

Private Governance and the Pursuit of Justice

A Critical Discourse Analysis on the differing Justice Concepts
of Private Sustainability Standard Initiatives

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Abstract

This thesis is based on the notion that private sustainability standards as an important instrument within transnational governance hold a crucial role in achieving global justice. A common aim of sustainability standard initiatives is to address justice issues inherent of current global production and consumption structures and to benefit Southern producers. However, initiatives face critique, which accuses them of reinforcing injustices they originally wanted to address.

While scientific research has paid attention to both global justice and private governance institutions, the intersection of these topics has undergone little profound scientific analysis. Particularly little is known about how private sustainability standard initiatives frame justice, although these conceptualizations shape the content of a standard, relations among supply chain actors and thus ultimately global trade. Accordingly, the research objective of this thesis was to reveal how private sustainability standard initiatives frame justice, and to find potential explanations for these framings.

Five initiatives were chosen for analysis: Fairtrade International, Rainforest Alliance/Sustainable Agriculture Network (RA/SAN), UTZ, Ethical Tea Partnership (ETP) and GLOBALG.A.P. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) was applied to disclose the initiatives' understandings of justice. The research made use of the justice framework suggested by Biermann & Kalfagianni, which suggests core justice statements relating to the philosophical traditions of liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, capabilities approach, libertarianism and critical perspectives. The framework has been extended to utilitarianism. Core justice statements comprise subjects, principles and mechanisms of justice and serve as analytical categories. A content analysis of publications was complemented by a questionnaire and interviews of representatives of the initiatives.

Findings indicate the presence of all justice theories in the initiatives' justice framings. Especially the capabilities approach was present in all cases, since the initiatives promote capacity building for rule-takers to assist them on their way to certification. Fairtrade and RA/SAN, predominantly governed by NGOs and Southern stakeholders, tend to promote a rather transformational idea of justice, while GLOBALG.A.P. and ETP, dominated by corporate, Northern interests, tend to support more conventional, non-transformational ideas of justice. For UTZ, results are most mixed, which can be related to its diverse stakeholder composition.

CDA revealed hegemonic struggles between NGOs, Southern stakeholders and corporate actors, who use the initiatives to pursue their respective interests. It is recommended, that standard initiatives include diverse stakeholders in decision-making, especially Southern rule-takers, to overcome paternalism, prevent domination of vested interests and to find viable solutions for the justice issues of global trade.

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List of abbreviations

CDA	Critical discourse analysis
ETP	Ethical Tea Partnership
GRASP	GLOBALG.A.P. Risk Assessment on Social Practice
GRT	Global resource tax
IDF	Ideological-discursive formations
IGO	Intergovernmental organization
ILO	International Labour Organization
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
RA	Rainforest Alliance
SAN	Sustainable Agriculture Network
SDG	Sustainable development goal
TNG	Transnational new governance

1. Introduction

Global supply chains resemble a network of activities divided into several stages, involving a large number of different stakeholders. Production and consumption patterns in these supply chains are characterized by a high degree of complexity, reinforced by increasing globalization (Bacon, 2010; Mayer & Gereffi, 2010). Power asymmetries along value chains are large and marginalization of stakeholder groups persists (Bacon, 2010; Kalfagianni, 2015). Social and environmental problems accumulate: poor wages, child and informal labor, land grabbing, limited freedom of association or deforestation are only a few examples of the long list of issues along global supply chains (Kiezebrink, van der Wal, Theuws, & Kachusa, 2015; Rácz, Sandjojo, & van der Wal, 2011). The burden to bear negative externalities of international production thereby largely falls back on developing countries, as a substantial part of global production and manufacturing occurs in the Global South¹ (Abbott & Snidal, 2009b; Kalfagianni, 2014; Mayer & Gereffi, 2010). Besides the general precarious conditions and insidious impacts, accidents related to production in developing countries occur frequently. Prominent examples are the Bhopal catastrophe or the collapse of the Rana Plaza, while others may not have reached the international public. Often, liabilities are not clear (Campos, van Huijstee, & Theuws, 2015), which opens the possibility for accountable stakeholders to refrain from compensation for victims and environmental damages. These issues are key justice concerns, which are inherent of contemporary production and consumption structures and global trade.

Recognizing these problems, demands for sustainable production and consumption patterns which would better account for the justice concerns mentioned above, are growing: current practices of corporate entities are increasingly questioned, especially through civil society actors, while pressure on companies to demonstrate corporate social responsibility by conscious consumers is growing (Kalfagianni, 2014).

In this context, private sustainability standards as a form of private governance become an increasingly important tool to regulate global trade. Standards are “agreed criteria [...] by which a product or a service’s performance, its technical and physical characteristics, and/or the process, and conditions, under which it has been produced or delivered, can be assessed” (Nadvi & Wältring, 2002, p. 6). Justice concerns lie at the very heart of sustainability standards, as the history of the fair trade movement exemplifies (Robbins, 2013; Taylor, Murray, & Reynolds, 2005). While specific objectives and approaches of private sustainability standard initiatives differ, most of them share the aim to ameliorate conditions along supply chains. Moreover, standards present a cost-efficient way for corporations to assure compliance to good social and environmental practices along their supply chains, as well as to demonstrate their endeavors to consumers and business partners. Thus, they are also a tool that can help reduce the risk of negative publicity and criticism from civil society (Nadvi & Wältring, 2002). Standards enable consumers to make more informed and sustainable purchasing decisions and can alter overall consumer behavior (Nadvi & Wältring, 2002).

¹ Global South and North does here not refer to a geographic distinction, but differentiates between developing and developed countries.

1.1 Problem description and knowledge gap

Since the first private sustainability standards emerged, a steep increase of standards has been noted (Nadvi & Wältring, 2002). Ironically, by now standards face critique that accuses them of reinforcing exactly the injustices they originally wanted to address. Among the allegations are the co-optation of sustainability standard initiatives by corporate stakeholders, the domination of economic over social and environmental interests and the supremacy of stakeholders from the Global North over those of the Global South. Power asymmetries are thus said to be still existent or even aggravated (Besky, 2015; Kill, 2016; Moberg & Lyon, 2010).

In this light, examining private standards from a justice perspective becomes not only legitimate but also indispensable (Kalfagianni, 2015). The development of private sustainability standards into integral parts of socio-economic interactions with characteristics very similar to those of public institutions underlines this imperative. If standards complement or even replace public regulation, thus work on a similar governance level, critical reflection on their work is crucial.

As Klinsky et al. (2017) argue, “understandings of justice are essential to political analysis” (p. 171) as well as for the ability to achieve “adequate, fair and enduring” policies (p. 170). In line with this claim, Biermann & Kalfagianni (2016, p. 1) state that it is of utter importance to “carefully scrutinize the underlying conceptualization of justice in any program, institution or scenario-building process that aspires to work towards more just societies”. When taking a social constructivist viewpoint, this importance becomes even clearer. Social constructivism builds on the premise of multiple realities instead of the existence of only a single one. Reality is assumed to be socially constructed, for example through language (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Hence, the justice conceptualization a sustainability standard initiative has supports a certain understanding of reality, and at the same time shapes and modifies this reality, thereby promoting the initiatives interests. In light of the critique and allegations mentioned above, it seems especially appropriate to reveal justice concepts of standard initiatives as well as potential vested interests of participating stakeholders.

The scientific debate has paid attention to both global justice as well as private governance institutions, but the intersection of these two topics has undergone little profound scientific analysis (Kalfagianni, 2015). Particularly little is known about how private sustainability standard initiatives themselves frame justice, notwithstanding the fact that these conceptualizations can have major practical implications, since they shape the content of a standard, its outcome and thus ultimately global trade.

1.2 Research questions

Following the argumentation above, both the importance and urgency of investigating the relationship of private sustainability standard initiatives and the issue of global justice become clear. Especially as standards “play a major role in the debate on the future of the world economy“ (Nadvi & Wältring, 2002, p. 3) and since their number is still expected to grow (Potts et al., 2014).

Consequently, the research question of this thesis is:

How do private sustainability standard initiatives frame justice with respect to global production and consumption patterns and what are potential explanations for these framings?

The main research question is divided into the following sub-questions:

- a. *How is justice defined by different philosophical traditions?*
- b. *How can these concepts be operationalized in the context of global production and consumption patterns and private governance?*
- c. *How do private sustainability standard initiatives conceptualize justice and which parallels and differences exist between the mapped out concepts of justice?*
- d. *Which organizational characteristics matter in explaining justice concepts?*

1.3 Research objective, relevance and research framework

The research objective of this Master thesis is twofold. First, the aim is to empirically investigate different concepts of justice among private sustainability standard initiatives. Consequently, its objective is to develop criteria that can be applied to selected cases, enabling an empirical analysis. Second, potential explanations for the revealed justice concepts are to be found.

Several points underline the scientific relevance of the thesis: by achieving its research objective, it substantially contributes to the scientific literature that has recently taken up the issue of justice within private governance. It uses a framework for the assessment of justice concepts introduced by Agni Kalfagianni and Frank Biermann. By adding another theoretical tradition and tailoring it to the context of private sustainability standard initiatives, it contributes to the further development of the framework and similarly creates a starting point for future research on the interface of private sustainability standards and justice. More specifically, by revealing potential explanations for the justice concepts of an initiative, this thesis builds foundations for future research, possibly of quantitative nature. Moreover, it adds to the on-going debate about the importance of justice concerns in relation to global governance (see Keohane, 2016; Klinsky & Dowlatabadi, 2009).

Societal relevance derives from revealing possibly differing justice concepts in the private governance context. Shortcomings or contradictions within the convictions of individual private sustainability standard initiatives can be disclosed, vested interests revealed and related implications discussed. This resembles a relevant first step that can help improve private governance in general and the work of sustainability standard initiatives in particular, in order to pave the way towards a just world.

The research objectives lead to the following research framework:

(a) By reviewing relevant scientific literature on theories of justice as well as scientific literature on private sustainability standard initiatives and certification, evaluation criteria will be derived and operationalized, in order to (b) empirically assess how selected standard initiatives frame justice. Simultaneously, (c) decisive characteristics of standard initiatives will be identified, which can provide possible explanations for the justice concept of a standard initiative. (d) The results will then be compared, similarities and differences will be discussed and trends identified. In a last step (e) conclusions will be drawn and implications for the practical context and scientific debate on global justice and private governance will be discussed. Figure 1 illustrates the research framework.

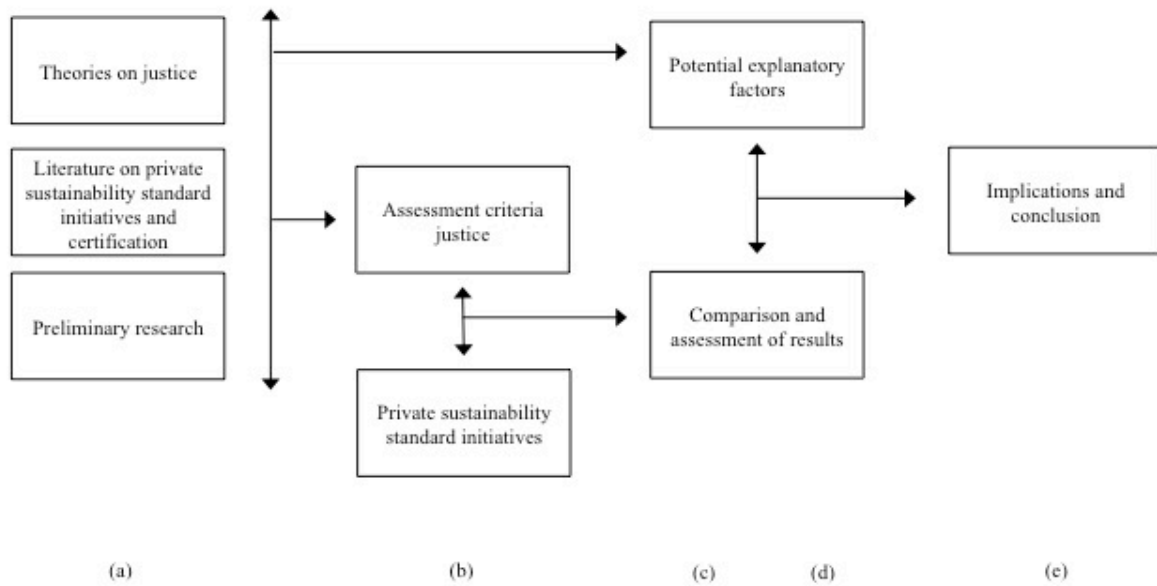


Figure 1. Research framework.

1.4 Readers guide

Including the introduction above, this thesis comprises nine chapters. The next section provides background knowledge on private sustainability standards and standard initiatives, plus a short overview of scientific literature dealing with private sustainability standards and questions of justice, equality and equity. Subsequently, chapter 3 introduces important justice theories, connects them to the context of private governance and arrives at the analytical framework of this research. Moreover, potential explanations for how justice is framed by a standard initiative are discussed and assumptions are formulated. Chapter 4 lays out the methodology of the research project. Chapter 5 elaborates on the results per case, followed by a case comparison in chapter 6. Afterwards, potential explanations for the respective justice concepts are discussed in chapter 7. Chapter 8 elaborates on limitations of the research project and its practical and theoretical implications, which is followed by a final conclusion in chapter 9.

2. Background

2.1 Private governance and private sustainability standards

Private governance concerns institutionalized forms of cooperation between different actors of the private sphere, operating at all levels of governance with the aim of reaching common objectives (Fuchs & Kalfagianni, 2012; Kalfagianni, 2014; Kalfagianni & Pattberg, 2013). Private governance can be seen as part of what some scholars term as earth system governance, i.e. “the sum of the formal and informal rule systems and actor-networks at all levels of human society that are set up in order to influence the co-evolution of human and natural systems in a way that secures the sustainable development of human society - that is, a development that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Biermann, 2007, p. 329). This thesis specifically focuses on *standards* as one form of private governance, more specifically on standards that aim at promoting sustainable development, i.e. sustainability standards.

A proliferation of private standards can be registered, particularly in the 90s. Scholars talk about an ‘explosive growth’ due to globalization and the lack of public regulation. Public regulation of global trade is challenging due to the complexity and radius of action across borders (Abbott & Snidal, 2009a). Developed states face difficulties in the capacity to regulate issues occurring in foreign jurisdictions. Additionally, political interest in regulating trade externalities abroad might be low and altruistic actions might seem too costly, considering the fact that those affected in developing countries are not potential voters. Moreover, “developed countries' legitimacy for unilaterally making international policy choices is questionable” and might lead to inappropriate decisions regarding standards and cultural norms (Abbott & Snidal, 2009a, p. 540). Developing countries, on the other hand, often lack the capability to effectively regulate trade in their own territory. Due to a ‘race to the bottom’ caused by international competition, they might even lack the willingness to regulate, considering the risk of reducing their international competitiveness. Even if laws are in place, monitoring and enforcement are often weak, which undermines the effectiveness of this regulation. Intergovernmental organizations aim at transnational regulation of issue areas related to global trade, however, in most cases they lack the authority to adopt mandatory rules. Furthermore, implementation and enforcement depend on member states, which can, however, choose to opt out of agreements or organizations. In response to the regulation gap resulting from the public sector’s lack of capacity or willingness to regulate, a new kind of international regulatory system is arising, which Abbott and Snidal call ‘transnational new governance’ (TNG) (Abbott & Snidal, 2009a). The special feature of TNG is the central role of private actors who aim to regulate global trade with a great number of innovative initiatives on the one hand, and the rather marginal role of the state on the other hand.

In this context, especially the number of private sustainability standards grew tremendously (Nadvi & Wältring, 2002). Nadvi & Wältring (2002) define five generations of sustainability standards and differentiate between codes of conducts, labels and standards: company-specific codes of conduct (1st generation), business-defined sector codes and labels (2nd generation), business-defined international standards (3rd generation), business and non-governmental organization (NGO) defined sector-specific codes and labels (4th generation), tripartite defined generic social standards (5th generation). The first, second and third generation of standards has been defined by business alone, the fourth by business and civil society actors, and the fifth by business, civil society as well as public stakeholders. Abbott & Snidal (2009) introduced a similar distinction of standards with their so-called governance triangle. The triangle is defined by the participation of three actors - the state, corporations and NGOs – which all set standards in diverse forms of cooperation. As Figure 2 illustrates, this leads to seven zones that

represent possible combinations of cooperation. Especially in the bottom an increase in standards is notable.

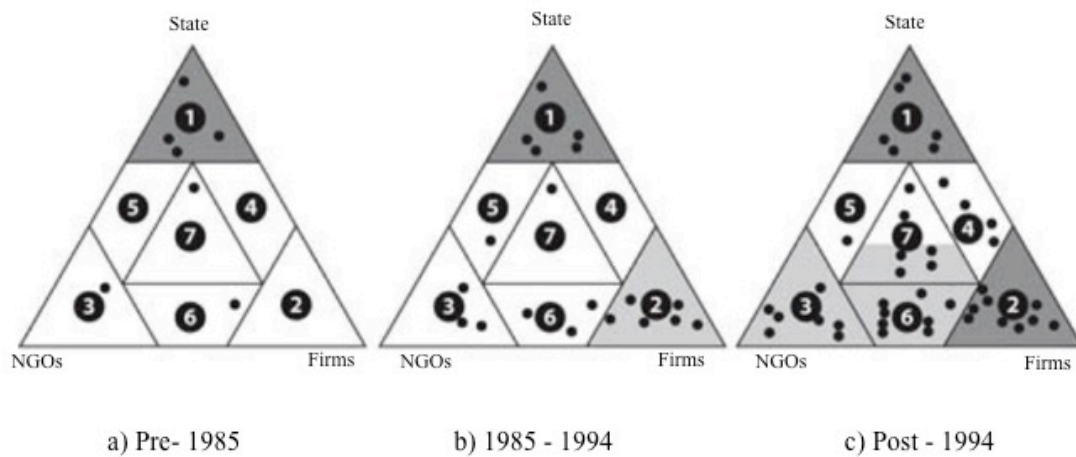


Figure 2. Evolution of the Governance Triangle (Abbott & Snidal, 2009b). *Adapted.*

Abbott & Snidal argue that standards are the products of bargaining between the various stakeholders that pursue their own interests and values, each equipped with different levels of power and capabilities. Furthermore, actors are not necessarily the same in the different stages of the regulatory process (agenda-setting, negotiation of standards, implementation, monitoring and enforcement). In a review of the sixteen most important standard initiatives, Potts et al. (2014) observe the different governance structures of the private sustainability standard initiatives (in the following also short ‘standard initiatives’). They remark that membership and the powers associated with membership, such as voting rights and decision-making powers, can have major impact on how a standard is governed. Figure 3 illustrates the stakeholders that are part of the respective board of the reviewed initiatives. Board representation by geographic location, i.e. developing and developed countries, also varies. Private sustainability standard initiatives also differ in relation to their revenue and annual budget. “Different revenue-generation models potentially offer different opportunities for pursuing sustainable development objectives and revenue sustainability” (Potts et al., 2014, p. 43). Figure 4 highlights benefits and pitfalls of different financial sources. According to the graph, the market-funded model is especially prone to conflicts of interests as well as to the pursuit of private interests at the cost of broader sustainability objectives.

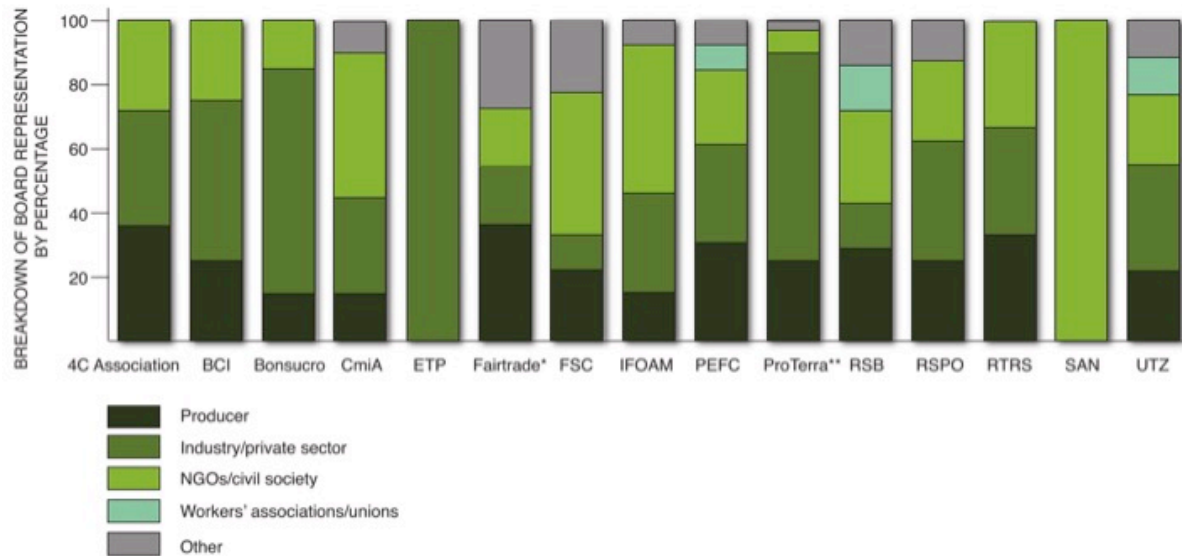


Figure 3. Board representation by stakeholder in supply chain (Potts et al., 2014, p. 60).

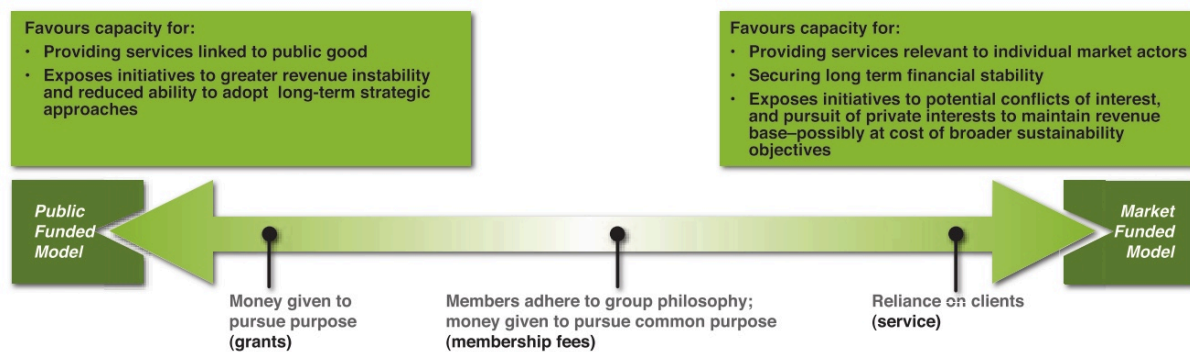


Figure 4. Potential impacts of different business models on the operational sustainability of initiatives (Potts et al., 2014, p. 43).

The organizations that initiate private sustainability standards aim at regulating a wide spectrum of activities in the global economy by creating rules, norms and standards (Büthe, 2010; Kalfagianni & Pattberg, 2013). These rules are voluntary and rely on market forces, although some scholars argue, that private standards by now resemble public hard law (Kalfagianni, 2014; Kalfagianni & Pattberg, 2013). The general idea of private sustainability standards is that through compliance with the standard criteria, production and consumption processes are improved, which ultimately results in contributions to a more sustainable world (Fuchs & Kalfagianni, 2012; ISEAL Alliance, 2012; Vermeulen, 2010). The rules required by a standard are often verified by a third party, independent from the standard setter and the party that gets certified. This form of certification is most credible and of growing importance (Nadvi & Wältring, 2002). Third-party certifications can be summarized as follows: suppliers must make sure that on-site procedures follow the guidelines prescribed by the standard. Audits take place on a regular basis, performed by independent auditors, who are in turn overseen by an accreditation body. In case of non-compliance, sanctions are imposed. Usually, producers themselves have to pay for certification and auditing, which has been subject to critique: fees are often seen as too high, especially for smallholders, and thus as an obstacle to enter the

‘sustainability market’ (Kalfagianni, 2014; Tellman, Gray, & Bacon, 2011). As an attempt to avoid such a barrier, some standards offer the possibility of group certification (Kalfagianni, 2014).

Among others, the following criteria can be found within sustainability standard requirements: a minimum floor price for commodities, minimum wage, advance credit or payments to producers, humane and safe working-conditions, establishment of democratic institutions and decision-making such as cooperatives, long-term relations and contracts and the promotion of environmental sustainability. Additionally, some sustainability standard initiatives offer financial and technical assistance and knowledge transfer to producers and workers (Besky, 2015; Moberg & Lyon, 2010; Robbins, 2013). Sustainability standards vary in their ambitiousness: some only eliminate worst practices; others have more and stricter criteria, certifying best practices. Another approach is to set minimum and progress criteria. The latter have to be met over time (Kalfagianni, 2014). Moreover, variance exists in the level of subsidiarity: some standards offer regional or localized indicator development and separate standards for smallholders (Potts et al., 2014). Three actor groups exist that are directly affected by private standards: rule-setters (actors that set the standards), rule-takers (those who have to comply with them) and rule-users (actors that use standards for decision-making). Apart from this, private standards indirectly affect a fourth actor group, comprising e.g. local communities (Kalfagianni, 2014).

Due to the rather uncoordinated proliferation of sustainability standards, many of them target similar issues within same sectors, bearing the issues of unnecessary duplication of efforts, the undermining of stringency, credibility and legitimacy of standards, as well as consumer and producer confusion or skepticism (Derx & Glasbergen, 2014). In this context, Abbott & Snidal (2009a) point out the need for orchestration of transnational new governance. They argue that states and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) should perform ‘directive and ‘facilitative’ orchestration to “strengthen high-quality private regulatory standards “ and “improve the international regulatory system” (Abbott & Snidal, 2009a, pp. 501–502). In contrast to this focus on *public* regulation, Derx & Glasbergen (2014) discuss *private* meta-governance, initiated by private sustainability standard initiatives, which is described as the ‘organization of self-organization’, aimed at “enhancing coordinated governance in a fragmented [regulatory] system based on a high degree of autonomy for a plurality of self-governing networks and institutions” (Sørensen, 2006, p. 100). Private meta-governance is concerned with the management of this plurality while aiming at achieving a certain degree of coherence within the governance of an issue area (Derx & Glasbergen, 2014). Various coalitions of private sustainability standard initiatives have evolved in order to explore opportunities of mutual learning, sharing of best practices, harmonization, cooperation and more. Some, for example target the issue of fair labor or focus on common standards for organic agriculture. The ISEAL Alliance is a prominent example of private meta-governance. It focuses on the development of procedural good practices, e.g. in the standard setting process, which ensure the credibility of a standard initiative (Derx & Glasbergen, 2014). Moreover, “by facilitating continuous interactions and coordinating various attempts at cooperation, ISEAL has contributed to the creation of a more cohesive voluntary standards movement” (ibid., p. 47). A special aspect of ISEAL is that its members do not target one particular issue area or sector, but that it comprises diverse standard initiatives with different foci.

2.2 Scientific literature focusing on the intersection of private standards and justice

Private sustainability standard initiatives and their respective standards have been subject to scientific debates and assessments, which is reflected in a plethora of scientific publications. The specific angle from which standards are studied varies. Little attention has been paid to the intersection of the two topics of private sustainability standards and justice. Often, studies do not specifically focus on justice, though on matters that are highly relevant for the topic. The outcomes of private sustainability standards are for example relevant for considerations of distributive justice or questions of legitimacy and accountability of standard initiatives germane in relation to procedural justice.

A great part of the literature focuses on fair trade², more specifically what it is about and which impacts it has on farmers and workers in developing countries. The movement dates back to the late 1940s, where the main focus lay on importing handicrafts from marginalized producers. It expanded in the 70s and 80s both in its geographical scope as well as in its commodity diversity (Robbins, 2013). Fair trade is aimed at creating “fair economic, social just and environmentally sustainable trade practices” (Robbins, 2013, p. 243) by establishing more direct links between producers and laborers from the Global South with consumers from the North. It is based on dialogue, transparency and respect (Moberg & Lyon, 2010). Interpretations of and views on fair trade are diverse. Fridell (2007) groups them into three broad perspectives on the basis of overlapping assumptions. The first one sees fair trade as a ‘shaped advantage’, assisting farmers in developing capabilities and infrastructure to enter global markets. The second depicts fair trade as an ‘alternative globalization’, which aims at including those who have formerly been excluded from the benefits of global trade. The third perspective sees fair trade as a form of ‘decommodification’ that bridges the gap between producers and consumers and replaces capitalist competition with values such as solidarity.

Scientific literature suggests that fair trade has positive impacts, increasing income of farmers and workers (Robbins, 2013) or strengthening “social capital, trust and self-esteem” as well as general well-being (Le Mare, 2008, p. 1933). Marginalized groups are empowered, and stable incomes and contracts lead to other positive outcomes such as investments into more environmentally sustainable production methods or rural development (Macdonald, 2007). However, critics point out that benefits are neither equally distributed nor enough to lift people out of poverty (Le Mare, 2008; Robbins, 2013). Besides, opinions on whether fair trade’s goals are actually met differ widely. Kill (2016), for example, sees certification as a measure that allows the center to keep up its metabolism by continuing to import commodities from the periphery at low costs. Kill further argues that - despite certification - wishes and land rights of local communities are violated. “Voluntary certification schemes have (inadvertently?) helped tilt the balance of power even further in favour of corporate interests for expansion” (Kill, 2016, p. 434). Similarly, Lyon (2010) states that fair trade failed to empower women and establish gender equity. Some scholars describe certification as a procedure that decides on a certain definition of acceptable practices (economic, agriculture, decision-making) and forces producers and workers in the Global South to adopt it, neglecting the difference and diversity of cultural and social contexts (Robbins, 2013; Wilson, 2010). Others scrutinize whether certification, a market-oriented solution and thus a neoliberal instrument, can solve the ills created by the market itself. They also express concerns about the co-optation of fair trade by corporations (Moberg & Lyon, 2010). In relation to establishing environmental sustainability, issues arise around the fairness of assigning the protection of soils, forests and biodiversity to farmers, that earn just enough to survive (Robbins, 2013).

² Meant here is the wider movement, not the organisation Fairtrade International.

Besky (2015) links the agricultural justice pursued by the fair trade movement with the concept of ‘abnormal justice’ coined by Nancy Fraser. Following Fraser, Besky argues that Fair Trade is built around two visions of justice: Fair Trade as a *market*, leading to equitable distribution through *redistribution*, and Fair Trade as a *movement*, where justice equals *recognition* and consequently the “inclusion of marginalised people and their ways of life in a global community of solidarity and interdependence “ (Besky, 2015, p. 1144). She criticizes how stakeholders of the Global North decide on who counts as a subject of agricultural justice and how they make justice claims on behalf of laborers around the world. The lack of representation (as a third dimension of justice according to Fraser) in transnational movements is pointed out. Besky concludes that in order to be transformational, alternative trade movements must “continue to engage—or perhaps revisit—questions of political belonging and exclusion. In short, they must engage production locales and their articulations with larger regional, national, and international scales” (Besky, 2015, p. 1157). In another paper, Besky (2008) explores the interplay of certification and state regulation. Certification criteria can complement domestic law, however, also contradict and undermine it, as she demonstrates on an example of a tea plantation in Darjeeling. Besky draws the conclusion that certification should pay greater attention to regulatory and institutional local contexts.

McDermott (2013) applies an equity framework to four different sustainability standard initiatives. Three points are especially noteworthy within the context of this research project. First, her findings point towards continuous power struggles between NGOs and corporate stakeholders with regards to governance of and influence within initiatives. Second, even for certification schemes with multi-stakeholder governance and decision-making, capacity to influence decision-making varies between those stakeholders (capacity of Southern small producers is rather small in comparison to Northern NGOs and corporations). Third, inequalities in trade might be reinforced, since there is a trend in the adoption of International Organization for Standardization (ISO) procedures by certification schemes, which favor corporate participation and thus interests.

Kalfagianni (2014) develops a framework with which she assesses the distributive outcomes of private standards from a human capabilities perspective and illuminates “to what extent private governance creates spaces and for whom to freely develop their capabilities in a global context” (Kalfagianni, 2014, p. 308). She therefore developed a list of capabilities, particularly relevant in the context of agrifood governance, including material capabilities, social and cultural capabilities, political and environmental capabilities. Results, listed in Table 1, show that the group benefitting most from private standards are the rule-setters. For the other actor groups results are ambiguous.

Table 1. A classification of consequences of private standards on human capabilities (Kalfagianni, 2014, p. 315).

Actor group	Environmental	Material	Social / cultural	Political
Rule-setters	Control over resources managed sustainably	Control over supply chains/ determining access to food	Legitimacy and authority	Greater autonomy from the state and broader civil society
Rule-takers	Access to resources managed sustainably (depending on compliance and implementation	Improved access to food on the basis of price premiums, access to export markets, and modernization of	Protection of labor rights, improved working conditions, preservation of cultural identity/ traditional	Access to standard-setting processes (in some cases) Access to redress procedures (but

	costs)	production	knowledge	with limitations due to lack of awareness)
		BUT	BUT	
		Constrained access to food because of high compliance and implementation costs	Only for formal labor Limited attention to gender concerns	
Rule-users	Access to products with demonstrated environmental quality (depending on affordability)	Improved access to food on the basis of informed choices	Expression of values and beliefs about food (depending on affordability)	Lack of access to standard-setting processes
		BUT		Voice expressed only on the basis of political consumerism
		Constrained access to food on the basis of budget limitations and plurality of labels and messages	BUT Shape of cultural values and beliefs in a 'standardized' manner	

Fuchs, Kalfagianni & Havinga (2011) examine private food retail governance initiatives on their democratic legitimacy, using the criteria of participation, transparency and accountability. Results point towards low legitimacy of the organizations. In terms of participation, their findings show that civil society actors and small producers, especially from the South, face limited access to decision-making, often due to the lack of resources or power asymmetries. With regards to transparency, multi-stakeholder initiatives tend to be more open and reliable in the provision of information, while retail dominated initiatives are less transparent. Lastly, accountability to the stakeholders affected by set standards is almost not existent in all of the examined cases. Moreover, the authors remark “private food standards primarily reflect the interests of retailers in minimizing the risk of scandals and marketing their products to Northern consumers. Therefore, the emphasis rests on food safety and traceability. Some environmental and worker welfare issues are included as well, as Northern consumers place increasing demands on retailers in this context” (Fuchs et al., 2011, p. 364). Due to the dominance of corporate interests, these issues are, however, only addressed in a selective manner, and strong focus on aspects such as food safety can serve to distract interest from other sustainability concerns.

3. Analytical Framework

This section provides a review of relevant scientific literature on justice. Based on these insights, an analytical framework was developed which can be applied to private sustainability standard initiatives in order to systematically analyze how they frame justice.

3.1 Justice

Justice, in general terms, concerns the question of how people can peacefully live together under the circumstance of each person having their own ideas about living a good life. Justice thus deals with “the fair balance of interests between people” (Wettstein, 2009, p. 26). How this balance can be accomplished is the core concern of principles of justice. Justice is inherently intersubjective, it concerns the relationship between people and is determined by a “moral claim of one person and a corresponding obligation of the other” (Wettstein, 2009, p. 26). What constitutes justice and how justice can be achieved has been discussed by numerous scholars for many centuries. Debates about justice are located within various schools of thought such as *utilitarianism*, with representatives as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, *libertarianism*, advocated by August van Hayek or Robert Nozick and *liberal egalitarianism* with its most prominent proponent John Rawls. Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen define justice from a *human capabilities* approach.

Justice can be divided into three dimensions: distributive justice, procedural justice and contextual justice (McDermott, Mahanty, & Schreckenberg, 2013). Distributive justice is preoccupied with how benefits and burdens in society are i.e. should be distributed. Theories within this dimension can be further divided into consequence-based or rule-based theories. Procedural justice is concerned with the fairness of “political processes that allocate resources and resolve disputes” and focuses on “recognition, inclusion, representation and participation in decision-making”, thereby examining roots and processes of injustice (McDermott et al., 2013, p. 418-419). Contextual justice argues that it is important to see and study justice in the social and cultural context.

Justice is not only subject to the scientific discourse, but also has found entry to the international political stage, a ‘justice turn’ in political discourse is observable (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016). With the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, equality and justice found their way into high level intergovernmental discourse, which culminated in several Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that directly include endeavors to end inequalities (United Nations, n.d.). Many scholars agree on the idea that normative issues in world politics must be high on the agenda, and global justice concerns are essential in earth system governance research.

Correspondingly, McDermott, Mahanty & Schreckenberg (2013) developed a framework, which can be used to evaluate equity within the context of governance and specific policy instruments. They suggest to examine equity by the use of three dimensions across which equity can be framed, namely a procedural, contextual and distributive dimension, and further, by different variables which shape these dimensions: who counts as target of equity, what are the goals of equity and how are the parameters concerning content, target and aims of equity set. The framework has been applied to payments for ecosystem services and to private standards across several sectors (C.McDermott, 2013; M. McDermott et al., 2013). The framework considers the mere act of framing equity a subject for analysis and is evidentially applicable to private governance, hence it could be seen as an interesting first point of reference for this research. However, the framework concerns the concept of equity,

which is narrower than the concept of justice. Therefore, it is argued to be inadequate for an in depth analysis of justice concepts, which this thesis pursued.

3.2 Justice framework of Biermann & Kalfagianni

Biermann & Kalfagianni (2016, p. 1) point out the importance to “carefully scrutinize the underlying conceptualization of justice in any program, institution or scenario-building process that aspires to work towards more just societies”. In their view, the scientific debate was lacking a tool, which would allow structured and comparable inquiry of the justice discourse. They thus developed a framework that specifically aims at enabling research that contributes to a better understanding of different interpretations and conceptualizations of justice in the context of global change, by providing more structure, clarity and simplicity for analysis.

The framework makes use of five normative approaches - liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, libertarianism, capabilities approach and critical approaches – and focuses on three key concerns of global justice – the subjects of justice and their relationship, the metrics and principles of justice, and the mechanisms on the basis of which justice is pursued. The framework seems highly suited for the purpose of this thesis and was thus used for systematically mapping out how justice is framed by private sustainability standard initiatives as well as for comparing differences and similarities in a subsequent step. However, Biermann & Kalfagianni did not include utilitarianism, which is seen as a shortcoming. The approach still flourishes within philosophical ethics (Crisp, 2014), it is thus relevant to include. Moreover, utilitarianism comprises some assumptions, that seem particularly pertinent if issues related to sustainable development are the research focus: it does for example include human beings to be born in the future as subjects of justice or promotes environmental conservation by ascribing nature instrumental value (Singer, 2011). Against the background that “normative economics is firmly rooted in consequentialist ethics” (Konow, 2003, p. 1200) and this thesis deals with standards regulating socio-economic interactions, its inclusion seems even more important. Consequently, the framework was extended to *utilitarianism*.

Hereafter, the five justice approaches will be outlined along the three dimensions. As the framework was applied to private governance, the operationalization had to be adjusted to this context. To enable this in a sophisticated way, this work is based on Biermann & Kalfagianni's (2016) work, following the basic structure of their framework, while it was also enriched with some additionally important first-hand insights and details from the respective justice theories. Utilitarianism was added as a sixth approach, also in line with the framework's design. Implications for the context of private sustainability standard initiatives are mentioned after each paragraph on subjects, principles and mechanisms of justice of the respective justice approaches.

3.2.1 Liberal Egalitarianism

Liberal egalitarianism combines the values of equality, personal freedom and personal responsibility (Cappelen & Tungodden, 2006). John Rawls as its most influential proponent of the 21. Century focuses on the ‘basic structure of society’. He emphasizes the role of political, social and economic institutions that distribute benefits and burdens between a society's citizens (Rawls, 1993). Citizens are arbitrarily born into a society, and thus face arbitrariness in social positions, i.e. opportunities and life expectations. Justice is concerned with how institutions correct for this arbitrariness in order to provide equality of opportunity (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016).

3.2.1.1 Subjects of Justice

Subjects of Justice are defined on the basis of shared nationality and citizenship. Citizens are seen as free, equal and reasonable persons that want to engage in a fair cooperation of mutual advantage (Rawls, 1993). Cooperation takes place in a territorially defined society, grounded on egalitarian principles of justice. Borders hence matter (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016). On a global scale, justice concerns the system of multiple ‘just societies’, which according to Rawls ideally are ‘liberal’ and ‘decent’ peoples (Martin, 2015). Rawls locates the reason of global injustice in the internal structure of ‘burdened societies’, living under unfavorable conditions, and not in the structure of the international political economy (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016).

Applied to the topic of standard initiatives, this implies that private sustainability standard initiatives - taking a liberal egalitarian view of justice - see stakeholders as embedded in their national or community context. Interactions are based on this fact. Thus, subjects of justice are defined on the basis of citizenship. Additionally, standard initiatives point towards nation states that are primarily responsible for securing justice, by adopting and effectively enforcing law.

3.2.1.2 Metrics and Principles of Justice

Rawls suggests two principles of justice: the first guarantees each person an equal right to a “fully adequate scheme of equal basic rights and liberties” (Rawls, 1993, p. 51). The second specifies the conditions under which socio-economic inequalities are acceptable: they must be attached to positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity (the ‘fair equality of opportunity principle’), and they must benefit the least advantaged of society (known as the ‘difference principle’) (Rawls, 1993, p. 51). Liberal egalitarianism thus pursues a maximum of liberty and equality, including an equal distribution of social primary goods, and only accepts inequality under the above stated conditions (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016).

Rawls rejects the idea of a global difference principle and global equality of opportunity (Rawls, 2001). Pursuing the principles on a global scale would imply imposing liberal values on peoples that do not share them, which would actually resemble a violation of liberal values. However, Rawls states that a global structure – a system of multiple ‘just societies’, is desirable, where human rights are honored and secured (Rawls, 2001).

This implies that the private sustainability standard initiatives endorse maximum possible liberty and equality between supply chain actors. Inequality, more specifically unequal benefits resulting from a standard along the supply chain (*within a country*) are only accepted, if this benefits the least advantaged, e.g. poor, marginalized farmers or workers. Benefits resulting from private standards, such as income and wealth, should be equal for actors located in the same country. Unequal benefits, such as higher financial profits, can only be tolerated, when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work.

3.2.1.3 Mechanisms of Justice

The creation of a welfare state is often associated with the principles of liberal egalitarianism. A welfare state would be responsible for the socio-economic wellbeing of citizens and ensure access to health care, education and the social security system. According to Rawls, however, the state should

not only provide assistance to those who are worse off, but enable “all its citizens to be able to manage their own affairs” (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016, p. 12). In addition, Rawls sets strong emphasis on social cooperation, which is based on fair terms and “recognized rules and procedures which those who are cooperating accept and regard as properly regulating their conduct” (Rawls, 1993, p.54). Moreover, participants must benefit in an appropriate way (Rawls, 1993, p. 54).

As already stated, for Rawls the difference principle is not valid on a global scale. He specifies international relations in the ‘charter of the Law of Peoples’. The charter includes the obligation of peoples to honor human rights and further declares that “peoples have a duty to assist other peoples living under unfavorable conditions that prevent their having a just or decent political and social regime” (Rawls, 2001, p. 37). The aim is to help burdened societies to become well ordered, decent and self-supporting (Martin, 2015). Martin (2015) argues that such assistance could most likely take the form of education and skill development. Whereas individuals are the beneficiaries of the former duty, “a somewhat more corporate entity, the burdened society themselves” is the beneficiary of the latter (Martin, 2015, p. 747). The duty to assist is satisfied, once a burdened society has a “working liberal or decent government” (Rawls, 2001, p. 114), meaning that political and economic institutional capacity and human capital of a state are sufficient enough that it is able to reasonably manage its own affairs (Martin, 2015).

Consequently, giving people the opportunity to manage their own affairs is top priority for a standard initiative endorsing liberal egalitarian ideas. Thereby, focus lies on particularly disadvantaged groups of the supply chain, such as smallholders. Furthermore, the rules regulating the interactions of supply chain actors are only valid, if the people who are cooperating accept them as right. Despite its own role in establishing justice, the standard initiative nevertheless sees government regulation as indispensable for securing the socio-economic well-being of citizens. Accordingly, certification is not needed anymore, when legislation and effective enforcement are in place, which regulate production and international trade.

3.2.2 Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism sees the world as one community of human beings, disregarding any socio-economic differences. Cosmopolitan approaches can be divided into relational and non-relational approaches. Non-relational approaches base their argumentation for global justice on concepts of dignity or humanity. Relational approaches focus on the way individuals are connected through certain structures, such as the global economy or shared institutions (Armstrong, 2012). The latter basically expand the liberal egalitarian doctrine to the global level and focuses on the global terms of interaction. Relational cosmopolitans assume that global interactions and institutions, especially market institutions, create interdependencies and thus are responsible for an unequal distribution of burdens and benefits (Moellendorf, 2009a; Pogge, 2001). Aim of this approach is to define what a fair global distribution would look like (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016). Among the most influential and prominent cosmopolitans are Thomas Pogge, Darrel Moellendorf, Simon Caney, Charles Beitz and Gillian Brock.

3.2.2.1 Subjects of Justice

Pogge argues “every human being has a global stature as the ultimate unit of moral concern” (Pogge, 2002, p. 169). Similarly, Moellendorf states that it is crucial to take “each person as an equal possessor

of human dignity” (Moellendorf, 2009a, p. 1133). As stated above, cosmopolitans highlight the existence of multiple global structures and interdependence between people and nations, which result in a variety of subjects (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016). Consequently, borders do not matter. Pogge (1994) even underlines their historical arbitrariness. Subjects are related by moral obligations towards each other (Brock, 2009). According to Pogge (2001), rich countries have a positive duty to protect people in poorer countries from great harms. Moreover, he states that the current economic order distributes burdens and benefits to the advantage of rich and developed countries, which were the ones who established it in the first place. By establishing and maintaining this order, rich countries cause harm to the world’s poorest populations. Consequently, rich countries have a negative duty to “stop imposing the existing global order” (Pogge, 2001, p. 22).

Taking this standpoint, standard initiatives view all actors along a supply chain as interconnected and having moral obligations towards each other. This is especially true for people from developed countries: they are responsible for some of the disadvantages people face in poor countries and are thus obliged to assist.

3.2.2.2 Metrics and Principles of Justice

Many cosmopolitans base their considerations on John Rawls’ work and agree on the general principles of liberal egalitarianism. However, they extend it to the global level, arguing that the same reasoning that justifies their endorsement on a national level is valid for the global case. Consequently, they advocate a global difference principle and global equality of opportunities (Beitz, 2005; Brock, 2009; Caney, 2001; Moellendorf, 2009a; Pogge, 1994). So should global inequalities only be just, when they benefit the least advantaged of the world. Referring to the original position in Rawls’ theory, Moellendorf (2009a) argues that people under the veil of ignorance would choose global principles of egalitarian distributive justice. He further states “human rights are equal rights for all. Equal treatment under common institutions is required” (Moellendorf, 2009a, p. 1133). Others, such as Brock (2009), favor a needs-based minimum floor principle. Brock states that randomly selected people who were to decide on fair principles for global interaction would choose a minimum set of protections and basic liberties. According to her, there are four indicators to monitor the realization of global justice: “(1) all are enabled to meet their basic needs; (2) people’s basic liberties are protected; (3) there are fair terms of cooperation in global institutions; and (4) social and political arrangements are in place that support 1-3” (Brock, 2009, p. 119).

Thus, a cosmopolitan thinking standard initiative promotes just and fair interactions between supply chain actors. Human rights are highly valued and protected. The initiative wants to ensure that supply chain actors are able to meet their basic needs and that their basic liberties are protected. Unequal trade benefits (as e.g. percentages of profit) along the global supply chain are only accepted, if this benefits the least advantaged.

3.2.2.3 Mechanisms of Justice

For cosmopolitans, global redistribution of resources is a key mechanism to achieve global justice and to “support the needs of the poorest within and among countries” (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016, p. 13). Thus, cosmopolitans call for a reform of the current global institutional structure (Moellendorf, 2009a). Some proposals are more concrete, such as the global resource dividend in form of a tax (GRT) suggested by Pogge, which would require a country to pay a tax on any resource it chooses to

extract (Pogge, 1994). This would lead to higher prices for the resource, as e.g. crude oil or minerals, so that the burden of the tax would not only be borne by the owners or extractors, but also by the country or stakeholder that buys the resource. It is based on the assumption, that everybody, also the poor, have a stake in global resources. The money raised by the tax should then be used to the benefit of the poor (Pogge, 1994). Pogge states, that already 1% GRT would create revenues high enough to make a difference and eradicate at least severe forms of poverty. Similar suggestions include a tax on global financial transactions and a progressive global income tax (Moellendorf, 2009b).

Accordingly, a standard initiative takes the position that redistribution between supply chain actors is the best mechanism to establish justice, which is achieved by consumers paying a higher price for certified products and thus financing higher wages or premiums for producers and workers. In addition, trans- and international cooperation is necessary to establish further reaching redistributive measures and policies, which are to the benefit of the global poor.

3.2.3 Capabilities Approach

The Capabilities Approach focuses on how institutions influence the opportunities a person has in life. Accordingly, institutions should provide people with a set of capabilities that enable them to lead a valuable life. Capabilities are seen as a kind of freedom, since the individual herself can choose which capabilities she realizes. Hence, free choice and self-determination are highly cherished (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). The approach is pluralist about values, highlighting the multiple dimensions in human life, by arguing that “the capability achievements that are central for people are different in quality, not just in quantity” (Nussbaum, 2011, pp. 18–19). Central authors of the approach are Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen.

3.2.3.1 Subjects of justice

Subjects of justice are defined on “individual personhood, understood as common distinguishing features of humanity” (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016, p. 8). Sen stresses the agency approach in his version of the capabilities approach and sees the individual as a member of the public, engaging in economic, social and political actions (Sen, 1999). Moreover, a person is seen as an end and should not be used as a means to the capabilities of other people (Nussbaum, 2011). According to Nussbaum (2011), people are connected across borders through the global economy and have thus responsibility towards each other. Additionally, she states that also animals can suffer pain and injustices.

Taking this standpoint, a private standard initiative argues that each actor along the supply chain is an individual with dignity that must be respected. Each individual has own characteristics and capabilities and is embedded in differing contexts and communities. This context sets the parameters of a person’s needs and obligations, and is therefore the basis for interaction between the actor and the standard initiative.

3.2.3.2 Metrics and Principles of Justice

The capabilities approach argues that justice contains the enabling of people to have a good life by fully developing their capabilities. It is about providing people with a set of opportunities or substantial freedoms. Capabilities are comprised of different functionings, that “express the real possibilities of choices that people have” (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016, p. 10). Functionings are

things that an individual might value to do or to be. “A person’s “capability” refers to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for her to achieve. Capability is thus a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations” (Sen, 1999, p. 75). The freedom to select which capabilities a person wants to realize is of utter importance (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). Nussbaum argues, that justice requires a minimum of capabilities to enable people to lead a life in dignity. She therefore suggests a list of ten central capabilities, that each person should hold: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, control over ones environment (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 33). Nussbaum acknowledges, that according to her version of the approach, not all distributional problems are solved, it rather specifies a social minimum. Nevertheless, she sees equality as indispensable in some cases, e.g. in the case of equal voting rights or equal rights to religious freedom (Nussbaum, 2011). Wolff and De-Shalit point out the existence of fertile functionings and corrosive disadvantages. Fertile functionings are highly valuable, since they promote other capabilities. A corrosive disadvantage, in contrast, depicts a deprivation that has large (negative) impacts on other areas. Especially education and access to credit and health care are discussed as fertile functionings, although it is important to note that fertile functionings are seen as context dependent and thus as varying (Nussbaum, 2011). This is in line with Sen’s viewpoint, that the more freedom a person has, the more she is able to help herself (Sen, 1999). Important to mention here is that income or economic wealth, although acknowledged to be essential, is not seen as a good proxy of capabilities, but only as a means to the end of creating capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). The approach mainly focuses on capabilities provided within a nation state, however it seems “insupportable that basic opportunities should be grossly affected by the luck of being born in one nation rather than another” (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 115). Richer states thus are under obligation to help poorer nations in providing central capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011). Beyond that, Nussbaum’s approach ascribes nature instrumental value, since people have meaningful relationships with their natural environment. Furthermore, a healthy environment is in certain cases prerequisite for enabling the capabilities Nussbaum sees as central for a dignified life (e.g. bodily health). This provides the basis for deriving a responsibility to nature preservation. Some authors call for an extension of the capabilities approach, to further specify on necessary environmental conditions and obligatory nature conservation, for example Holland (2008), who suggests sustainable ecological capacity as a central human functional capability.

Applied to private standard initiatives this means that all actors along a supply chain must be able to live a self-determined good life. Therefore, people must hold central capabilities. Nature must be preserved in those cases, where degradation would restrict human capabilities.

3.2.3.3 Mechanisms of Justice

Nussbaum points out the nation state as the starting point for achieving justice, since “it has moral importance” (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 113). Thus, especially governments and public policies are responsible for providing people with capabilities. At a global scale, institutions should coordinate efforts (of rich countries) to assist poorer countries in providing capabilities. Nussbaum rejects a world government, but rather argues for global institutions that are thin and decentralized, responsive to changing conditions of the world. She mentions the important role of nation states and advocates for a network of international treaties. Moreover, she highlights the responsibility of corporations and NGOs to promote capabilities in the regions they operate (Nussbaum, 2011). Sen highlights the importance of democracy, including processes such as participation, as “the only mechanism that can help assessing the demands of justice on the basis of public reasoning” (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016, p. 14). Wolff and De-Shalit point out, not only providing capabilities but capability security is

crucial, i.e. giving people capabilities with the knowledge that they can count on them in the future (Nussbaum, 2011).

For private standard initiatives endorsing the capabilities approach this implies that providing assistance for supply chain actors to develop their capabilities is crucial, best in form of education, financial (including access to credit) and technical assistance. Long-term relationships between the producers and the standard initiative (or buyers) are important and giving producers and workers capability security is essential. Assistance must be tailored to the actors' needs. Self-determination of producers is respected. In addition to the standard initiative's work, thin, decentralized and adaptable global institutions and a flexible network of international treaties are promoted, since they will be beneficial in assisting the global poor.

3.2.4 Libertarianism

Libertarians emphasize the importance of the rights of liberty, property and free exchange. They favor a minimal state and strongly focus on the merits of global free trade (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016). In their framework, Biermann & Kalfagianni (2016) mainly draw on the work of Robert Nozick, political programs of modern libertarian parties and think-tanks as the Cato Institute. Given his large influence in libertarian thinking, this thesis will also use Nozick's work as a basis of outlining libertarianism. It will be complemented with modern insights from the Cato Institute, since its work seems suitable and applicable for the topic of private sustainability standards. Libertarianism can be associated with the predominant neoliberal paradigm in contemporary economic and political spheres. In this context, libertarianism can be described as most 'conventional' in comparison to the other justice theories in so far as it supports hegemonic socio-economic structures and does not work towards major change.

3.2.4.1 Subjects of Justice

Subjects are defined based on the individual and her liberty and property rights. The individual is not linked to a certain social entity, thus borders do not matter. Persons are united across borders through global economic interactions, not through solidarity (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016; Nozick, 1974).

Taking a libertarian viewpoint, a standard initiative would argue that actors along the supply chain are entitled to freedom and ownership. They are connected through a global free market. Solidarity is only secondary.

3.2.4.2 Metrics and Principles of Justice

Nozick's (1974) idea of justice is based on three principles: the principle of justice in acquisition, the principle of justice in transfer and the principle of rectification. In short it means that a person who lawfully acquires a good in accordance with the first principle or with the second (from someone who is entitled to the holding) is entitled to the good. "The complete principle of distributive justice would say simply, that a distribution is just if everyone is entitled to the holdings they possess under the distribution" (Nozick, 1974, p. 151). Nozick further argues that "whatever arises from a just situation by just steps is itself just" (Nozick, 1974, p. 151). However, justice in holdings is historical, so if a holding was acquired by e.g. fraud or theft in the past, the owner has no claim on it. The principle of

rectification accounts for that and aims at realizing just distribution of goods, according to the historical situation, i.e. original acquisition of holdings (Nozick, 1974). Nozick's arguments are based on the notion of *absolute* property rights, which makes its concept of liberty incompatible with equality (Farrelly, 2004). He further elaborates on moral side constraints, highlighting that individuals are ends and not only means, which implies that "they may not be sacrificed or used for the achieving of other ends without their consent" (Nozick, 1974, p. 31). Consequently, libertarianism endorses a minimal state. Redistribution, as e.g. in form of taxes, is rejected and seen as violating liberty and property rights of the individual. Nozick even describes it as a form of coercion and forced labor (Nozick, 1974, p. 169).

Accordingly, for a standard initiative the protection of civil liberties of all stakeholders along a supply chain is key. Free global markets resemble justice and will lead to justice.

3.2.4.3 Mechanisms of Justice

As already mentioned, redistribution mechanisms imposed by the state are completely rejected (CATO Institute, n.d.-b; Nozick, 1974). Justice is reached through securing the rule of law and protecting private property rights. Moreover, economic freedom, free markets and dismantling trade barriers will lead to justice and prosperity (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016; CATO Institute, n.d.-a). Since voluntary agreement "is the gold standard of human relationships" (CATO Institute, n.d.-b), any help for poorer individuals or countries must be based on the voluntary decision of the benefactor. Thus, binding trade standards imposed by governments are rejected (Griswold, 1997). Voluntary standards, however, are based on the consenting interactions of persons. They work *with the market forces*, and can create a market advantage for suppliers. Consequently, from a libertarian perspective, they are a valid form of economic exchange, with the possible effect of improving environmental and social conditions (Lindsey, 2003, 2006).

Applied to the context of private sustainability standards, it can be argued that certification, instead of coercive state regulation, will lead to justice, since it is a voluntary market mechanism.

3.2.5 Critical perspectives

This category of Biermann & Kalfagianni's (2016) framework comprises intellectual traditions that draw on feminism and Marxism. Emphasis lies on structural conditions that create injustice, for example through misrecognition because of social status or identity, misrepresentation and maldistribution of economic benefits and burdens (Biermann & Kalfagianni, 2016). Biermann & Kalfagianni base their elaboration and analysis on the work of Nancy Fraser. Since Fraser's work seems relevant and applicable in the context of private sustainability standards, this thesis will as well draw on her line of thought. Critical perspectives are most transformational in comparison to the other justice theories included in the framework, since realizing their principles would substantially alter current socio-economic structures and thus challenge hegemonic powers.

3.2.5.1 Subjects of justice

In contrast to the justice theories covered before, subjects are not defined on the basis of citizenship or the possession of personhood, nor on the basis of interdependence. Instead, Fraser argues for a *all-*

subjected principle: it is “their joint subjection to a structure of governance, which sets the ground rules that govern their interaction” what turns people into fellow subjects of justice (Fraser, 2008, p. 211). This definition does not only include the governance structures of states, but also non-state institutions that structure social interaction.

Accordingly, a standard initiative taking a critical perspective would argue that actors along a supply chain are subjected to societal structures on a community, state or global level such as global trade, gender or capitalism.

3.2.5.2 Metrics and Principles of Justice

Fraser defines justice as participatory parity, which requires “social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life” (Fraser, 2005, p. 73). Participatory parity has a double quality. Seen as an outcome notion it is a principle by which social arrangements can be evaluated and as a process notion it sets a procedural standard which allows to evaluate the democratic legitimacy of norms (Fraser, 2005). Obstacles to participatory parity can emerge on three dimensions, the economic, cultural and political dimension. When economic structures, property rights regimes and labor markets hinder people to fully participate in social life, then they suffer from distributive injustice or *maldistribution*. People suffer from status inequality or *misrecognition* when institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value deny them the necessary standing that allows them to participate in social interaction. Finally, *misrepresentation* takes place, when decision rules and/or political boundaries are responsible for depriving people of their possibility to participate in social interaction (Fraser, 2005). ‘Ordinary political misrepresentation’ occurs when decision-making rules hinder people to participate fully and thus cause first-order injustices. A deeper form of misrepresentation, ‘misframing’, takes place, when boundaries are drawn in such a way that some people are wrongly excluded from a community they would formally be included. It additionally implies their inability to challenge their exclusion. This results in second-order injustices (Fraser, 2005). A third-order kind of political injustice at the meta-political level, ‘meta-political misrepresentation’, arises according to Fraser (2005, p. 85) “when states and transnational elites monopolize the activity of frame-setting, denying voice to those who may be harmed in the process, and blocking creation of democratic arenas where the latter’s claims can be vetted and redressed.”

Applied to standard initiatives, this means that participatory parity for all actors along a supply chain in all dimensions of life - economic, cultural and political - is a prerequisite for justice. It implies, that supply chain actors, subjected to the structures and work of a standard initiative, must be able to participate in the decision-making of the initiative.

3.2.5.3 Mechanisms of Justice

To achieve justice, Fraser calls for a “politics aimed at overcoming subordination by establishing the misrecognized party as a full member of society, capable of participating on a par with the rest” (Fraser, 2000, p. 113). Dismantling obstacles that hinder people from participation (as described in the paragraph above) is key. Current global institutions cannot achieve this and do not fulfill the standards of participatory parity. Thus, new global democratic institutions are necessary, which fulfill the principle of participatory parity and which are able to come to binding decisions. Additionally, these institutions must be in constant dialogue with transnational civil society, resulting in a dialogical process of overcoming injustice (Fraser, 2008).

In the context of private sustainability standards this implies that removing institutionalized obstacles in society, which hinder people from participating, will facilitate justice, i.e. maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation must be tackled. Thus, programs and projects that e.g. help stakeholders access the global market, promote gender equality and empowerment of women or marginalized smallholders are essential. A standard initiative should be governed in a democratic way, including all subjected; creating participatory parity for all stakeholders along a supply chain is both a major goal as well as a means in reaching justice.

3.2.6 Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism is a long-standing approach to ethics that influenced many scholars since it was first introduced to the public in the early 19th Century. It is part of the broader family of consequentialist theories, within which an act is judged by its consequences, not by the act itself. According to classical utilitarianism, an act is morally right if it produces the maximum of possible pleasure or happiness in the world, i.e. the best balance of good over bad (Konow, 2003). Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and Henry Sidgwick count as classical utilitarians (Crisp, 2014). Jeremy Bentham first coined the approach in 1781 and published his work in 1802, on which both Mill and Sidgwick built on (Bailey, 1997). As all three scholars were hedonists, they understood well-being in the sense of pleasure and happiness, and the avoidance of pain (Crisp, 2014). While Bentham thought that there was “either a single dimension of aggregate hedonic satisfaction or (arguably) two dimensions of pleasure and pain“, Mill differentiated and argued, that there are various dimensions of pleasure which vary from person to person (Bailey, 1997, p. 6). What constitutes utility, i.e. well-being was subject to debate, contemporary utilitarians often see it in a broader way and hedonism is not a necessary component of the theory anymore (Bailey, 1997). Utilitarianism comprises many versions, among the best-known act- and rule-utilitarianism. According to act-utilitarianism an act is morally right “if and only if it results in at least as much overall well-being as any act the agent could have performed” (Eggleston, 2014, p. 125). Rule-utilitarianism, on the other hand, holds that the evaluation of an act is based on a two-stage process (Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017). Accordingly, acts are morally right if they are in compliance with a justified moral rule. The moral rule is justified, by demonstrating that its internalization by the majority of the people would result in the best outcome, thus satisfying a utilitarian criterion (Eggleston, 2014; Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017). A modern and recently increasingly debated form of utilitarianism is preference utilitarianism. Preference utilitarianism holds, in contrast to act- and rule-utilitarianism, that not pleasure and pain, i.e. happiness and misery, are the base for judging the moral rightness of an act, but the satisfaction of preferences of those actors affected by an act (Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017). It hence requires actors to make a decision on an act not only on the basis of their own preferences, but also the preferences of the actors that would be affected by the act, which will ultimately increase overall well-being (Singer, 2011). Utilitarianism faces a lot of criticism, especially for the implied sacrifices that one would have to make for reaching the greatest aggregate well-being in certain situations (Bailey, 1997). Other objections are the potential problems of oppressed minorities or oppressed majorities. Moreover, critics say utilitarianism would lead to moral alienation, i.e. being indifferent to one’s own fates as well as to the fates of family and friends (Bailey, 1997).

Peter Singer is a well-known proponent of preference utilitarianism³. With his work Singer addresses some of the objections to utilitarianism mentioned above, but also triggers controversial debates about issues such as euthanasia, animal equality and alleviating poverty. In 2005 the *Time* magazine named Singer one of the 100 most influential people in the world (Time Magazine, 2016). Since his writings are written in a clear, understandable way and give moral practical guidance for everyday behavior, he inspired many people to change their life (see Singer, 2013). Particularly interesting in relation to planetary justice is how Singer argues that preservation of nature is obligatory, even from a human centered morality as point of departure (Singer, 2011). Recognizing his large influence on ethics and utilitarianism, as well as the practicality of his work, this thesis will build on his work for extending Biermann`s & Kalfagianni`s (2016) framework.

3.2.6.1 Subjects of Justice

For Peter Singer all humans are equal. He builds on Bentham`s view that ‘each counts for one and none for more than one’ (Singer, 2011). This means that a person`s own needs cannot count more than the needs of another person. Singer argues that when thinking and acting ethically one has to take into account the preferences of all those who are affected by one`s act (Singer, 2011). Borders and nationality hence do not matter. By claiming that “an interest is an interest, whoever`s interest it may be” (Singer, 2011, p. 20) Singer includes the interests of beings to be born in the future. Beyond that, not only *human* beings count as subjects of justice. This is based on the argumentation that the capacity for suffering and enjoying things is the prerequisite for having interests. Some non-human beings can feel pleasure and pain, consequently their interests must be considered (Singer, 2011).

Applied to private sustainability standard initiatives, this means that all actors along a supply chain are equal and must take into account and respect the preferences of other actors of the same supply chain, when their actions affect these actors.

3.2.6.2 Metrics and Principles of Justice

As already stated, Singer promotes preference utilitarianism. Unlike the classical versions of Bentham, Mill and Sidgwick, it does not build on hedonism, but instead focuses on the *preferences* of people (or other sentient-beings). Preference utilitarianism builds on one principle as main principle of justice: the principle of equal consideration of interests. It implies that “we give equal weight in our moral deliberations to the like interests of all those affected by our actions” (Singer, 2011, p. 20), except for situations where sound ethical ground for doing otherwise exists.

Just as classical utilitarianism, it seeks to maximize well-being, however, well-being understood in terms of “the maximal satisfaction of our weighed preferences, where the weighting is in accordance with their strength” (Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017, p. 47). This means one should act in a way that maximizes the chance of everyone`s preference being satisfied, i.e. preferences of those affected by an act ought to be balanced. To do so, preference utilitarianism asks to take on the preferences of others, imagining being in their position, or taking on the view of an impartial spectator. The preferences that

³ Although Singer admitted in a Podcast in 2013, that he started doubting to be a perfect preference utilitarian. Apparently, he commenced thinking that it might be true that the states of consciousness is what is ultimately valuable in the world, in an objective sense, which would put him more in the line of thinking of Sidgwick (NYC Sceptics, 2013). However, this thesis will treat Singer still as a preference utilitarian, since his main work is based on this utilitarian tradition.

should be counted then are those that a person would have if she would be fully informed and thinking clearly (Singer, 2011). Singer describes the principle of equal consideration of interest as a pair of scales, which weighs preferences impartially. Consequently, actions are morally right, where they satisfy the strongest interest or where several preferences outweigh a smaller number of preferences, irrespective of whose preference it is (Singer, 2011). An example: a guide dog for an American blind person, including training of the dog and for the person, costs around 40.000 Dollars. With the same 40.000 Dollars, up to 2000 blind persons suffering from trachoma can be cured in developing countries. From a preference utilitarian perspective, the money ought to be used for the latter since the preferences of the blind people in developing countries outnumber the preferences of the American blind person (Singer, 2013). Thus, the average preferences trump the individual one. Singer argues, that the principle of equal consideration of interest is a minimal principle of equality, since it does not require equal treatment of those who are affected, nor does it necessarily lead to equal outcomes. Acts are morally right, when they lead to “the best consequences, on balance, for all affected” (Singer, 2011, p. 12).

By saying that ‘actions are favored where the preference is *strongest*’, Singer further implies that preferences with a higher moral value should count more, i.e. that they are stronger than simple interests. The principle of equal consideration of interests does in many cases correspond to the principle of declining marginal utility, which - simply put - says that the more one has of a good, the less would be gained from an additional quantity of the good. An example will illustrate this (Singer, 2001):

A man bought a very expensive vintage-car, which he loves and which also represents his old-age provision. However, he did not have the money to ensure it. One day, the man parks the car near the end of an old railway siding. Suddenly he sees a train, which is out of control and heading towards a child that will very likely be killed by it. The man realizes that he has the possibility to save the child, by throwing a switch that will divert the train – however to the siding where his car is parked. The man has to decide between the life of the child and the car - his old-age provision, and in the end chooses to save the car.

For Singer it is clear, that the life of the child has higher priority. The man had the opportunity to save a child, his omission was morally wrong. This implies, that people are not only responsible for what they do, but also for what they do not, hence for what they could have prevented. In line with this, Singer states that people from rich countries have the opportunity to save dying children in poor countries by giving a little of their income to charity organizations. Benefactors will have less money to spend on luxury articles or going to restaurants, but these preferences are not as important, i.e. strong, as the children’s preference of survival. In Singer’s eyes there is no differences between the example of the man saving the car instead of the child and wealthy people that do not donate for the world’s poor (Singer, 2001). As important or strong preferences Singer mentions avoiding pain, satisfying basic needs as food and shelter, enjoying loving and caring relationships with others and pursuing personal projects without external interference (Singer, 2011). Some preferences can thus be interpreted as more existential and important and hence as being stronger than others. In practice, utilitarians often focus more on the reduction of suffering than on maximizing happiness (Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017).

According to Singer, preservation of nature (including combating climate change) is obligatory for preference utilitarianism. This is, however, not because Singer ascribes nature intrinsic value, but instrumental value. Nature is highly appreciated, since it resembles for many people aesthetic beauty. Enjoying nature, will – or could – be a preference of future generations that has to be taken into

account, hence conservation becomes a duty. If a forest is cut down, future generations have to bear this cost. Wilderness is a world heritage and “it is something that we have inherited from our ancestors and that we must preserve for our descendants if they are to have it at all” (Singer, 2011, p. 242). Moreover, damaged nature implies the death of many animals or even whole species (as in the case of climate change), which is clearly against the preferences of sentient-beings (Singer, 2011).

In the context of private sustainability standard initiatives this implies that justice is served when the preferences of all affected by an act, i.e. all supply chain stakeholders, are taken into account and preferences are weighed impartially. Acts are morally right, when they satisfy the strongest or greatest number of preferences, thereby taking into account the principle of declining marginal utility. Consequently, avoiding suffering and satisfying basic needs of producers are upon the most important interests that must be respected by a standard initiative. In light of future generations and sentient-beings, nature preservation becomes a duty.

3.2.6.3 Mechanisms of Justice

Preference utilitarianism can be applied to any situation. Since the focus lies on the consequence i.e. outcome of an act and little attention is paid to the nature of the act in itself, the theory does give little guidance on which acts *exactly* are morally right. This depends on the respective situation and the balance of preferences. However, Singer gives some recommendation for specific cases. So are affirmative actions (also called ‘reverse discrimination’) in line with the principle of equal consideration of interest, and valid instruments in overcoming discrimination and reaching equality.

Singer argues that “if it is in our power to prevent something very bad happening, without sacrificing anything of comparable moral significance, we ought to do it” (Singer, 2011, p. 199), meaning “without causing anything else comparably bad to happen, or doing something that is wrong in itself, or failing to promote some moral good, comparable in significance to the bad thing that we can prevent” (Singer, 2001, p. 107). He thus recognizes reallocation as a valid instrument: extreme poverty is bad, and people from developed nations have the ability to alleviate such extreme poverty, without them having to sacrifice anything of similar significance. Thus, according to Singer, people from developed nations must prevent extreme poverty. He sees both states as well as private persons as having a duty to assist. He suggests a progressive scale, like a tax, where private persons ought to give 1% - 5% of their income to international aid organizations. Furthermore, in his view, putting conditions on aid is valid, if this leads to the best possible outcome (as an example he mentions the allowance of women to be educated) (Singer, 2011).

Singer is a proponent of ‘effective altruism’, which has developed into a worldwide movement⁴. “The goal is to do the most good we can with whatever resources we are prepared to apply to that objective, and if we can do more good by helping people in a developing country than in our own community, that is what we should do. The same impartial perspective applies to the choice between present and future [...]” (Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017, p. 110). Since effective altruism encourages people to help others as effectively as possible - emphasizing evidence to decide on what will result in the greatest good - Singer argues that utilitarians ought to be effective altruists (Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017). Effectiveness in doing good can for example be reached by donating to charity organizations that will use donated money in the most efficient way (Singer, 2013). Singer further argues that we need new

⁴ In addition to Peter Singer, Toby Ord, Nick Bostrom and Will MacAskill played crucial roles in promoting effective altruism (Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017).

standards for public and private aid and fairer trading arrangements between developed and developing countries (Singer, 2011).

Accordingly, it is crucial to equally weigh the interests of all actors along the supply chain during all acts involved in cooperation. Paying more for certified products is right, since it can help to meet the preferences of producers and workers (such as meeting basic needs) and does not resemble a sacrifice of comparable moral significance for consumers. Certification is morally right, since it is the best feasible way, considering circumstances (current economic system), of meeting the preferences of actors involved in trade, especially those of suppliers in poor countries, and since it produces the best balance of good over bad within global trade relations. Buying certified products can be seen as acts of effective altruism, since they provide proof of fairer trading practices.

3.3 Potential relationship between standard characteristics and justice concepts

Insights of the literature review indicate an influential role of certain characteristics of sustainability standard initiatives, i.e. a potential relationship between the characteristics and the way justice is framed. Moreover, findings point towards power struggles between different actors that use standard initiatives to pursue their interests.

Drawing mainly on the insights from chapter 2, various factors substantiate this. Several authors make references to differing stakeholders that participate in power struggles within and among standard initiatives in order to realize their interests (Abbott & Snidal, 2009b; Fuchs et al., 2011; Kill, 2016; McDermott, 2013; Moberg & Lyon, 2010; Potts et al., 2014). Research results mainly reveal struggles between NGOs and corporations and lead to the following assumptions about their motives to participate in standard initiatives: NGOs advocate for producers of developing countries and/or environmental protection, and pursue more ethical and just trade and responsible consumption. With their demands they shake up current socio-economic structures and give an impulse for change. Corporations, on the other hand, benefit from contemporary economic structures, they thus want to keep up the neoliberal paradigm. However, it is also in their interest to minimize risks of scandals and meet consumer demands for more responsible trade. Consequently, they have to find a way to balance these interests. Therefore, they participate in sustainability standard initiatives, giving in on some justice concerns, while at the same time trying to keep these changes rather small. With their participation, they safeguard some control over the socio-economic shift that is noticeable via increased consumer awareness and changing consumer behavior.

This 'black and white' illustration of interests is of course rather radical, since there certainly are corporations that have honorable objectives and actually want to make trade more sustainable, just like some NGOs might have hidden vested interests. However, this research follows the rather critical comments and conclusions of sections 2.1 and 2.2., accordingly assumes contradicting interests of NGOs and corporations, and hence power struggles over the control of standard initiatives and their strategic orientation. In addition, former research results point towards a struggle between stakeholders from the Global South and North. Drawing on Besky (2015), Robbins, (2013) and Wilson (2010), this thesis assumes that stakeholders from the Global South fight for more voice and representation in standard initiatives as well as for more self-determination. Since prevailing economic structures rather disadvantage producers and workers of developing countries in comparison to the stakeholders stemming from the Global North, it is additionally assumed that they are rather critical towards the global economic system in its current constitution.

Having noted the diverging interests of stakeholders, some conclusions can be drawn with regards to the underlying justice concepts that will steer the thoughts and actions of the stakeholders. In some cases this might happen subconsciously, in other cases stakeholders might actively promote a justice concept. Since NGOs and Southern stakeholders criticize hegemonic socio-economic structures, they are assumed to be in support of more transformational justice theories, which challenge current socio-economic practices and aim at adjusting or even radically changing them. On the other hand, corporations want to adhere to the status quo, and thus favor justice theories that do not suggest transformational change. The most transformational theoretical approach within the used justice framework are critical perspectives, while libertarianism is the approach that most adheres to current socio-economic structures. Consequently, NGOs and southern stakeholders are assumed to predominantly support critical perspectives and reject libertarian notions of justice, while corporations follow libertarian ideas and oppose critical perspectives.

Stakeholders vary in their capability to influence decision-making, due to differences in power. This power rests on factors such as official participation rights in decision-making. Apart from that, Potts et al. (2014) argue that different funding models have an influence on a standard initiative's output, with the public-funded model promoting services linked to the public good and the market-funded model rather providing services relevant to individual market actors. The latter exposes standard initiatives to "potential conflicts of interest, and pursuit of private interests to maintain revenue base—possibly at cost of broader sustainability objectives" (Potts et al., 2014, p. 43). Combining these thoughts with the assumptions above, this research uses stakeholder participation and an initiative's funding model as indicators of stakeholder power. Accordingly, it is assumed that a) depending on the stakeholders that participate in decision-making within a standard initiative, the promoted justice concept will differ. Hence, the higher the participation of NGOs and southern stakeholders, the more transformational the supported justice concept of the initiative as a whole. The higher the participation of corporate stakeholders, the less transformational the understanding of justice and the more inclined is the initiative towards libertarian ideas, b) the more an initiative's finances are based on the market funded model and thus depend on recurring resources, the more powerful are corporate stakeholders, hence the less transformational the understanding of justice and the more inclined is the whole initiative towards libertarian ideas.

The results of Fuchs et al. (2011) show a lack of transparency of retail dominated initiatives in private food governance. Moreover, they rather tend to focus on issues such as food safety and divert interest away from sustainability issues. Consequently, the same can be expected in the case of justice. Hence, it is assumed that the more corporate actors are involved in a standard initiative (either via decision-making or funding), the less transparent it will be about its justice concept. This lack of transparency can then be interpreted as a strategic decision.

In addition to the potential explanations of differences in justice concepts, similarities could be explained by the common membership of a meta-governance initiative such as ISEAL, since those meta-governance initiatives can foster more coherence and alignment among standard initiatives' ideas, values and actions.

Additionally to mapping the justice concepts of the standard initiative, potential links between the characteristics explained above and the justice concepts were examined in the research.

4. Methodology

Since answering the research questions requires in-depth knowledge, a qualitative research strategy was chosen. A case study approach seemed most appropriate for reaching the research objective. Therefore, a comparative case study design was applied, using a hierarchical method, which first examined each case separately and then systematically compared them in a subsequent step (Bryman, 2012; Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010). The case study approach was combined with a critical discourse analysis.

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

As this research focuses on different interpretations of justice and on diverging ways how the concept is framed, a discourse analysis was carried out. Discourse analysis is rooted in social constructivism, which builds on the premise of multiple realities instead of the existence of only a single one. Reality is assumed to be socially constructed, for example through language (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Accordingly, the underlying assumption of discourse analysis is that language generates, changes and constitutes the social world (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Various definitions of discourse exist, as well as many different approaches to discourse analysis. This research makes use of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which can be applied to empirically study “the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 60). More specifically, this thesis draws on the approach promoted by Norman Fairclough, who argues that CDA can be used as a tool to investigate social change as well as a resource in struggles against exploitation and domination (Fairclough, 1993). CDA sees discourse both as constitutive and constituted, i.e. discourse is shaped by social practices and at the same time constitutes, reproduces and changes knowledge, identities, social practices as well as power relations. Its relationship to other social dimensions is thus of dialectical nature (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). A distinctive feature of *critical* discourse analysis is its special interest to reveal how discursive practices contribute to the consolidation, reproduction and change of power relations, more specifically unequal power relations between different social groups. CDA is not politically neutral, but committed to social change: “In the name of emancipation, critical discourse analytical approaches take the side of oppressed social groups. Critique aims to uncover the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of unequal power relations, with the overall goal of harnessing the results of critical discourse analysis to the struggle for radical social change” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 64). Moreover, following Fairclough, CDA aims at revealing opaque relationships of causality between texts, discursive practices and sociocultural processes. It examines how practices and texts are ideologically shaped through power relations and power struggles. Fairclough further highlights that the “linkages between ideology and power may well be unclear to those involved”, opacity might hence constitute a factor in securing power (Fairclough, 1993, p. 135).

In his approach, Fairclough draws on Antonio Gramsci’s theory of power as hegemony (Fairclough, 2013). Accordingly, he assumes that hegemony and hegemonic struggle take place within the discursive practices of institutions and organizations. Institutions contain various ‘ideological-discursive formations’ (IDFs) related to the diverse groups within institutions, of which one is usually dominant. An IDF has its own discourse as well as ideological norms. A dominant IDF has the capacity to ‘naturalize’ ideologies, which means it creates acceptance to see them as non-ideological ‘common sense’. These ideologies include beliefs about subjects that participate in discursive practices and their relationships. Fairclough describes the connection of discourse to hegemony as

twofold. First, the hegemony of a group over society depends on its capacity to shape discursive practices and orders of discourse. Second, to a certain amount hegemonic struggle takes the form of discursive practice. Dominant forces participating in hegemonic struggle aim to preserve their hegemony and therefore reinforce or strategically restructure and renew discourse conventions and practices. On the other hand, dominated groups aim at “the denaturalisation of existing conventions and replacement of them with others” (Fairclough, 2013, p. 129).

To reveal the connection between discourse practices and sociocultural processes and power relations, Fairclough suggests a three-dimensional method. It is based on a three-dimensional conception of discourse, that sees discourse as a) a (spoken or written) ‘language text’, b) discourse practice including production, distribution and consumption of text, and c) sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 2013). Furthermore, discourse is embedded within the sociocultural practice at various levels: “in the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organization, and at a societal level“ (Fairclough, 2013, p. 132). Accordingly, Fairclough’s CDA method comprises a) a description of the language text, b) the interpretation of the connection between text and discursive processes and c) an explanation of the connection between discursive and sociocultural processes. The relationship between text and sociocultural processes is mediated by the discursive practice (Fairclough, 2013). Texts comprise ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings, including information on worldviews, the constitution of identities and relations of participants as well as foregrounded and backgrounded information respectively (Fairclough, 1993). In addition, interdiscursivity indicates the heterogeneity of texts, constituted by diverse discourses and genres. Discourse (here used as a count noun) stands for the “way of signifying experience from a particular perspective”, and genres describe the “use of language associated with a particular social activity” (Fairclough, 1993, p. 138). Interdiscursivity indicates potential creativity in discursive practices, i.e. the possibility to combine genres and discourses in different ways. According to Fairclough (1993), however, these combinations are limited by hegemonic relations. Consequently, creative discursive practices are both a sign of and a driving force in discursive and hence sociocultural change, while the conservative combination of genres and discourses indicate stability of the dominant social order (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Fairclough’s approach was chosen, since the above explained theoretical assumptions and method fit very well with the essence and objectives of this research project. Using the analytical lens of CDA, the struggle described in chapter 3.3 between NGOs, corporations, i.e. Northern and Southern stakeholders, can be interpreted as a hegemonic struggle and the intent to ‘naturalize’ their ideologies. Justice is a highly contested concept and many different actors engage in the debate about its meaning and the resulting mechanisms to establish it. By framing the subjects, principles and mechanisms of justice, actors - whether civil society organizations, corporations or other stakeholders - try to establish a certain way of seeing reality. Thereby they in- and exclude stakeholders as subjects of justice, they allocate or reject responsibilities and they lobby for the (in their eyes) right policies to achieve justice. With the specific framing of justice, they thus want to achieve specific objectives. CDA combines textual and social analysis and therefore not only enables an examination of the content of standard initiatives’ publications and their latent justice concepts, but also allows i.e. requires relating it to the initiatives’ wider sociocultural context. Potential factors that could explain the justice conceptualization of an initiative can thus also be discussed.

As Jørgensen & Phillips (2002) argue, a researcher is not obligated to use a CDA method exactly as described by its author or proponent. The selection and application of certain tools should rather be tailored to the characteristics of the research project, especially to research question and objective. Hence, the justice framework introduced in chapter 3 was operationalized and then combined with Fairclough’s approach. In a first step, text was examined, categorizing statements as subjects,

principles and mechanisms of the different justice theories. This is roughly in line with the first step suggested by Fairclough; the examination of ‘language text’, which sheds light on ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. Simultaneously, attention was paid to interdiscursivity. In a next step, discourse practice was examined, including factors like the actor groups involved in text production. Since, however, no detailed information is available on how and by whom exactly (which persons) a text was produced, focus rather lied on any particularities of the format and style of the text (e.g. who is addressed or whether the text is of informative, advocating or advertising nature). In a third step, the results were examined again with more scrutiny by reading between the lines, paying attention to lines of reasoning, as well as by combining insights from the former two steps. Lastly, connections between text, discursive practice and sociocultural contexts were drawn, which revealed power relations and provided indications for potential explanations for the promotion of certain justice concepts by the standard initiatives.

4.2 Case selection

For the case selection, insights gained in the background chapter were used. Abbott & Snidal (2009b) and Nadvi & Wältring (2002) use the composition of a private sustainability standard initiative as a categorization criterion. As this research is particularly interested in private governance, focus lies on the bottom of the governance triangle, including initiatives of private actors, such as corporations and civil society organizations. This corresponds the 4th generation of standards defined by Nadvi & Wältring.

Considering the potentially important characteristics of standard initiatives in relation to their justice understandings as highlighted in chapter 3.3, cases were selected based on the following criteria:

- They operate globally
- They are of significant importance (market share)
- They are governed by stakeholders of the private sphere
- They must vary in the stakeholder composition of their governing bodies
- They must vary in their sources of income

Consequently, using Potts and colleagues’ work (Figure 3), the following initiatives were selected:

- Fairtrade: representation of NGOs and Industry is almost equal; representation of producers is high.
- Rainforest Alliance / Sustainable Agriculture Network (SAN was the Rainforest Alliance’s standard-setting body): steered by NGOs.
- UTZ⁵: the board comprises almost equally producers, NGOs and industry representatives. Additionally, it includes workers’ associations/unions.
- Ethical Tea Partnership: is solely steered by industry (Potts et al., 2014).
- GLOBALG.A.P.: board consist of an equal number of elected producer and industry representatives (GLOBALG.A.P., 2017).

⁵ During the research process, RA and UTZ announced the merger of both initiatives. Discussions about the new strategic orientation of the ‘new’ Rainforest Alliance are still on-going, and a new standard and certification procedure is planned to be launched only in 2019. Therefore the merger was not seen as an impairment of the research. The initiatives were treated separately.

4.3 Operationalization of analytical framework

Table 2 shows the operationalization of Biermann’s & Kalfagianni's framework, tailored to private sustainability standard initiatives, based on the elaborations in chapters 2 and 3. This operationalization was used during data collection. Data were allocated to the dimensions of subjects, principles and mechanisms of the six different justice theories.

Table 2. Operationalization of justice framework.

Theoretical Approach	Subjects of justice	Principles of justice	Mechanism of justice
Liberal egalitarianism	The private sustainability standard initiative sees stakeholders as embedded in their national context. Subjects of justice are defined on the basis of citizenship or membership of a certain community. Interactions are based on these facts.	The initiative endorses maximum possible liberty and equality between the supply chain actors.	Giving people the opportunity to manage their own affairs is top priority.
	International injustices are due to national burdens and will only be overcome when all societies are just societies.	Inequality, more specifically unequal benefits (percentages of profit) along the supply chain (<i>within a country</i>) are only accepted, when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work and hence benefits the least advantaged, e.g. poor, marginalized farmers or workers.	Focus of action lies on particularly disadvantaged groups of the supply chain, such as smallholders.
		Social primary goods should be equally distributed between supply chain actors.	Despite its own role in establishing justice, the standard initiative sees nevertheless governments as mainly responsible for securing the social-economic well-being of their citizens, by adopting and effectively enforcing law.
Cosmopolitanism	All actors along a supply chain are interconnected and have moral obligations towards each other.	Interactions between supply chain actors must be just and fair.	Redistribution between supply chain actors is the best mechanism to reach justice, which is achieved by paying higher wages or premiums on commodities, financed by consumers paying a higher price for certified products.
	This is especially true for people from rich countries: they are responsible for some of the disadvantages people face in poor countries and are thus obliged to assist.	Human rights must be protected.	
		Supply chain actors must be able to meet their basic needs and their basic liberties must be protected.	In addition, trans- and international cooperation is necessary to establish further reaching redistributive measures and policies, which are to the benefit of the global poor.
		Inequality / unequal benefits (e.g. percentages of profit) along the <i>global</i> supply chain are only accepted, when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work and hence benefits the least advantaged, e.g. poor, marginalized farmers or	

workers.

Capabilities Approach

Each actor along the supply chain is an individual with dignity and own characteristics and capabilities. Each actor is embedded in differing contexts and communities. This context sets the parameters of a person's needs and obligations, and is therefore the basis for interaction between the actor and the standard initiative.

All actors along a supply chain must be able to live a self-determined good life. Therefore, people must hold central capabilities.

Nature must be preserved in those cases, where degradation would restrict human capabilities.

Providing assistance for actors to develop their capabilities, in form of education, financial and technical assistance.

Long-term relationships are crucial, since they give security, which enables the realization of capabilities.

Assistance is tailored to the actors' needs and self-determination of actors is respected.

In addition to the standard initiative's work, thin, decentralized and adaptable global institutions and a flexible network of international treaties will be beneficial in assisting the global poor.

Corporations and NGOs are responsible for promoting capabilities in the regions they operate.

Libertarianism

Actors along the supply chain are entitled to freedom and ownership. They are connected through a global free market. Solidarity is secondary.

The protection of civil liberties of all stakeholders along a supply chain is key.

Free global markets resemble justice / lead to justice.

Certification, instead of coercive state regulation, will lead to justice, since it is a voluntary market mechanism.

Governments should play a minimum role in regulating trade, especially corporate activities. Binding trade standards are rejected.

Critical perspectives

Actors along the supply chain are subjected to societal structures on a community, state or global level such as gender or global trade and capitalism.

Certain structures of society cause injustices, by depriving some people the resources that are necessary for their full participation in society.

Participatory parity for all actors along the supply chain in all dimensions of life - economic, cultural and political - is a prerequisite for justice.

Removing institutionalized obstacles in society that hinder people from participating will facilitate justice, i.e. maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation must be tackled.

Programs and projects that promote for example access to the global market, gender equality, empowerment of women or

		Supply chain actors, subjected to the structures and work of a standard initiative, must be able to participate in the decision-making.	marginalized smallholders are essential. The initiative is governed in a democratic way, including all subjected; creating participatory parity for all stakeholders along a supply chain is a major goal.
Utilitarianism	All actors along a supply chain are equal and must respect the preferences of actors of the same supply chain, when they are affected by their actions.	Justice is served when the preferences of all affected by an act, i.e. all supply chain stakeholders, are taken into account and preferences are weighed impartially. Acts are morally right, when they meet the strongest or greatest aggregated preferences, thereby taking into account the principle of declining marginal utility. In light of future generations and sentient-beings, nature preservation becomes a duty.	It is crucial to equally weigh the interests of all actors along the supply chain during all acts involved in the cooperation. Paying more for certified products is right, since it can help to meet the preferences of suppliers (such as meeting basic needs) and does not resemble a sacrifice of comparable moral significance for consumers. Certification is right, since it is the best feasible way, considering circumstances (current economic system), of meeting the preferences of actors involved in trade, especially those of suppliers in poor countries. / since it produces the best balance of good over bad within global trade relations.

4.4 Data sources, collection and analysis

In order to achieve high validity of the research, triangulation of methods as well as of sources was performed. For each of the selected cases a desk research and interviews were carried out, complemented by a self-completion questionnaire.

4.4.1 Data Sources

Publications as well as persons were used as data sources. For each of the cases a desk research was done, collecting documents such as annual reports, position papers or standard documents. Main contents from the initiative's websites were also used, excluding blog or news sections. Since an

understanding of justice can change over time, and this research is interested in only mapping the recent concepts of justice of the private sustainability standard initiatives, data collection was limited to documents not older than five years. For the questionnaire and interviews, board members of the five initiatives, executive staff and staff working on topics relevant to this research were contacted by email, phone and via LinkedIn.

4.4.2 Content analysis and semi-quantitative approaches

A content analysis was performed, “an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systemic and replicable manner” (Bryman, 2012, p. 290). Content analysis can be used for different types of unstructured information. Accordingly, the predefined categories i.e. the operationalization of Table 2, were applied to the content of the initiatives’ publications and interview transcripts, hence statements were allocated to the dimensions of subjects, principles and mechanisms of justice of one of the six justice approaches. The process of coding is accompanied by the possibility of losing the context of the coded material. Moreover, coding can result in fragmentation of data, increasing the risk that the narrative of what is said gets lost (Bryman, 2012). Bearing this in mind, coding was done, paying high attention to the context of a text fragment.

Especially for the analysis of publications, content analysis was not only seen as a qualitative approach to categorize statements, but also as a semi-quantitative exercise. Consequently, attention was additionally paid to the frequency with which initiatives refer to a theoretical approach, or how coherent and exact the reference corresponds to the theory. Semi-quantitative in the context of this thesis means, that ‘ranking’ was done without a fixed reference scale, but rather in comparison to the other cases or respondents.

4.4.3 Questionnaire

In order to maximize reliability and validity of the measurement of key concepts investigated by this thesis, data from persons, i.e. representatives of the initiatives, were collected through a questionnaire (Bryman, 2012). Questionnaires have the advantage that they circumvent the potential problem of interpreting i.e. coding wrongly, which is attached to content analysis and semi-structured interviewing (with open questions), since respondents allocate *themselves* to categories (Bryman, 2012).

To make the questionnaire accessible and easy to complete, it was designed as an online questionnaire, using the free tool ‘Umfrage Online’. The final version was sent to representatives of the standard initiatives via email and LinkedIn, the invitation message contained a short introduction to the topic, the link to the questionnaire as well as the polite request to forward the link to colleagues. After two weeks and four weeks, reminder emails were sent out. In total 79 persons were directly contacted. 23 respondents completed the questionnaire, resulting in a 29.1% response rate.

The questionnaire was more structured than the interviews discussed in the next section. It included closed questions, i.e. statements, reflecting the different categories of the analytical framework. Closed questions facilitate the comparability of results. Furthermore, in some situations interviewees are able to complete them easier and quicker, since they do not have to write extensive answers (Bryman, 2012). For each category (subjects, principles, mechanism of justice) and justice theory at least one

statement (sometimes two) was formulated. The operationalization table served as guideline. Likert scales were used to display the viewpoint and affinity for a certain justice approach. Respondents had the opportunity to select between the following choices: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree. Distances between the answer options of Likert scales are generally assumed to be equal, which allows a semi-quantitative comparison between the respondents' answers. In addition to selecting an option of the Likert scale, respondents had the opportunity to add comments to the statements.

Questionnaires bear the problem of acquiescence, the tendency of respondents to consistently agree or disagree with all statements (Bryman, 2012). To test for the issue, two contradicting statements were included in the questionnaire.

See Appendix 1 for the statements listed per justice theory and category, and Appendix 2 for the final questionnaire as it was sent out.

4.4.4 Interviews

Data collection was complemented by semi-structured interviews answered by representatives of the selected standard initiatives. The interviews allowed to specifically ask about the dimensions of subjects, principles and mechanism of justice and at the same time to gain richer insights of the respective justice concept than with the questionnaire. The potential problem of de-contextualization that might occur with the single statements used in the questionnaire is thus reduced during interviews. Interviews, hence, provide a means to triangulate gained insights from the content analysis and questionnaire with direct and nuanced information from initiative representatives.

To increase comparability over cases, the interviews always followed the same procedure and included the same set of questions, which were asked in the same order. This increased the possibility to state that variation in answers is due to variation between interviewees, and not due to variation in questions or terminology (Bryman, 2012). When formulating the questions attention was paid to two issues: the questions should guide the interviewee enough to give an answer, which can be allocated to the categories of the research framework. However, questions should at the same time be general enough to ensure that no example answer is given beforehand, which could bias the answer of the interviewee. In addition, open questions have the advantage that respondents are not forced to answer in a certain way (as it is the case with closed questions) and it opens the possibility for unusual responses (Bryman, 2012). Specific questions about the respective initiative, often for clarifying facts or statements found during the document review, were added after the initial fixed set of questions.

The fixed questions were the following:

1. *How does initiative xy define justice? What are the most important principles of justice for your organization?*
2. *In what role does initiative xy see itself in achieving justice?*
3. *What are the most suited mechanisms and instruments for achieving justice, especially in the context of certification?*
4. *How would you describe the relationship between actors along a supply chain?*
5. *In the context of global trade, who has a right to call for justice and why? On which grounds are these demands based?*
6. *Who is responsible for achieving justice?*

A problem that could arise with interviews and questionnaires, especially when asking about normative issues such as justice, is the social desirability effect, meaning that interviewees answer in a certain way, because of their “perception of the social desirability of those answers” (Bryman, 2012, p. 228). This issue is partly solved, since interview and questionnaire results are compared with results from the document review, and aggregated for the final analysis.

Initially two interviews per case were planned. However, only four persons agreed on a conversation. Three interviews were conducted via Skype, one in person. With the permission of the respondents, all interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed.

5. Results

In the following, the results of the document review, questionnaire and interviews are set out. A list of all reviewed documents per case can be found in Appendix 3 and an overview of the questionnaire results in Appendix 4.

5.1 Fairtrade International

5.1.1 Profile

Fairtrade International (in the following also ‘Fairtrade’) was founded in 1997, bringing several national Fairtrade organizations together under one umbrella (Fairtrade International, 2018b). It is a non-for-profit organization under German law and a member-based initiative, currently comprising 23 members - three producer networks⁶ and twenty national Fairtrade organizations. Fairtrade International’s purpose is to promote “trade under fair conditions with disadvantaged producer organizations and workers in countries of the developing world, and at supporting and strengthening this kind of trade as an instrument of sustainable development, particularly through promotion of environmental protection, education and social development” (Fairtrade International, 2015). Since 2013 producer networks have 50% of the votes at the Fairtrade International General Assembly (Fairtrade International, 2018b). National Fairtrade organizations and marketing organizations hold the other 50% of the votes (Fairtrade International, 2015). The Fairtrade board of directors is currently composed of three producer representatives, three representatives of national Fairtrade organizations and two independent board members, developed and developing countries are equally represented (Fairtrade International, 2018a). Producer representatives are part of the Board since 2002 (Fairtrade International, 2018b). The standards committee develops and makes decisions over standards. It consists of representatives of producer networks and national Fairtrade organizations. Stakeholder participation and consultation is a fixed component of the standard setting process (Fairtrade International, 2016; Potts et al., 2014). Around 55% of Fairtrade’s funding stems from non-recurring sources. It operates business to consumer, its label is visible on products (Potts et al., 2014). Fairtrade International is a full member of the ISEAL Alliance (ISEAL Alliance, 2018).

5.1.2 Results

5.1.2.1 *Subjects of Justice*

The dominant notion of subjects of justice in Fairtrade International’s *publications* is a cosmopolitan one. The organization sees actors along a supply chain as interconnected and having moral obligations towards each other, borders do not matter. This is mirrored for example in the Fairtrade Theory of Change, where four spheres of change are mentioned: small producer and worker organizations, supply chain business practices, civil society action, and consumer behavior. Throughout most publications, emphasis is put on the responsibility of consumers: “Fair Trade is driven by informed consumer choices, which provides crucial support for wider campaigning to reform international trade rules and create a fairer economic system” (A charter of Fair Trade Principles, p. 6). And “by choosing

⁶ The Latin American and Caribbean Network of Fair Trade Small Producers and Workers, Fairtrade Africa representing farmers and workers in Africa and the Middle East, and the Fairtrade Network of Asia and Pacific Producers.

Fairtrade products consumers enable these producers to take control of their lives. The powerful connection between producers and consumers remains a fundamental pillar of Fairtrade” (Annual report 2015-2016, n.p.). Fairtrade states that purchasing decisions of consumers affect farmers and workers in developing countries, who often do not get a fair share of the benefits of international trade. “Fairtrade enables consumers to put this right” (Fairtrade Homepage). But also governments and businesses are seen as responsible in establishing just trade relations, which is uttered indirectly and directly throughout all documents. For example in the report ‘Powering up smallholder farmers to make food fair. A five point agenda’, recommendations are listed: ‘governments should...’, ‘businesses should...’ and ‘the public should...’. “Governments need to explore ways to ensure greater transparency and ‘fair competition’ in international supply chains, which create a fairer distribution of value across the supply chain and so enable smallholders to secure a sustainable price for their produce” (Powering up smallholder farmers to make food fair. A five point agenda, p. 9). Both a positive and a negative duty of developed nations to assist poorer nations can be spotted, which also corresponds the cosmopolitan viewpoint. Fairtrade sees for example developed countries’ agricultural policies, such as subsidies, as responsible for the decreasing world food prices, overproduction and the resulting precarious situation of producers in developing countries. The cosmopolitan viewpoint is also reflected in the newest Fairtrade standard, the Climate Standard, and Fairtrade’s Climate Change program. “It is everyone’s responsibility – including organizations, businesses and consumers – to reduce their carbon emissions, and support climate change mitigation and adaptation projects in the communities most affected by negative impacts” (Climate Change Program, p. 1). By stating that vulnerable rural communities in developing countries “are affected the most, yet have contributed the least to causing climate change” (ibid.), Fairtrade positions itself in the cosmopolitan tradition of thinking in one of the most pressing as well as controversial debates of the time.

The cosmopolitan understanding of subjects of justice is complemented by arguments rooted in the critical perspectives line of reasoning. According to Fairtrade International, farmers and workers are “subject to extreme price volatility” which constitutes “a significant barrier to trade enabling sustainable livelihoods” (Sustainable Development Goals and Fairtrade: the case for partnership, p.10). Farmers and workers face marginalization and exploitation, often related to “power imbalances in supply chains [...] that favour companies over poor producers” (p. 22). Producers in developing countries are seen as subjected to the structure of the global economy. Fairtrade International criticizes that voices of farmers and workers in developing countries are excluded and not heard. Moreover, the organization explains “the term gender refers to men and women, their place in society and their mutual ‘power’ relations, in which women are often in subordinate positions” (Fairtrade Gender Strategy, p. 9). References to gender norms which constitute a barrier for women to full participation in economic, political and cultural life are constant throughout all analyzed documents.

Three high level Fairtrade representatives completed the *questionnaire*. Concerning subjects of justice, the respondents agree most with critical perspectives (two respondents agree and one strongly agrees). Furthermore, all three agree with the capabilities approach. One respondent agrees and one strongly agrees with the cosmopolitan viewpoint, one, however, disagrees. This is interesting when comparing it with the results of the publications where the cosmopolitan view was predominant. Respondents rather disagree with the libertarian viewpoint. For the other theories no clear pattern became apparent. A respondent who strongly disagreed with the utilitarian statement remarked that standards seek to address injustices, and therefore should focus on the victims of those injustices. Being neutral would thus equal accepting the status quo. A second respondent, however, stressed that for being successful in the long run, a standard must address the interests of all supply chain actors. Interestingly, the latter respondent is the same who disagreed with the cosmopolitan viewpoint.

5.1.2.2 Principles of Justice

Fairtrade International's justice principles found within *publications* can be described as cosmopolitan, since Fairtrade's work is primarily dedicated to smallholders, the most marginalized and disadvantaged group of the global economy. The initiative's work thus benefits the 'globally least advantaged'. Moreover, ending "poverty in all its forms everywhere – is central to Fairtrade's mission. All of our work stems from this overarching goal" (Sustainable Development Goals and Fairtrade: the case for partnership, p. 7). Many documents highlight the importance, i.e. the task of Fairtrade to ensure that all human beings meet their basic needs. "Human rights are respected at every stage of the value chain, from the largest multinational to the smallest producer organization" (Global Strategy 2016-2020, p. 7) and terms of cooperation along a supply chain must be fair, which is e.g. reflected in all Fairtrade Standards, which follow the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. Fairtrade mentions human rights with a high frequency. Additionally, Fairtrade International defines minimum wages and minimum incomes for their farmers and workers, however, the long-term goal is to establish living wages and incomes. A living income can be interpreted as serving as a safety net to cover basic needs and is thus in line with the cosmopolitan view, i.e. people across the globe must be able to meet their basic needs.

However, Fairtrade International's justice principles go beyond that, which is for example shown in the following statements: "while compliance with legal requirements and respect for basic human rights are of course important and non-negotiable, they are insufficient in themselves to achieve the transformation towards long-term development that is needed" (Charter of Fair Trade Principles p. 8). Fairtrade aims to "enable producers and workers to maintain a sustainable livelihood; that is one that not only meets day-to-day needs for economic, social and environmental well-being but that also enables improved conditions in the future" (Charter of Fair Trade Principles p. 7). Having noted that, argumentation corresponding with the capabilities approach and critical perspectives is observable.

The capabilities approach is strongly reflected in Fairtrade's vision: "A world in which all small producers and workers can enjoy secure and sustainable livelihoods, fulfill their potential and decide on their future" (Global Strategy 2016-2020, p. 3). Enhanced knowledge and capacity among producers, workers and their organizations and well-being of small producer and worker households are seen as crucial to Fairtrade's activities. Often not only the content of statements, but also the wording reminds of the capabilities approach: "Empowerment is the process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform them into actions and outcomes" (Fairtrade Gender Strategy, p. 9). Empowerment implies "women and men and girls and boys setting their own agendas, gaining skills, and increasing self-reliance. It is a process and an outcome" (Fairtrade Gender Strategy, p. 9). The importance of self-determination of farmers and workers is strongly emphasized throughout all analyzed documents. Policies incorporated in the Fairtrade Standards support "independent organizations of small producers and workers to develop and implement *their* strategies for sustainable development based on *their own* aspirations and priorities" (Theory of Change, p. 11, emphasis added). Similar wording (farmers' and workers' *own* strategies, priorities, needs, etc.) is used frequently.

As mentioned above, Fairtrade International's principles of justice can also be related to critical perspectives. Especially in this relation, Fairtrade's focus on marginalized smallholders becomes apparent. Smallholders are described as having restricted access to the global market and being excluded from important decision-making. The organization criticizes the lack of participation of farmers and workers at local, regional, national, international as well as transnational levels of

decision-making. Decisions, which strongly affect them, are “formed over their heads” (Powering up smallholder farmers to make food fair. A five point agenda. p. 18). “Few, if any, meta-level fora exist to enable smallholders to sit around the table with representatives from governments, agribusiness companies and other stakeholders [...] as equal partners” (A seat at the table? Ensuring smallholder farmers are heard in public-private partnerships - Executive Summary, p. 2). To counteract this, Fairtrade aims at empowering producers, with empowerment understood as “the expansion of assets and capabilities of people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control and hold accountable the institutions that affect their lives” (Theory of Change, p. 8). The initiative demands voice for producers at all levels and improving their access to the global market is a reoccurring issue. This is in line with the initiative’s governance structure, which reflects the principle of participatory parity. Producers “co-own the Fairtrade system, shaping global strategy and running operations across three continents” (Global Strategy 2016-2020). Fairtrade International claims that smallholders and workers are represented at all levels of the Fairtrade system. Beyond that, participation is promoted through the Fairtrade Standards, that e.g. require producer organizations to be run democratically: everybody should be enabled to participate in any decision-making, discrimination of any kind is strictly forbidden. Standard development is open for public engagement, giving consumers, businesses, producers and even external stakeholders – thus all-subjected – the possibility to participate. As it is argued within critical perspectives, participatory parity seems to be both an aim as well a means of justice. Beyond that, Fairtrade highlights the vital importance of gender equality (Fairtrade Gender Strategy). Taken together, this can be interpreted as promoting participatory parity for all actors along a supply chain, especially for the disadvantaged groups of farmers and workers in developing countries.

The results of the *questionnaire* confirm the results of the content analysis. Respondents agree most with the principles of justice belonging to critical perspectives and the capabilities approach. In each case one agrees and two strongly agree with the statement. Additionally, respondents agree (two agree, one strongly agrees) with the Singer version of Utilitarianism, which makes reference to the principle of declining marginal utility, while no clear picture becomes apparent regarding the classical utilitarian viewpoint, saying supply chain interactions should benefit the greatest number of people. For the statements belonging to the other theories, no pattern became apparent. An interesting comment regarding libertarianism and the merit of free markets includes critique on the protectionism of the developed world, favoring their own producers and leading to disadvantaged and suffering Southern producers. The respondent argues that truly free markets might be better. This statement can also be interpreted as cosmopolitan, which sees developed countries responsible for the misery in developing countries. A second respondent who strongly disagrees with the libertarian statement remarks that defining free markets is important: “It is often used to mean trade that is unfettered by any kind of regulation, but it can also mean markets that are well regulated to limit imbalances of power.”

5.1.2.3 Mechanisms of Justice

As with the justice principles found in Fairtrade’s *publications*, the mechanisms to establish justice that are endorsed by the initiative correspond mainly with cosmopolitanism, and to an even greater extend with both the capabilities approach and critical perspectives. Often, it is not easy to determine whether a statement belongs rather to the capabilities approach or critical perspectives. Fairtrade seems to advocate a strategy where both theoretical approaches are closely intertwined.

Fairtrade pays certified producers a premium, which is paid on top of the market or minimum price for commodities. It can be used by farmers and workers to invest in their communities. The premium can be interpreted as a cosmopolitan mechanism of redistribution. Moreover, the pursuit of a living wage cannot only be interpreted as the promotion of a cosmopolitan principle (basic needs), but also as a cosmopolitan mechanism of justice. Also in line with cosmopolitanism is the importance of advocacy and campaigning activities of Fairtrade International (on behalf of producers and smallholders), which is a recurrent theme. It is seen as an important tool to engage many stakeholders: it creates awareness among consumers, puts pressure on corporations and influences governments and governmental bodies. Furthermore, Fairtrade acknowledges, “that systemic change cannot be achieved by Fairtrade alone, but requires: A broad coalition of actors working towards common goals; Progressive businesses (including Fair Trade businesses) spearheading fair and sustainable trading practices and acting as vocal advocates within their industries and with policy makers; Political leadership within national governments and regional and global institutions” (Theory of Change, p. 32). This can be interpreted as a cosmopolitan approach of achieving justice, but also fits with the capabilities approach.

In relation to the capabilities approach, capacity building and assistance in form of education, technical and financial help is promoted and provided by the initiative. Education – a ‘fertile functioning’ - has high importance; knowledge and skills training is a crucial part of Fairtrade’s work. The approach of ‘training trainers’ can serve as an example: It means “training people to be able to train more people. In the context of climate change adaptation, this activity multiplies knowledge through training and dissemination of best practices across a region with a similar set of activities and similar socio-economic conditions” (Fairtrade Climate Standard, p. 14). An example of capacity building is the Fairtrade Climate Program where the initiative “is raising awareness on climate change amongst producer organizations, and supporting them to develop adaptation plans” (Fairtrade Climate Programme p. 2). Fairtrade International not only provides training programs regarding organizational development, best agricultural practices, adaption to climate change or organizational health and safety measures, but also fosters the ‘knowledge’ and awareness of farmers and workers about their rights and duties. High importance is also given to the goal of all producers understanding the importance and reason of certain rules imposed by a Fairtrade Standard. An example is the obligation “your company ensures that all workers are aware of their rights and duties, responsibilities, salaries, and work schedules as part of the legal labour contract” (Fairtrade Standard for Hired Labour, p. 29). The Fairtrade Standards include comprehensive sections about intent and scope of requirements, explaining underlying reasons and objectives of the requirements, as well as guidance sections that give more detailed instructions and ideas of how a requirement can be implemented. This enables producers and workers to make the best out of the standard requirements. It can also be interpreted as counteracting the paternalistic notion that might be attached to a standard initiative and its work, as was discussed in chapter 2.2. Access to finance for producers, another ‘fertile functioning’, is a central concern of Fairtrade International. The Fairtrade Access Fund offers a range of loans and technical assistance. Standards also include sections about pre-financing and credits: “You make finance available to producer organizations if the project requires it” (Fairtrade Climate Standard, p. 51, applying to project facilitators and traders of carbon credits). Apart from that, the initiative promotes long-term contracts and commitments. These long-term commitments, together with income stability, provided by a minimum wage, and access to finance enable producers to access new markets, plan ahead and invest in their future. Producers decide themselves how the premium money is used. Self-determination is hence respected. Additionally, self-determination is reflected, as already mentioned, in the governance structure of the standard initiative, which ensures participation of farmers and workers on all levels. Fairtrade tries to tailor its assistance - whether financial, educational or technical - to the actors’ needs: “Areas of support must be chosen by producers/workers. They can include, but

are not limited to, production techniques, product quality, productivity, storage techniques, value-addition, income diversification, market diversification, business and financial management, risk management, farming practices, internal management systems, business development, or training for workers or the Premium Committee. It can also be the payment of a higher Fairtrade Premium” (Fairtrade Trader Standard, p. 36). Tailored assistance is also reflected in the Global Strategy, i.e. in setting the strategy: “During strategy consultations, Fairtrade farmers repeatedly told us that climate change is one of their most urgent problems. In direct response, our strategy will see us increase support for adaptation efforts by engaging in partnerships with organizations that can provide specialist tools and training” (Global Strategy 2016-2020, p. 12).

Regarding critical perspectives, many of the above mentioned mechanisms can also be interpreted as mechanisms that remove institutionalized obstacles in society which hinder people from participation in economic, political and cultural life, as an increase in peoples capabilities can also be part in overcoming barriers to those obstacles. Education and access to credit empower producers to enter the global market and improves their bargaining position. Moreover, Fairtrade has a gender strategy, which “seeks to attain gender equality and women’s empowerment in producer organizations through building women’s and girls’ power and agency” (Gender Strategy, p. 1). Mechanism to do so are manifold, an example is increasing “women’s active and equal participation in Fairtrade certified smallholder and hired labour organizations” (p. 14), enhancing “men’s and women’s awareness of power relations, negative social and cultural practices and enhance their willingness, self-esteem and confidence to bring about positive” and trying to “influence and change cultural norms and practices about productive roles and about women’s contribution to agricultural production and trade” via interactions, requirements and education (p. 10). Participatory parity, especially in the political dimension, is promoted across several levels. A requirement of the Standard for Small Producer Organizations is for example “You must explain to your members about the ways they can participate in the organization so that they can have more control over it” (p. 37). The principle is realized in the governance and standard setting procedures of the initiative. Farmers and workers have 50% of the votes at the Fairtrade International General Assembly and during the standard setting procedure all members of the initiative, including producer networks, can participate, as well as experts and external stakeholders. Fairtrade also tries to ensure that workers and farmers can participate in global governance discourses outside of the Fairtrade system. The initiative e.g. “aims to ensure producer voices are heard in key global forums dealing with climate change policy, such as convening producers to take part in the UN climate change conferences” (Sustainable Development Goals and Fairtrade: the case for partnership, p. 18). Overall, it can be said that the empowerment of small producers and workers in developing countries is a main task of Fairtrade International (the word ‘empowerment’ is used in the majority of analyzed documents).

In addition, several statements of Fairtrade International give hints towards a liberal egalitarian viewpoint, which sees the state as a crucial actor in ensuring justice for its citizens. The initiative recommends for example that governments in producing countries should “enshrine into law and implement policies to promote secure land tenure for all” (Powering up smallholder farmers to make foo fair. A five point agenda, p. 43). Fairtrade repeatedly stresses the importance of governments having functioning legislation in place. It offers governments its help to overcome barriers (e.g. to gender equality) and find adequate policies and interventions that hinder producer’s exploitation.

Respondents of the *questionnaire* agree with mechanisms of justice belonging to the capabilities approach and to critical perspectives (one agrees, two strongly agree), and rather agree with cosmopolitanism (one undecided, two agree), which is in line with the findings of the content analysis. One comment additionally highlights the importance of programs that promote empowerment and

participation of disadvantaged groups, stressing even more the critical viewpoint. Apart from this, one respondent added to the capabilities approach statement that assistance in form of education, financial and technical help is crucial. However, a standard might not be the best provider of these services, its job would rather be to ensure that such support is available through a range of providers. Besides, they agree (again one agrees, two strongly agree) with liberal egalitarianism and libertarianism. For libertarianism one respondent added the comment, that certification as a voluntary market mechanism is only better suited than coercive state regulation to reach fair trade relations, when voluntary standards seek to promote ‘best practices’, and not only focus on minimum criteria.

5.1.3 Summary

Results of the questionnaire mostly confirm the results of the content analysis, especially the presence of critical perspectives and the capabilities approach, and also cosmopolitanism. The occurrence of these theoretical approaches across all three categories - subjects, principles and mechanisms – indicates a strong coherence in Fairtrade International’s normative standpoint and action. No single hegemonic discourse can be pointed out, since ideas from cosmopolitanism, critical perspectives and the capabilities approach seem to be intertwined and more or less balanced. Nonetheless, Fairtrade promotes a clearly transformational concept of justice.

5.2 Rainforest Alliance / Sustainable Agriculture Network

5.2.1 Profile

Founded in 1987, the Rainforest Alliance (RA) is a NGO that dedicates its work to biodiversity conservation and ensuring sustainable livelihoods (Annual report 2016). The Sustainable Agriculture Network (SAN) is a coalition of NGOs from different continents, which work towards social and environmental sustainability in the agricultural sector (Sustainable Agriculture Network, n.d.-a). They jointly ran the SAN/Rainforest Alliance Agriculture Standard for over two decades. SAN was responsible for standard development and certification, whereas the Rainforest Alliance managed labeling and marketing of certified products (Milder & Newsom, 2015). Since 2017, RA is the sole owner of the certification system. SAN announced, that the organization’s work would move beyond certification in the future (Sustainable Agriculture Network, 2017).

Both organizations were considered in the data collection. Focus of the content analysis lay on the RA, since it is now the full owner of the system and also co-founded the SAN. Moreover, practical reasons played a role for this decision: RA published more documents, whereas the amount of data from SAN was rather small (except for the web presence, no documents could be reviewed).

Although SAN is the standard setting body⁷ in this case, it is worthwhile to look at the (board) composition of both organizations, since they developed a common theory of change that steers the standard. Furthermore, RA is a member of SAN and is responsible for implementing the standard. SAN is governed by a General Assembly, consisting of one representative of each member organization. The board of directors is composed of a maximum of twelve representatives of the

⁷ RA assumed full ownership of the certification system in 2017, but SAN is the organisation that developed the currently effective standard.

members and is elected by the General Assembly. Currently, two of the ten members are from developed countries, eight from developing countries (Sustainable Agriculture Network, n.d.-b). The majority of RA's current board members are from developed countries (Rainforest Alliance, 2018), allocation to certain stakeholder groups is rather difficult. Stakeholder participation and consultation is part of standards development, and stakeholders can comment and give feedback on the standard any time (Potts et al., 2014; Rainforest Alliance, 2016). Besides certification, RA also works on biodiversity conservation, especially on forests, runs technical assistance, training programs and more. Its work is mainly funded by public grants and certification fees (Annual report 2016; Rainforest Alliance, 2016). Funding stems from a slightly larger extent from recurring income sources (Potts et al., 2014). Both SAN and RA are full members of the ISEAL Alliance (ISEAL Alliance, 2018).

5.2.2 Results

5.2.2.1 *Subjects of Justice*

The RA aims to “build a truly ethical global market—one that sees farmworkers and companies, animals and foresters, and communities and consumers as part of an interconnected whole“ (Annual report 2013, p. 18). The organization describes itself as „global, inclusive, and kaleidoscopic in its diversity [...] in order to respond effectively to the urgent challenges facing our planet“ (Annual report 2015, p. 4). It is a ‘global alliance’ of farmers, scientists, indigenous communities, governments, companies and citizens, working together in a ‘hyper-connected’ world. Borders are irrelevant. Although statements as “[c]hanges in one corner of the world have the power to ripple out and impact communities thousands of miles away” (Join us and green your supply chain, p. 2) are made, RA does not explicitly assign responsibility of richer nations, companies or persons to assist the poor. Rather, companies and consumers are seen as having the opportunity to support farmers and foresters and protect the environment. The responsibility is implicitly included in their publications, by e.g. stating “people have destroyed 80% of the world’s forests” (Video, starting page RA website). Taken together, the RA clearly supports a cosmopolitan understanding of subjects of justice within its publications.

Beyond the interconnectedness of people, RA strongly emphasizes the interconnectedness of humans and nature. RA builds a storyline about the prerequisite of a healthy environment for a decent and sustainable life of humans and the other way around: “Biodiversity is essential to the healthy functioning of all natural ecosystems and therefore to the survival of human society“ (Annual report 2014, p. 2). However, the social and economic well-being of communities also affects the environment. “Thriving farmers and healthy forests go hand-in-hand“ (RA Homepage), they are mutually dependent. The reasoning is recurring throughout the majority of documents. This is in line with the instrumental value both the capabilities approach and utilitarianism ascribe to nature. However, besides the RA's advocacy for nature conservation based on nature's instrumental value for humans, it also goes beyond, by using a language that frames nature as also having intrinsic value: “While tropical rainforests are perhaps the most iconic, temperate rainforests are equally diverse and beautiful. Together, rainforests offer a gallery of the most beautiful, awe-inspiring places and creatures on Earth“ (RA Homepage).

Special attention is given to indigenous people and forest communities, whose land rights are often violated or not recognized. RA supports their struggle and argues that these communities do crucial work in protecting ecosystems. The framing is very positive and respectful. RA argues, that by protecting their rights, economic opportunities are created and the environment can be protected. Both

people and planet can thus prosper. The lack of rights and land of indigenous communities is a global issue. The focus of the RA on this problem can be allocated to critical perspectives.

The *questionnaire* confirms support of critical perspectives (all six agree) and cosmopolitanism (except for one SAN representative, who disagrees). In correspondence with that respondents rather disagree with the libertarian viewpoint. Moreover, they agree with the capabilities approach (one undecided, three agree, two strongly agree). For liberal egalitarianism two RA respondents are undecided, one agrees. The SAN representatives disagree (one strongly). Two add a comment pointing out the important role of the state in providing certain services and legislation. Since this can still be interpreted as a liberal egalitarian viewpoint, which highlights the role of the state in ensuring the well-being of its citizens, the Likert scale selections are changed to ‘agree’, based on the comments. For utilitarianism no clear pattern is observable. A SAN representative adds the comment, that the interests of farmers and workers should be the main focus.

The *interview* also confirms the strong cosmopolitan focus of the organization. According to the interviewee, everyone has a moral obligation to anybody else anywhere. He specifically points out the responsibility of consumers, who should not push it off to companies. Apart from that, companies are seen as responsible to act and purchase in an ethical manner and governments should adopt and enforce laws to ensure justice. Additionally, the interviewee states, that farmers and their families should be seen as partners in production and be treated as one would treat own family members. Their dignity must be respected. This is in line with the capabilities approach. The interviewee accentuates the aim of the RA to protect the rainforests and the species and ecosystems that are part of them. Nature is thus also seen as a subject of justice.

5.2.2.2 Principles of Justice

The importance of basic human rights and their advancement is a recurring theme within the RA *publications*. The initiative wants to “improve the long-term wellbeing of communities” (annual report 2016, p. 27), of farmers, farm workers and their families. It is a major goal that farmers and workers achieve a decent standard of living and meet essential needs, defined as “the basic elements required for survival and prosperity” (Rainforest Alliance Impacts Report: Partnership, Learning, and Change, p. 31). SAN/RA alliance standard criteria also reflect this, by e.g. including ILO conventions, requirements regarding housing, health and safety of workers and access to education and healthcare. These principles belong to cosmopolitan thinking, where human rights must be protected around the globe and people must be able to meet their basic needs. Furthermore, among RA’s objectives is to „improve the livelihoods of smallholder farmers“ (Rainforest Alliance Impacts Report: Partnership, Learning, and Change, p. 28), which often face greater difficulties in agriculture than larger farms. This can also be interpreted as a cosmopolitan principle of justice that tries to benefit those most, who are (globally) least advantaged.

The RA promotes a conservation approach that emphasizes the “wellbeing of rural people—including the advancement of their political, economic, social, and cultural rights—as a critical component of sustainability“ (Annual report 2016, p. 42). They refer to indigenous people that have been marginalized in the course of the inclusion of their territories into states. This way of argumentation can be allocated to the critical perspectives approach to justice. Although the RA includes some standard criteria regarding discrimination and gender equality, and also mentions how societal structures put women at a disadvantage, the issue is not in the center of RA’s attention.

Finally, the RA describes enabling self-determination of farmer and forest communities as one of its most important results. The value of self-determination belongs to the capabilities approach.

Questionnaire results confirm the findings on critical perspectives and the capabilities approach, with two agreeing, four strongly agreeing and four agreeing, two strongly agreeing, respectively. They also support the utilitarian viewpoint (four agree, one strongly agrees) that the interests of the greatest number of people should be satisfied, with one person however disagreeing, uttering the concern that this statement implies a win and lose situation. In her or his opinion a sustainability standard should create benefits for all. All respondents agree with the utilitarian statement, which makes a reference to Singer's preference utilitarianism and declining marginal utility (four agree, two strongly agree). Respondents rather agree with the liberal egalitarian difference principle (one disagrees, two are undecided, three agree). An interesting comment from a RA representative who was undecided is "While it is important to the economic value proposition for all actors in the supply chain, all actors need to be empowered to negotiate by themselves, setting requirements for equal distribution doesn't work for a voluntary standard system." Respondents agree less on the cosmopolitan global principles (two disagree, three are undecided, one agrees), with several respondents commenting on its unrealistic nature. Their opinion on libertarian justice principles is not really clear, however the attitude of SAN representatives is more negative (SAN: one strongly disagrees, one disagree, one agrees; RA: two undecided, one agrees). This gets clearer with regards to the second libertarian statement, saying that private standards contribute in an ideal way to achieve better economic conditions and a just distribution of goods because they rely on market mechanisms: all three SAN representatives disagree while one RA representative is undecided and two agree.

Unlike the results of the questionnaire, the *interview* does confirm RA's pursuit of cosmopolitan principles. The interviewee refers to human rights and to the initiative's aim to lift producers out of poverty. He also mentions the idea of producers from developing countries having lives equal to the lives people live in developed countries. Beyond that, the RA thrives for making producer's lives healthy and robust, and "ample of opportunities to live a meaningful life", which is in line with the capabilities approach. The interviewee also utters critique on the current economic system and argues that it most likely fosters injustice. He raises the question, whether an organization can work in a system that perpetuates injustice, in order to push for more justice. He adds, knowing that the greater system doesn't work, makes the task very hard and complicated. This critique clearly questions the hegemonic economic structures and is in line with critical perspectives.

5.2.2.3 Mechanisms of Justice

The RA sees its certification system as primary tool for change towards a world where people and planet can thrive in harmony. More specifically, capacity building, sometimes in cooperation with or even solely carried out by partner organizations, is the RA's major mechanism of justice. Training programs include for example farm management, financial literacy training and good agricultural practices, so that participants would be "better prepared to participate in the growing market" (Annual report 2016, p. 14). Special emphasis lies on awareness raising about environmental degradation and ecosystem conservation. Furthermore, increasing efficiency and productivity is key, since this ensures that "agriculture can form the basis of a decent livelihood for generations to come" (SAN/Rainforest Alliance Impacts Report 2015, p. 18). A specific discourse is built up around efficiency and productivity of farming, arguing that it will not only benefit farmers in form of higher incomes, but is also crucial for protecting the environment: "Economic desperation is a major driver of deforestation" (Annual report 2015, p. 9). With the certification system RA thus creates "incentives for farming and

forest communities to protect our most precious ecosystems” (Annual report 2013, p. 2). Alleviating poverty will stop deforestation and environmental degradation. The (economic) well-being of communities is thus not only an end, but also a means for environmental protection. Besides, it is argued that “[m]aximizing harvests on existing cropland is critical to global food security and climate stability” (Annual report 2016, p. 29). Assistance of producers is not reduced to training, but also includes technical and material support and helps “farmers overcome the constraints they face in adopting more sustainable, productive, and profitable farming practices—for instance, by helping to provide them with access to improved planting materials, fertilizers, and financing for farm investments” (Rainforest Alliance Impacts Report: Partnership, Learning, and Change 2018, p. 12). RA does not provide financial help, e.g. in form of loans, but they recognize the importance of access to finance and therefore facilitate farmers’ and communities’ access by helping them in the credit application processes or linking them with the appropriate financial institution. Additionally, RA teaches ‘climate-smart agricultural methods’, which includes climate change adaptation and increased resilience, but also how to mitigate climate change by reducing emissions. As other initiatives, the RA makes use of the train-the-trainer approach to amplify their reach. Training programs are tailored to local context and culture and “provide vital lessons on the topics farmers care most about” (Annual report 2016, p. 31). Further, solutions to challenges are developed together with locals and based on local experiences. In addition, RA is “partnering with farmers, conservation organizations, scientists, and businesses around the globe” (Rainforest Alliance Impacts Report: Partnership, Learning, and Change, p. 65). Although, as already mentioned, the RA does not directly argue that companies are morally obligated to assist the global poor, they acknowledge the important and influential role of corporations. Therefore, RA collaborates with companies and advises them on their path towards more sustainability and corporate social responsibility commitments. RA also conducts awareness raising campaigns, thereby activating responsible consumers who increase demand for sustainably produced products. In sum, the RA enhances the capabilities of farmers and workers by providing assistance in form of training and material means, thereby respecting local contexts and their self-determination. The initiative contributes to decentralized support systems for farmers and workers. All this is in line with the capabilities approach.

RA supports indigenous communities in protecting or gaining back their land rights and thus helps them to achieve participatory parity. Moreover, through the ‘Free, Prior and Informed Consent Process’, a participatory process that includes all those affected by development plans, it is made sure that indigenous people can “make free and informed choices about the use or development of their lands and resources” (Rainforest Alliance Sustainable Agriculture Standard, p. 18). This can be interpreted as a critical perspectives mechanism of justice.

As the initiative studied before, RA pursues a living wage for producers, which can be interpreted as cosmopolitan. Besides, the emphasis of cooperation with different stakeholders can in addition to the capabilities approach also be interpreted as cosmopolitan.

Lastly, it is striking to note that the RA highlights the importance of the triple bottom line of sustainability more than any other organization under review (although Fairtrade also makes many references).

The results of the *questionnaire* confirm support of justice principles in line with the capabilities approach and critical perspectives (in each case three agree, and three strongly agree). They rather agree with the liberal egalitarian viewpoint (three agree, two strongly agree, one SAN representative however disagrees). Interestingly, while RA respondents agree with the utilitarian statements relating to effective altruism and the more positive effect of certified products in comparison to conventional

products, SAN representatives disagree. The comments (e.g. certification is just confirming the status quo, but not pushing for much change”, “certification is just a good tool, but cannot assure the wellbeing of farmers or ethical trade”) give a hint that this could be the case because they do not believe in the effectiveness of sustainability standards, rather than not agreeing with the utilitarian viewpoints. For cosmopolitanism and RA respondents no clear pattern appears (two are undecided, one agrees). SAN representatives clearly disagree, justifying this opinion by stating certification would not really ensure redistribution, i.e. that the higher price ends up with producers. RA representatives rather agree with the libertarian mechanism of justice (one undecided, one agrees, one strongly agrees), whereas SAN provides no clear picture (two undecided, one disagrees).

The *interviewee* states that local laws would be the best mechanisms to ensure justice. Since law enforcement, however, does not happen in reality in some regions, third party certification sets standards in those areas and ensures that companies have to behave in a way that benefits producers. He also mentions the duty of governments to regulate businesses. The interviewee explains, that the RA tries to bring the two sides of the supply chain, producers and consumers, closer together, so that consumers have a better understanding of the hard work behind producing a commodity. In addition, producers should receive fair prices for their products. Taken together, this can be interpreted as cosmopolitan. Beyond that, RA tries to help farmers through capacity building, and especially by listening and learning from and “by partnering up with them”, which is in line with the capabilities approach.

5.2.3 Summary

Results reveal that cosmopolitanism is the hegemonic justice discourse within RA. The initiative supports rather transformational ideas, while libertarian viewpoints are almost not present (except in the questionnaire). The strong focus on environmental protection is striking.

With regards to the questionnaire results, it can be observed that the answers of RA and SAN representatives are rather similar in general, however differ when statements refer to the benefits of certification. SAN respondents have a more critical attitude towards the effectiveness of standards, which could be explained by the recent decision of SAN to terminate its work in the field of certification.

5.3 UTZ

5.3.1 Profile

The organization started in 2002 as UTZ Kapeh, a corporate initiative, and was founded to bring sustainable coffee certification to a global market (UTZ, 2017b). Since then, it evolved into a non-governmental and not-for-profit multi-stakeholder initiative, whose mission is to create a world where sustainable farming is the norm (Potts et al., 2014; UTZ, 2016, 2017a). It changed its name to simply UTZ in order to reflect the broadening of its scope, now also certifying cocoa, tea and hazelnuts (UTZ, 2017b). Until January 2018, UTZ was governed by a supervisory board, which is the highest decision-making entity of UTZ. It approves new standards, supervises the executive team and steers the initiative in terms of its strategic direction (UTZ, 2016). The board is supposed to reflect a balance of production and consumption interests and therefore should comprise at least one representative of each

of the following stakeholder groups: producer organizations, supply chain actors (in the case of UTZ meaning brands, processor, traders, retailers), NGOs and trade unions (UTZ, 2016). 2016 and 2017 supply chain actors dominated the board with six out of 12 (in 2017) and 13 (in 2016) members. Three producer and one union representative complemented the board, as well as two (2017) and three (2016) civil society representatives respectively (Annual reports 2016; 2017). However, “[s]upervisory Board members do not represent the stakeholder group of which they may be part, but rather act in the overall interests of UTZ” (UTZ, 2016, p. 6). The board appoints its members itself (UTZ, 2016). Stakeholder participation is possible via the Standards Committee and the Product Advisory Committees. The Standards Committee is responsible for revising old Codes of Conducts (UTZ Standards) and developing new ones. The Committee comprises six to twelve members, including at least two members of each of the following groups: ‘producer and supply chain representatives’, ‘NGOs and technical experts on specific sustainability issues’ and ‘certification or sustainability experts’, as well as one to two UTZ staff members (Non-voting ex officio members). A minimum of 30% has to come from UTZ origin countries (UTZ, 2016). The Product Advisory Committees advises on programs and consists of UTZ members from the entire UTZ supply chains. A limited number of seats is reserved for representatives of NGOs, sector organizations and experts (UTZ, 2016). UTZ operates business to consumer. Its main source of revenue are membership fees (Potts et al., 2014). The initiative is a full ISEAL Alliance member (ISEAL Alliance, 2018).

5.3.2 Results

5.3.2.1 *Subjects of Justice*

In UTZ publications borders are not mentioned and hence do not matter. The focus rather lies on the connection of farmers and workers with supply chain actors and consumers through transboundary trade relations. This is underlined by statements such as “UTZ strives to make a vital change in the cocoa, coffee, tea and hazelnut sectors to benefit farmers, their workers and families, their environment and thereby *the planet as a whole*” (Position Paper Gender Equality, p. 1, emphasis added). Storylines about poor marginalized people or farmers as victims of the international economy are not present. The reader of UTZ publications rather gets an image of farmers and workers as business partners or entrepreneurs: “Not only does supply chain information build trust, it really strengthens credibility for buyers and sellers, making it possible for all parties to negotiate good prices for sustainable products” (UTZ Homepage). Farmers are seen as key stakeholders and are listed equally with other actors: “Together with key players in the industry, including farmers, roasters and retailers, UTZ is committed to creating a sustainable, viable coffee market” (UTZ Homepage). UTZ does not assign an explicit responsibility or duty to buyers, traders or consumers to assist farmers and workers in developing countries. If responsibility is mentioned, then rather in the context of the farmers and worker’s responsibility to take care of their employees and co-workers and the environment around them. Producers, for example, are not only seen as affected by climate change, but also as contributors to global warming. “Coffee, cocoa and tea producers contribute to climate change through deforestation, misuse of waste, excessive use of water during processing and imbalanced use of fertilizers“; „[...] it is important to address both producers’ abilities to adapt to the effects of climate change as well as mitigate the impact they are having on the climate” (UTZ Homepage).

The transboundary character and the care for people and the planet could be interpreted as cosmopolitan. However, since the responsibility of wealthy actors for assisting poorer actors is not pointed out, the categorization is not entirely appropriate. The focus on the relationship between

supply chain actors as business partners and the omission of responsibility assignment points towards a libertarian viewpoint on subjects of justice. Besides these findings, however, no statements were found that could be allocated to any of the justice theories under investigation. Too little data is available to come to a final conclusion.

Four UTZ representatives completed the *questionnaire*. They all agree (two agree, two strongly) on the subjects of justice statements related to critical perspectives⁸. One, however, adds to the second statement, that standards are not able to alleviate the pressures of the international economy, arguing that price fluctuations for example have a greater influence than any premium can have. All respondents agree with the cosmopolitan viewpoint and the capabilities approach (in each case three agree, one strongly agrees). They disagree (three disagree, one strongly disagrees) with the libertarian idea of subjects of justice, which stands in contrast to the findings of the document review. For liberal egalitarianism and utilitarianism no clear pattern is apparent.

The *interviewee* sees supply chain actors as interconnected and having moral obligations towards each other. This is in line with the cosmopolitan viewpoint. She also expresses critique that Northern consumers are deciding on behalf of Southern producers what they should want via their demand for sustainability labels and their focus on certain areas, which can be interpreted as a critical perspectives argumentation. Throughout the conversation, the interviewee states several times that the government of a producing country has the responsibility for ensuring the well-being of its citizens, as well as providing services such as proper education. Despite these thoughts, the interviewee has a positive attitude about the work of private standards and their partners in promoting services where a state fails to do so. This is a liberal egalitarian viewpoint.

5.3.2.2 Principles of Justice

Within the UTZ publications the presence of principles of justice related to critical perspectives is observable. It is pointed out that structures of society can impede participatory parity of actors, especially of women. UTZ states, for example, that “women still face systematic exclusion and discrimination” (Annual report, 2016, p. 2), “gender acts as a barrier for women with regard to education and land ownership“ (Position Paper Productivity, p. 5) and that „cultures, societies, and institutions create conditions that facilitate or undermine the possibilities for empowerment” (Position Paper Gender Equality, p. 3). UTZ points out the issue of male dominated working areas, where it is difficult for women to participate in union or worker organizations. Societal structures that make it impossible for women to be economically independent from their husbands or brothers are criticized. Moreover, “agricultural supply chains can only be called sustainable if both men and women can exercise their rights to access to knowledge, resources and decision making structures and where both men and women have the liberty to make their own choices”, which is related to gender structures as well as to participatory parity in general. It is also stated that workers and farmers should be able to voice their needs. UTZ acknowledges that smallholders and women are often excluded from national panels that discuss issues related to farming and trade. Besides, UTZ recognizes the issue of smallholders to get access to the economy, as well as to resources necessary for farming.

⁸ One respondent’s comments on the critical perspectives statements were contradicting his/her Likert scale selection. However, the comments made his/her agreement with critical perspectives clear. The respondent only disagreed because the statements were too narrowly formulated. Therefore, the Likert scale selection was changed from disagree to strongly agree based on the interpretation of the comments.

Although rather weak, support of the capabilities approach can be found in the UTZ publications: the importance of having the liberty to make own decisions is stressed throughout several UTZ documents and the opportunity to develop personal abilities is pointed out. One of the abilities UTZ sees as essential is the ability to farm in a socially and environmentally responsible manner. Furthermore, UTZ's mission is to „create a world where sustainable farming is the norm. Sustainable farming helps farmers, workers and their families to fulfill their ambitions and contributes to safeguard the world's resources, now and in the future“ (UTZ homepage).

UTZ documents make clear that fundamental human rights must be protected. Control points of the UTZ Code of Conduct ensures that basic needs of farmers and workers are met, such as safe housing or access to education, clean water, energy and transport. ILO conventions (including all ILO core conventions), which UTZ adheres to, are listed. This supports a cosmopolitan point of view.

The results of the *questionnaire* confirm support of both critical perspectives and capabilities approach, in addition respondents agree with the principles of utilitarianism (in each case two agree, two strongly agree). In case of the utilitarian principle of justice, one person added the comment that producers are mostly affected, so their interest should be paramount. Support of libertarianism is also consolidated, with three respondents agreeing and one being undecided. They rather tend to disagree with the liberal egalitarian and global difference principle (two disagree, two are undecided).

The *interviewee* explains that justice would mean no child labor, gender equality and opportunities for the youth, especially employment. In her opinion, it is important that also in two generations from now farming creates a sustainable livelihood and sufficient income. These ideas can be interpreted both as in line with the capabilities approach as well as critical perspectives, which again confirms the former results.

5.3.2.3 Mechanisms of Justice

While analyzing UTZ publications, it became apparent that the initiative primarily uses and supports mechanisms in line with the capabilities approach. UTZ focuses on training and capacity building to improve the life of farmers and workers: “Training is key to success at UTZ. It's through training that farmers learn about sustainable agricultural practices and how to improve yields, protect workers and look after the environment” (UTZ Homepage). At the core of UTZ training is the teaching of good agricultural practices, since “[i]t all starts with better farming” (Annual report 2015, p. 4). Through better farming practices farmers will become more resilient to external influences and shocks, and increase their productivity. Increasing productivity is a key objective of UTZ, because “productivity is the most effective and sustainable way to improve the farmers' net income from the certified crop, while having taking care of the environment” (Position Paper Productivity, p. 1). In addition, productivity is depicted as the solution to most of the challenges farmers and workers face in developing countries. Accordingly, productivity is an important tool to establish a living income and thus a solution to poverty, since farmer incomes will increase. These economic benefits in turn "outweigh the perceived economic benefits of using child labor” (Position Paper child labor, p. 2) and are thus an incentive to refrain from such practices. Higher incomes related to increased productivity can also be spent on schooling of children and/or allow for investment in climate change adaptation measures. Moreover, higher productivity is seen as a good way to tackle climate change, since the carbon footprint of crops can be reduced. UTZ makes use of the train-the-trainer approach, where farmer group leaders are trained first and are then supposed to share their experiences. In that way, skills and expertise is passed on in a cascade system and knowledge can be multiplied. Before the

development of new projects or training curriculums a needs assessment is done, which includes dialogue with farmers and workers and observation. This enables trainers to tailor the training to the needs and wishes of the trainees and makes training more efficient. Training includes also awareness raising activities on issues like child labor, gender equality, health, safety and hygiene. In sum, these insights are in line with the capabilities approach, which strongly focuses on assistance in form of education and training to support people in developing their capabilities. Additionally, UTZ's states that its efforts are tailored to the needs of farmers and workers and respect their self-determination.

Throughout the publications, the need for a 'multi-stakeholder', 'multi-level' and 'cross-cutting' approach is mentioned repeatedly. "Collaboration is vital" (Annual report 2014, p. 4), which is why the initiative seeks to cooperate with like-minded organizations as well as many different stakeholders, including farmers, workers, communities, local organizations, governments and corporations. The decentralized character of these approaches and the important role that is assigned to NGOs and corporations also fit into the mechanisms of justice preferred by the capabilities approach, but can also partially be interpreted as cosmopolitan.

A premium for UTZ certified commodities is included in the UTZ programs. Unlike other initiatives UTZ does not define a specific amount or percentage that has to be paid as premium to producers. "The premium is part of a whole negotiation on price, volumes, quality, duration of contracts, investments, etc. This is a market process in which UTZ does not interfere as we believe that the producer or group should negotiate the premium with the first buyer" (Position Paper Premium, p. 1). Therefore, this position corresponds with libertarianism due to the strong emphasis on the market, rather than with a cosmopolitan redistribution mechanism as in the case of Fairtrade. Moreover, the premium is seen as "secondary both in potential and importance", productivity is key (Position Paper Productivity, p. 1).

UTZ also promotes mechanisms of justice that can be allocated to critical perspectives. First, gender equality and women empowerment are fostered. The Core Code of Conduct e.g. ensures that "measures are taken to ensure equal opportunities for women to participate in training and awareness raising sessions" (p. 20). Not only via the Code of conduct, but also through training and awareness raising on different levels, UTZ is "helping to remove the barriers that stop female farm workers and owners from fulfilling their potential" (UTZ Homepage). Women and girls are empowered by fostering their "internal as well as social capabilities, to stand up for their own rights and freedoms, claiming access to resources, organizations, sharing roles and responsibilities more equally in families and communities" (Position Paper Gender Equality, p.3) and by enabling them to participate in decision-making. Second, UTZ supports the foundation of unions and worker organizations and encourages people to join them, so their voices are heard and they can take part in collective bargaining. Additionally, "empowering farmers by enhancing their negotiation skills" is another UTZ strategy (Annual report 2013, p. 16). Better market access for farmers is pursued by facilitating strong relationships between producers and buyers.

Apart from the statements that could be allocated to subjects, principles and mechanisms of justice, it is striking that UTZ often primarily addresses companies i.e. potential future UTZ members in its publications, as for example in the 2016 annual report: "A major study from performance management company Nielsen found that 91% of consumers in the world's biggest economies expect companies to do more than make a profit, and to operate responsibly to address social and environmental issues" (p. 7). UTZ performs self-promotion and elaborates which benefits companies can expect from collaboration: "UTZ and other sustainability standards enable business to contribute to the SDGs" (Position Paper SDGs, p. 2). On the UTZ homepage, a whole section called 'better business hub'

exists, that provides companies with all relevant information about UTZ, certification or traceability as well as material that can be used for marketing. This can be interpreted as advocacy, but rather for UTZ itself than for producers. Due to the focus on companies and thus the economic sector, this is laid out as libertarian.

The *questionnaire* results confirm support for mechanisms related to the capabilities approach and critical perspectives (two agree, two strongly agree). Respondents tend to agree (one undecided, two agree, one strongly agrees) with the cosmopolitan notion of redistribution, i.e. consumers paying more for certified products, with one person adding the condition that these higher prices trickle down to the producers, which might not always be the case in reality. Two respondents agree and one strongly agrees with the liberal egalitarian viewpoint. One however, strongly disagrees and clarifies this opinion by pointing out that the state is responsible for ensuring the well-being of its citizens (here workers and farmers). Although the respondent strongly disagrees, the comment can still be interpreted as liberal egalitarian, in which the nation state plays a central role in providing crucial services. Respondents tend to agree with the utilitarian notion to achieve justice. The libertarian viewpoint is rather disputed, since one respondent disagrees, two are undecided and one agrees. Two added a comment, highlighting the responsibility of the state to formalize just production and trade. One respondent further elaborates, that certification and national legislation would go hand in hand: certification would make sure people comply with legislation, but it could not replace any national laws. This again gives a hint towards a liberal egalitarian viewpoint.

Similar as during the document analysis, the importance of productivity becomes apparent during the *interview*. The interviewee highlights economic sustainability as a key driver. High productivity is thus important and benefits producers most, more than a premium. She elaborates on assistance in form of training, especially in good agricultural practices, taking place in farmer field schools. In addition, she confirms that advice is tailored to the individual needs and circumstances of the producers when possible. However, the interviewee notes that, due to their expertise, decisions on the content of training and education programs are mainly taken by staff who is working in producing countries, but originating from developed countries. Awareness raising programs on social issues and environmental problems such as child labor, gender equality or waste management takes place regularly. The interviewee does not only see value in these programs in itself, but again stresses their positive effect on productivity. Taken together, these mechanisms can be allocated within the capabilities approach. Moreover, the interviewee refers to the paternalistic character of standards: “It is western concerns that third world countries have to implement, almost to a higher level than western actors would implement them.” She continues by stating, “consumer pressure is maybe almost too much compared to the voice of the farmer. [...] Standards should satisfy the interest of the farmer. In the end those are the people where you try to create an impact on their livelihoods.” By acknowledging that farmer voices should be heard more, the respondents critique can be interpreted as a critical perspectives viewpoint.

5.3.3 Summary

Taken together, content analysis, questionnaire results and interview reveal the importance of the capabilities approach and critical perspectives within UTZ’s work (see especially within the categories of principles and mechanisms of justice), while libertarian notions are also apparent. Some ideas related to other justice theories seem to be framed from a libertarian viewpoint. Result reveal no clear hegemonic justice discourse, but the libertarian idea seems to be latent behind other justice approaches. UTZ supports conventional aspects of justice. However, while not as unequivocally

transformational in its ideas and language as Fairtrade or RA, UTZ still promotes some transformational aspects.

5.4 Ethical Tea Partnership

5.4.1 Profile

The member-based initiative, back then called the ‘Tea Sourcing Partnership’, was founded in 1997 by several UK-based tea companies that wanted to improve conditions along their tea supply chains. Renamed in 2004, the Ethical Tea Partnership (ETP) currently comprises 49 companies and retailers from Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand and Sri Lanka (Ethical Tea Partnership, 2018a). The ETP is a not-for-profit organization and open to any company involved in sourcing, packing or trading of tea. The alliance works towards a „thriving tea industry that is socially just and environmentally sustainable“ (Ethical Tea Partnership, 2018b). The majority of ETP board members are representatives of tea-sourcing companies or other private sector representatives (Interviewee 1, ETP). Board members are from developed countries. Decisions about the overall strategy as well as the ETP standard are made by the board as well as ETP staff. Stakeholder participation in standard-setting processes is not foreseen, however stakeholder consultation (Potts et al., 2014). ETP is funded by membership fees (Potts et al., 2014). Projects and programs in developing countries are mostly in cooperation with other stakeholders (governments, UN organizations, NGOs, companies and others) and thus partly financed by collaborating partners, as well as donors (Interviewee 1, ETP). ETP works business to business, but its label is also visible on consumer products (Potts et al., 2014). ETP is not a member of the ISEAL Alliance (ISEAL Alliance, 2018).

5.4.2 Results

5.4.2.1 Subjects of Justice

During the analysis of ETP documents and homepage no clear picture of subjects of justice became apparent. No statements referring to stakeholders who have a right to claim for justice were made. ETP does not mention responsibilities between supply chain actors, for example the duty of tea companies to assist farmers and workers in developing countries. This does not mean that they do not repeatedly state that they assist and help workers and farmers. Phrases as “[w]e help smallholders achieve better incomes by...” (Pushing Boundaries, p. 4) or “we provide free training and support to help producers improve conditions and tackle commonly found problems...” (Delivering change - Improving Lives, p. 1) are recurring. Several times the ETP points out problems that are related to tea estates or producer countries, and that ETP tries to alleviate or tackle these issues in order to ensure better lives and working conditions for tea producers. While a charitable motive becomes visible, the underlying reason does not. An additional impression is that ETP sees producers as business partners that have to comply with good social and environmental standards in order to maintain business: “We provide ETP members with the assurance they need about conditions in their supply chains by monitoring performance against international social and environmental standards as outlined in the ETP Global Standard” (Delivering Change, Improving lives, p. 2). Here, the needs of ETP members (companies) are paramount. As the role of tea workers within ETP’s statements is rather passive, the business relationship does not seem to be equal. This gives hints towards a libertarian viewpoint.

Four representatives of the ETP completed the *questionnaire*. All four strongly agree with the cosmopolitan viewpoint stating that actors along a supply chain are interconnected and have moral obligations towards each other. Moreover, three strongly agree and one agrees with the critical perspective notion of subjects of justice and two respondents strongly agree and two agree with the capabilities approach. Two respondents strongly agree and one agrees with the utilitarian viewpoint, stating that the interests of supply chain actors are equal. One respondent strongly disagrees. Three respondents agree with the liberal egalitarian statement. One disagrees, arguing that sustainability standards can only play a small role in overcoming national barriers to development. All respondents disagree (three disagree, one strongly disagrees) with the libertarian viewpoint that people are not morally accountable towards each other, which is interesting when comparing it to the results of the publication content analysis.

Two *interviews* were conducted for this case. The idea of subjects of justice described by interviewee 1 can be interpreted as a cosmopolitan one. The interviewee states that supply chain actors are interconnected and “everyone has a responsibility.” The interviewee further explains that in certain countries or circumstances, producers are not able to call for justice themselves. This is why sustainability standards and similar means exist, “because in areas where the people who are working are not able to call for just treatment, other people have a responsibility to do so.” Especially consumers “have a really big voice in that situation. They vote with what they buy.” This viewpoint is supplemented with the idea that especially companies should investigate on issues along their supply chains and take actions to reduce for example exploitation or modern slavery. This can be allocated to the capabilities approach, which states that companies are responsible for what they are doing and should promote the capabilities of people in the areas where they do business. Interviewee 2 acknowledges responsibility right across the supply chain and argues that both consumers and companies should ensure equitable facilities and fair wages in producer countries, which is in line with cosmopolitan thinking. The interviewee mentions national hurdles to justice, such as prevailing infrastructure, which gives a hint towards a liberal egalitarian viewpoint.

5.4.2.2 Principles of Justice

The ETP requires estates to pay workers the legal minimum wage. However, the initiative mentions that legal minimum wages are often not high enough to secure the basic needs of a tea worker, let alone of his or her family. Therefore, a long-term goal of ETP is to make sure tea workers earn a living wage, i.e. smallholders a living income. Key objective of a program located in Malawi is for example “significant improvement in wages and benefits for workers - supply chain commitment towards a living wage by 2020” (An overview of the ETP, p. 3). The ETP standard requires estates to “work towards payment of a living wage” if the estate already achieves paying the minimum wage (ETP Global Standard, p. 14). ETP defines a living wage as a “wage level which meets basic needs including food, clothing, housing, energy, transportation, health care, and education, as well as the ability to participate in culturally required activities (including births and related celebrations, weddings, funerals and related activities). It also allows for the setting aside of small amounts of money (savings) to allow planning for the future purchase of items and the meeting of needs” (ETP Global Standard, p. 28). The goal to ensure tea workers and farmers meet their basic needs can be allocated to the cosmopolitan approach of justice. In comparison to the initiatives examined above, ETP does not directly refer to human rights. Some ILO conventions are included in the ETP Global Standard.

In its documents the ETP highlights the vulnerability of young people, especially to trafficking. Therefore, ETP equips them “with the knowledge and life skills to help them secure a better future and reduce their vulnerability to violence, abuse, and exploitation” (An Overview of the ETP, p. 3). This focus on skills development and knowledge relates to the capabilities approach.

Although much is said about what is done to improve conditions for tea communities, farmers and workers, not much is said about the underlying motivation to do so. ETP documents also lack a description of what would be just or equitable, although a “socially just” tea industry is the vision of the initiative. The ETP repeatedly states that its aim is to improve workers and smallholders lives and livelihoods (see e.g. Pushing Boundaries; An Overview of the Ethical Tea Partnership; How Our Work Impacts on the MDGs of the United Nations; Improving the livelihoods of smallholder farmers, Indonesia). However, the initiative does not elaborate on what these better lives and livelihoods should look like.

As with the subjects of justice, it is rather difficult to draw final conclusions about the principles of justice when looking at the analyzed documents of the ETP, since very few relevant statements were found.

In contrast to this are the results of the *questionnaire*, which show agreement on a wide range of justice theories. The dominant principle of justice belongs to the capabilities approach, with which all four respondents are strongly agreeing. Moreover, all agree (three agree, one strongly agrees) with the critical perspectives viewpoint. Respondents agree with the liberal egalitarian difference principle, as well as with the global difference principle of cosmopolitanism. One person, however, disagrees with the liberal egalitarian i.e. strongly disagrees with the global difference principle, adding the comment that supply chains always include inequalities, especially across countries. Two respondents agree and one strongly agrees on the libertarian view on global markets as important factor for justice. One, however, added that in underdeveloped countries regulation might be necessary to prevent exploitation. One respondent disagrees with the libertarian principle, arguing that markets need regulation to make sure that the most vulnerable do not get exploited. All four respondents agree on certification being the ideal way of achieving justice, because it relies on a market mechanism. Two persons agree and one strongly agrees with the utilitarian principle, that supply chain interactions should benefit the greatest number of people. One person disagrees, stating that the preference should be weighted in accordance with its significance, giving the example of consumers wishing to pay less for a product and producers whose complete livelihoods depend on a commodity. Although the respondent disagrees, her comment can be interpreted as preference utilitarian, in line with the principle of declining marginal utility.

Results of the *interviews* show support for cosmopolitanism and the capabilities approach, as well as for liberal egalitarianism and critical perspectives. Interviewee 1 criticizes that the profits made along a supply chain do not provide for the most vulnerable people of the supply chain. In the interviewee’s opinion some sort of equity or equality would be necessary and assurance that each actor receives fair compensation for her/his work. Beyond that, all actors along a supply chain should have an equal right to a decent standard of living. Considering the international character of the statements they can be interpreted as cosmopolitan. The respondent adds that people who work in supply chains should be able to provide for themselves and their families, have a decent standard of living, access to health care and education, and should be able to pursue things that make them happy. This is in line with the capabilities approach.

Interviewee 2 states that equality in terms of social opportunities amongst everyone in the supply chain would be ideal. Moreover, a fair price for the commodities i.e. ‘equitable payment’ of the producers is key. These ideas can be interpreted as cosmopolitan viewpoints. However, the interviewee adds the following: “But of course you can’t compare a social benefit or a wage in a developing country and a developed country. So equality within that framework where actors are situated.” The interviewee also states, that a living wage is determined by local prices and costs of living, so setting an international living wage is not possible. This addition and emphasis of the national context makes the statements rather support liberal egalitarian principles of justice. The interviewee adds some post-colonial critique on the paternalistic aspects of sustainability standards, by telling the exemplary anecdote how the British built tea estates in Sri Lanka, brought in workers from India, treated them like slaves, left, but recently criticize the working conditions over there and demand better practices. This way of thinking can be allocated to critical perspectives.

5.4.2.3 Mechanisms of Justice

The ETP documents are to the greatest extent characterized by mechanisms of justice that can be allocated to the capabilities approach. Emphasis of ETPs work lies on capacity building through knowledge and skills transfer, awareness raising and creating access to finance, which corresponds with two fertile functionalities mentioned earlier. The initiative, for example, helps “producers improve their environmental management systems to protect soil, water, ecosystems, and wildlife” (ETP strategy – the next three years, p. 1) or runs “training programmes on key sustainability issues that producers commonly struggle with, e.g. health and safety, safe use of agrochemicals, good human resource management practices” (An Overview of the ETP, p. 2). “Access to affordable finance is crucial for farmers to be able to invest in materials to improve the productivity of their plots” (Delivering change Improving lives, p. 9), training in business management is thus provided and access to loans is facilitated. Training and assistance is tailored to the needs of recipients through in-depth needs assessment and including farmers and workers while designing courses: “Prior to the course, participants identified hazards and risks at their own work places to help prepare course content specific to the needs of Sri Lanka” (Delivering change. Improving lives, p. 5). ‘Farmer field schools’ use a *schools without walls* approach and focus on the transfer of practical skills. Training “covers composting and agrochemical management, energy conservation and climate change adaptation, income diversification by growing food crops and rearing livestock, business skills training, bee keeping, health and nutrition, waste management, and HIV/AIDS awareness among other things” (An Overview of the ETP, p. 4). ETP also builds on the train-the-trainer approach. Mutual learning is enhanced by exchange programs between farmers from different regions: “Such visits demonstrate good practice first hand, show practical solutions to real issues, and highlight the social and environmental principals required by ETP and other standards” (Introducing ETP, p. 4). In addition, ETP designs posters and written guidance documents related to different issue areas. The initiative e.g. raises “family awareness in each community about child rights and the support available to help them educate and protect their children” (An Overview of the ETP, p. 3).

A recurring theme within the ETP documents is the emphasis on cooperation with a vast amount of different stakeholders (national and local governments, NGOs, unions and companies, etc.) and the need for sector wide approaches. Collaboration with other private standards, such as Fairtrade, UTZ or RA, are mentioned several times. ETP presents itself as a ‘collaboration broker’, and highlights its role in initiating projects and hosting conferences: “We convene industry, development agencies, governmental, and non- governmental organisations to improve the lives of communities within the tea sector” (Supporting Change in Assam, p. 1). This emphasis on transnational cooperation and multi-

stakeholder approaches can be allocated to the capabilities approach, which strongly favors decentralized solutions in achieving justice as well as to cosmopolitanism.

ETP focuses on the increase of productivity and tea quality and thus on increasing competitiveness, since both will raise income of farmers and workers. ETP organizes workshops where farmers learn what companies are looking for when they buy tea. Taken together, these measures increase the potential of tea farmers to access international markets. This could be interpreted as in line with critical perspectives (creating market access) as well as the capabilities approach (enhancing capabilities). The story is, however, told from a business angle, and is thus more strongly in line with libertarianism.

In ETPs documents, references to the empowerment of women are made. ETP for example wants to “create a safe operating environment for women” (Malawi Tea 2020 Revitalization program towards living wages. Second progress report 2016.2020, p. 13). In a document, the initiative reports that “improved opportunities for women” were created, “including more women picking up their wages, leadership roles in forums, and the first female supervisors appointed on two estates” (Pushing Boundaries, p.11). Special attention is also paid to girls, one projects focuses for example on “giving girls access to education and training. This has been implemented through the strengthening and setting up of more than 350 Adolescent Girls’ Groups” (Improving Young Lives in Tea Communities of Assam, India, p. 1). Moreover, ETP supports unions, promotes union membership and aims to “improve farmer organisation and influence in the supply chain” (Supporting change in Assam, p. 5). As already mentioned, ETP facilitates the potential of tea farmers to access international markets. This is in line with critical perspectives.

Results of *questionnaire* and *interviews* confirm affinity with the capabilities approach, critical perspectives and cosmopolitanism. The *questionnaire* results show, that the most supported justice mechanism is related to critical perspectives, with all respondents strongly agreeing. This is followed by the capabilities approach, where two respondents agree and two strongly agree. Additionally, respondents support the statements related to utilitarianism, with all either agreeing or strongly agreeing. They also agree on liberal egalitarianism (one agrees, two strongly agree), one is undecided adding the comment that sustainability standards rarely directly provide services like health care, but support providers. For the rest of the theories, the answers are more mixed, with respondents rather agreeing, however always including one person who disagrees.

Interviewee 1 explains, that ETP assists tea estates and farmers on their path towards certification by among others giving advice, teaching good agricultural practices through farmer field schools and raising awareness around topics such as child labor. Next to certification as a mechanism to achieve justice, the interviewee mentions the focus of ETP to encourage companies to take responsibility and invest in different aspects of their supply chain, as e.g. in better washing facilities for workers. Both strategies are in line with the capabilities approach. Apart from this, interviewee 1 states that the final product which is paid for by the consumer should cover the real costs of it and ensure that everyone along the supply chain, especially the producers, are able to have a decent quality of living. The interviewee thus indirectly refers to redistribution from the consumer to the producer, which is a cosmopolitan idea.

Interviewee 2 argues that sustainability standards can show companies, tea estates and workers the way towards justice and sustainability. Working conditions will be improved through compliance with standard criteria and thus benefit producers. Moreover, the importance of education in entrepreneurial skills and good agricultural practices to increase productivity is stressed, as well as education on topics

such as child labor, good working conditions or gender equality. The interviewee explains that at the beginning of a project brainstorming with producers and trainers occurs where producers can stress what they want to learn. The respondent also gives the example of community development projects initiated by ETP. In addition, he explains that school education will empower people, also to overcome traditional societal structures that might hinder people from fully participating in society. This is both in line with the capabilities approach as well as critical perspectives. Furthermore, the importance of a living wage is stressed, which is in line with cosmopolitanism. The interviewee states, that there is still a long way to go, but that ETP works towards this long-term goal.

5.4.3 Summary

Comparing all data, a discrepancy between the results of the content analysis of ETP publications on the one hand and questionnaire and interviews on the other hand is observable. While the content analysis reveals libertarian notions, but very few statements in general that can be connected to a justice theory, questionnaire and interviews provide a totally different picture by revealing affinities to all the theories across all categories. Although overall no clear picture becomes apparent, it is observable that the capabilities approach and critical perspectives are the most supported theories by interviewees and respondents. Those ideas, however, are rather superficially addressed in ETP's publications. In sum, no hegemonic discourse became apparent, but ETP's framing of justice can be described as not transformational.

The amplitude of theoretical viewpoints supported in the questionnaire could be explained by the lack of a clear vision of the initiative in its general documents and overall strategy. If no clear line of thinking is predefined, employees of the initiative might start to interpret or give their personal opinion.

5.5 GLOBALG.A.P.

5.5.1 Profile

GLOBALG.A.P. (back then named EUREPGAP) was initiated by European Retailers in 1997. Aim was to harmonize their individual standards and establish a new and independent certification system for Good Agricultural Practices in order to keep up with the growing consumer concerns for food safety and sustainability and at the same time safe costs. Driven by globalization and international markets, producers and retailers from around the world joined, giving the initiative a global character, leading to the name change to GLOBALG.A.P. (GLOBALG.A.P., n.d.-a). The initiative's purpose is to "create private sector incentives for agricultural producers worldwide to adopt safe and sustainable practices to make this world a better place to live for our children" (Annual report 2017, p. 3). It is a member-based organization and currently operates across 125 countries. GLOBALG.A.P. is directed by a board, which consists of five producer and five retailer representatives, "reflecting the supply chain partnership" (Annual report, p. 8). Currently all of them are from Europe. The board provides the overall strategy of the initiative and approves standards. Technical committees are responsible for the standard setting and development process. Committee members are elected by the GLOBALG.A.P. members and consist of an equal number of producer/trader and retailer/food service representatives, which shall represent the regions North America, South America, Europe, Africa and Asia (GLOBALG.A.P., n.d.-b). While stakeholder participation in decision-making and standard

setting is not possible, stakeholder consultation in standard-setting is foreseen, via comments, meetings and webinars. Income stems from around 90% from membership fees and thus recurring sources. The initiative operates business to business and is not a member of the ISEAL Alliance (ISEAL Alliance, 2018; Potts et al., 2014).

5.5.2 Results

5.5.2.1 Subjects of Justice

In its *publications*, GLOBALG.A.P. states that it is a “global organization” (Annual report 2015, p. 2), “run by the industry for the industry” (A world of Solutions, p. 7). It builds on a global network of retailers and producers and connects supply chain actors with each other. Borders hence play no significant role. GLOBALG.A.P. members are described as customers and as business partners. Interactions occur in the context of demand and supply. Moral obligations or duties of the rich to assist the poor are not mentioned in any publication. Solidarity can thus be interpreted as secondary. Although not enough statements were found to come to a final conclusion, the results give a hint towards a libertarian approach to principles of justice.

Five representatives of GLOBALG.A.P. completed the *questionnaire*. All respondents agree with the cosmopolitan understanding of subjects of justice (three agree, two strongly agree), which is surprising with regards to the results of the document analysis. They also rather tend to be in support of the capabilities approach (two agree, two strongly agree, however one person disagrees). Interestingly, two respondents disagree with the idea that economic structures shape producers lives (and two agree and one strongly agrees), while four agree (and one is undecided) with the idea that standards also shape lives, with the possibility to alleviate external pressures on producers. For statements regarding the other justice theories respondents give diverging answers.

5.5.2.2 Principles of Justice

Based on the argument that retailers face the increasing demand of consumers for safe and sustainable food, GLOBALG.A.P. tries to convince and enable farmers to adopt good agricultural practices and get GLOBALG.A.P. certified. This makes producers attractive for buyers and retailers and enables them to access local, national and international markets. Buyers and retailers, on the other hand, have access to a larger range of producers and can choose from whom to purchase. GLOBALG.A.P. offers several “Add-ons” in addition to its general standard. Producers can decide whether they want to get certified against these additional criteria, and retailers can decide whether they choose to include one or several Add-ons as requirements for a business agreement. “The more incentives we can provide to producers around the world to adopt safer and more sustainable practices for all their products, the better this world will become. Innovation and continuous improvement throughout the industry, ongoing customization and standardization, and always in close partnership with all stakeholders to deliver the preferred solution for farm assurance worldwide - our shared vision!” (A world of Solutions, p. 4). ILO conventions and human rights are only mentioned in the context of the GRASP (‘GLOBALG.A.P. Risk Assessment on Social Practice’) add-on. Their adherence is thus only voluntary. Since the work of GLOBALG.A.P. strongly relies on enabling trade relationship between producers, buyers and retailers and voluntary ‘customized’ solutions that put freedom of choice (to get certified or demand certain certification of Add-ons) in the focus, the principles of justice can be interpreted as libertarian. However, few statements that directly refer to any principle of justice could be found.

Regarding the principles of justice, *questionnaire* respondents agree most with the statement of critical perspectives (one agrees, four strongly agree). They also agree with the capabilities approach and the idea of being able to live a self-determined life (three agree, two strongly agree). They rather agree with the utilitarian perspective (one agrees, three strongly agree, but one disagrees). Moreover, respondents are positively inclined towards the free market and thus the libertarian principle of justice. One however adds the comment “free, but regulated in relation to sustainability related issues.” Apart from that, the person remarks that certification can become a hurdle for producers, if it is too expensive for them to reach. No conclusion can be drawn for the liberal egalitarian difference principle nor the global one.

5.5.2.3 Mechanisms of Justice

For GLOBALG.A.P. certification is key in connecting producers and buyers, and thus benefits all stakeholders along a supply chain. GLOBALG.A.P. creates awareness about their certification system and builds on capacity training of producers to implement the GLOBALG.A.P. standard. Capacity building is done via Farm Assurer, which are consultants trained and licensed by GLOBALG.A.P., able to assist producers on their path towards GLOBALG.A.P. certification. Capacity building is often combined with a ‘commitment from buying companies’, which gives producers the benefit of long-term access to the market. Localg.a.p. is an entry-level program specifically for ‘emerging’ producers, who are not yet able to comply with the global GLOBALG.A.P. standard. Requirements are a little lower and the capacity to comply with the global standard is built up gradually. Localg.a.p. cannot be initiated by a producer but requires a ‘program owner’: a company (retailer, exporter, manufacturer, etc.) that wants to engage in business with the producer and therefore demands certain standards. Other benefits for producers are described as follows: “Reduce your exposure to food safety and product safety reputational risks. Gain access to local and global markets, suppliers and retailers. Improve the efficiency of your farm management. Save costs by reducing the number of on-farm audits [...] Secure access to financing and to capital markets [...]” (GLOBALG.A.P. Fruit and Vegetable certification, p. 4). Benefits focus on a good business case, rather than on the well-being of people or the environment. Tailor-made solutions for localg.a.p. and for add-ons to the normal standard are possible, meaning that supply chain actors can create their own compilation of requirements: “customized add-ons [...] raise your status as a producer and offer buyers specific assurances tailored to their interests and preferences” (GLOBALG.A.P. Farm Assurer Program, p. 6). National technical working groups support the work of the standard-setting committees by taking national challenges to standard implementation into account and by providing guidance on how to successfully implement the standard on a national level in differing contexts. While capacity building is an element that would fit into the thinking of the capabilities approach, solutions are rather tailored to the need of buyers and retailers and not to the need of producers. Retailer needs are predominant and their relation to producers can be described as slightly paternalistic. This is underlined by the description of localg.a.p. as a tool “to support retailers in sourcing safer products” (Annual report 2015, p. 15).

For producers, certification also includes to be listed in the GLOBALG.A.P. database: “As a producer, your unique 13-digit GLOBALG.A.P. Number (GGN) is your passport to the world’s markets. It enables retailers to confirm your certified status and identify you as a trusted supplier. And where it appears on packaging, it helps shoppers check your certification and assure them of the quality, safety and sustainability of your product. In short, it’s a great sales aid” (GLOBALG.A.P. Fruit and Vegetable certification, p. 4). Through the database and capacity building GLOBALG.A.P. enables

producers to access the market and participate in global trade. This would make it a mechanism in line with critical perspectives. However, the database also allows retailers to ‘monitor their producers’, which is again paternalistic and does not match the justice approach. Interpreted in a different way, representatives of critical perspectives could sharply criticize GLOBALG.A.P.’s work: interests and preferences of actors such as buyers and retailers are often in the foreground. Producers have to comply with certain criteria in order to be able to engage in business relations with those actors. They are thus subjugated to the structures defined by Northern corporations.

According to GLOBALG.A.P. a task of major importance is the harmonization of standards. The initiative therefore collaborates with other standard initiatives to benchmark standards and to reduce audits: Harmonizing the requirements of different schemes and checklists cuts out duplication and takes the complexity out of certification. It reduces costs, administration, time and effort, with producers, suppliers and retailers all profiting from the benefits. By gaining GLOBALG.A.P. approval, benchmarked schemes and checklists also enjoy international recognition - a valuable advantage in the highly competitive global market. ‘Unnecessary’ burdens for producers and obstacles of trade are thus tried to reduce to a minimum.

In sum, while some references are made to elements of other justice theories, these mechanisms are framed from a libertarian viewpoint.

In contrast to this are the results of the *questionnaire*. As with the principles of justice, respondents support the statement corresponding to critical perspectives most (four strongly agree, one agrees). This is followed by the support for the capabilities approach (one undecided, two agree, two strongly agree). Except for one respondent who disagrees, all others agree on the cosmopolitan statement, highlighting redistribution (two agree, two strongly agree). The one disagreeing argues, that prices will always reflect supply and demand. Respondents rather tend to support the libertarian viewpoint, than disagreeing with it (two undecided, one agrees, two strongly agree), which at least partly confirms the results of the document analysis. For liberal egalitarianism and utilitarianism no clear tendencies are observable. One respondent comments on the liberal egalitarianism statement, and is critical towards the idea that standards replace government regulation.

5.5.3 Summary

The content analysis did not provide much information on GLOBALG.A.P.’s underlying justice concept. Very few statements which could be allocated to any of the six justice theories were found. Nonetheless, a tendency towards the libertarian viewpoint can be detected in the gathered data, which is also supported by the results of the questionnaire. This points towards a latent hegemony of libertarianism.

Interestingly, the questionnaire additionally revealed support for a wide spectrum of theories. As with ETP, this could be the case since no clear vision in relation to justice is formulated by GLOBALG.A.P., consequently respondents might interpret more or give their individual opinion.

6. Case comparison

6.1. Subjects of Justice

When comparing the subjects of justice across cases it becomes apparent that cosmopolitanism, critical perspectives and the capabilities approach are supported by each of the standard initiatives, in most cases even strongly. This is not surprising, when considering on the one hand the very character of sustainability standards, building on global trade and border crossing connections between supply chain actors, and on the other hand the important features of the three justice theories: the unimportance of borders and the belief that the wealthy have moral obligations towards the poor. The portrayed standard initiatives operate across the globe and involve a multitude of stakeholders. All initiatives highlight their transnational character. Responsibility of the rich towards the poor is expressed most clearly by Fairtrade International, which explicitly assigns both a positive and a negative duty of actors from developed countries to assist actors from developing nations. RA implicitly assigns responsibilities, while UTZ, ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. make no references to the topic in their publications.

Although all initiatives acknowledge the interconnectedness of people across the globe in the context of global trade and refer to moral obligations beyond the nation state (at least according to questionnaire and interview), several initiatives make clear that national legislation is nevertheless important for the well-being of producers. References to policies regarding legal minimum wages, land rights or gender equality are made and it is pointed out how these are the cornerstones of fair production conditions and just trade. Seen in this way, borders do matter. Accordingly, sustainability standards can help to overcome national barriers to development. However, they are not considered a substitution of domestic policies, but rather work within the legal framework, build on it or help to improve it. This mirrors the reality of all initiatives, which are obliged to operate within differing legal contexts, however applying stricter criteria in some cases.

The RA's notion of subjects of justice differs from the other initiatives regarding its strong focus on environmental protection within its certification system. The initiative ascribes nature intrinsic value. While all the other initiatives (especially Fairtrade and UTZ) also work towards environmental sustainability and aim at reducing the impact of (agricultural) production on the environment, the theme is not as strong as within RA's results. This can be explained with the initiative's history, starting as an environmental NGO preoccupied with deforestation.

6.2 Principles of Justice

Although not as clear as with the subjects of justice, a pattern for the principles of justice becomes apparent across the cases. Critical perspectives and the capabilities approach are supported by all initiatives and are in most cases favored over the other justice theories (at least superficially). For critical perspectives statements relating to societal and economic structures, which disadvantage women and small producers groups, are mentioned most. In the case of the capabilities approach, initiatives agree on the aim of all people being able to live a good, self-determined and dignified life. This is followed by a support of cosmopolitanism (with the exception of GLOBALG.A.P.), which is mainly based on the importance initiatives' devote to producers meeting their basic needs, rather than on a global difference principle. It is striking that the importance initiatives ascribe to human rights and international conventions such as those of the ILO varies greatly: while Fairtrade mentions human rights and ILO conventions most frequently and RA and UTZ highlight them, ETP does not mention

human rights at all and GLOBALG.A.P. only refers to them within documents related to the GRASP add-on. Although it becomes clear that initiatives are in accordance with the opinion that people must be able to meet their basic needs, a global difference principle is by several respondents of the questionnaire pointed out as idealistic or not feasible. Respondents (from ETP, UTZ and RA) rather agree with the liberal egalitarian one. All initiatives (except for GLOBALG.A.P.) support the utilitarian principle saying supply chain interactions should satisfy the needs of the greatest number of actors. They even more agree with the principle based on Singer's preference utilitarianism, which shows great coherence with the principle of declining marginal utility.

6.3 Mechanisms of Justice

Two major points are striking. First, many more statements were found and assigned to a justice theory within the category of mechanisms of justice than within the other two categories. Second, support for a wider range of justice theories is observable than it was the case for the categories of subjects and principles.

Obviously, the initiatives use certification as the main instrument of improving production and trade. However, all of them state, either directly or indirectly, that certification alone is not enough. The RA's statement (Annual report 2015, p. 42) is exemplary for this finding: "Obviously, sustainability training and certification in isolation cannot stop political oppression, eliminate entrenched socio-economic disparities, or prevent human rights violations from occurring. However, a rigorous sustainability certification system, complemented by well-designed training programs, can serve as a powerful tool for gradual improvement across sectors and landscapes." All initiatives supplement certification with other instruments such as training programs, advice, financial assistance, lobbying, and more. The many instruments they use in achieving justice, and the wide range of justice theories they support within this category can point towards the extraordinary high complexity of achieving just trade, due to the many diverse stakeholders with their different contexts and interests that are included in trade, combined with the different jurisdictions across countries as well as governance levels across and within countries. One instrument could probably not account for this complexity. The diverse instruments mirror the different stakeholders and governance levels, and they enfold their power through their combination. Moreover, all initiatives (except GLOBALG.A.P.) seem to share the viewpoint, that they (as an organization) alone cannot achieve their visions. Cooperation across many different actor groups and governance levels is highlighted as important and the responsibility of consumers, companies and governments is pointed out.

When comparing the results across all five cases, the capabilities approach is very prominent. While all initiatives support the idea of enhancing capabilities i.e. capacity building in form of education, technical and financial assistance or awareness raising on topics such as gender equality or child labor, the focus of the capacity building differs in practices across the cases. For example Fairtrade strongly focuses on good governance of the cooperatives and highly values self-determination, while ETP focuses on enhancing the business skills of producers, which enables them to be good business partners. The train-the-trainer approach is used by all initiatives and the importance that is ascribed to good agricultural practices becomes apparent. Mechanisms in line with critical perspectives are also strongly represented. Among the most stated are gender policies, which empower women, as well as creating market access for producers.

6.4 General observations

In comparison to the other initiatives, Fairtrade shows most coherence in supported justice theories across all categories. Additionally, it is important to note that the amount of documents that has been found and considered relevant greatly varied. Especially for ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. fewer documents and information were available. Furthermore, the greatest number of statements, which could be allocated to justice theories was found for Fairtrade. This is not only due to the high number of Fairtrade documents, but also because Fairtrade uses a language that indicates greater awareness of the justice topic. The frequency of statements applicable to this research was higher. It seems as if the initiative has discussed the topic explicitly, or at least has spent more thoughts on it than any of the other initiatives. Fairtrade also chooses to position itself more clearly in certain debates – as for example in the case of climate change and related responsibility or liability questions. In contrast, the topic of responsibilities, but especially liability for political, social or economic grievances, is handled cautiously in the rest of the cases. For ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. in general very few statements giving a hint towards an underlying justice concept were found. This might be explained by a lack of internal awareness about the topic and its importance and the absence of an internal debate on the issue. It could also point towards a strategic decision, since strongly promoting justice would imply pointing out responsibilities, which could become inconvenient for some stakeholders, especially corporations.

Strong discourse themes became apparent for Fairtrade, UTZ and RA, while such themes were absent for ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. Fairtrade focuses strongly on marginalized smallholders and the importance to provide them with access to the international economy as well as to include them in decision-making across several levels. The discourse shows strong coherence with critical perspectives. Similar to this is RA's reference to indigenous people and their struggle for land rights. Both RA and UTZ focus on the theme of productivity, differ, however, in their argumentations about its importance. While UTZ emphasizes the economic benefits related to increased productivity, which will ultimately enhance the overall well-being of producers, RA tells the story from a different angle and mentions not only benefits for producers, but highlights the positive effects on the environment, such as reduced deforestation.

With regards to the support of critical perspectives indicated by the results, some aspects need to be highlighted. A diverse picture emerges when considering the reason for the connection of statements to the justice theory. Many text fragments of the initiatives fit within critical perspectives because they refer to gender equality. Others fit because of the argumentation that producers in developing countries are marginalized and potentially excluded from the global market and its benefits; again others because they refer to indigenous people and their political, economic and cultural suppression. Moreover, some of the interviews revealed critique on the current economic system or the paternalistic character of standards. Following the latter thought, standards could be criticized themselves as subjugating producers to their rules, without letting them participate in setting these rules. This critique is interesting, especially in the light of all respondents of all initiatives agreeing on the importance of stakeholder participation in decision-making, while participation is not effectively put into practice except at Fairtrade International. This discrepancy between reality and respondents values could be explained by the challenging task of putting participatory parity within standard initiatives into practice. One interviewee strongly supports the idea of producers participating in important decisions, explains, however, that a lack of capacity or resources makes this almost impossible. She refers both to resources of the standard initiative as well as to resources of producers and their capacity to participate (e.g. access to internet). The discrepancy could also give a hint towards the rather superficial support of critical perspectives by some initiatives. When comparing and examining the results in-depth, only Fairtrade seems to seriously promote the principles and

mechanisms suggested by the theoretical approach, since Southern producers and workers, and especially women and smallholders, are empowered and are given voice within the initiative. Granting more voice to those stakeholders also implies a certain loss of power for the actors currently in charge. Furthermore, Fairtrade uses the most 'critical' wording and language. RA follows Fairtrade, on a critical and transformational scale, since the initiative supports the struggle over land rights of indigenous people. ETP's and GLOBALG.A.P.'s affinity with critical perspectives is based on statements of gender equality and on the questionnaire and interview results. Gender equality and mechanisms to promote it can generally be expected to encounter wide support. Additionally, promoting gender equality does not necessarily include assigning moral duties to corporate actors and thus presents not a threat. The interview results indeed reveal some critical thoughts, but transformational critical mechanisms are dismissed as unrealistic. Therefore, the approval of ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. of critical perspectives is thought to be rather weak and limited.

In addition to showing strong coherence with critical perspectives, Fairtrade also supports rather 'transformational' mechanisms belonging to other justice theories. An example is the premium, which is fixed and rather high in comparison to the premium included in the standards of other initiatives. It is thus a prime example of cosmopolitan redistribution. In contrast to this stands UTZ's approach: UTZ also uses a premium, the amount is, however, not fixed, has to be negotiated by the producers themselves and the premium is denoted to be secondary and not as important as productivity. Its transformational character is thus interpreted as lower than in the case of Fairtrade. Similarly, all initiatives support mechanisms in line with the capabilities approach, such as capacity building, training and awareness rising. However, only Fairtrade provides direct access to finance.

The example of UTZ's premium is also exemplary of a mechanism of justice, which does not belong to libertarianism, but shows libertarian framing (due the reliance on market mechanisms). Latent libertarian ideas become also apparent when looking at the strong emphasis of UTZ on productivity or GLOBALG.A.P.'s focus on food safety. Productivity is not a delicate topic, since it does not imply any malpractices of companies. Additionally, productivity not only benefits farmers, but also corporate actors. Similarly, food safety, as already noted by Fuchs et al. (2011), is also a rather comfortable topic and distracts attention from justice issues.

For all initiatives the same trend becomes apparent: survey and interviews reveal support of more justice theories than the content analysis. Similar to the argumentation above, this could be explained by the clash of theory and reality and the difficulty to put all values into practice. Moreover, deviation could also be explained by respondents' different interpretation of statements due to different cultural or professional backgrounds.

7. Potential explanations for justice concepts

7.1 Relationship between standard characteristics and justice concepts

For potential connections between characteristics of the standard initiatives and justice concepts, the following points were considered: stakeholder representation and the ratio of developed and developing countries in an initiative's governance body, funding and ISEAL Alliance membership. Table 3 gives an overview of the characteristics across the five initiatives.

Table 3. Overview of standard initiative characteristics related to stakeholder participation, funding and ISEAL membership

Initiative	Board representation per stakeholder group*	Board representation by region*	Funding	ISEAL Alliance member
Fairtrade International	18 % NGOs 37,5% producers 18% industry 26,5% others	50% developing countries 50% developed countries	45% recurring 55% non-recurring	yes
ETP	100% Industry	100% developed countries	70% recurring 30% non-recurring	no
UTZ	23% NGOs 23% producers 46% industry 8% unions	45% developing countries 55% developed countries	69% recurring 31% non-recurring	yes
RA / SAN	100% NGOs	87,5% developing countries 12,5% developed countries	58% recurring 42% non-recurring	yes
GLOBALG.A.P.	50% producers 50% industry	100% developed countries	90% recurring 10% non-recurring	no

* For board representation, SAN's board was considered here, since it is the standard setting body of the RA/SAN standard.

Note: Based on Potts et al. (2014) and own data when available.

Recurring revenue: membership fees, fees and services.

Non- recurring: public and private grants and other sources of income.

Combining the data of the table with the results discussed in chapters 5 and 6 confirm the assumptions about relationships between standard characteristics and justice concepts.

Fairtrade International has the highest ratio of (Southern) producer representatives, the highest percentage of non-recurring funding and an equal representation of Northern and Southern stakeholders. NGO representation is in comparison to RA and UTZ not high, but civil society initiatives are clearly represented. Fairtrade shows the strongest coherence with critical perspectives. Cosmopolitanism and the capabilities approach are also strongly endorsed, and related mechanisms of justice are supported that are rather transformational in comparison to other mechanisms that can be

related to the same theories. In sum, Fairtrade International can be described as the initiative, which endorses the most transformative justice concept. The high percentage of Southern producers could explain the focus on participatory parity for producers within the initiative at multiple levels, as well as promoting their presence at (inter-) governmental bodies, such as national fora or the IPCC. However, the importance, which the initiative gives to participatory parity and self-determination could, reversed, also explain the high percentage of producers at the board. This would be in line with historic changes within the initiative: Fairtrade was founded in 1997, producers are represented at the board since 2002, and only since 2013 producer networks have 50% of the votes at the general assembly. Causality is thus not ultimately clear. But it can be argued that the increasing involvement of Southern stakeholders might have even increased the transformational goals of the initiative. This, however, would have to be examined by carrying out an analysis of Fairtrade's justice concept over time.

RA is solely governed by NGOs. Moreover, the percentage of stakeholders from developing countries is with 87,5% the highest. Income stems to a slightly larger extent from recurring sources than from non-recurring sources. RA shows support for cosmopolitanism, critical perspectives and the capabilities approach. However, its support for transformational principles and mechanisms of justice is not as strong and clear as in the case of Fairtrade. What makes RA distinctive, is its support of indigenous communities as well as its strong focus on environmental protection, which can be explained by the strategic orientation of environmental NGOs and its founding motives.

Influence of corporate stakeholders is strongest with GLOBALG.A.P. and ETP. ETP is solely governed by industry. 50% of GLOBALG.A.P.'s board are retail representatives and 50% producer representatives, however all representatives stem from Europe, which seems to make a large difference when comparing it to Fairtrade, where producer representatives stem from the Global South. Besides that, GLOBALG.A.P. depends almost completely on recurring funding. Recurring funding is also the largest income source of ETP, and all stakeholders include in governance stem from developed countries. For both initiatives very few statements were found that can be related to justice theories, especially in regards to the aspect of allocation of responsibilities or duties. This is in line with the assumption regarding the transparency i.e. strategic opacity of initiatives dominated by corporate interests. While e.g. Fairtrade does not have to worry too much about upsetting paying members by supporting transformational standpoints, ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. highly depend on the contributions of their members, who are to a large percentage corporate actors from developed countries. Positioning oneself clearly within the justice debate could be something that those actors do not esteem, since it goes hand in hand with responsibilities that they might not want to bear. To summarize, GLOBALG.A.P.'s and ETP's understandings of justice are not transformational, statements relating to critical perspectives only scratch the surface of the ideological standpoint. GLOBALG.A.P. is the initiative with the strongest support of libertarian ideas, followed by ETP.

In the case of UTZ, corporate representatives are with 45% the strongest force within the initiative, however, stakeholder composition is diverse with NGOs, producer and union representatives involved at the board. Stakeholders from developed countries prevail, but only to a small extent. With 69% of recurring sources, UTZ is financially dependent. Results for the initiative are mixed. While UTZ's discourses are often framed from a libertarian angle, notions of other theories are noticeable, e.g. the support of unions and worker organizations. While the initiative is not as transformational in its language as Fairtrade or RA, libertarianism is not as dominant as with ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. either. Additionally, for UTZ more relevant documents could be found as well as more statements that relate to a justice theory as for the other two initiatives. UTZ can thus be described as more transparent and open.

The results show, that higher participation of NGOs and Southern stakeholders, as well as less dependence on recurring funding is connected to a more transformational justice concept of an initiative. Moreover, initiatives seem to be more transparent. High participation of corporate actors and the dominance of a market-funded model of income sources, on the other hand, is related to justice concepts with low transformational character. In addition, when comparing results of Fairtrade and RA, the strong participation of Southern producers seems to be a highly decisive factor for the more transformational justice understanding of Fairtrade. This finding is especially interesting, when considering that Southern producers as the rule-takers are the stakeholders most affected by a standard.

ISEAL Alliance membership could explain the transparency of Fairtrade, RA and UTZ, as well as the fact that those initiatives allow stakeholder participation during the standard setting process. This can be substantiated with the ISEAL Credibility principles, with which all members must comply and which include the criteria 'engagement' and 'transparency' (ISEAL Alliance, 2013).

7.2 Hegemonic struggles and latent ideologies

Power to steer standard initiatives was operationalized as stakeholder participation at governing bodies and financial (in-)dependence. As the section above demonstrates, the dominant stakeholders within a standard initiative pursue different interests, which are mirrored in their framing of justice. The results thus allow drawing the connection to a hegemonic struggle between the stakeholders, which is elaborated in more detail in the following.

Results demonstrate the unique role of Fairtrade, steered to the largest extent by Southern producers as well as NGOs, which promotes by far the most transformational justice understanding through its texts as well as actions. Fairtrade seems to pursue a radical rethink of current hegemonic political and neoliberal economic structures. Rooted in the wider fair trade movement, which dates back to the 1940s, the initiative was among the frontrunners to combine the discourses of trade and justice, thereby increasing interdiscursivity, altering discursive practices, and thus giving an impetus for change. NGOs and Southern stakeholders are also steering RA / SAN, which promotes a rather transformational understanding of justice, although not as transformative and explicitly as Fairtrade. RA highlights responsibility towards the environment and the importance of environmental protection. It was founded 1987 and is hence the 'oldest' initiative among the ones reviewed here and among the frontrunners in linking trade with environmental responsibility and protection.

In contrast to this stands GLOBALG.A.P., where the power of corporate interests is both apparent in its funding as well as in its governance model. The initiative shows the most conventional discourse on justice, or in other words tries to avoid the justice topic almost completely. It includes sustainability considerations into its standard, but most likely to serve the interests of western companies and retailers. Thereby GLOBALG.A.P. rather supports the prevailing neoliberal paradigm, than truly caring about sustainability or justice questions. This is also applicable to ETP, although the hegemonic discourse is not as openly pronounced as with GLOBALG.A.P.

For UTZ discourses belonging to all justice theories are apparent, however, libertarian ideas are subliminally hegemonic. This rather mixed result for UTZ might be explained by the dominance of corporate actors, but still diverse stakeholder composition involved in decision-making and the resulting hegemonic struggle about ideological orientation *within* the initiative. Using Fairclough's

wording: diverse ideological-discourse formations participate in the struggle about naturalizing their ideologies, while corporate actors can be described as the currently dominant IDF.

UTZ and ETP were founded years after Fairtrade and are to a large extent steered by companies. They mirror the necessity of companies to deal with the rising pressure exerted by the fair trade movement, increasingly supported by aware consumers demanding more ethical trade. The combination of justice discourses with the economic discourse became thus unavoidable. Standard initiatives as UTZ and ETP that focus on mainstreaming ethical trade, allowed for the alleviation of some pressures on companies by giving in on the new development. By collaborating with standard initiatives that pursue a rather moderate idea of justice (in comparison to transformational critical perspectives) companies could adapt to the sociocultural change, while still keeping up the hegemonic libertarian idea that supports the dominant hegemonic economic system. GLOBALG.A.P. was founded around the same time as Fairtrade, however, its initial focus was on Europe and the issue of food safety. This changed slightly over time (see e.g. GRASP add-on module), and consequently also GLOBALG.A.P. had to account for sustainability concerns. UTZ's rather mixed results (in comparison to ETP and GLOBALG.A.P.), and openness to justice ideas beyond libertarianism, despite the large role corporate interests play, could be explained by its ISEAL Alliance membership. The membership increases its credibility. It also obligates the initiative to transparency and stakeholder participation, moreover, exchange with other initiatives is fostered.

In conclusion, the assumptions of this research can be confirmed, and results point towards hegemonic struggles, both within the sustainability standard initiatives and among them. The combination of results from the text analysis with insights from section 7.1 as well as wider sociocultural processes, discloses latent ideologies, which are in some cases hidden behind rather superficial justice concepts.

With their discourses and actions NGOs and Southern stakeholders involved in the initiatives examined in this research criticize and contest the hegemonic sociocultural structures. They gave an impulse for change in discursive practices and therefore triggered changes in socio-economic practices. Global trade is far from being just in a more transformational sense, but NGOs and Southern stakeholders are at least partially successful in their hegemonic struggle: consumer awareness about justice issues in global trade rises and so does the demand for more ethically produced products. An increasing number of corporations react to these demands by initiating corporate social responsibility programs or by collaborating with sustainability standard initiatives. Although some of these reactions might be 'greenwashing' and only driven by economic interests, a stimulation for a rethink of global production and consumption is still given, which might lead to the genuine concern about justice and sustainability of more and more corporations. Hence, it is a first step in the right direction.

8. Discussion

This chapter discusses the limitations of the research, as well as practical and scientific implications. Based on these implications, recommendations for future research and the work of the sustainability standard initiatives are given.

8.1 Limitations of the research and critical reflection on the analytical framework

In the following, the research project is assessed on the basis of the criteria of external and internal reliability as well as internal and external validity in the context of qualitative social science research as discussed in Bryman (2012). This is succeeded by the discussion of some general limitations about the methodology, especially data collection. Apart from this, the use of Biermann's and Kalfagianni's framework and the added value of utilitarianism as an additional justice theory is critically examined.

External reliability refers to the replicability of a research project. It relates to social settings and the circumstances under which a study was conducted. Since it is not possible to 'freeze' or re-establish the exact same settings and circumstances, achieving high external reliability is difficult. However, to increase external reliability, future researchers are advised to adopt a similar role to that of the original researcher. In the case of this thesis, this would mean taking into account that the researcher was a Master student and that resource and time constraints limited the study. Moreover, every step of the methodology is described in detail, and a list of documents used for the content analysis can be found in the Appendix. This increases the transparency of the research and hence its replicability. Internal reliability in qualitative research is similar to the concept of inter-observer consistency. It refers to the question whether researchers agree on what they see and hear during the research and whether they come to the same conclusions. Since this thesis was carried out by only one researcher, this criterion is difficult if not impossible to fulfill. However, regular meetings with the thesis supervisor were held, where concepts and interpretation of data have been discussed.

Internal validity in qualitative social science research asks "whether there is a good match between researchers' observations and the theoretical ideas they develop" (Bryman, 2012, p. 390). Justice concepts were derived from the gathered data and potential explanations for those concepts were discussed. To increase internal validity of these findings, triangulation of methods as well as sources was performed. Results of the content analysis were cross-checked with the findings of the questionnaire and interviews. External validity refers to the "degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings" (Bryman, 2012, p. 390). Establishing external validity in qualitative research is rather difficult, as Bryman (2012) highlights. Since this research is of qualitative nature, based on in-depth case studies and a small sample size, it will not allow for generalizations of the results beyond the cases. The aim of the research was to map the underlying justice concept of the individual sustainability standard initiative, which is unique due to the special characteristics and history of the respective initiative. While some trends can be observed and potential explanations for the justice concepts were discussed in the previous chapter, findings should not be seen as definite and transferable, but rather as a starting point for future research. Furthermore, since the initiatives' justice concepts might be influenced by external circumstances and developments, they might change over time. Results must thus be interpreted taking into account the time frame of the research project.

The use of a simplified framework to assess something as complex as a justice theory has advantages as well as disadvantages. Biermann's and Kalfagianni's framework makes it possible to find underlying justice concepts of organizations or programs and enables a comparison across different cases. However, simplification implies the loss of detail. A framework such as the one used does sometimes not allow to capture important aspects of a research object, neither is it possible to reflect the examined case in all its facets due to the rigid categories. Because of this, the picture of reality that is provided when using a framework might be distorted and not complete. Being aware of these facts is critical when using the results of the research. Moreover, in the case of the framework used for this research, the major aspects of the justice theories were mainly used for categorization. However, considering the complexity of a justice theory, the small specifics and most importantly lines of argumentation matter as well and make a theory to the theory it is. In order to avoid false categorization of statements and thus incorrect interpretation, it is crucial that the researcher is aware of these specifics and does not overlook them while applying the framework.

An aspect that complicated the application of the framework was the fact that some justice theories overlap in their opinion about subjects, principles or mechanisms of justice. A clear allocation to the categories was hence sometimes difficult if not impossible. Another problematic point worth acknowledging is the category of critical perspectives. Although Biermann's and Kalfagianni's framework as well as this research mainly draw on Nancy Fraser's work, the name 'critical perspectives' suggests more than that. The justice approach category includes several theoretical strands itself, who are similar in certain arguments and viewpoints, but still very different in their foci (e.g. feminist or post-colonial approaches). Uniting them under one single umbrella might not do them justice.

Biermann's and Kalfagianni's framework was tailored to private governance, i.e. the context of private sustainability standard initiatives. This was especially the case for the questionnaire, where only one statement (sometimes two) per justice theory and category was provided for respondents to give their opinion. It turned out to be a difficult task to make statements relevant for the initiatives' circumstances, however, general enough to do justice to the theories' content. The same holds true for the balance of capturing the theories' main ideas but keeping it simple and understandable for the respondents. Some comments of respondents indicated that they might have misinterpreted the statements due to their simplified character or because of the specified operationalization. In several cases comments of respondents, however, revealed their actual opinion on a justice theory and could thus be interpreted and allocated correctly by the researcher. In the case of uncommented answers, it is not clear whether respondents might have interpreted a statement far away from the original meaning. Without the right context, some statements are rather hard to interpret in the right way. Giving an adequate answer is therefore difficult.

It has proven to be a challenging task to operationalize utilitarianism. Since the theory does not actually define the content of justice, it was very hard to find any related statements during the content analysis of the publications. While the content analysis revealed very few statements related to utilitarianism, the support of respondents of the questionnaire was quite strong. However, as already mentioned, difficulties to test for the theory can arise, when respondents do not see an instrument or act, in this case certification, as the best way of meeting the preferences of all affected. Disagreement can then arise from a negative opinion about certification, rather than due to disagreement with utilitarian principles.

Lastly, three to six respondents per case completed the questionnaire. In light of 79 persons contacted via E-Mail, LinkedIn and phone, the response rate is rather low. At least two interviews per case were

initially foreseen, however only four interviews were conducted. For Fairtrade and GLOBALG.A.P. no interview took place, since none of the contacted representatives agreed on a conversation. To increase validity, future research should try to increase the number of completed questionnaires as well as interviews per case.

8.2 Practical implications

Similarities in justice conceptualizations of standard initiatives, especially within the mechanism category, provide common ground for cooperation and synergies. The majority of initiatives point out the importance of cooperation across actors and governance levels, which is a positive finding in that context. In the case of a living wage, both a long-term goal as well as a mechanism for achieving justice that is shared by most actors, cooperation already happens. Initiatives (including Fairtrade, RA and UTZ) develop under the umbrella of the Global Living Wage Coalition “living wage benchmark estimates in many countries based on a single definition and methodology to calculate living wage” (Global Living Wage Coalition, 2018). The results of this research show potential for similar cooperation in the areas of gender equality and good agricultural practices, especially with regards to productivity.

ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. show least affinity for the concepts of justice in general, especially when looking at the categories of subjects and principles of justice. This omission might be intentional as discussed above. It can, however, also point towards the unintended overlooking of the important topic by the initiatives. In the case of GLOBALG.A.P., the lack of information on justice concepts could also be explained by the unique character the initiative holds within the case selection. The organization started as a European initiative, focused on European producers as well as European consumer demands. It became only international with continuing globalization. Considering this fact as well as its strong focus on food safety, it has to be noted that GLOBALG.A.P. was never an NGO which primarily aimed at improving lives of producers in developing countries or making trade more ethical and just. However, since GLOBALG.A.P. is one of the most important and influential standard initiatives now operating across the globe, it influences the work and even life of producers. In light of this, defining a vision of a just world seems as pressing as becoming aware of the rights and duties of supply chain actors and their ideal relationship. Beyond this, not defining justice has an additional problematic dimension, which the following example illustrates. ETP wants to create “brighter futures and a good quality of life” (Supporting Change in Assam, p. 1) for tea producers, but what this means in detail is not defined. By not defining such important concepts, it is rather difficult to find the right mechanisms to achieve the goals. The same holds true, when it is not clear for whom and why the work is done. Discussing justice related concepts and finding an organizational position within the justice discourse might help to select adequate means for reaching goals. Moreover, progress can be evaluated better. Therefore, ETP and GLOBALG.A.P., but also other standard initiatives, must become more aware of their crucial position in achieving global justice. Maybe this thesis can serve as a first impetus to initiate such an internal debate. Additionally, a meta-governance initiative, such as the ISEAL Alliance, could provide the forum as well as the impulse for a debate and reflection on justice issues. As ISEAL was successful in the case of attributing high value to stakeholder participation within the standard-setting process as well as to transparency, it might also be successful in raising awareness on other issues in the future, including justice related questions.

It is not the objective of this thesis to argue for the normative superiority of one justice theory. However, due to the critical vantage point this research takes, it is inclined towards the more transformational theories that challenge current hegemonic structures and thus also rather supports

stakeholders, which pursue transformational change in global trade. As the case of Fairtrade shows, Southern producers - the ones affected most by sustainability standards and also the stakeholder group whose benefits are of highest interests in critical research - support more transformational ideas. This substantiates and reinforces the objective and value of this research. In this context, NGOs and Southern stakeholders, or transformational initiatives as Fairtrade and RA, are encouraged to make sure that the development towards hegemonic change does not end at this point. They must continue their struggles, advocate for more just trade, foster the participation of marginalized stakeholders and raise awareness among consumers. Beyond that, they must continue to set good examples and thus show that other socio-economic structures and trade practices are possible.

As already discussed, sustainability standard initiatives are criticized for letting corporate interests become increasingly decisive, a development that is even found within the 'transformational' Fairtrade. Although no analysis was done over time, the results of this thesis further substantiate the former research findings, since the participation of corporate actors within the investigated initiatives clearly relates to less transformative and more libertarian justice framings. Therefore, initiatives, and especially NGOs and Southern stakeholders within the initiatives, must be aware of this development and find strategies to react to it. Furthermore, they must be aware of the fact that sustainability standard initiatives infiltrated by corporate concerns might actually be strategically used to hold back change, contribute to maintaining the hegemonic economic paradigm, and hence play into the hands of big corporations while neglecting Southern interests.

It is conceded that Northern stakeholders can act genuinely altruistic and might see Southern stakeholders as primary subjects of justice and beneficiaries of actions. These actions can be effective and actually deliver benefits to the intended stakeholder group. Nevertheless, self-determination and participatory parity are seen as crucial. As Potts et al. (2014, p. 59) state, "[c]apacity for self-determination is not only a human right, but a cornerstone of sustainable development". Self-determination and - strongly related to this concept - participatory parity are argued to be not only prerequisites for sustainable development, but also prerequisites for justice. At least four of the six used justice theories make references that point towards this conclusion. Participatory parity is a key component within critical perspectives. The capabilities approach (especially Sen) attributes high value to democracy and self-determination, and also Rawls refers to the importance of actors agreeing on the rules that they have to adhere to. Preference utilitarianism obliges actors to take the preference of those stakeholders into account, that are affected by a decision. With regards to such complex contexts as global supply chains, this might be best achieved by communication and consulting with those stakeholders. In this context the risk of paternalistic characteristics and heteronomy related to sustainability standard initiatives must be highlighted. Almost all initiatives lack effective mechanisms that allow stakeholders affected by certification to participate in decision-making. This is especially the case for Southern producers and workers. To avoid this problem, which Nancy Fraser might denote as meta-political misrepresentation, sustainability standard initiatives must find ways to guarantee the inclusion of the voice of Southern producers and workers. This has to go beyond mere concession of voting-rights: initiatives have to make sure that they also have the capacity to effectively participate.

8.3 Scientific implications and future research

For future research similar to this project, some aspects should be considered. First, the low number of statements in the questionnaire proofed to simplify the justice theories too much. To capture affinity to the theories correctly, future research could use the questionnaire of this thesis as a basis, but

extending and complementing it by adding statements, which provide more reference points for respondents. However, when a questionnaire is too long, the risk exists that people might not finalize it. Hence, a good balance must be found. Second, since it is difficult to apply the category of utilitarianism to content analysis of documents, interviews and questionnaires are indispensable to enrich and cross-check results. Third, as especially the case of the Rainforest Alliance has demonstrated, nature can also be seen as subject of justice. The justice framework as suggested by Biermann & Kalfagianni (2016) does not capture this aspect adequately. By including utilitarianism and more details on the capabilities approach, this thesis opened the opportunity to ascribe nature instrumental value and thus derive on this basis a duty to environmental conservation. However, this still neglects the *intrinsic* value one might ascribe to nature. Hence, the framework could be supplemented by theoretical considerations or even approaches, which emphasize the environmental aspect more or which even include nature as a subject of justice. Especially when conducting research in the context of sustainable development and earth system governance this seems essential.

As already stated, this thesis does not normatively assess the justice concept of the initiatives. However, such a normative assessment, i.e. defining which justice concept would be the 'most just' in the context of global trade and certification, might be important to achieve a better world. This could be done by future research. The inclusion of producers in such research, the ones that are the rule-takers and in many cases also the ones that standard initiatives want to benefit, might reveal interesting aspects in this context.

The discussion of potential explanations for the way sustainability standard initiatives frame justice constitutes a valuable starting point for future research, possibly of quantitative nature. Correlation between decisive factors and the justice concepts could then be examined, and the validity of the explanations scrutinized.

The different actor groups included in certification - rule-setters, rule-takers and rule-users - could also be the focus of future research. In the light of benefits and burdens of certification, which are differently allocated between these groups, it would be highly interesting to see where similarities and differences in justice understandings lie.

9. Conclusion

This research made use of the justice framework suggested by Biermann & Kalfagianni (2016) in order to empirically analyze underlying justice concepts of five sustainability standard initiatives, including Fairtrade International, RA/SAN, UTZ, ETP and GLOBALG.A.P. The framework originally draws on the philosophical traditions of liberal egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, the capabilities approach, libertarianism and critical perspectives. For this research project it was extended to the theory of utilitarianism and operationalized within the context of private sustainability standard initiatives. The use of a critical discourse analysis allowed mapping out the differing justice concepts promoted by the five standard initiatives, while at the same time hegemonic struggles among stakeholders included in the governance of the initiatives could be revealed. Insights can be used to answer the research question:

How do private sustainability standard initiatives frame justice with respect to global production and consumption patterns and what are potential explanations for these framings?

Results show, that notions of all justice theories are present in the justice concepts of the five initiatives. Especially the capabilities approach was present across all cases, since the initiatives share the approach of capacity building for rule-takers, in order to assist them on their way to certification. Beyond that, results indicate that Fairtrade and RA/SAN, initiatives which are predominantly governed by NGOs and stakeholders stemming from the Global South, tend to promote a rather transformational idea of justice, while GLOBALG.A.P. and ETP, initiatives dominated by corporate interests, tend to support more conventional, i.e. non-transformative ideas of justice, and primarily promote a libertarian viewpoint. For UTZ, results are most mixed, which relates to its diverse stakeholder composition.

The results indicate hegemonic struggles between NGOs and Southern stakeholders such as smallholders on the one hand, and corporate actors on the other hand, who use private standard setting initiatives to pursue their respective interests. By framing justice in a certain way, they try to 'naturalize' their worldviews. Interests of NGOs and Southern stakeholders must, however, not be equated. They should rather be seen as allies in the contestation of hegemonic socio-economic structures and the neoliberal paradigm, which mostly benefits corporate interests and the Global North as a whole. NGOs and Southern stakeholders use standard initiatives and the tool of certification to improve conditions and participatory parity for Southern producers and workers, to ensure environmental protection and thus provide an example of more just production and consumption patterns, thereby giving an impetus for change. Driven by pressure of civil society organizations and consumer demand, corporate actors use certification in order to avoid scandals and the loss of reputation. By influencing standard initiatives, they try to sustain hegemonic structures.

While results are not generalizable and transferable to all standard initiatives, they reveal in-depth insights to how standard initiatives frame justice and connect it with possible explanations. These can serve as a foundation for future research on the topic.

Moreover, results show the good intentions of standard initiatives, but also point towards their proneness to vested corporate and northern interests. More 'transformational' minded stakeholders within initiatives, as well as external civil society organizations and critical consumers, must hence be vigilant and prepared to prevent that these vested interests hamper the honorable goals of

sustainability standard initiatives. It is also important that standard initiatives become aware of their crucial role in achieving justice and position themselves more openly with regards to justice questions.

The findings suggest that the issue of paternalism on the part of Northern stakeholders is very present. If standard initiatives fail to address this, their mission and very existence could be in danger. This is mainly due to two reasons: first, their long-term credibility could be at stake, when critique on paternalism and perpetuated power asymmetries persist or increase. This could lead to declining support by civil society organizations and consumers. Second, sustainability standard initiatives work because producers utilize the standards. Reading between the lines revealed that getting certified is not always an autonomous decision of producers, but rather due to external pressure. The moment, however, that producers liberate themselves from external pressures, unite and opt for not taking it for granted anymore that Northern stakeholders determine their lives, standard initiatives might face a rapidly declining number of rule-takers. Self-determination is a prerequisite for justice, and embedded within the concepts of human rights and sustainable development. Without giving Southern stakeholders, especially minorities, a voice, standard initiatives will fail to deliver what they promised. For this reason, it is strongly recommended that standard initiatives include diverse stakeholders in decision-making, especially Southern rule-takers. Thereby, not only the issue of paternalism can be addressed, but it is also guaranteed that a wide range of standpoints find entrance in the debate about just production and consumption practices, which is crucial for finding viable solutions for a better future.

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Additionally to the references listed here, collected data (on subjects, principles and mechanisms of justice) is based on the homepages and publications of examined private sustainability standard initiatives. These documents are not included here, but can be found in **Appendix 3**.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Questionnaire statements listed per justice theory. 1, 2, 3, corresponds with subjects, principles and mechanisms of justice.

Liberal egalitarianism

- 1) A private sustainability standard initiative has the duty to help overcome national barriers to development in developing countries, such as the lack of economic infrastructure, poor social policies, corruption or the lack of education and know-how.
- 2) Benefits of private standards, such as income and wealth, must be equal for actors *located in the same country*. Unequal benefits, such as higher financial profits for some, can only be tolerated when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work.
- 3) Giving farmers and workers the opportunity to manage their own affairs is of top priority for a private sustainability standard initiative. This should be pursued by e.g. providing a minimum wage and supporting - or even providing - education facilities and health care.

Cosmopolitanism

- 1) Actors along a global supply chain have moral obligations towards each other, because they are connected through their economic interactions
- 2) Benefits resulting from private standards, such as income and wealth, must be the same for *all* actors *along a supply chain*. Unequal benefits, such as higher financial profits, can only be tolerated, when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work.
- 3) Consumers should pay higher prices for certified products because this form of redistribution is the best mechanism to ensure that certified farmers and workers best benefit from private standards.

Capabilities approach

- 1) Supply chain actors are embedded in their own national and cultural contexts and their different needs and obligations should be taken into account by private standards.
- 2) Farmers and workers must be able to live a self-determined and good life, meaning that central basic needs (e.g. health and education) are satisfied, and that they have the opportunity to enfold their abilities and the freedom to realize their objectives.
- 3) A crucial task of private sustainability standard initiatives is to provide assistance to farmers and workers in form of education, financial and technical help, so that they can enfold their capacities and realize their objectives. Assistance must be tailored to farmers' and workers' needs and preferences.

Liberalism

- 1) Actors along a supply chain are not morally obligated or accountable towards each other, except for fulfilling business arrangements that the parties explicitly agreed upon.
- 2) Free global markets are the main enabling factor for a good and just world.
- 2a) Relating to the statement before: Because private standards rely on free market mechanisms, they contribute in an ideal way to reach better economic relations and a just distribution of goods.
- 3) Certification, as a voluntary market mechanism, is better suited to reach fair trade relations than coercive state regulation.

Critical perspective

- 1) The international economy shapes farmer's and worker's lives, such as their decisions on what and how they produce and for how much they sell their commodities.
 - 1a) Standards also shape the life of farmers and workers, with the possibility to alleviate the pressures of the international economy.
- 2) Farmer and worker participation in decision-making (concerning the standard or interactions with the standard initiative) is very important and should be promoted by private sustainability standard initiatives.
- 3) Programs and projects that promote empowerment and encourage participation of disadvantaged groups, such as marginalized smallholders or women, are essential.

Utilitarianism

- 1) The interests of supply chain actors are equal, meaning the interest of a smallholder is on a par with the interest of a CEO.
- 2) Supply chain interactions, and more specifically certification procedures, should satisfy the interests of the greatest number of people who are affected by them.
 - 3a) When decisions about the standard in general and about interactions with producers are made, the interests of all supply chain actors must be taken into account and equally weighed. However, in some cases preferences should be considered more essential than others, for example being able to live a decent life compared to increasing revenue.
 - 3b) Certified products are better than conventional products, because they have a more positive impact on the well-being of *all* supply chain actors.
 - 3c) Certified products are superior to conventional products, since they provide assurance that producers in developing countries benefit from fairer trading practices. Buying certified products is thus the most efficient way to ethically consume.
(Relates to effective altruism, which is supported by Singer)

Appendix 2

Online questionnaire as it was sent to participants.



Private Sustainability Standards and Justice

0 %

Dear Sir or Madam,

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this survey!

This questionnaire is part of a master's thesis and contributes to the Planetary Justice Project led by Dr. Agni Kalfagianni and Dr. Frank Biermann at the Copernicus Institute of Sustainable Development, Utrecht University.

The Planetary Justice Project brings together an interdisciplinary group of scholars who are concerned with questions of justice on a planetary scale in the context of profound transformations of the earth system.

My thesis is especially interested in justice with respect to private governance, i.e. private sustainability standards. 'Justice' in this context comprises aspects such as who should benefit from a private sustainability standard, why and how. It also concerns the relationship between different actors who participate in certification. Examples could be smallholders that are enabled to participate in global trade, suppliers that are lifted out of poverty through price premiums, or women that are encouraged to take on a stronger role in their community.

Since your standard is among the most important and influential standards in the field of sustainability, it is of particular value to include your organization's viewpoint.

While your standard initiative may not have discussed 'justice' explicitly, its various programs and projects in the sustainability domain - such as training programs, price premiums or living wages - are considered as justice-related topics in this thesis. Therefore, your participation is eminently relevant and a highly appreciated contribution to this research.

If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me: l.weber@students.uu.nl

Thank you very much for your time!

With best regards,
Leonie Weber (Master student, MSc Sustainable Development, Utrecht University)



Private Sustainability Standards and Justice

20 %

Instructions

In the following, you will be presented with different statements. You have the option to tick "strongly disagree, disagree, undecided, agree or strongly agree". Please choose one of these options for each statement.

Please complete the questionnaire from the viewpoint of the standard initiative you work for. If you are not sure what the standpoint of your organization would be for some statements, make an educated guess.

You have the possibility to add a comment under each statement in order to complement your answer.

1. For which organization do you work? *

2. Which job position do you have in your organization? *

3. Supply chain actors are embedded in their own national and cultural contexts and their different needs and obligations should be taken into account by private sustainability standards. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

4. Certified products are superior to conventional products because they provide assurance that farmers and workers in developing countries benefit from fairer trading practices. Buying certified products is thus the most efficient way to ethically consume. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

5. Free global markets are the main enabling factor for a good and just world. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

6. Relating to the statement before: Because private sustainability standards rely on free market mechanisms, they contribute in an ideal way to reach better economic relations and a just distribution of goods. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

7. Supply chain interactions, and more specifically certification procedures, should satisfy the interests of the greatest number of people who are affected by them. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

8. **Benefits of private sustainability standards, such as income and wealth, must be equal for actors located in the same country. Unequal benefits, such as higher financial profits for some, can only be tolerated when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

9. **Benefits resulting from private sustainability standards, such as income and wealth, must be the same for all actors along a supply chain (irrespective of their origin). Unequal benefits, such as higher financial profits for some, can only be tolerated, when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

10. **Certification, as a voluntary market mechanism, is better suited to reach fair trade relations than coercive state regulation. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

11. **When decisions about the standard in general and about interactions with farmers and workers are made, the interests of all supply chain actors must be taken into account and equally weighed. However, in some cases preferences should be considered more essential than others, for example being able to live a decent life compared to increasing revenue. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

12. **Actors along a global supply chain have moral obligations towards each other because they are connected through their economic interactions. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

13. **Certified products are better than conventional products, because they have a more positive impact on the well-being of all supply chain actors. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

14. **Actors along a supply chain are not morally obligated or accountable towards each other, except in terms of meeting business arrangements which they agreed upon. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

15. **Programmes and projects that promote empowerment and encourage participation of disadvantaged groups, such as marginalised smallholders or women, are essential. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

16. **The international economy shapes farmers' and workers' lives, such as their decisions on what and how they produce and for how much they sell their commodities. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

17. **Relating to the statement before: Private sustainability standards also shape the life of farmers and workers, with the possibility to alleviate the pressures of the international economy. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

18. **Giving farmers and workers the opportunity to manage their own affairs is of top priority for a private sustainability standard initiative. This should be pursued by e.g. providing a minimum wage and supporting - or even providing - education facilities and health care. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

19. **A crucial task of private sustainability standard initiatives is to provide assistance to farmers and workers in form of education, financial and technical help, so that they can enfold their capacities and realize their objectives. Assistance must be tailored to workers' and farmers' needs and preferences. ***

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

20. The interests of supply chain actors are equally important, meaning the interest of a smallholder is on a par with the interest of a CEO. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

21. A private sustainability standard initiative has the duty to help overcome national barriers to development in developing countries, such as the lack of economic infrastructure, poor social policies, corruption or the lack of education and know-how. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

22. Consumers should pay higher prices for certified products because this form of redistribution is the best mechanism to ensure that certified farmers and workers best benefit from private standards. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

23. Farmer and worker participation in decision-making (concerning the standard or interactions with the standard initiative) is very important and should be promoted by private sustainability standard initiatives. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

24. Farmers and workers must be able to live a self-determined and good life, meaning that central basic needs (e.g. health and education) are satisfied, and that they have the opportunity to enfold their abilities and the freedom to realize their objectives. *

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

Comment

Note: You have reached the end of the questionnaire. If you press "done", you will finish and close it.
You can only participate once.

Thank you very much for your time!

Appendix 3

Analysis was based on the homepages of the private standard initiatives and the following publications:

Fairtrade International

Annual report 2013-2013; annual report 2014-2015; annual report 2015-2016; annual report 2016-2017; Fairtrade International Standards (Fairtrade Standard for Small producer Organizations; Fairtrade Standard for Contract Production; Fairtrade Standard for Hired Labour; Fairtrade Trader Standard and the Fairtrade Climate Standard); Explanatory Document for the Standard for Small Producer Organizations; Standard Operating Procedure for the Development of Fairtrade Standards; Constitution of the Association; Fairtrade's Global Strategy (2016-2020); A charter of Fairtrade Principles; Journeys to Change: Fairtrade Theory of Change; Sustainable Development Goals and Fairtrade: the case for partnership; A seat at the table? Ensuring smallholder farmers are heard in public-private partnerships; Sugar crash: How EU reform is endangering the livelihoods of small farmers; Fairtrade Gender Strategy: Transforming Equal Opportunity, Access and Benefits for all; Powering up smallholder farmers to make foo fair: A five point agenda; Fairtrade Climate Programme; Development of Fairtrade Minimum Prices and Premiums; Fairtrade Access Fund; Standard Operating Procedure Complaints against Fairtrade Standards Setting; A New Workers Rights Strategy for Fairtrade; Child Labour and Forced Labour Guidelines.

Rainforest Alliance / Sustainable Agriculture Network

Annual report 2017; Rainforest Alliance 2017 financial statements; annual report 2016; 2016 rainforest alliance inc audited financial statement; annual report 2015; annual report 2014; annual report 2013; SAN/Rainforest Alliance Impacts Report 2015; Rainforest Alliance Certification Rules for Single Farms and Group Administrators; Guide for environmental and social impact assessment; Guide for free, prior and informed consent (fpic) processes; Guide for the Sustainable Agriculture Standard; Monitoring & Evaluation System Public Report; Rainforest Alliance Sustainable Agriculture Standard; Rainforest Alliance Sustainable Pathways; Improving Practices - Changing Lives; Toward a Sustainable Cocoa Sector; Effects of SAN/Rainforest Alliance Certification on Farmer Livelihoods and the Environment; Next Steps in Sustainability: Measuring Impact & Testing Living Wage; Expanding Access to Finance For Community Forest Enterprises; Towards Sustainable Landscapes: Strengthening Forest Management and Promoting Income Diversification in an Indigenous Community; Inspiring Action Through Education; 2018 Rainforest Alliance Impacts Report Partnership, Learning, and Change; Sustainable Coffee Farming: Improving Income and Social Conditions - Protecting Water, Soil and Forests; Tea Production in Kenya: Impact Assessment of Two Training Models; Farmer Bankability and Sustainable Finance: Farm-Level Metrics that Matter; Impacts of Rainforest Alliance Certification on Coffee Farms in Colombia; Policy on Working Hours and Days of Rest; Join Us and Green Your Supply Chain!; Farmer Field School Facilitator Manual; Sustainable Palm Oil Responsible Production and Sourcing; Additional Social Auditing Methods for Sexual and Psychological Violence against Women.

UTZ

Annual report 2017; annual report 2016; annual report 2015; annual report 2014; annual report 2013; Position Paper Gender Equality; Position Paper Sustainable Development Goals; Membership & Program Fee Overview; The UTZ Theory of Change; Influencing factors and unintended results; Pest and disease management & pesticide handling Position Paper; UTZ Sector Partnerships Program in a Nutshell; Position Paper Premium; The UTZ Certified Code of Conduct - Summary; Position Paper Productivity; Position Paper SDGs; Position Paper Living Wage; Position Paper Climate Change; Position Paper Child Labor; Our Approach: Tackling Child Labor; UTZ Program Indicators Version 4; UTZ General Terms and Conditions; UTZ Assurance Certification Protocol Version 4.2 January 2018; Annex 2 and 3 to Certification Protocol 4.1; Implementation guide: intermediaries at Code of Conduct level; Guidance Document Training Of Group Members; Guidance document – Risk Assessment for Group certification; Standards Development Procedure; Guidance Document Premium; Guidance document– Nature Protection; Guidance Document Living Wage; Guidance document – Climate Change; Guidance document – Child Labor; Core Code Of Conduct for group and multi-group certification Version 1.1; Guidance Material for farmers (several documents, available as zip-file) ; Guidance Document Premium for Supply Chain Actors; Our approach: climate change; Tackling the effects of climate change; Guidance Document Risk Assessment For Individual And Multi-Site Certification.

ETP

Delivering Change – improving lives; Introducing ETP; ETP Strategy – the next three years; Case Study: Supporting Burundian Tea Producers and Smallholders; Addressing the Effects of Climate Change (Kenya); Pushing Boundaries; How ETP’s Work Impacts on the United Nations MDGs; ETP – Supporting Smallholders; Impacting Positively on Smallholder Tea Farmers Around the World; An Overview of ETP; Improving Young Lives in Tea Communities of Assam, India; Working with UNICEF – Stories from Assam; ETP Global Standard; TEAM UP 2017 Report; Supporting Change in Assam (May 2018); Understanding Wage Issues in the Tea Industry; Improving the Livelihoods of Smallholder Farmers in Indonesia; Malawi Tea 2020 Revitalisation Programme (Second Progress Report 2016–2017).

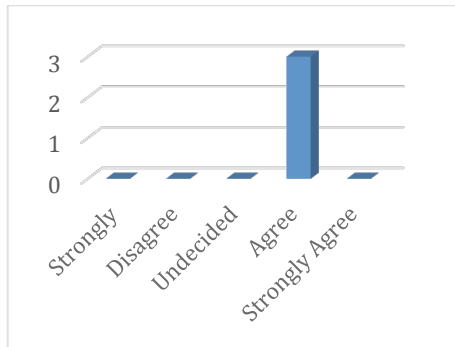
GLOBALG.A.P.

Annual report 2017; annual report 2016; annual report 2015; annual reports 2013/14; A world of solutions; Farm Sustainability Assessment - Specification Rules; Farm Assurer Program; GLOBALG.A.P. Risk Assessment on Social Practice (GRASP); GRASP General Rules; GRASP Booklet; GRASP guideline for retailers; GRASP Module; localg.a.p. - The First Step Toward Safe and Sustainable Agriculture; Localg.a.p. FAQ; GLOBALG.A.P. Fruit & Vegetables Certification; DATABASE Managing Complexity the Easy Way; GLOBALG.A.P. Standard-Setting Procedure; GLOBALG.A.P. Membership - Growing The Future Together; General Information; Farm Sustainability Assessment (FSA) Specification Rules; GRASP General Regulations.

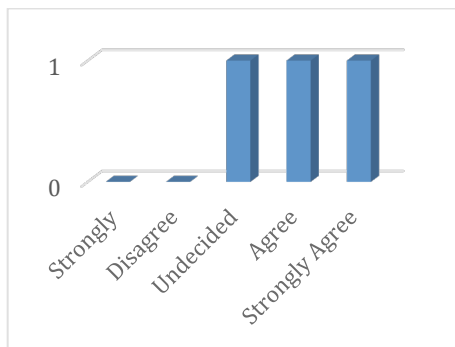
Appendix 4

Fairtrade International

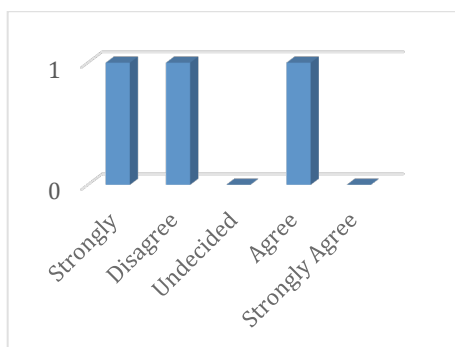
1. Supply chain actors are embedded in their own national and cultural contexts and their different needs and obligations should be taken into account by private sustainability standards.



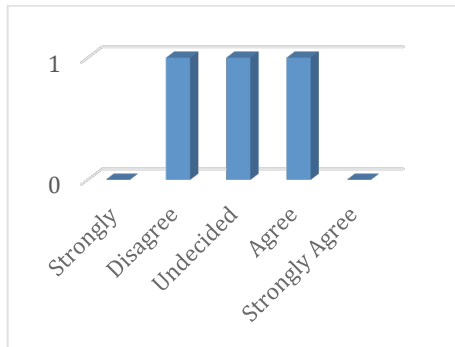
2. Certified products are superior to conventional products because they provide assurance that farmers and workers in developing countries benefit from fairer trading practices. Buying certified products is thus the most efficient way to ethically consume.



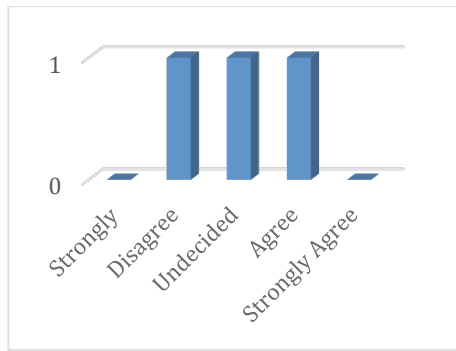
3. Free global markets are the main enabling factor for a good and just world.



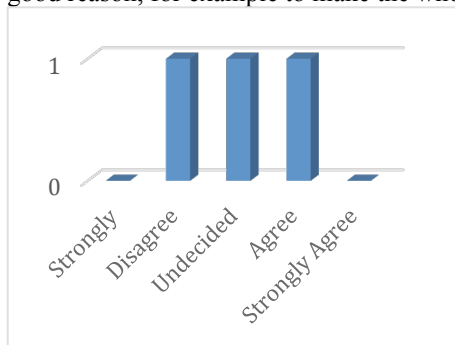
4. Relating to the statement before: Because private sustainability standards rely on free market mechanisms, they contribute in an ideal way to reach better economic relations and a just distribution of goods.



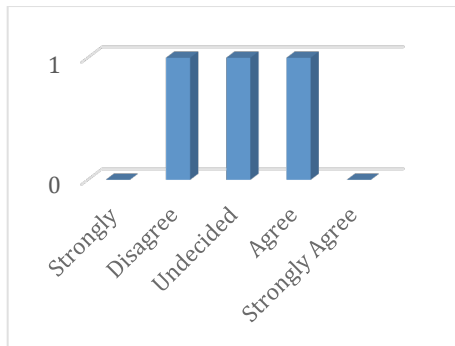
5. Supply chain interactions, and more specifically certification procedures, should satisfy the interests of the greatest number of people who are affected by them.



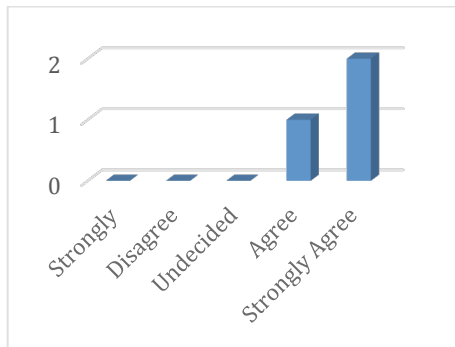
6. Benefits of private sustainability standards, such as income and wealth, must be equal for actors located in the same country. Unequal benefits, such as higher financial profits for some, can only be tolerated when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work.



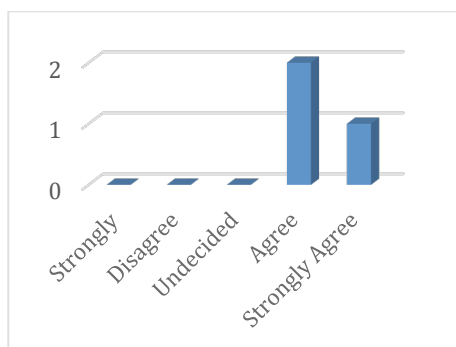
7. Benefits resulting from private sustainability standards, such as income and wealth, must be the same for all actors along a supply chain (irrespective of their origin). Unequal benefits, such as higher financial profits for some, can only be tolerated, when this is for a good reason, for example to make the whole certification system work.



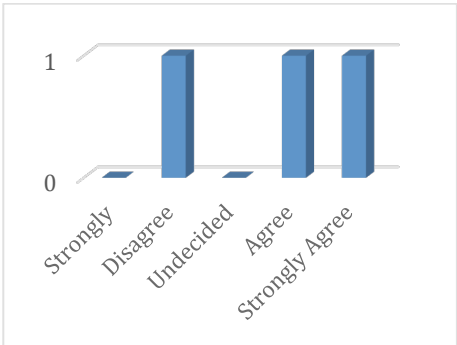
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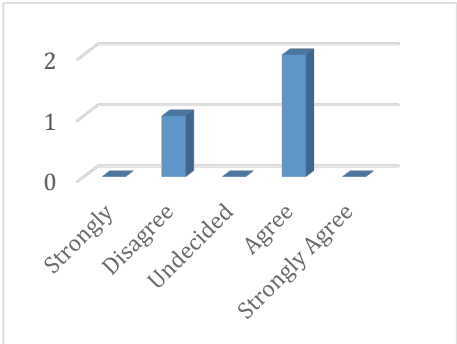
9. When decisions about the standard in general and about interactions with farmers and workers are made, the interests of all supply chain actors must be taken into account and equally weighed. However, in some cases preferences should be considered more essential than others, for example being able to live a decent life compared to increasing revenue.



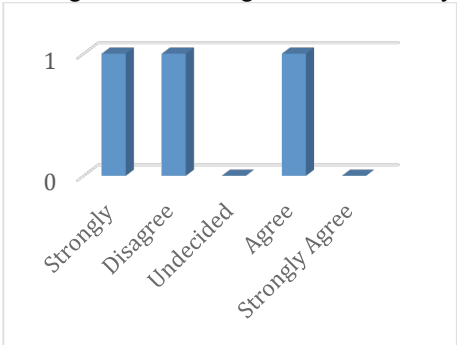
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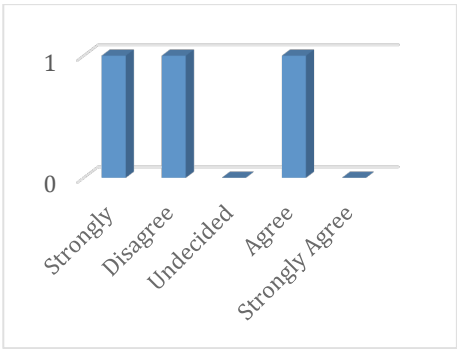
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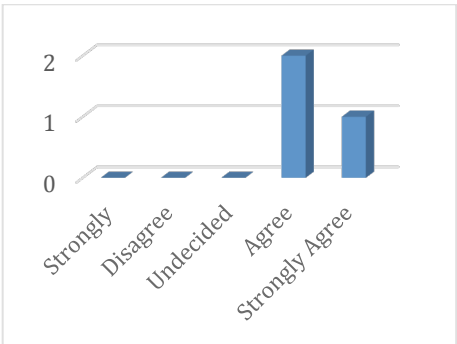
13. Programs and projects that promote empowerment and encourage participation of disadvantaged groups, such as marginalized smallholders or women, are essential.



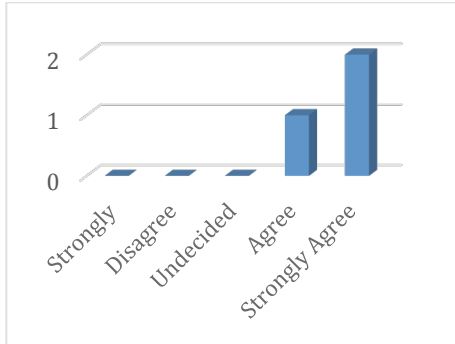
14. The international economy shapes farmers' and workers' lives, such as their decisions on what and how they produce and for how much they sell their commodities.



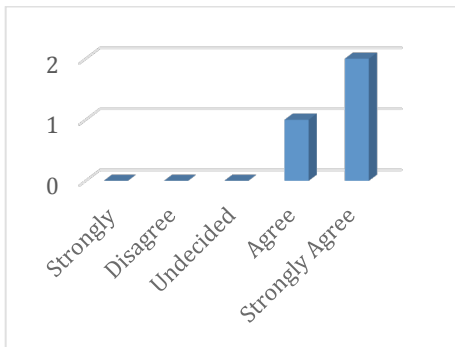
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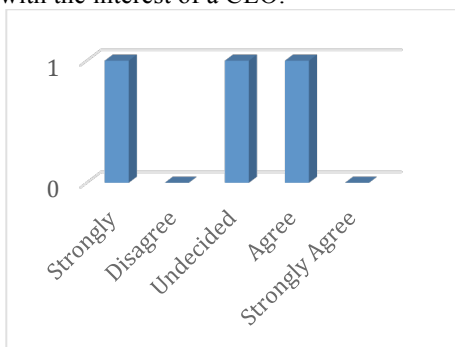
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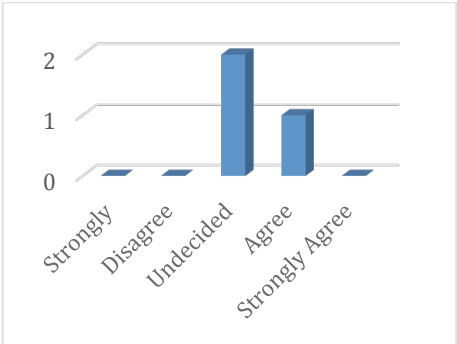
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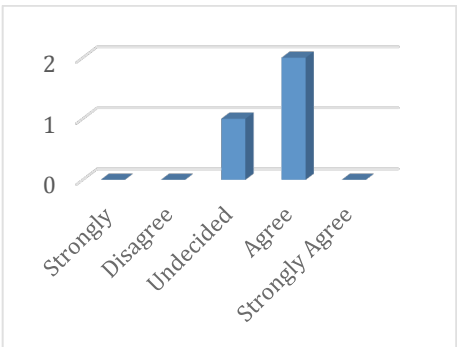
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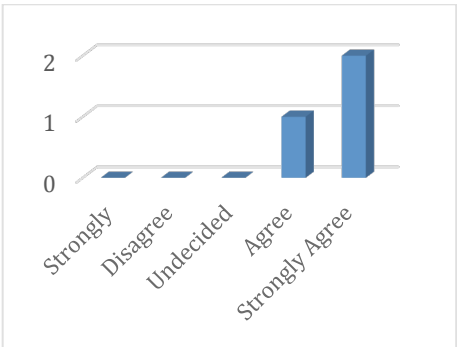
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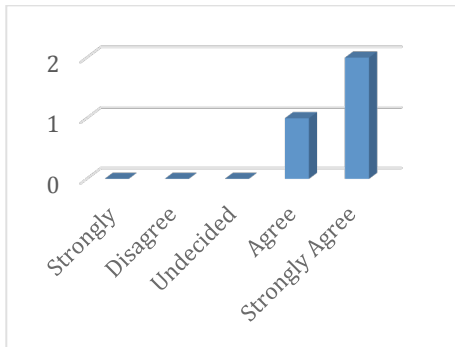
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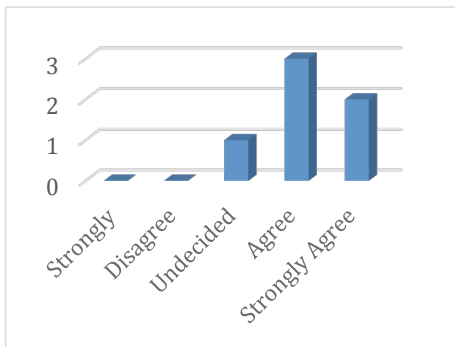


22. Farmers and workers must be able to live a self-determined and good life, meaning that central basic needs (e.g. health and education) are satisfied, and that they have the opportunity to enfold their abilities and the freedom to realize their objectives.

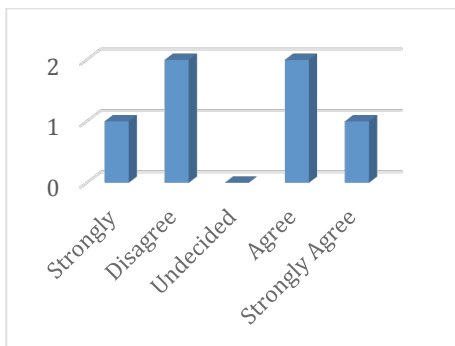


Rainforest Alliance / Sustainable Agriculture Network

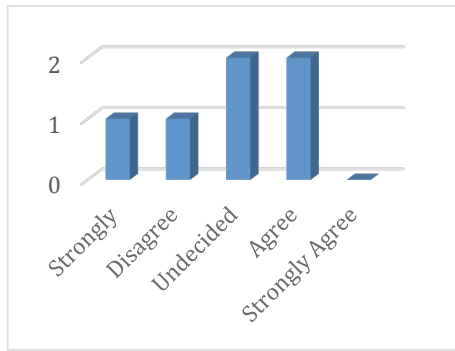
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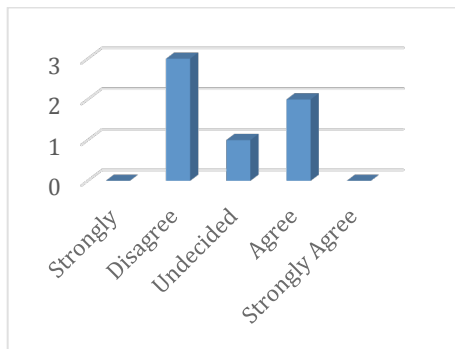
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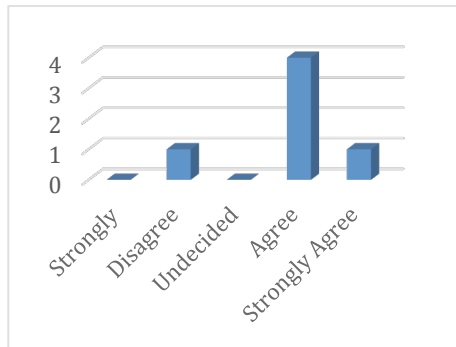
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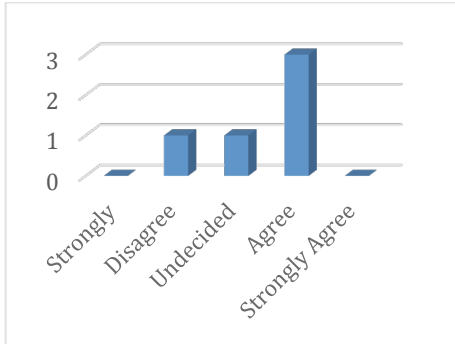
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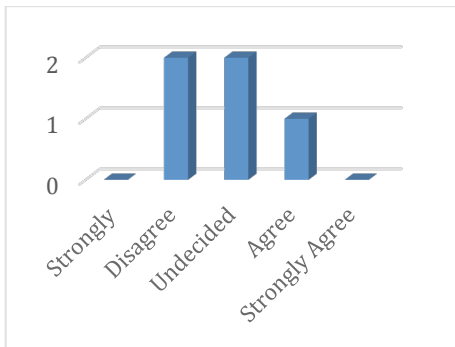
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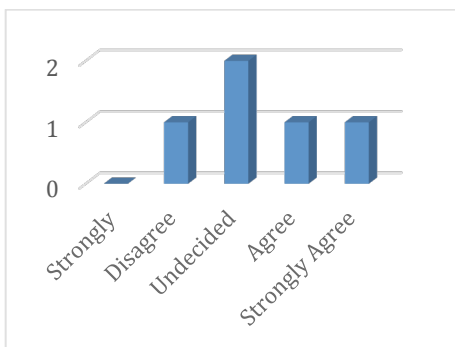
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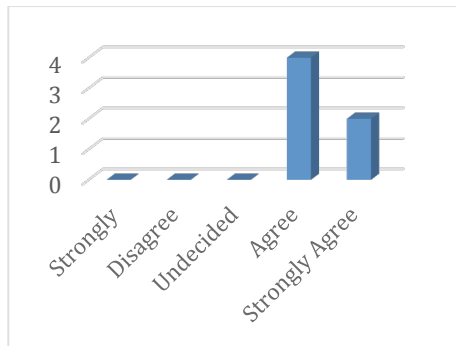
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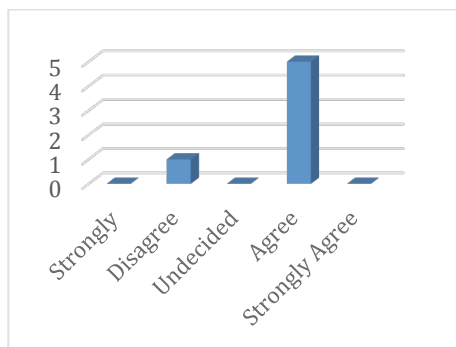
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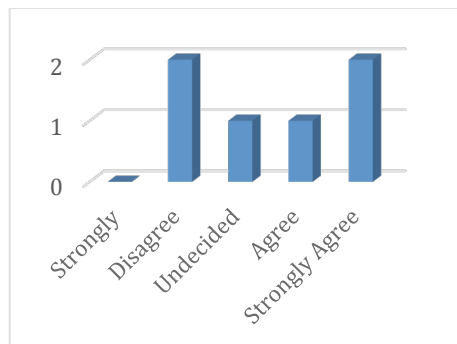
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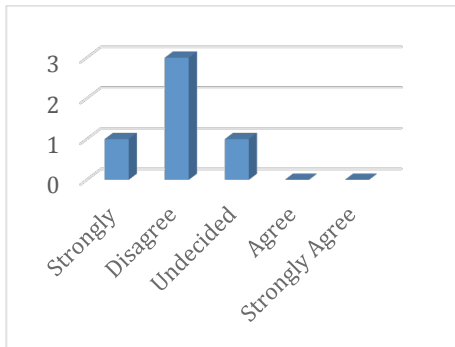
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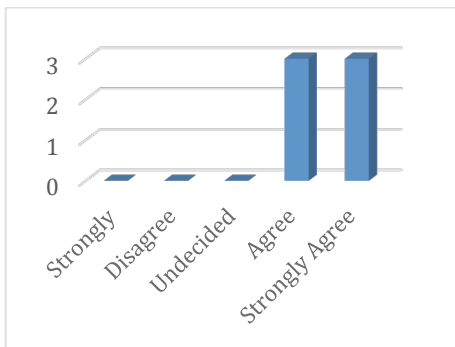
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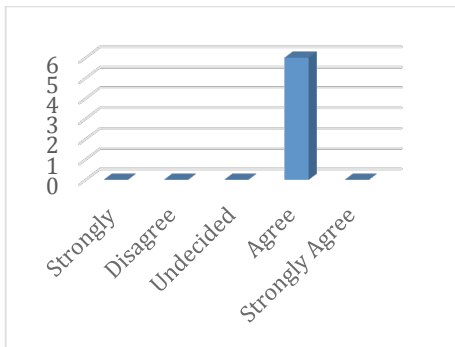
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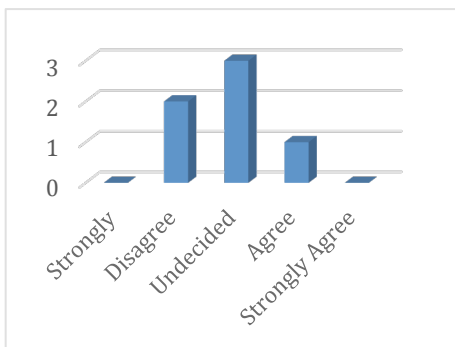
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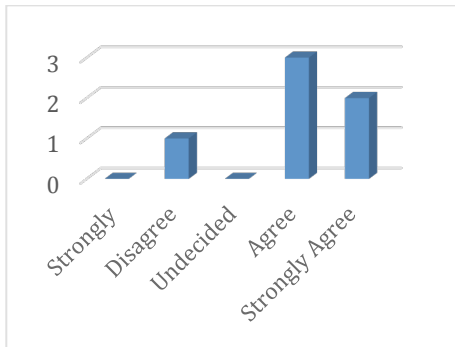
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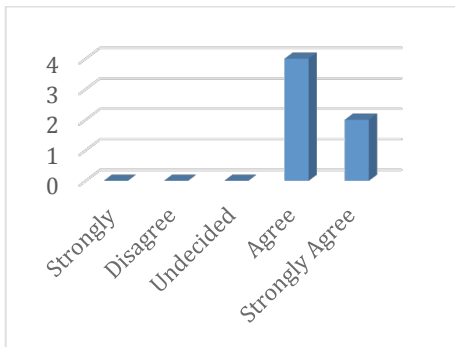
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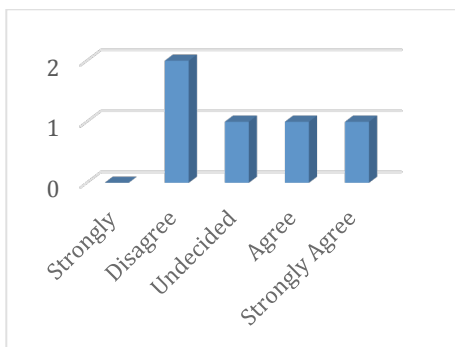
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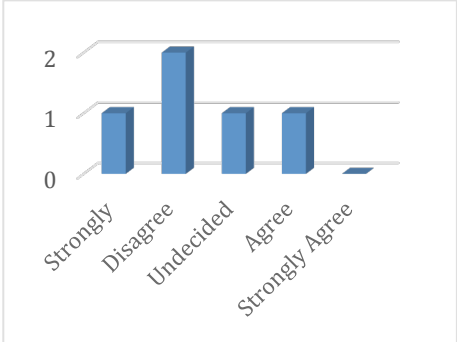
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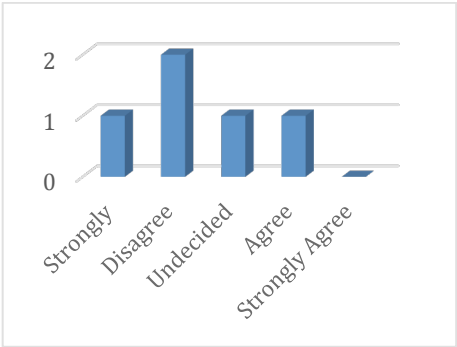
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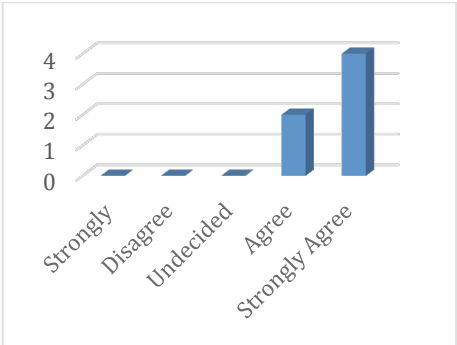
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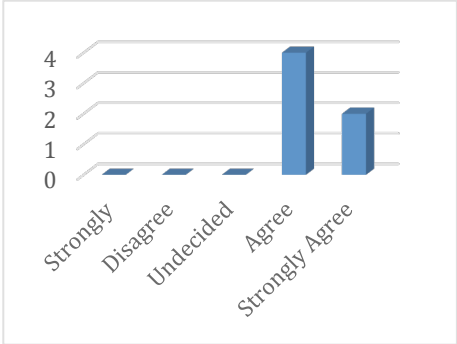
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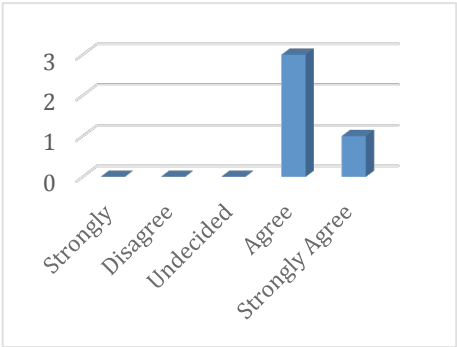


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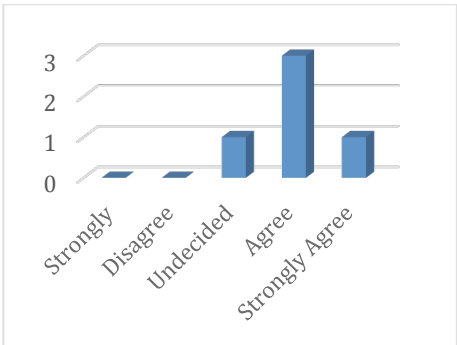


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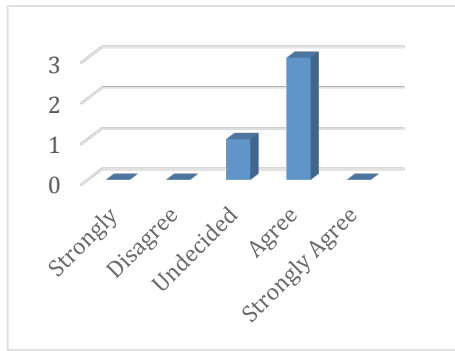
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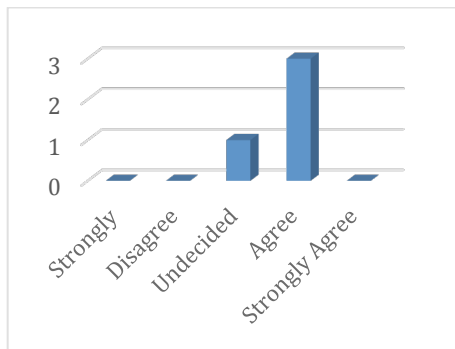
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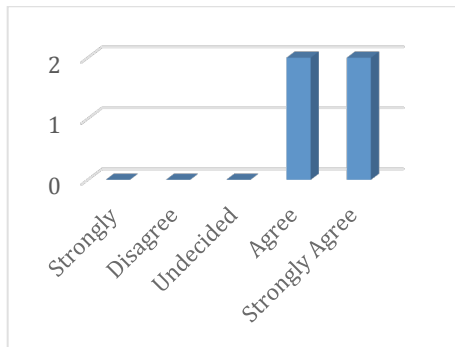
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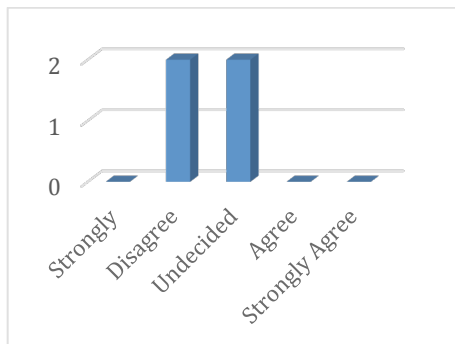
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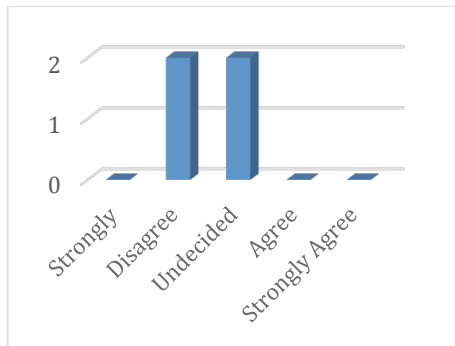
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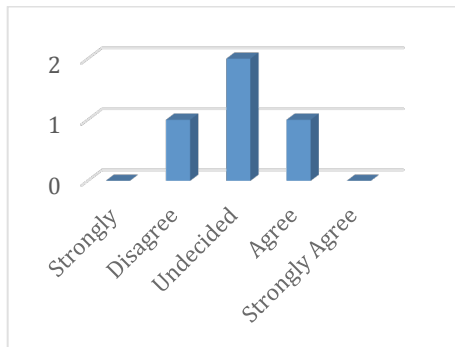
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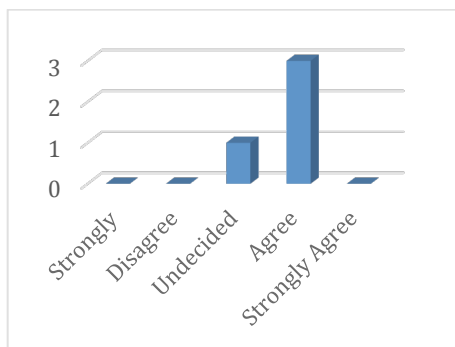
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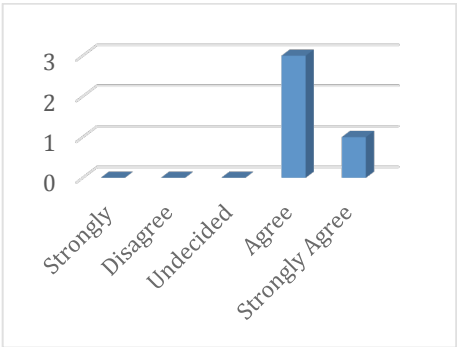
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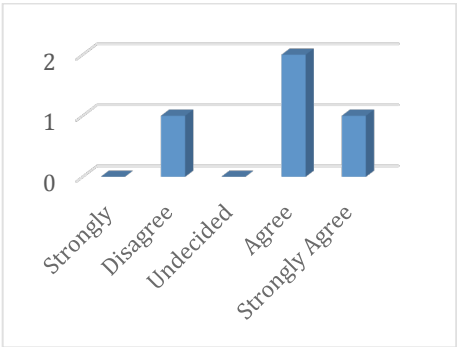
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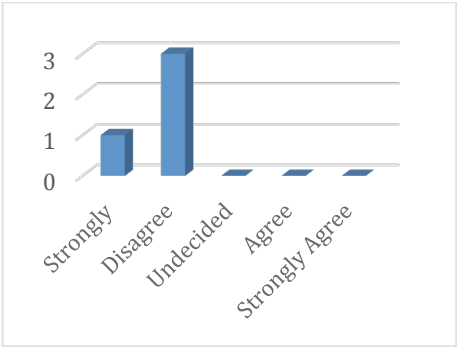
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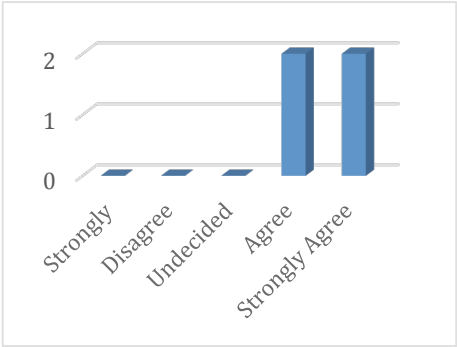
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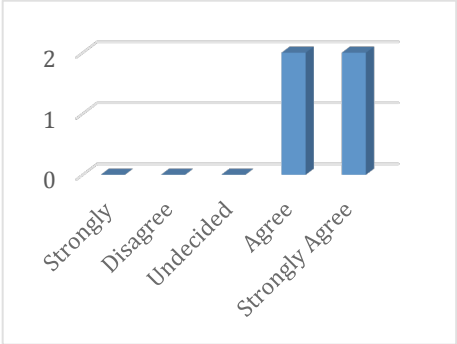
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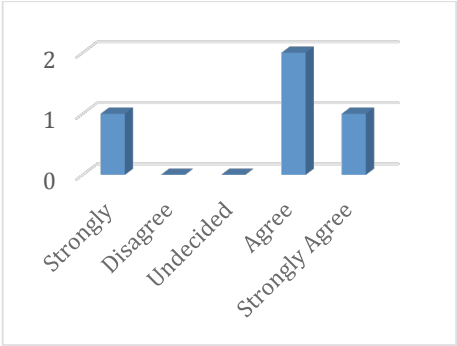
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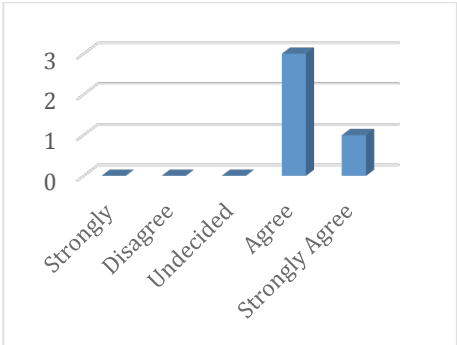
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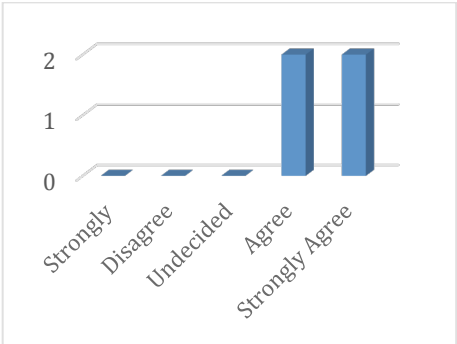
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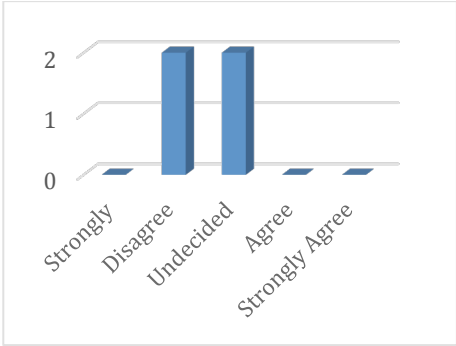
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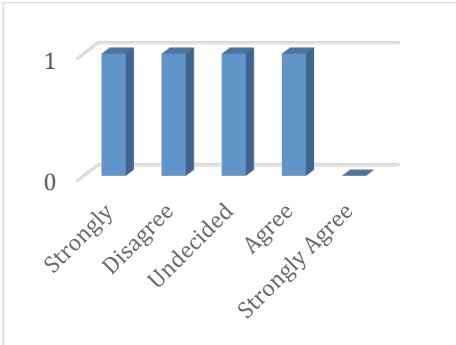
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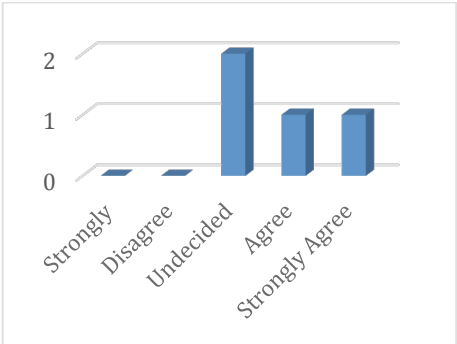
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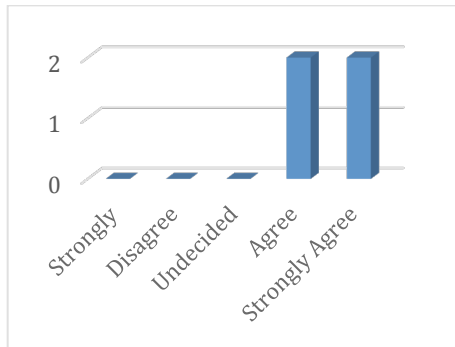
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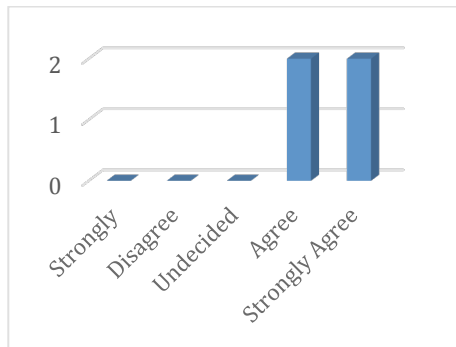
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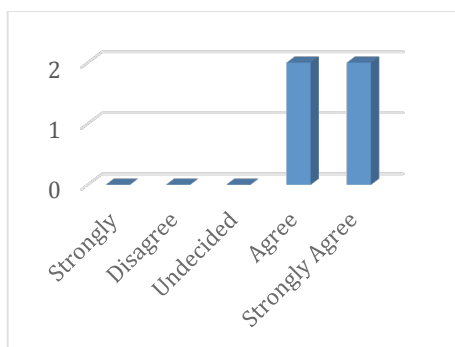


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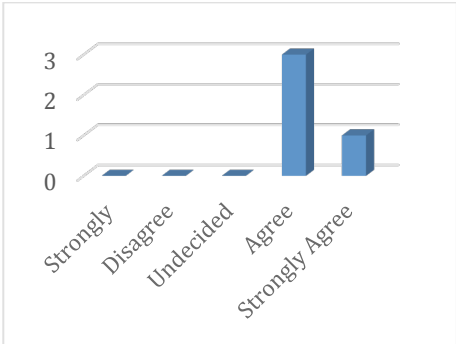


Ethical Tea Partnership

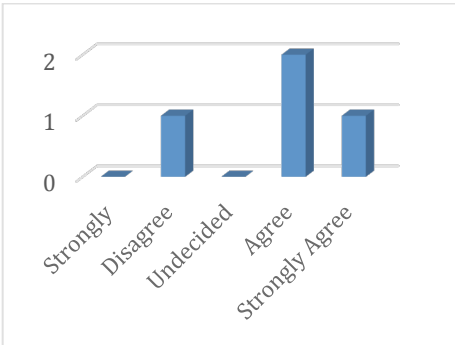
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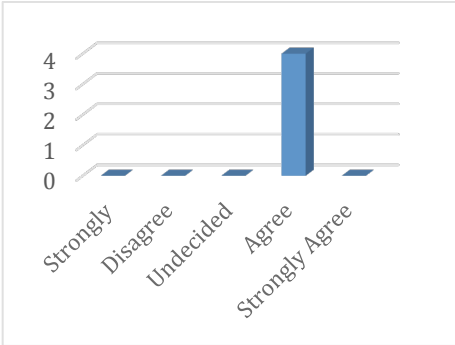
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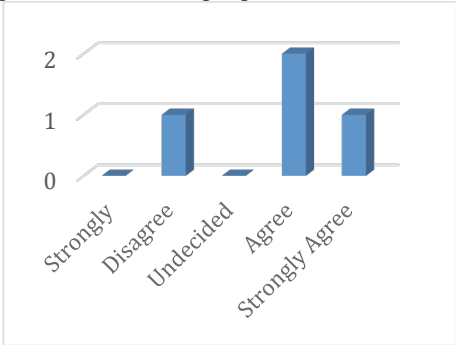
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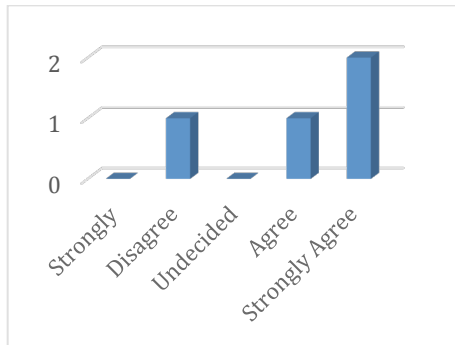
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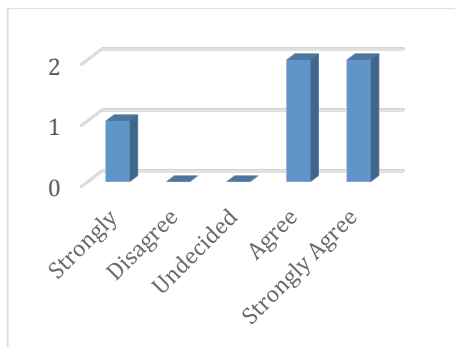
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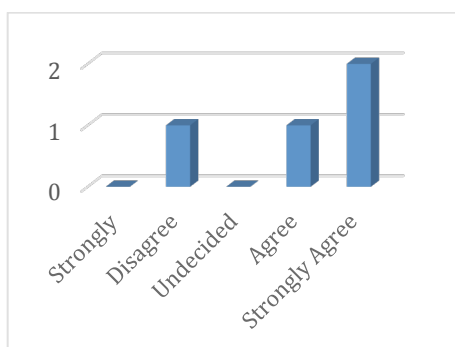
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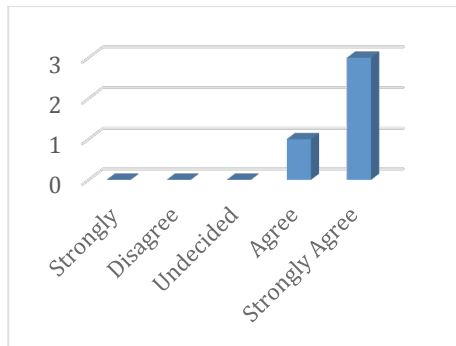
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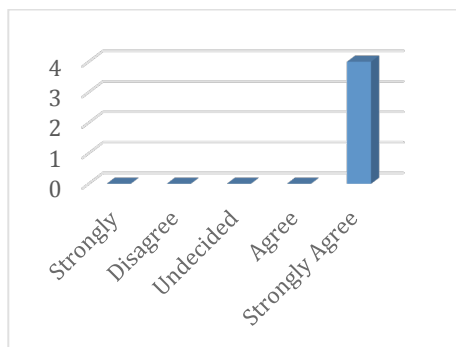
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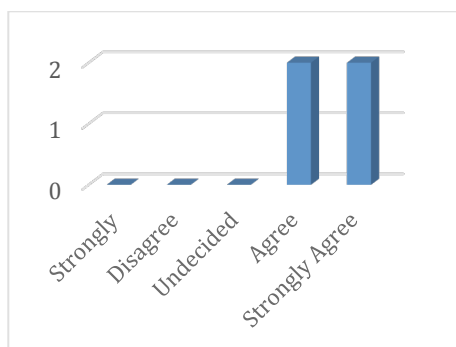
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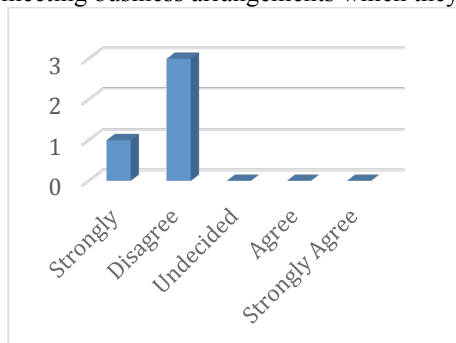
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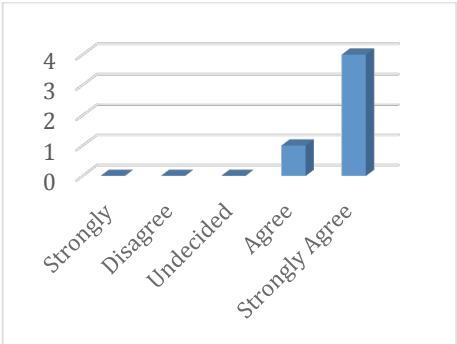
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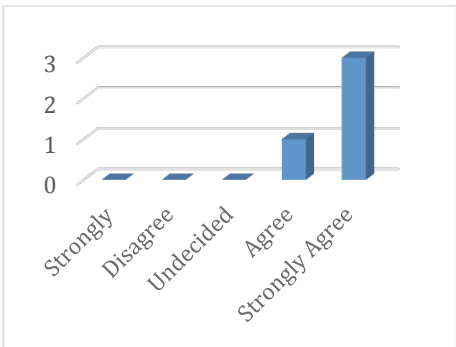
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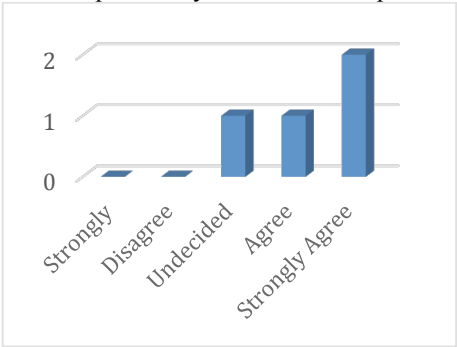
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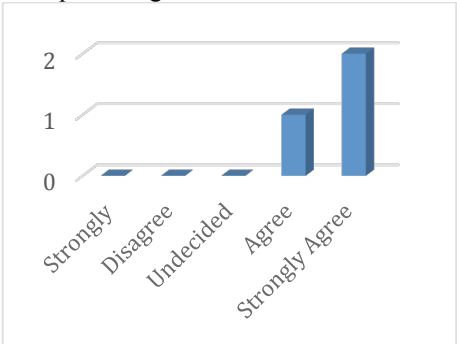
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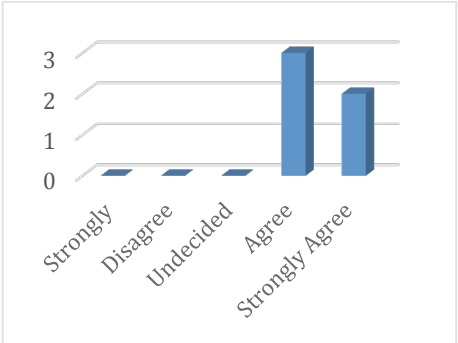
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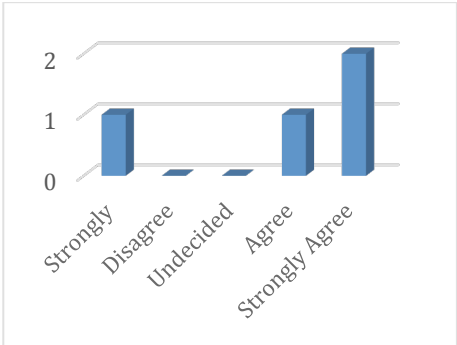
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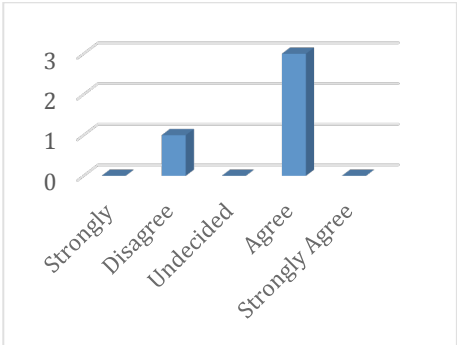
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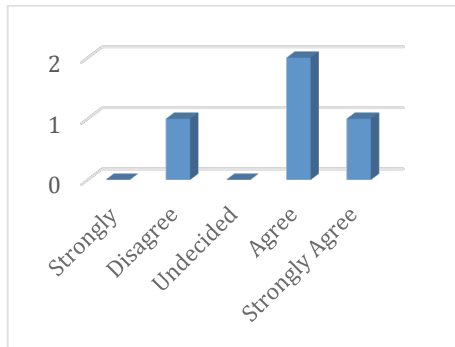
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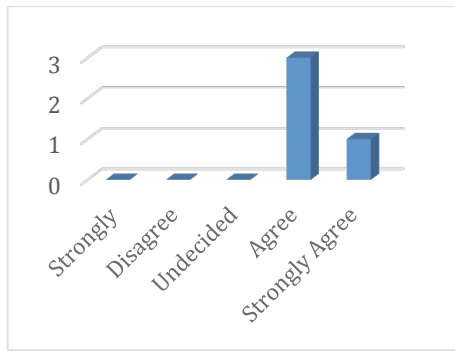
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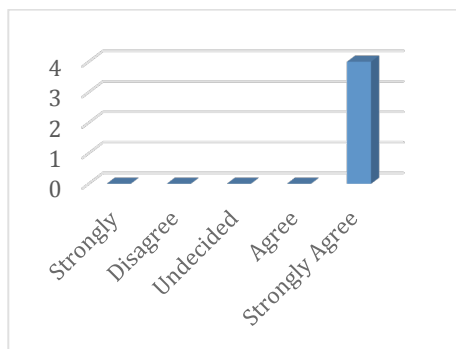
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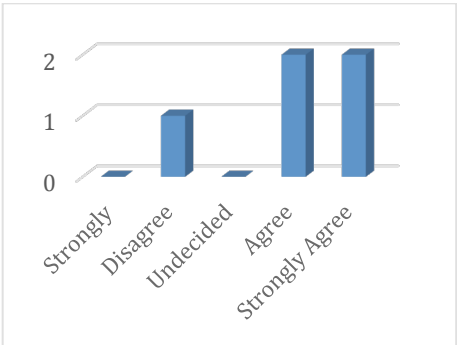


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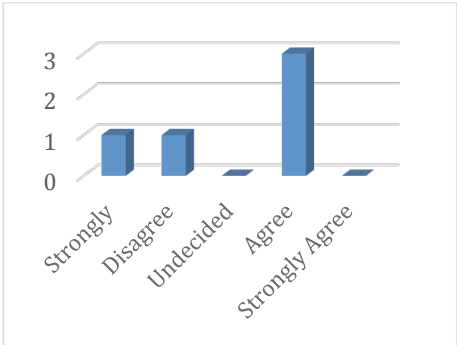


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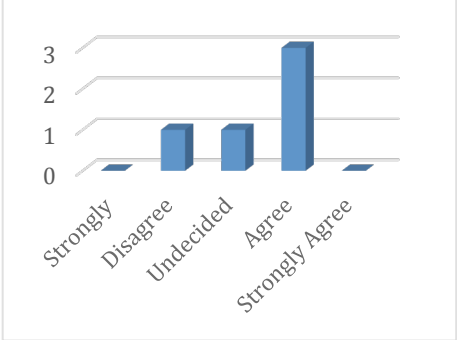
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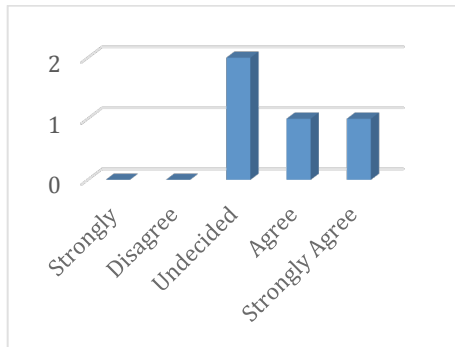
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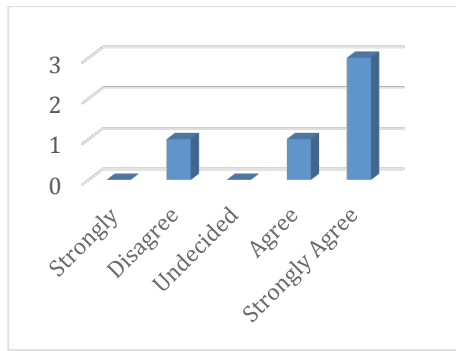
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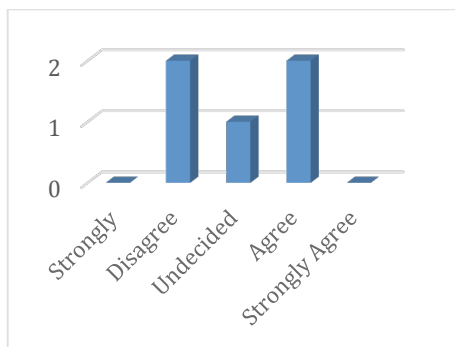
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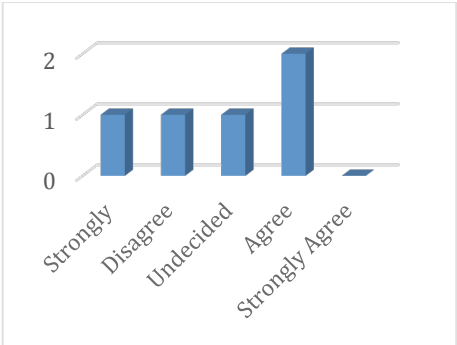
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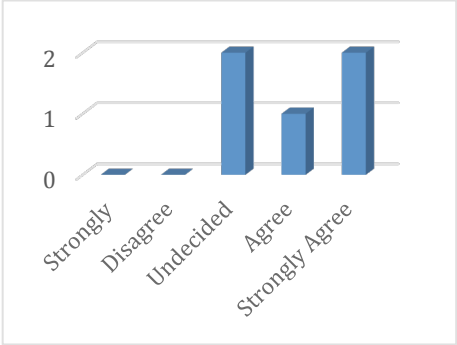
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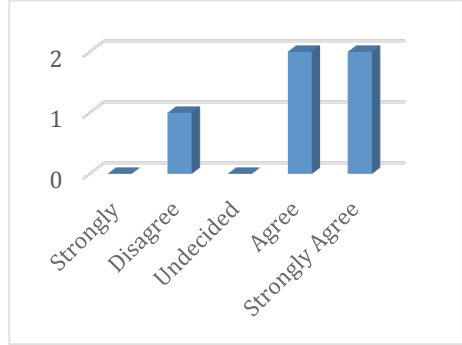
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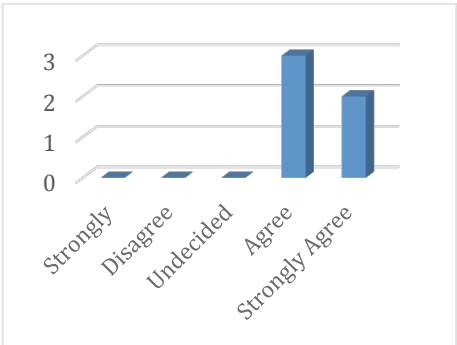
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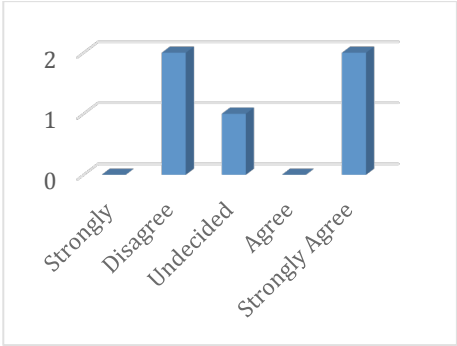
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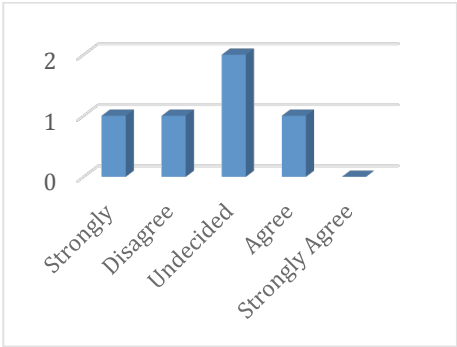
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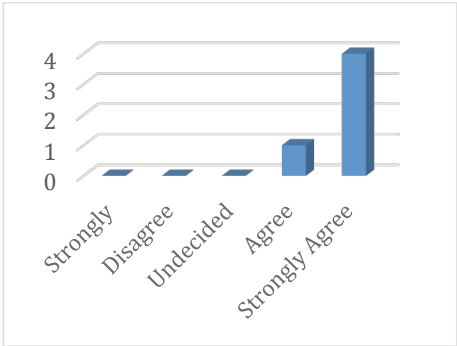
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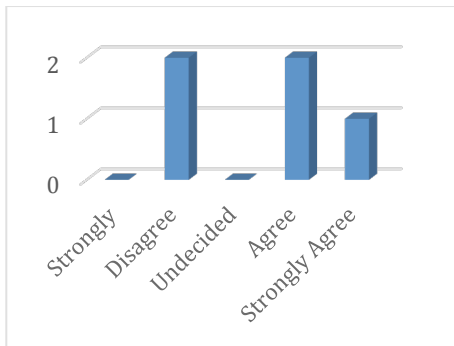
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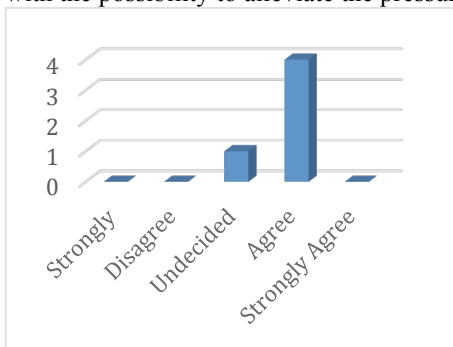
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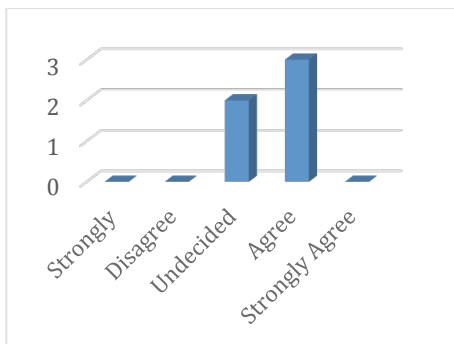
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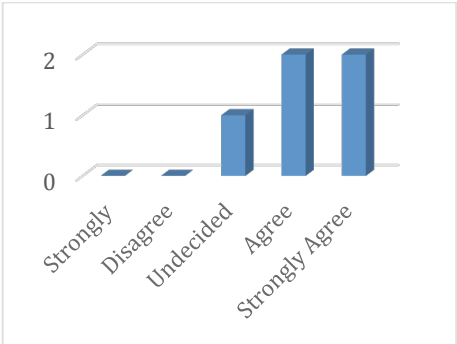
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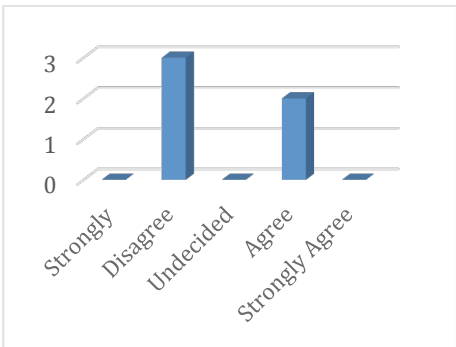
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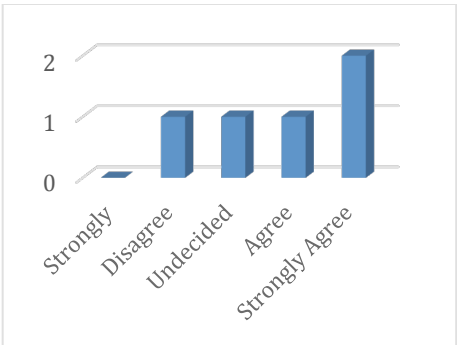
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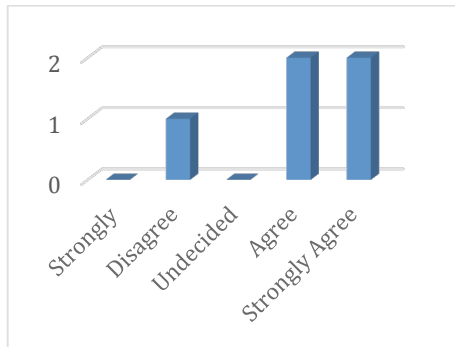
18. The interests of supply chain actors are equally important, meaning the interest of a smallholder is on a par with the interest of a CEO.



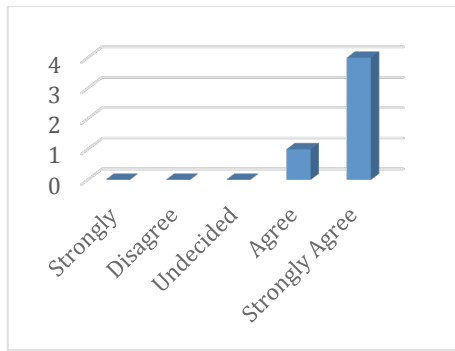
19. A private sustainability standard initiative has the duty to help overcome national barriers to development in developing countries, such as the lack of economic infrastructure, poor social policies, corruption or the lack of education and know-how.



20. Consumers should pay higher prices for certified products because this form of redistribution is the best mechanism to ensure that certified farmers and workers best benefit from private standards.



21. Farmer and worker participation in decision-making (concerning the standard or interactions with the standard initiative) is very important and should be promoted by private sustainability standard initiatives.



22. Farmers and workers must be able to live a self-determined and good life, meaning that central basic needs (e.g. health and education) are satisfied, and that they have the opportunity to enfold their abilities and the freedom to realize their objectives.

