)	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods. Justice should be first ensured at the national level.	Liberal egalitarianism.
“[...] we need an urgent change but it requires the political ambition and urgency to act collaboratively.” (p.3)	The NGO is claiming for international collaboration.	Cosmopolitanism.



Ensuring food security for all requires the provision of support for smallholder farmers, who feed a large portion of the global population and yet form the majority of the world's undernourished. (p.13)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
Regardless of these factors, many developed countries most responsible for causing climate change have yet to step up urgent and ambitious domestic action and financial support for tackling climate change mitigation and adaptation both at home and abroad. (p.17)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Cosmopolitanism.
“a green economy has the potential to make significant changes to our world's sustainability if grounded in policy, institutional and governance reforms as well as specific investments that safeguard natural capital and enable poor women and men to contribute to and benefit from the transition to a truly green economy.”(p.20).	1)The NGO is advocating for the elimination of oppressive institutionalized structures of subjugation. The NGO is suggesting new democratic institutions. 2) The NGO is advocating for the international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries	Critical perspectives and cosmopolitanism.

Table 35. Care Danmark. (2016). Fleeing climate change: Impacts on migration and displacement.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“In 2015, the world rallied around a set of ground breaking agreements that together bring promise of a sustainable, more prosperous and inclusive global society: A society that also tackles climate change and shows solidarity with the poorest and most vulnerable, leaving no one behind.” (p.4)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
“[...] they are being forced to move by climate change, which has been caused largely by developed countries and societal dependence on the fossil fuel industry. Calling them “migrants” undermines the responsibility of the developed countries and the fossil fuel industry.” (p.12)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Our common humanity, and shared future [...]”. (p.40)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are	Cosmopolitanism.

	meaningless.	
Principles of justice		
“[...] they are only the very first steps on a long journey to safeguard future generations, and they must be coupled with large-scale efforts to help those that are already seeing their livelihoods undermined by a changing climate.” (p.4)	Everyone should be able to satisfy their basic needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
‘Food insecurity’ employed 13 times in the entire document.	Everyone should be able to satisfy their basic needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Failing to tackle climate change, poverty and inequality is a recipe for political and economic chaos.” (p.21)	Everyone should be able to satisfy their basic needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
“The poor will have less water for drinking and agriculture, their homes and possessions will increasingly become destroyed due to storms and floods, and heat waves and warmer temperatures will reduce their ability to work.” (p.31)	Everyone should satisfy their basic needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
The entire document is about food security, water scarcity, poverty, agricultural issues etc.	Everyone should satisfy their basic needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
Mechanisms of justice		
“Unless governments take strong preventive action and invest in adaptation, climate change-related phenomena such as floods, droughts, famines and hurricanes could push the total number of permanently displaced people [...]” (p.5) and again (p.22).	Government is responsible and is the main actor to ensure justice by being responsible for the primary social goods (eg. economic and social welfare). Justice should be first ensured at the national level.	Liberal egalitarianism.
“Many parts of the world are at risk of entering into permanent crises, as the gap between the level of support provided to poorer countries and what poor countries need could become much bigger.”(p.6)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
“The most acute effects of the 2015 drought continue to be felt, with the potential for hundreds of thousands of more people to become displaced if adequate humanitarian assistance is not quickly mobilized.” (p.14)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.

“Without adequate adaptation funding, these goals will not be met and poor people will face even more severe climate consequences. The world’s poorest people are most at risk from the near term impacts of climate change.” (p.23)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
“For poor people, adaptation finance from developed countries will be essential.” (p.27)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
“A key contribution from richer countries is technical and, in particular, financial support for countries most affected by climate impacts.” (p.42) + p.43	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.

Table 36. WWF. (2016). 2015 Annual report of the WWF. Gland, Switzerland.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“When it comes to addressing the increasingly urgent and complex global issues that impact our planet, the only way we can spark change at scale is by working together.” (p.1)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“we secure water for people and nature” (p.2) and “we drive sustainable food systems to conserve nature and feed humanity” (p.3)	Everyone should be able to satisfy their basic needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
Mechanisms of justice		
“WWF partners with government leaders and tribal authorities; consumers and corporate leaders; fishers and ranchers; donors and advocates; and local communities, universities, and multinational institutions— all to forge joint solutions we couldn’t accomplish on our own.” (p.1)	The NGO is advocating for international cooperation. + Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society.	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.
“[...] government officials, business leaders, and communities will be able	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation. +	Cosmopolitanism and capabilities approach.

to make informed decisions about how they use their freshwater ecosystems for energy, food, water, and economic growth.” (pp.14-15)	Governments and public policies are considered as essential in the NGO’s discourse. At the international level, the NGO is promoting international treaties setting norms and emphasizing on the role of corporations and civil society.	
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Table 37. ActionAid, Care, and WWF. (2015). Loss and damage - Climate reality in the 21st century.

Subjects		
“Bineta Fall’s fate is only one illustration of what thousands of vulnerable communities in developing countries already face.” (p.5)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Sometimes the impact will be so severe that countries and communities will simply be unable to adapt, either because the world has failed to sufficiently reduce emissions, or because they have not had the support needed to adequately prepare.” (p.7)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless and that rich people are responsible to redistribute welfare to the poorest.	Cosmopolitanism.
“[...] insufficient support from developed countries to help poor countries adapt to climate impacts.” (p.12)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless and that rich people are responsible to redistribute welfare to the poorest.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Up until now the driving forces of climate change, and the resulting loss and damage, have been overwhelmingly caused by a minority of wealthier countries on this planet which means they have a particular responsibility to provide financial and technical means to poorer countries.”(p.12)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. The NGO is claiming that borders are meaningless and that rich people are responsible to redistribute welfare to the poorest.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles		
“Permanent loss and damage from slow-onset disasters goes far beyond economic loss. In addition to losing their livelihoods and homes, communities suffer important non-economic losses if they must lose their culture, community and social structures.” (p.8)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival. + The NGO is promoting a set of basic requirements that everyone should be able to meet.	Cosmopolitanism + Capabilities approach

“High risks for rural livelihoods, food security and agricultural productivity linked to drought, flooding and extreme heat.” (p.11)	The NGO is claiming that everybody all around the world should be able to satisfy their basic human needs for survival.	Cosmopolitanism.
Mechanisms		
“[...] massively increase financial and other support to catalyse adaptation action at a scale needed to substantially reduce future losses and damages.” (p.15)	The NGO is claiming for global redistribution and international cooperation. The NGO is arguing that the most privileged have a moral responsibility to support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Reflect the need for additional financial and technical support to be provided primarily by the countries most responsible for causing the problem, but taking into account evolving responsibilities over time [...]” (p.15)	The NGO is claiming for global redistribution and international cooperation. The NGO is arguing that the most privileged have a moral responsibility to support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Promote additional concrete actions to assist the poorest and most vulnerable in facing loss and damage.” (p.15)	The NGO is claiming for global redistribution and international cooperation. The NGO is arguing that the most privileged have a moral responsibility to support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.
“Provide for full and effective public participation in the work of the mechanism, particularly by the communities most affected by loss and damage and their representatives.” (p.15)	The NGO is suggesting new democratic institutions. Or at least reform.	Critical perspectives.

Table 38. ActionAid, Care, and WWF. (2016). Global goal on adaptation: From concept to practice.

Statements	Operationalization	Theory of justice
Subjects of justice		
“The climate crisis we face today is a result of historical greenhouse gas emissions primarily from developed countries and already posing an unjust burden on developing countries.”(p.3)	The NGO is focusing on global interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
“The climate crisis we face today is a	The NGO is focusing on global	Cosmopolitanism.

result of historical greenhouse gas emissions primarily from developed countries and already posing an unjust burden on developing countries.” (pp.3-4)	interdependence. Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	
“The impacts of cumulative emissions are already posing a severe and unjust burden on developing countries and are exacerbating global inequality.” (p.7)	Borders are meaningless. The NGO is claiming that everyone is related by moral obligation of support and care. Therefore, the most advantaged should support the least advantaged.	Cosmopolitanism.
Principles of justice		
“Special attention needs should be given to protecting the people, livelihoods [...]” (p.4)	Everyone should be able to satisfy their basic needs.	Cosmopolitanism.
Mechanisms of justice		
“Adaptation cannot be sufficiently enhanced to address the needs in developing countries without support, including finance, technology transfer, and development, and capacity building.” (p.9)	The NGO is claiming for international cooperation and international redistribution that support the least advantaged within and among countries.	Cosmopolitanism.

## Interviews

### ❖ Set of questions

1) We will achieve a just world only when everyone is able to satisfy basic needs necessary for human survival (food, water, health, energy, shelter etc.).

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

2) It is states and state governments who are primarily responsible for securing the basic needs for their citizens.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

3) Strengthening the rights and role of civil society in the current global system is crucial to ensure justice around the world.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

4) Developed countries have a historical responsibility towards developing countries and therefore must provide funding to developing countries.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

5) Because all countries are too different from each other, sufficient cooperation will not be possible to resolve global issues. Therefore, governments have to project the interests of their own citizens first.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

6) Global free markets and free trade are central to resolve over time global inequalities and must thus be prioritised in the global sustainability governance.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

7) Covering basic needs is not enough; instead, public policies should ensure that everyone is able to develop him/herself in terms of religion, education and cultural aspects of life.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

8) Modern capitalism and its dominance in global affairs is the main cause for all the existing inequalities around the world.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

9) It is outdated to conceive of people in terms of nationality and national boundaries; instead, globalization has made us all interdependent, putting all people on this planet on an equal moral footing with everybody else.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

10) Women and minorities are not sufficiently represented in the policy-making.

Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neither agree nor disagree      Agree      Strongly agree

Comment:

❖ **Interviewee 1 – FOEI - Senior expert from the Climate Justice and Energy Programme; Europe; via Skype on May 15th, 2017**

1) Strongly agree

Comment: This is the core, the most important.

2) Agree

3) Strongly agree

4) Strongly agree

Comment: The terminology in the sentence can be rethought, how framing ‘developing/developed’ countries?

5) Disagree

6) Strongly disagree

Comment: As we have today.

7) Agree

Comment: Public policies should facilitate but should not say anything about what is wrong or not.

8) Strongly agree

9) Disagree - Agree

Comment: I wish it will be so but for some people it is important so they have the right to do it or think that way. Therefore I disagree with the first part of the sentence but agree with the second part.

10) Strongly agree

Comment: There is still a lot to do.

❖ **Interviewee 2 – FOEI - Programme coordinator in Resource Justice and Sustainability; Europe; via Skype on May 19th, 2017**

1) Strongly agree

2) Agree

3) Strongly agree

4) Disagree

Comment: Disagree because instead of providing funding, we should change our lifestyle and not use their resources.

5) Disagree

Comment: Not only citizens, but populations and residents.

6) Strongly disagree



7) Agree

8) Agree

9) Agree

10) Agree

Comment: Depending on the country we are talking about.

Additional comment: The interview does not include drivers like consumption patterns and what we make in South. Fair sharing should be central.

❖ **Interviewee 3 – ActionAid - Leader Officer in Policy, Research, Advocacy and Campaigns; Africa; via Skype on May 16th, 2017**

1) Agree

Comment: This is not sufficient. There is unequal society with suicide, lack of trust, necessary moderation between rich and poor. Society gets more complicated, there are big changes on what it is considered as important. For instance the phone is nowadays essential for working and social life.

2) Strongly agree

3) Strongly agree

4) Agree

5) Disagree

6) Strongly disagree

7) Strongly agree

8) Agree

Comment: Modern capitalism if referring to finance and neoliberalism. But in the modern area, there are different forms of capitalism. We can see it in Japan, Canada, or India, where the society balances the power between markets and state.

9) Neither agree nor disagree

10) Strongly agree

Additional comment: Justice as such can mean everything and anything. Justice should always be linked to equality. Otherwise, justice is meaningless. “Justice” is employed in so many different contexts, ISIS as an example or in India with the different caste. Justice without equality does not mean much.

❖ **Interviewee 4 – ActionAid - Leader officer; Europe; via Skype on May 22nd, 2017**

1) Strongly agree

2) Strongly agree

Comment: They must provide and enable the environment to address social and environmental aspects.

3) Strongly agree

Comment: Civil society makes sure that governments do right, check corporation's account and civil society is the population's voice.

4) Agree

5) Disagree

6) Strongly disagree

7) Strongly agree

Comment: Respecting the fundamental right of humans.

8) Neither agree nor disagree

Comment: You cannot blame on one political thinking, the reality is too complex.

9) Disagree

10) Strongly agree

❖ **Interviewee 5 – Greenpeace - Senior expert from the Greenpeace Clean Energy Now; North America; via Skype on May 15th, 2017**

1) Strongly agree

Comment: Basic needs are changing and are an ongoing thing (eg. access to internet means also access to information). Countries have different capabilities, on which depends how hard countries are working on it.

2) Agree

Comment: Ability contingent with corporations. Responsibility shared with corporations and non-state actors.

3) Strongly agree

Comment: Civil society has responsibilities to respect and acts as the check and balance of governments and corporations. Civil society includes here the media.

4) Strongly agree

Comment: Instead of talking about developed and developing countries, we should talk about consuming and less consuming countries, based on the work of Antonio Oposa. Funding should be focus on mitigation and adaptation.

5) Disagree

Comment: Differences are used to avoid.

6) Disagree

Comment: The current system is exacerbating inequalities. Could free and fair trade be possible?

7) Agree

Comment: This is important, this is part of being a human. Every country emphasizes on different points.

8) Neither agree nor disagree

Comment: It is one of the factor, one driving force. Militarism is also one.

9) Neither agree nor disagree

Comment: It is too easy to ignore nationalities for the localities, regionalism, indigenous ... This is closely related to the sovereignty of the land. However, issues are trans boundaries. Therefore, the solutions must also be trans boundaries. For instance, regarding the environmental harm, we cannot say that a country is not responsible or that it is not important.

10) Strongly agree

Comment: Not even close. The policy-making is not representative.

Additional comment: the same research should be applied for corporations. This would be interesting for further research.

❖ **Interviewee 6 – Greenpeace - Climate Change and Energy Policy adviser; Europe; via Skype on May 17th, 2017**

1) Strongly agree

Comment: This is the basis of dignity and relates directly to the Human Rights Charter.

2) Strongly agree

Comment: This is the main role of citizens representatives. The private sector is also growing in important, this is critical for this.

3) Strongly agree

Comment: Civil society is one pillar, acts as a watchdog.

4) Neither agree nor disagree

Comment: Agree with the first part, developed countries have a debt. Disagree with the second part, funding is not necessary leading to improvements of livelihoods. While now Europe is importing only resources, we should instead help for their skills development: for instance, coffee, chocolate, basically end products and then reduce tariffs on importation.

5) Disagree

Comment: Countries can learn and share from each other, and by doing so, avoid isolation.

6) Disagree

Comment: Disagree based how they are drafted now: one party gains more than another, either governments, corporations.

7) Strongly agree

Comment: This makes the difference between animals and humans: much more is needed for our well-being. The respect of religion, education, and cultural aspects of life is protected by international law. And civil society should demand the right implementation.

8) Agree

Comment: Other causes play also a role like corruption, environment destructions. This maintains the inequalities around the world.

9) Strongly agree

Comment: National boundaries are human-made, they do not exist on the planet. Where he or she was born is not an achievement. We should advocate for the recognition of global citizen.

10) Strongly agree

Comment: This is obvious. Women and minorities are neglected.

❖ **Interviewee 7 – Greenpeace - Interviewee 7: Senior expert in Climate justice; Southeast Asia; via Skype on May 19th, 2017**

1) Agree

Comment: 'just' is relative, depends on the context and the situation. Satisfaction of basic needs is the basis of human being but it is not enough.

2) Agree

Comment: State and state governments should enable conditions, maintain and not hurt conditions.

3) Agree

4) Neither agree nor disagree

Comment: This is not a precise description. It is now swiping. Funding is the least thing which is expected. If every country would respect sustainable development, there would be no harm.

5) Disagree

Comment: Sharing is essential because we are living in one planet. Differences are not an excuse.

6) Agree

7) Agree

8) Neither agree nor disagree

Comment: One of the many factors.

9) Disagree

Comment: Capacity are different, closely related to nations.

10) Agree

Comment: It becomes more pronounced in developing countries.

Additional comment: The interview does not really include the people, this is surprising.

❖ **Interviewee 8 – Oxfam - Senior expert from the Tax Justice Programme; Europe; via Skype on May 19th, 2017**

1) Agree

2) Agree

3) Agree

4) Agree

Comment: Responsibility coming from different perspectives, historic and present.

5) Disagree

6) Agree

Comment: I am not against free market but I am against the current system.

7) Strongly agree

8) Agree

Comment: But there are other issues as well such as the privatization in health issues, tax...

9) Disagree

Comment: The nation is important in terms of organization and for the people, but we are interdependent as well. The one does not exclude the other.

10) Agree

❖ **Interviewee 9 - Oxfam - Research and Policy adviser; Europe; via Skype on June 9th, 2017**

1) Strongly agree

2) Agree

Comment: State and states governments play a key role, but businesses, civil society, individuals as well etc.

3) Strongly agree

4) Strongly agree

5) Disagree

6) Disagree

7) Strongly agree

8) Agree

9) Agree

10) Strongly agree

Comment: But also in the agenda setting, political impact, institutions...

❖ **Interviewee 10 – Care - Programme and policy Leader Officer; Europe; via Skype on June 6th, 2017**

1) Strongly agree

Comment: This is a starting point, without it there can't be any progress in the other aspects.

2) Strongly agree

Comment: Respectful of the government. They are primarily responsible, but not alone because issues are too interconnected, beyond the control of governments, issues are cross borders.

3) Strongly agree

Comment: Civil society plays a key role defined by the context and responsive of the government. Therefore, yes I agree, civil society is playing a key role, but more attention should be paid on what role should it be.

4) Agree - Disagree

Comment: Agrees for the first part (due to colonialism for instance), second part disagrees. Funding is not necessarily the best option, it could be speaking out, challenging policies, funding in some cases...

5) Disagree

Comment: Actions have impact beyond borders, it has to be joint action.

6) Neither agree nor disagree

Comment: Fully free won't work. Some level of regulations is necessary to avoid abuses, asymmetry of information.

7) Strongly agree

Comment: Covering basic needs is a starting point but not enough. Both aspects should be done in parallel.

8) Disagree

Comment: It is definitely a contributing factor, but there is other type of issues. In some countries, it might not be relevant.

9) Strongly agree

Comment: Nationality and national boundaries are still relevant and still exist. The second part is definitely true.

10) Strongly agree

Comment: No justification of the lack of representativeness. Same applies for the parliament seats, earning etc.

❖ **Interviewee 11 – WWF - Food and Climate Senior expert; Europe, via Skype on May 11th, 2017**

1) Strongly agree

2) Agree

3) Strongly agree

4) Strongly agree

5) Disagree

6) Disagree

7) Strongly agree

8) Disagree

9) Strongly agree

Comment: For me, there are mainly two levels: international and the people (city/region level) or global and local.

10) Strongly agree

Comment: In the education and land rights, decision rights etc.